



MARX, ENGELS, AND MARXISMS

Raya Dunayevskaya's Intersectional Marxism

Race, Class, Gender, and the
Dialectics of Liberation

Edited by
Kevin B. Anderson
Kieran Durkin
Heather A. Brown

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Marx, Engels, and Marxisms

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Editors

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PRAISE FOR RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA'S INTERSECTIONAL MARXISM

“This is an important collection of essays appraising the legacy of an underappreciated Marxist philosopher, Raya Dunayevskaya. Perhaps her underappreciation was rooted in the philosopher’s own gender, or perhaps in her stunning recasting of Marxism itself through an early and avid commitment to frameworks of gender and race. Now as mass antiracist protests redefine the horizons of human freedom on our streets, Raya Dunayevskaya’s writing can do the work it was always meant to do, provide a theoretical grounding to the cry for freedom of the oppressed.”

—Tithi Bhattacharya, *co-author of Feminism for the 99%* (2019)

“The essays in this collection explore Raya Dunayevskaya’s revolutionary humanism, which extends class analysis to race, gender, and other dimensions of dominance, and insists that theory does not stand above practice but shapes and is shaped by the experience of liberatory social movements. Dunayevskaya’s work highlights and develops the humanism at the center of Marx’s thought and makes Marx relevant to our time.”

—Barbara Epstein, *Professor of the History of Consciousness Studies, University of California, Santa Cruz, USA, and author of Political Protest and Cultural Revolution* (1993)

“Too many intellectuals fail to see that dialectical studies and innovations on revolutionary practice are not exclusively men’s work. As ideas of women ranging from those of Rosa Luxemburg, Emma Goldman, and

He-Yin Zhen to Grace Lee Boggs have been receiving increased attention, it is clear that their critical challenge is to think human transformation and flourishing through what everyone has to offer. Kevin B. Anderson, Kieran Durkin, and Heather A. Brown, and the community of scholars they assembled to explore the thought of Raya Dunayevskaya make it clear that her ideas were no less than revolutionary. Offering analyses beyond the reduction of class versus race and gender, the humanist logic of both-and and openness is brought forth with breathtaking clarity. This book pays proper respect to the ideas of this great revolutionary thinker through pushing aside fetish and ushering forth, through eyes wide open to contemporary pandemics and uprisings, the ongoing power and beauty of living thought.”

—Lewis R. Gordon, *University of Connecticut, USA, and author of Freedom, Justice, and Decolonization* (2020)

“*Raya Dunayevskaya’s Intersectional Marxism* truly addresses Race, Gender, Class and the Dialectics of Liberation, and the excellent book edited by Kevin B. Anderson, Kieran Durkin, and Heather A. Brown demonstrates the relevancy of Dunayevskaya’s work for this era of crisis and tumultuous struggle and upheaval. The book engages both scholars and activists, and demonstrates how revolutionary theory can become a weapon of transformational practice.”

—Douglas Kellner, *Distinguished Professor, UCLA, USA and author of Herbert Marcuse and the Crisis of Marxism* (1984)

“Periodically the world is in flames and those who would topple not just statues but the whole exploitative order begin to dream again of what might be. New times overlay on old ones. Raya Dunayevskaya’s remarkable achievement is to be in her time and outside of it—to see so clearly, practically, philosophically, what steers the world, and to see what is suppressed within this, what distorts and what is emergent, ready to activate another time and be activated once new times constellate. Dunayevskaya imagines and works towards times to come—but also anticipates a faceting of Marxism to account for the many-threaded nature of the present world, with its skirmishes around multiple points of oppression and social division. Dunayevskaya’s analyses relay, agilely, between the pressure points of class, race, sex, gender, the discordant effects of colonialism, war and nationalism, but they stand also, insistently, at the intersection of philosophy and politics, transforming and elaborating each

in the process. So persuasive are her accounts of Marxist Humanism, one wonders how any Marxism could shed such a qualifier that makes all sense of the project. This volume appraises not just a legacy but the potential for current and future liberatory struggles, grounded by philosophical rigour and oriented towards a practical sense of a limitless creativity.”

—Esther Leslie, *Professor of Political Aesthetics, Birkbeck College, University of London, UK, and author of Walter Benjamin* (2000)

“At such a turbulent historical moment in which armed white militia cosplay their favorite action stars on the steps of our statehouses, and Nazi ideology is disinterred from the blood-stained soil of history, *Raya Dunayevskaya's Intersectional Marxism* could not come at a more urgent time, offering revolutionary praxis informed by intersectionality as means of shifting the tectonic plates of our contemporary political landscape. Rejecting the tepid liberalism claiming the mantle of democracy as incapable of providing an answer to the rise of neofascism, this outstanding collection of essays offers lucid and provocative Marxist-Humanist interpretations of the contemporary political scene, emphasizing the intersectional experiences of people of color and recognizing that these experiences, marked by systems of mediation linked to race, gender, colonialism, class and globalization, when placed against the backdrop of the movement towards freedom from oppression, are always lived in ways that make them greater than the sum of their parts.”

—Peter McLaren, *author of Che Guevara, Paulo Freire, and the Pedagogy of Revolution* (1999)

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Introduction

Kevin B. Anderson, Kieran Durkin, and Heather A. Brown

Our present societal and intellectual landscape is marked by fear, disruption, and radical change. The political sinews that regulated and managed the global capitalist system after 1945, and which at first seemed to have been reinvigorated by the collapse of the Soviet bloc in 1989–1991, are fraying, from NATO to the EU, in no small part the result of disastrous wars in the Middle East. At an economic level, the Great Recession of 2007–2008 wiped away the neoliberal claims to have solved the problems of stagnation that had doomed the earlier Keynesian economics, as the new economy revealed itself to be a house of cards. A decade

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later, the COVID-19 epidemic triggered an even deeper economic crisis while laying bare as never before the dehumanization of contemporary capitalism. Even in developed countries like the U.S. and the UK, central governments floundered in early 2020 while medical, delivery, food, grocery, janitorial, and other workers performed the dangerous labor that is really basic to social existence. Across the globe, hundreds of thousands of people lost their lives to the pandemic, while billions suffered wrenching economic privation. This was both a healthcare and an economic crisis, deeper than anything since the Great Depression.

By late spring 2020, as society began to awaken from the first phase of COVID-19, the greatest mass movement in the U.S. since the 1960s broke out over the police murder of George Floyd, a semi-employed Black man in Minneapolis. During this Black Lives Matter uprising, which spread across the country and internationally, hundreds of thousands of mainly young people demonstrated, occupied highways and streets, toppled statues of prominent racists, attacked and looted luxury goods stores, burned at least one police station and surrounded another, while occupying the surrounding streets. The Trump administration met demonstrators outside the White House with repression so forceful that it backfired, with even military leaders being forced to distance themselves publicly from Trump, the most openly racist president in a century. Rubbed raw by mass unemployment, indebtedness, and lack of affordable housing, the new generation of youth faces a world it did not make, in a stance of resistance and of idealism in the finest sense of the word. More sensitive to sexism, heterosexism, and, above all, racism, than any previous generation, they have followed the lead of Black youth, swelling the Black Lives Matter movement into a massive challenge to the social order that shows no sign of abating. As Ndindi Kitonga, one of the contributors to this volume intoned, after participating in the first weeks of the uprising in Los Angeles:

What we call for with regard to these curfews and the harassment is a questioning of where the money is coming from to fund this. The City does not run out of rubber bullets or tear gas. Yet, as someone who does outreach to our unhoused people, I beg the City for personal protective equipment (PPE) and shelter. I beg for food and unemployment compensation to help our people. There seems to be no resources to help people, but there are always resources to brutalize people. Something else I want to emphasize is that while this is of course an anti-racist protest, it is *also* a

working class uprising of people of all colors. This is also an anti-capitalist uprising. It is a demand for people to stop being overcome by capital. The graffiti in Beverly Hills is not just “fuck the police,” but it is also down with capitalism and down with white supremacy. We witness people connecting the dots, you see.

These are exactly the connections, or intersections, that were central to the life and work of Raya Dunayevskaya, and that are at the heart of this book.

Today, global capitalism is increasingly seen as the enemy of human flourishing, whether in its exploitation of labor, its environmental destruction, its virulent racism, or its continued threat of nuclear destruction. The new generation faces a life of precarity, underemployment, overwork for those employed, and indebtedness. Even strong proponents of the capitalist order see no clear way back toward the promised land of growth and prosperity.

The concomitant crisis in thought and in wider society has led to neofascist and rightwing populist and nationalist forces coming to power in a number of countries, most notably the U.S., Britain, Brazil, Hungary, Poland, Turkey, India, and the Philippines. Meanwhile, older authoritarian regimes in Russia, China, and Saudi Arabia have tightened the screws on their populations even as Australia burned and the Syrian people faced a final massacre by the Assad regime.

But the crisis in the economic, political, and ecological spheres has also led to a resurgence of the left and of revolutionary opposition to systems of global dominance, as seen most dramatically in the 2011–2013 revolutions in the Middle East/North Africa region (MENA), the 2011 Occupy movement, and early Black Lives Matter, as well as in electorally based movements like Syriza in Greece and those around Corbyn in the UK and Sanders in the U.S. In 2018–2020, grassroots radical activism returned with a vengeance, with the Yellow Vests and the pension strikes in France, and most dramatically with the outbreak of what is being called the Second Arab Spring in Sudan, Algeria, Iraq, and Lebanon. Sudan also exhibited a deeper African dimension that resonated in both North and Sub-Saharan Africa. At an intellectual level—what the socialist tradition has called “the battle of ideas”—Marxist thought has also seen a resurgence, especially in the English-speaking world, putting postmodernism and the politics of difference on the defensive.

Today's intellectual left is, broadly speaking, divided into two major streams. The first stream, often espousing some forms of Marxism, highlights capital and class, accusing the left of the 1990s and after of being stuck in what it disparages as "identity politics." The second stream holds to a focus on race, gender, and sexuality, attacking Marxists for a kind of class reductionism whose return they are shocked to see.

Can a Marxist theory and practice, albeit one that is informed by intersectionality, dialectically transcend (*aufheben*) this contradiction? More specifically, can the theory and practice of the Marxist-Humanist and feminist philosopher Raya Dunayevskaya (1910–1987) help to overcome this contradiction within today's progressive left? Those are the issues that inspired the present volume.

As someone who pioneered the rigorous class analysis of the Soviet Union as state capitalist and who early on critiqued Rosa Luxemburg's quasi-underconsumptionist economic theories as inadequate, Dunayevskaya was the rare Marxist thinker at home as easily with arguments about declining profit rates in Vol. III of *Capital* in relation to economic crisis, as she was with Hegel, dialectics, and the young Marx. From her earliest days in the Communist Party youth group in Chicago in the late 1920s, she also fought for the centrality of race to an understanding of U.S. capitalism, subsequently working with C. L. R. James and Grace Lee Boggs in the 1940s and 1950s to critique class-reductionist Marxism via a creative reading of Marx, Lenin, and Trotsky. By the 1960s, she had written profoundly on the African revolutions and their theorists, especially Frantz Fanon, also developing at this time concept of "Black masses as vanguard" of the American revolution. By the 1970s, she began to explore anew socialist feminism, here centering on a century of struggle as well as on key women Marxist theoreticians and their neglected feminist dimension, most notably Luxemburg.

Her resulting 1982 book, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* ran up against a certain indifference if not outright rejection in many quarters, including many feminist academics. A major exception was the acclaimed revolutionary feminist poet Adrienne Rich, who, nudged by the Black revolutionary feminist Gloria Joseph, analyzed in depth the work of Dunayevskaya in this period. In 1986, a year before Dunayevskaya's death, Rich published a major retrospective on her in the *Women's Review of Books* that we are most glad to republish in this volume. While this helped to generate a wider discussion of Dunayevskaya in the 1980s/1990s, especially in the work of Margaret

Randall on women and revolution, it did not succeed at that time in drawing the larger streams of feminist thought back to Marxism, let alone to Dunayevskaya's version of Marxist-Humanism.

That missed juncture between revolutionary feminism and Dunayevskaya's Marxist-Humanism has inspired the title of this collection, "Raya Dunayevskaya's Intersectional Marxism," which highlights the ways in which her writings intertwine issues of race, gender, and colonialism with those of capital, class, and globalization. But what was the nature of that missed juncture, in the early 1980s?

In that period, Dunayevskaya launched a multipronged effort to recast Marxism for an era that had experienced Black insurgency, antiwar activism, and revolutionary feminism on a massive scale, even as the sharp turn to the right (later understood as "neoliberalism") was beginning to form. She did so via critical analysis of these revolutionary movements, but also through newly unearthed texts of Karl Marx and Rosa Luxemburg. This led to reconsiderations of the women's movement of the time, especially its African and African-American dimensions, rethinking Marx in light of his late writings on gender and on revolution outside Europe, and a pathbreaking analysis of Luxemburg that portrayed her for the first time as a revolutionary feminist, in sharp contrast to almost all previous interpretations, which had denied the imputation of feminism. *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* sought to bring Marxist thought alive for a new generation that had come through the defeats of the 1960s movements and that embraced a worldview in which race and gender were as important as class. While Dunayevskaya did not use the term intersectionality—a term which did not come into wide use during her lifetime—she worked with a similar concept in her 1982 book, as exemplified in this passage: "And just as the Sojourner Truths and Harriet Tubmans learned to separate from what they called their 'short-minded' leaders who would not fight for woman's suffrage in the 'Negro hour' of fighting for Black male suffrage, so the new Women's Liberation Movement arose from participation in the Black freedom struggles of the '60s, and the Black women, in turn, made their own declaration" (103).

It is this focus on both difference and commonality that is often missing in discussions of intersectionality. Certainly, the vastly different theories of intersectionality have offered important discussions of the need to take various differences in social positionality seriously as this affects the ability of successful coalitions to form and for disempowered

groups to claim their own power in progressive movements. However, difference can be best understood once there is a reference to a commonality that individuals can be measured against. For Dunayevskaya, who was committed to a Marxist-Humanist position, this commonality is our striving for greater freedom—for a new society that is free of structural impediments to individual and communal flourishing. This must be worked out philosophically and politically in a world where difference abounds and serves as a means to evaluate both one's own position and that of others relative to a vision of a better future that is possible. Thus, Dunayevskaya offers a positive vision of intersectionality which takes our common humanity, worked out through philosophical and political struggle, as a basis for unity rather than asserting already ossified differences and working in coalition from those distinctions. At the same time, she saw the struggles of Black people and revolutionary feminists as sources of creative difference inside the radical movement. Black and feminist movements often constituted a real revolutionary vanguard—not only in action but also in thought—that the labor and socialist movements needed to learn from, and sometimes follow. Moreover, at a theoretical level, these kinds of experiences needed to be incorporated into Marxist, dialectical theory, as seen in the concept of “a movement from practice that is itself a form of theory” that undergirded Dunayevskaya's first book, *Marxism and Freedom*. In this sense, her notion of commonality involved facing these differences, and the tensions they created, head on. It meant developing from them a notion of Marxist-Humanist commonality that was capacious enough to incorporate all these differing strands of thought and action.

Unfortunately, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* appeared during the retrenchments of the 1980s, when even many radical intellectuals were seduced by the timid social democracy of Jürgen Habermas or the ultimately disempowering post-structuralism of Michel Foucault. In 1992, in the wake of the implosion of the Soviet bloc, Richard Rorty, then considered a leading radical philosopher, intoned that “large theoretical ways of finding out how to end injustice” as in Marx had failed the test of history and that the left should strive for democracy, civil society, and the creation of wealth in a free market. Rorty concluded that no “alternative to capitalism” existed, and went so far as to declare, provocatively, that “the only hope for getting the money necessary to eliminate intolerable inequities is to facilitate the

activities of people like Henry Ford...and even Donald Trump”! (1992: 4).

In this period, many radical intellectuals embraced a postmodern or poststructuralist politics of difference, which also served to draw them away from Marxism of any kind, with its aspiration for class solidarities across national, gender, and racial lines. As 1960s icons Daniel Cohn-Bendit and Gilles Deleuze put it in 1987 in a classic statement of the politics of difference that pointedly left out capital and class: “The goal is...what we call a *culture of dissensus* that strives for a deepening of individual positions and a resingularization of individuals and human groups. What folly to claim that everyone – immigrants, feminists, rockers, regionalists, pacifists, ecologists, and hackers – should agree on a same vision of things! We should not be aiming for a programmatic agreement that erases their differences” (cited in Sanbonmatsu 2004: 14).

These intellectual trends were conditioned by developments in global capitalism, as Ronald Reagan, Margaret Thatcher, and Pope John Paul II—and their implicit ally, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini—were in the process of rolling back many of the gains of the 1960s. The bloody defeats of the Marxist-led revolutions in Nicaragua and Grenada and the transformation of the Iranian revolution into a fundamentalist dictatorship helped to recast the 1980s as a period of retrogression. All this accompanied the ushering in of neoliberalism, which Dunayevskaya at the time castigated as “Reaganomics.”

Today, the historical and intellectual landscape has changed dramatically. Neoliberalism has been called widely into question, targeted by forces further to the right, like rightwing populism and nationalism, but also by a left that has been resurgent in both political and intellectual life. The politics of difference that emerged in the era of poststructuralism has also receded. Both have been put on the defensive by the Great Recession and the rise of large global movements against economic exploitation and inequality. At the same time, a narrow politics of class and economic determinism has emerged with a vengeance on the left, seeing itself as the antidote to the politics of difference.

It is at this juncture that we invite the readers of this volume to consider Raya Dunayevskaya—philosopher, Marxist-Humanist, feminist, anti-racist activist, and revolutionary—as a thinker who was often out of joint with her times but who also speaks to ours with great resonance.

A more specific and immediate impetus for the present book on the part of its living authors and editors, most of them long familiar with

Dunayevskaya's life and work, lies in a series of talks and papers from the year 2018, the sixtieth anniversary of the publication of Dunayevskaya's most influential book, *Marxism and Freedom*. Its original 1958 edition included in the appendix the first published English translations of major parts of Marx's *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts* and of Lenin's *Philosophical Notebooks*. The book based itself on an original reading of the work of Hegel, Marx, and Lenin, along with an analysis of the later stages of capitalism (monopoly and state capitalism), and of popular revolution and resistance, from the French revolution through the upheavals of her own day like the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, and including the epochal Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955–1956, whose revolutionary significance she discerned early on. But the book had been preceded by—and was accompanied by—nearly two decades of serious dialogue with several other revolutionary thinkers around the dialectic, race and class, the heritage of Marxism, and the nature of contemporary capitalism, including the Stalinist, fascist, and democratic welfare state versions of state capitalism. Initially, these dialogues were with C. L. R. James and Grace Lee Boggs, her co-theorists in the Johnson-Forest (JFT) or State-Capitalist Tendency of 1941–1955. To this day, their philosophical correspondence of 1949–1951 remains unpublished, although joint works like *State-Capitalism and World Revolution* and other individual works from each author have been acclaimed for decades. This is equally true of the writings by working-class militants associated with them, as in Dunayevskaya's comrade Charles Denby's *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, an early edition of which appeared in 1952, or Grace Lee Boggs's comrade and spouse James Boggs's later work, *The American Revolution: Pages from a Negro Worker's Notebook*.

Dunayevskaya's correspondence with Herbert Marcuse began in late 1954, just as the JFT was splitting apart, with Dunayevskaya and Denby on one side and C. L. R. James, Grace Lee Boggs and James Boggs on the other. Dunayevskaya's long dialogue with Marcuse—much of it over Hegel, Marx, and dialectics—took place between two kindred spirits, albeit with some major political and philosophical disagreements, while both were quite isolated during the McCarthyite 1950s. This correspondence, which dealt heavily on Dunayevskaya's side with her concept of Hegel's absolute negativity as new beginning, had grown out of her 1953 "Letters on Hegel's Absolutes," originally part of her correspondence with Grace Lee Boggs. These letters were later published numerous times in pamphlet form by Dunayevskaya, who considered this text her

foundational statement on dialectics, the place where she began to make an original philosophical contribution. (For an annotated version, see Hudis and Anderson [2002: 15–32].) While she never received a real response from Grace Lee Boggs or C. L. R. James to what was one of her last philosophical dialogues with them, in a certain sense she was able to renew this dialogue with Marcuse. Here too, though, it was somewhat one-sided, with Marcuse never convinced of the revolutionary character of Hegel’s absolutes. Nor did they agree on the Hungarian Revolution of 1956—which Dunayevskaya extolled as a creative form of working-class revolution while Marcuse was more reticent—or on the consequences of automation for the working class. (For an annotated edition of their correspondence, see Anderson and Rockwell [2012].) Marcuse wrote the preface to *Marxism and Freedom* and referred to the writings of Dunayevskaya’s comrade Denby in his *One-Dimensional Man*. Shortly after, however, the correspondence broke off for several years after a heated dispute about Cuba’s growing authoritarianism. Dunayevskaya moved in another direction, traveling to West Africa and forging ties with African socialist humanists.

For Dunayevskaya, the correspondence with Marcuse was part of the development of what was to become her deepest study of the dialectic, *Philosophy and Revolution: From Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao* (1973). There, she argued that, despite their multifaceted nature and mass participation, the radical movements of the 1960s had failed because a tendency toward spontaneism had blocked efforts to form a compelling and humanist philosophical vision of the future. This also clouded their strategic perspectives on issues like race and revolution in the U.S. Thus, she chided France’s Cohn-Bendit for having downplayed the importance of theory during the French uprising of 1968. She similarly criticized the U.S. white New Left for its undialectical empiricism and pragmatism at a general level. To Dunayevskaya, this kind of pragmatism was exemplified in the New Left’s plunge into the much more massive anti-Vietnam War movement in 1965 in such a way that left the Black movement with the sense that their white allies had abandoned them. This was a highly original explanation of the rise of the Black Power movement and its separatist wing. It also constituted a critique of the way Marxist groups with some influence over the antiwar movement, like the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, had worked to keep the focus of the large, national anti-Vietnam War marches on the single issue of the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops, even allying with liberal pragmatists to block proposals for

the demonstrations to include slogans like “End Racism Now” alongside “Bring the Troops Home Now.”

As she honed *Philosophy and Revolution* during the 1960s, Dunayevskaya also examined more sympathetically the socialist humanist tendencies in Eastern Europe and Africa, visiting West Africa in 1962. (Stalinist repression did not permit a trip to Eastern Europe of this sort.) In both Eastern Europe and Africa, she found thinkers who had traveled the same road as she had, from the young Marx to a critique of contemporary forms of oppression and alienation. Among the thinkers she saw as the most creative—whom she contrasted to what she saw as the weaknesses of Adorno in his *Negative Dialectics*, which tended toward the exclusion of the subject—were the Afro-Caribbean revolutionary theorist Frantz Fanon and the Czech philosopher Karel Kosík.

It was also in this period that her correspondence with Erich Fromm commenced. This began as Fromm was at work on his *Marx's Concept of Man* (1961), the book that made the young Marx an indispensable part of the intellectual map of the English-speaking world for the first time. Fromm also invited Dunayevskaya to contribute to his widely circulated edited collection, *Socialist Humanism* (1965). This book helped to give her work wider recognition, especially at an international level, putting her in closer touch with Eastern European Marxist humanists. It speaks volumes about the obstacles women thinkers faced in this period, even on the left, that Dunayevskaya was one of only two women authors among thirty-two contributors. Eight years later, she was able to obtain a major publisher, Delacorte Press, for *Philosophy and Revolution*, for which Fromm later helped arrange the translations into Spanish (Mexico) and German (Austria).

In the 1960s, as she was finishing *Philosophy and Revolution*, Dunayevskaya deepened her critiques of some of the newer trends in revolutionary Marxism, among them Maoism and Guevarism, which she saw as having disoriented the movement and thereby abetting its defeat. Here, her principled stances cost her support on the left, especially among some of the youth she wanted to win over to Marxist-Humanism. For although many were breaking with the Soviet Union over its 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia in order to crush a democratic government with socialist humanist tendencies, Maoism and Guevarism retained support in many sectors of the New Left. If Russian Stalinism, with its heavy-handed “dialectical materialism” and “scientific socialism” represented a kind of deterministic objectivism, Maoism and Guevarism illustrated for

Dunayevskaya an equally serious obstacle to revolutionary dialectics, a form of voluntarism and hyper-subjectivism.

Philosophy and Revolution, which appeared in 1973 as the New Left was winding down, never achieved the impact of *Marxism and Freedom*. Still, it increased Dunayevskaya's reputation as a serious dialectician and remains to this day one of the greatest contributions in this area. The book combined a deep engagement with Hegel, Marx, and Lenin with searing critiques of Trotsky, Mao, and Sartre, along with a much more sympathetic philosophical-political analysis in the final three chapters on the African revolutions, the East European anti-Stalinist ferment and revolts, and the Black, antiwar, and women's liberation movements of the 1960s in the U.S. and France. Dunayevskaya delved once again into the dialectic in her last writings in the mid-1980s as she began to research a book tentatively entitled "Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy." Some of the draft material for this book was included in a posthumously published collection of her writings on dialectics, *Power of Negativity* (Hudis and Anderson 2002).

By the late 1970s, Dunayevskaya was turning increasingly toward a critical analysis of revolutionary feminism in the U.S. Her new theorizing also took in the women's movement's emergence internationally at key junctures like the 1979 Nicaraguan revolution, or the early stages of the Iranian revolution during that same year, when feminists briefly took on the Islamists in an attempt to forestall their takeover. These radical movements and revolutions created a new context for *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. The book began with a strikingly new treatment of Rosa Luxemburg, placing feminist concerns at the center of her life and work for the first time, in a way that has set the tone for discussions of Luxemburg ever since. But Dunayevskaya was no Luxemburgist. To be sure, in addition to appreciating her revolutionary feminism, Dunayevskaya extolled Luxemburg's attacks on reformism, her concept of spontaneity, her refusal to separate feminism from revolutionary Marxism, her deep commitment to anti-imperialism, and her commitment to revolutionary democracy, as seen in her critique of the one-party regime Lenin and Trotsky established after the 1917 revolution. But at the same time, Dunayevskaya strongly criticized Luxemburg's moves away from Marx's concept of capitalist crises, her failure to support anti-imperialist movements, and her lack of engagement with the dialectic.