IN MEMORIAM: RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA, 1910 to 1987

Douglas Kellner
University of Texas

With the death on June 9, 1987, of Raya Dunayevskaya, the tradition of Marxist-Humanism has lost one of its major theorists and activists. Dunayevskaya's life and work spans the entire history of revolutionary socialism in the twentieth century. Few thinkers have reflected so deeply and written so insightfully on the trajectory of revolutionary history from Marx's day to our own. And perhaps no other writer and activist has contributed so significantly to illuminating the trajectory and dynamics of contemporary revolutionary theory and history.

For my own generation of New Left activists, Dunayevskaya's book *Marxism and Freedom* (1958) served as one of the key introductions to Marxian revolutionary theory. Dunayevskaya's emphasis on the revolutionary humanism of the young Marx and insistence on the continuity of the Hegelian-revolutionary philosophical roots of Marxism throughout Marx's writings deeply influenced us, and provided what I still consider as one of the best introductions to Marxist thought and one of the most illuminating interpretations of the work and contributions of Karl Marx.

Dunayevskaya's *Philosophy and Revolution* (1973) theorized the period of the upsurge of Third World Revolutionary struggles that began with the Cuban Revolution and that was continuing in the Vietnamese and other revolutionary struggles of the time. Her studies showed the linkage between actual revolutionary struggles and revolutionary philosophy, and thus also provided important theoretical and political guidance for contemporary revolutionary theory and practice by underscoring the importance of revolutionary theory for the revolutionary process.

Dunayevskaya's connection with two other theoretical mentors of the New Left—Herbert Marcuse and Erich Fromm—sheds light on the multifaceted nature of her work, relationships, and influence. Dunayevskaya carried out a voluminous correspondence over three decades with both Marcuse and Fromm. She perceived these European exiles from fascist Germany as two of the only people in the United States who possessed a high level of knowledge of Hegel and Marx, and thus perceived them as individuals with whom she could develop a productive theoretical and political relationship. Her extremely rich correspondence with Marcuse and Fromm contain fascinating insights into her own struggles with the complex and difficult tradition of Hegelian Marxism, and shed light on her efforts to relate Hegelian and Marxian philosophy to current theoretical and political problems.

While Dunayevskaya often engaged in sharp polemical exchanges with
Marcuse, he had the utmost respect for her and frequently consulted with her on theoretical and political issues. In 1957, Marcuse wrote a Preface for the first issue of Dunayevskaya's *Marxism and Freedom* and when several years later he was writing on the studies that became *One-Dimensional Man* he wrote her on Aug. 8, 1960, requesting information on contemporary American literature on “the transformation of the laboring class under the impact of rationalization, automation and, particularly, the higher standard of living.” Dunayevskaya answered Marcuse on Aug. 15, 1960, with a five-page single-spaced letter summarizing recent work by Marxist-Humanists on the problem and describing in detail a wealth of other literature on the topic from a variety of positions.

Dunayevskaya also conducted a long a voluminous correspondence with Fromm who had much more respect for Dunayevskaya than Marcuse (indeed his letters to her are full of criticisms of his one-time colleague in the Institute for Social Research). Fromm invited both Dunayevskaya and Marcuse to contribute to his symposium *Socialist Humanism* which was published by Doubleday in 1965; this collection contains a wealth of studies which exhibit the international range of humanistic Marxism. Dunayevskaya’s contribution “Marx’s Humanism Today” contains a characteristic attempt to make the tradition of Marxist-Humanism come alive for the present political situation. On Nov. 30, 1968, Fromm volunteered to provide any potential help with publishers for “I have great respect for your knowledge, your penetration, your honesty and your courage and I believe that you have something to say which should be known as much as possible.”

Dunayevskaya’s correspondence with Fromm and Marcuse has been collected and is available in the microfilm collection (Dunayevskaya, 1986). I would urge all of those interested in contemporary Marxism to ask their libraries to purchase this collection, and look forward to articles and discussion of the correspondence.

Raya Dunayevskaya combined tremendous intellect, learning, and political experience in a life devoted to revolutionary theory and activism. Her contributions are enormous and provide a living heritage of revolutionary Marxist-Humanism. While she will be missed her ideas and tradition will live on in the revolutionary struggles of the present and future as we move out of the Reagan era into a new age of revolution.

References

Dunayevskaya, Raya—


Fromm, Erich, editor—

Marcuse, Herbert—