

July 25, 1971

Dear EF:

How are you? We seemed to have disappeared for a whole year. Where you, however, have a new work published, I'm still laboring on the same one--PHILOSOPHI and REVOLUTION has been "in progress" for 10 long years! Now that the final draft is finished, it will take another 2-3 months to edit and have it professionally typed. Nevertheless, I thought you might wish to see it unedited\* so that if you still are willing to help me find a publisher, then I would not need to resubmit to you, but could send it directly to whichever publisher you designate or write to or whatever. Do, please, let me know whether you wish the edited version sent through you. May I expect an answer from you by October? That is when I expect to have it finished. It will number about 350 pages and will include one appendix not here included: a first English translation of 30 pages of the pages on labor under the "automaton" from Marx's Grundrisse.

You no doubt felt as sad as I at the news of Lukacs's death. It took nearly a half century for him to return to a strictly philosophic work--Ontology of Social Being--and now he is gone, and there are hardly any Hegelian Marxists left of his stature. Every time Marcuse tries to bridge the divisions within himself--between the desire for instant revolution to the point of depending on "biological solidarity" and the deep down pessimism about mankind having become one-dimensional in thought, in body (eroticism included?) and, above all, in labor becoming thing (sic!)--it is as if he willed the death of the dialectic!

Luckily, new passions and new forces abound and the recreated dialectic becomes Reason and Revolution even where the author does not recognize the progeny.

Yours,

\*In its unedited version you must suffer through not only my unending sentences, but the secretary's mis-spellings, but you must be used to "rough drafts." I should also explain that the two versions of the Lenin chapter will be made into one and not be so repetitious as they of necessity were when one was written for TELOS quarterly, while the other was spoken at a philosophic conference of both TELOS and a Canadian group as well as some international luminaries from Italy and England while student listeners were most unhappy about academia. Finally, Ch.8 on East Europe I kept hoping an East European would do it and thus made it very brief. I have heard both from Czechoslovakia (some are still alive!) and Yugoslavia as well as one Russian and Pole and will feel braver in expanding. Did you know Praxis did finally publish me--that chapter on Lenin is now in Serbo-Croatian.

10021

**TELEPHONES:**

MEXICO CITY: 523-16-75  
CUERNAVACA: 2-30-49

CUERNAVACA  
NEW No. 3-04-11

ERICH FROMM

**MAILING ADDRESS:**

PATRICIO SANZ 748-B  
MEXICO 12, D. F.

10th February, 1973

Miss Raya Dunayevskaya  
8146 Ward Street  
Detroit, Mich. 48228

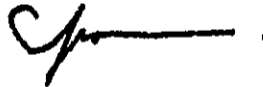
Dear RD,

Enclosed is a copy of my letter to Mr. Huett.

It was a great joy to read your manuscript and  
I admire the work you have done whole-heartedly.

With all good wishes,

Yours,



Erich Fromm

10022

10th February, 1973

Mr. Richard Huett  
Editor in Chief  
Dell Books,  
No. 1 Dag Hammarskjold Plaza  
New York, N.Y. 10017

Dear Mr. Huett,

I have now finished reading the manuscript of Miss Dunayevskaya and am delighted with it and very glad that you will publish it.

I hope the following paragraph, which you may quote as a whole or in part, as you like, will reflect this reaction:

This work by a humanist socialist is of great theoretical and political importance. The author combines originality, great scholarship, deep theoretical penetration of the subject, incorruptible critical thinking, absence of partisan clichés and a deep passion for the freedom and growth of man. I have learned much from the book and so, I believe, will most seriously interested readers.

With my best wishes for the publishing success of the book,

Sincerely yours,

Erich Fromm

c.c. Miss R. Dunayevskaya

10023

TELEPHONES:  
MEXICO CITY: 525-16-75  
CUERNAVACA: 2-30-49

ERICH FROMM

MAILING ADDRESS:  
PATRICIO SANZ 748-S  
MEXICO 12, D. F.

CUERNAVACA  
NEW No. 3-04-11

6th March, 1973

Miss Raya Dunayevskaya  
8146 Ward  
Detroit, Mich. 48228

Dear RD,

Thank you for your letter.

When I wrote my letter to you and the publisher I did not have the time to add a more personal note to you, which was really to congratulate you for an extraordinary work which I deeply admire.

It is a witness to your intelligence and penetration which at a time like ours is extremely refreshing, quite aside from the fact that it is such a great contribution to the theoretical and hence political situation re socialism.

I did not write in these terms in my letter to the publisher because it seemed to me too personal, but if he should feel like using some of what I say here he is, of course most welcome.

I felt that the text in some places could have still been improved stylistically, and even made some notes for suggestions, but then I thought they were not important enough, and besides that, since the manuscript is now processed it would not be convenient to make new changes. If this should be wrong, please write me and I would try to indicate a few of the points, but I do not think it really matters very much. For a serious reader these are trifles, and for those who dislike the whole position, anything will do to criticize the book.

I just found that there is a book by Petrovic in German, Philosophie und Revolution, Rowolt Taschenbuch; in content it is entirely different from yours. I do not know

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whether it will be published in English, but even if it is, there is probably nothing basically wrong in having the same title by two different authors. At any rate I wanted to mention it.

With all good wishes,

Yours,



Erich Fromm

10025

Casa La Monda  
Via Franscini 4  
CH 6600 Locarno-Muralto

12th July, 1973

Miss Raya Dunayevskaya,  
8146 Ward  
Detroit,  
Mich. 48228.

Dear R.D.,


Thank you for your letter of June 11th, which was forwarded to me from Mexico. I am still (frantically busy) correcting galleys which have to be finished in 2 weeks. Then we plan to take a month's vacation in August and to stay here in September and October, then plan to go to Chile from the middle of November to December, to give some seminars. I write this in reference to your question of whether I could review your book. If it could be here in the middle of September I might be able to do it, although having to prepare my seminars and lectures for Chile I have a real time problem. I doubt whether I shall have the time to reread the whole book and yet to review it would require that I reread at least parts of it. I could, of course, write a review which would describe in somewhat general terms the main problems with which the book deals, write about its significance without going into too many details. That would not require too much reading and also make the writing not too difficult. But the question is, for whom I could review the book. I have no connections with any of the book publishers so that I could ask somebody to let me review the book. Maybe your publisher has an idea, and you could let me know.

magazine/  
or newspaper

Mail will not reach me between the end of July and the end of August but I gather it is time enough for you to write me so that I find your answer on my return, at the end of August. In short, I am very willing to review the book if I can make it at all timewise and again that depends largely on whether a review of the type I suggested above is feasible.

With all good wishes.

Hastily yours,



Erich Fromm


10026

Casa La Monda  
Via Franscini 4  
CH 6600 Locarno-Muralto

2.

P.S. The idea that you might come to Cuernavaca some time and that we thus would have a chance to talk together is a very appealing one and I hope you can do it. Since we are leaving next year at the end of March, and staying for the summer again in Locarno, perhaps it would be possible some time next fall or winter.

10027



July 17, 1973

Dear EF:

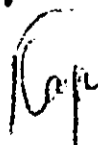
You're wonderful! No wonder you remain so young--you do not allow even real time problems to weigh you down enough to say No to nuisances like me.

Your name is way too big to consider that, not having any connections with newspaper and magazine publishers, any review-essay by you would not get into print. On the other hand, editors do not like to be told by publishers whom to invite to do the review. In a word, the very fact that you had read the book and been asked for advice ahead of publication and thus presented them with a review ahead of official publication date, October, will give them a double scoop. Either N.Y. REVIEW OF BOOKS (Editors: Robert B. Silvers and Barbara Epstein), 250 W. 57th St., NYC 10019, or NY TIMES BOOK REVIEW, or, in magazines, THE NATION, or COMMENTARY (165 E. 56th St., NYC 10022; I'm sure you knew its editor, Norman Podhoretz when he wasn't quite as rightwing as now) or nearly any magazine you like to read. I didn't mention quarterlies because, for the impact I'm hoping for, they cannot exercise. Since the book will not be off the press before October by which time you'll be off to Chile (Bon voyage!), I've sent air mail the uncorrected proofs in book form. Not many changes were introduced after the publisher experimented with that sloppy form of book for his trade purposes, price, (\$8.95 hard cover, \$2.95ppb)

Do you happen to know Professor Louis Dupré, the author of Philosophic Foundations of Marx. One of the early humanist religious interpretations of Marx? He is now the president of the Hegel Society of America and, to my surprise, quite friendly to me who wants to review the book for Journal of the History of Ideas, and, despite the society's conservatism, he has invited me to their next conf. in 1974, and their very tiny publication, The Owl of Minerva carried a par. on it, encl. He wrote me that it is time the unperson status of myself were ended and "they" (I have no idea whom he meant by that except some other elite philosophers) consider my contributions on Hegel "significant."

What will your seminars in Chile be on? Wish I were there with you. I had been very anxious to see as they appeared to me to start something very new but with P&R taking so many years out of my life and the rest of the year I'll practically become a New Yorker all over again, I can see no time for travelling.

Yours, ever so gratefully,



10028



31st August 1973

1973

Miss Raya Dunayevskaya,  
8146 Ward,  
Detroit,  
Michigan 48228

Dear R.D.:

Excuse me for not having answered your letter of July 17th earlier. I had just left Locarno when it arrived but it was forwarded to me to a small village where we stayed for 3½ weeks. I began to read your book but did not get very far, partly because I got the 'Flu and felt rather tired afterwards and between sleeping and walking did not have much energy to do anything. I am back now and although I must start continuing writing a new book which I had promised to write three years ago and of which I have written only the first 80 pages, I shall try to read as much as I can. But the problem of who would take a book review is not solved. I do not think it is as easy as you think. I have never offered any magazine or newspaper to review a book and I have no connection with any, because I always understood that they do not want to be restricted in their freedom to give it to whomever they want. The New York Review of Books would be out anyway because they want a very long review dealing with all the problems involved and for that I would not possibly have the time. My relations with Commentary are not good. Years ago Mr. Podhoretz rejected something I had written because it contradicted majority opinion of American Jews. I wrote him a sharp letter about his concept of freedom and I cannot write and offer him something. Perhaps I could try The Nation, or do you know any other magazine which would be equally useful? If they accept the review I could write it in the sense which I mentioned in a letter some time ago, just mentioning the main topics and merits of the book without going much into details. I think I could do that. I do not have the address of The Nation. If you could send it to me or of any other magazine you recommend, I would be grateful. (perhaps also the name of the editor to him), however,

The name of Professor Dupré is known to me and I was very glad to hear of his reaction to your book and to you as a writer. This is at least serious and not clever footwork by PR. propaganda.

I had planned my seminars in Chile to deal with problems of Marxist Social Psychology but from a telegram I got today, I understand that they seem to think that in view of the constant struggles and disturbances, it is advisable to postpone my seminars for another time.

With all good wishes.

Yours,

cf.

Erich Fromm

10029

Casa La Monda  
Via Franacini 4  
CH 6600 Locarno-Muraio

12th February 1974

Dear Raya,

Thank you for your letter which I just received. I have read the review of Professor Dupre with interest and was struck by its objectivity and at the same time its sympathetic note. I am sure you don't mind if I send it to Dr. Arnaldo Orfila, who is the Director of the best and at the same time left-oriented publishing house in Spanish with a wide distribution in Latin America and Spain. I shall recommend him the publication of your book.

Indeed you are right that it is easier to get an understanding and positive response from "bourgeois scholars" than from Jews and Leftists. They have become so fanaticised that they have lost the objectivity and even the interest in more knowledge for the sake of finding their own dogma confirmed or to attack anyone who does not write exactly what they expect.

Since I did not feel too well toward the end of the year, we stayed in Locarno instead of going to the higher altitude of Mexico. I feel better now and work on a new book with the tentative title To Have or To Be. This is a topic to which Marcel has devoted a book. I only knew the title; after trying to read the first three pages I dropped it because I could not read the philosophical French. It is only now after I have written the main part of my thesis that I find English excerpts and descriptions of Marcel's work and see that I wrote many things which he wrote too. Of course otherwise our viewpoints differ, on the one hand by my Marxist premises and on the other hand by his Catholic ones. My interest in the topic To Have and To Be was stimulated by Marx who often used this dichotomy.

*With all my love and respect*

10030

Feb. 20, 1974

Dear EF:

You're wonderful! Naturally I at once sent P&R to Dr. Orfila and while I'm not as optimistic in analysis of "left-oriented publishing house" (not when it comes to my works who have too much concrete in the most abstract statements, especially "negation of the negation", to attract money) as you are, still I hope your word and Dupre's review help. In any case, many, many thanks.

One thing may especially interest you: Dupre and Marcel: The announcement of Marcel's death happened when I was in NY and Dupre was in Conn. (He teaches at Yale now.) I felt moved and my memory was of 1947 when I was furious as all get out in Paris at Sartre whose fellow-travelling at the time was disorienting the youth and influencing, or trying to influence the Renault workers on their very first strike not under the leadership of CP to return to CP leadership. Though I shared little with Marcel, not only not on Catholicism but Existentialism, I felt he was both more objective and whole. I never had any belief in death when it comes to ideas and I began to feel strongly that I wished death wouldn't quite so sadden us, no matter how deep the pain, and that it wouldn't if we could keep thinking of the continuity of ideas. So, like the nut I am, and also because I knew no one <sup>of my colleagues</sup> would care of Marcel's death, I suddenly dropped Dupre a "note of condolence", saying I'm sure the Humanism of Marcel would be carried through in his his works and dialectics, and that I hoped he didn't think it was presumptuous for an atheist to so address <sup>a man of religion</sup> but that man Hegel (who so far as I am concerned never died) has always succeeded in making strange bedfellow, and he was continuing it to this day. When Dupre forwarded me the copy of his review and its covering note to "Raya" signed "Louis", he thanked me for that other note.

Now then, titles, of course, aren't copyrighted and To Have/To Be is older than Shakespeare (whose beautiful attack on gold in Troilus and Cressida Marx quote directly in Capital) who was older than Marcel etc. etc. Yet it took nearly a full century before what Marx wrote on the never-ending To Be to be recognized as the second negativity to come after vulgar communism. May I presume to send you the original translation I made of Marx's Private Property and Communism--the passages on to have/to be?--which I happened to have found from 1958 Marxism and Freedom (you always find the opposite of what you're looking for; I was looking for something on the Absolute I have to send to Hegel Society of America). It happens that that is when you first started a correspondence with me and you needed a translation for what you were writing on Marx's Concept of Man. You may find it useful at the moment of writing.

I do hope you are well. Will you remain in Switzerland which is now all flutter with Solzhenitsyn long? The reviews of P&R are hardly flooding the market, and I sure wish you still would review it. But then you are very much more productive than I; I couldn't think of starting a new book so soon after your massive work has appeared, but I'm a slow and tortuous writer.

Yours,

10031

Casa La Monda  
Via Franscini 4  
CH 6600 Locarno-Muraio

6th March 1974

Dear Raya,

Thank you for your letter of February 20th, and for sending me your translation from the Manuscripts, which I read with pleasure because it is really an excellent translation. Of course, I know the Manuscripts very thoroughly since I read them again and again, and as I wrote you, my whole interest in To Be and To Have stems from Marx's discussion of it.

I want to ask you a favor. Could you tell me the sources for Marx's use of Having and Being as central categories.

With affectionate wishes and regards.

Yours,



10032

March 13, 1974

Dear EF,

Your question regarding "the sources for Marx's use of Having and Being as central categories" has set me thinking: how does one single out sources or categories when the subject is that discoverer of a whole new continent of thought which was so plentiful, so multidimensional, so continuously developing both in relationship to the history of thought, the objective situation and, the living reshapers of history--the masses in motion--that he never even stopped to give his discovery a name; as you know it was not Marx but first Engels and then Plekhanov who named that philosophy of liberation Historical Materialism, Dialectical Materialism?

Nevertheless, though Marx wrote nothing on "categories", the concept of To Be/To Have is so pivotal to his life's work from the moment he broke with bourgeois society in 1843 until the day of his death in 1883 that it is a challenge to pin down, if not the sources "as such", the historic moment when a turning point was reached by the developing subject-matter and Subject: (1) The by-now most famous first moment is 1844, and the obvious sources for the theory of alienated labor are Hegel's theory of alienation, especially as developed in the Phenomenology of Mind, and Adam and Smith's concept of labor as source of all value. But when one says that, the most important thing they forget is that he was not only critical of the quantitative measurements of classical political economy, but criticized Hegel for standing on the same ground. In a word, Marx criticized Hegel, not for idealism so much as for dehumanizing ideas. The only bourgeois writer who caught the fact that Marx wasn't under the impression that Hegel knew only mental labor, but was criticizing him for building the Phenomenology on that concept is Nicholas Lobkowitz: "In short, Marx does not accuse Hegel of having treated labor as if it was thought activity. Rather, he accuses him of having in the Phenomenology described human history in terms of a dialectic of consciousness, not in terms of dialectic of labor." The quotation appears on p. 322 of his Theory and Practice: History of a Concept from Aristotle to Marx; which you will find indispensable not only because he traces back all the sources to very nearly everything Marx read, but because, being a Jesuit and hostile to Marx and trying to establish that the Middle Ages weren't all that dark and both the appreciation of the being of man as an artisan and his thought was first recognized by religion and not by Marx, by Bacon and not by Hegel, he develops the whole concept of Having and Being through the ages.

(2) Another facet of Having/Being that is not given due recognition is that Marx developed them not only re class struggle but that fundamental relationship of Man/Woman. I never have, I believe, written to you on the subject, and so I enclose an article by me to which is also appended the quotes from the 1844 Manuscripts which directly relates to the concept.

(3) The 1850 period when Marx was supposed to have turned "economist" is when he summed up his whole philosophy as "the absolute movement of becoming." That quotation that appears on the frontispiece of Philosophy and Revolution is from the Grundrisse which has finally appeared in English (Pelican Marx Library) and you'll find it on p. 488.

(If you prefer following the German edition, it's from Notebook V,

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January 22 to February of 1858.) To me, the whole excitement of that whole section on the pre-capitalist formations of society is how the total concept of the Oriental society is directly tied to a new concept of man because he was reshaping history with the Taiping Revolution as against the view he had of the Orient as "vegetating in the teeth of barbarism" that was part of the Communist Manifesto when Marx's sources were the written ones of Western thought as against the active Eastern masses that were so creative at the very moment when the European proletariat, having suffered the defeats of the 1848 revolutions, were pausing while the Orient was "making revolutions" "pour encourager les autres". (That's the footnote to the section on commodity fetishism in Chapter I of Capital that the underconsumptionist translators of Capital left out from the English edition.)

(4) In the 1860s, in Capital (Kerr edition, p. 143), there are 2 important footnotes, (1) Act IV, Scene 3, "Gold, yellow, glittering, precious gold!" from Timon of Athens by Shakespeare. And of course that's not the only reference to Shakespeare nor to the Greek tragedies, both of which Marx not only was constantly rereading in the original, but romping every Sunday with his children all through Hempstead Heath who had to listen and learn the recitation. (2) The other reference on that page is to history: "Henry III., most Christian king of France, robbed cloisters of their relics, and turned them into money. It is well known what part the despoiling of the Delphic Temple, by the Phoenicians, played in the history of Greece... Tempas, therefore, quite in order that the virgins, who, at the feast of the Goddess of Love, gave themselves up to strangers, should offer to the goddess the piece of money they received." But of course the history that most influenced him was not the erudite knowledge of all that has been written but history in the making. Which is why I seem not to be answering your question by listing sources.

May I also include a critique I wrote of that horrible Martin Nicolaus who finally translated the Grundrisse; the translation is, however, excellent.

Yours, hurriedly,

PS: I never got an acknowledgement from the publisher you recommended in Mexico, to whom, of course, I sent a copy of P&R on a letter. On second thought, I remember that this was the same one, wasn't it, who not only refused translation and publication of P&R but was rather rude on the subject. My impression then was that he was somewhat Stalinist-tinged and while he was "loving" you because you weren't as concrete as I in the attacks of the "socklist states", he would have nothing to do with someone who was going in for "statistics". Am I right?

10034

Casa La Monda  
Via Francini 4  
CH 6600 Locarno-Muralto

26th March, 1974

Dear R.D.,

Thank you for your long and helpful letter of March 13th. I have ordered the book by Lobkowitz, which ought to be a great help to me. Thanks also for sending me the article re the relationship Man/Woman. I believe this is a very important point. If the Women's Lib. would know Marx they would find that they had their greatest ally in him, but they know neither Marx nor Bachofen. Thank you also for pointing to the Grundrisse. I will look it up in the German copy I have.

I appreciate also very much your reference concerning oriental society.

As to the publisher in Mexico, I have not yet got an answer from him. Reading your P.S., the memory dawned on me, but very vaguely, that he might be the one who took such a negative attitude toward M & E. I don't remember what year that was. When we were on very friendly terms, he was definitely anti-Stalinist and in fact our relationship broke off more or less completely since my criticism over Cuba. Well, we shall soon find out how he reacts.

Cordially yours,

10035

Dec. 1, 1974

Dear Ed:

So happy to hear from you finally; ever so often you "disappear" and I begin to worry; I don't believe it is the July 24th letter you didn't answer for you did drop me a note that you would write re my projected talk at Hegel Society of America, but I did not hear from you after that. In any case, let's forget about Dr. Unseldt whose secretary did say "No" to publishing P&R. I do hope you have the opportunity to write List Verlag and will let me know so I can send copy to them; a million thanks.

As usual, I'm in the midst of fighting; this time with the young "New Left" (TELOS) who gave a 1950 work of Adorno on Occultism 50 pp. of their magazine, but couldn't find any space for reviewing Philosophy and Revolution. When I'm dead, I'm sure they will "discover" me --and pervert. The Hegelians, orthodox, have actually been more serious about my work than the so-called Left. I have just returned from the conference where I read my paper on Hegel's Absolute as New Beginnings and almost got a standing ovation; they were falling asleep over their own learned theses, and here I was not only dealing with dialectics of liberation--Hegel as well as Marx tho the former was, by his own design, limited to thought--but ranging in critique of all modern works from "their" Maurer to Adorno's Negative Dialectics which so erudite they didn't quite dare attack until they found I was merciless in my critique. On the other end, they were amazed that 200 came out to hear me--to them that was "endless mass". Whereupon Sir T. M. Knox, on Aesthetics, who followed me, began with a remark that he would not try to compete with "so charming a lady." He hardly expected this from me "I suppose Sir Knox thinks he complimented me, but, in fact, that is a typical male chauvinist escapism from dealing with The Idea." (We did happen to end up as almost-friends.) In any case, beside permitting me to deliver a paper (which Nijhoff will publish along with all papers of the HSA conference), reviewed the book (The copy of The Owl of Minerva enclosed); also its president, Louis Dupre, included review of book in the survey of recent works on Marxism, in Journal of the History of Ideas (Oct-Dec. 1974, excerpt included here).

How is your work coming? I met one more admirer of yours --Studs Turkell whose Working that has become a best seller and has quite a bit, from interviews, on "Having/Being", so if you wish a copy I'll be glad to send to you--who has a radio program in Chicago and in his interview both brought in your "Concept of Man" and related it both to my "Woman As Force and Reason" and to P&R.

I have not had a single word from the Mexican publisher after he signed contract and did send \$300, which I thought meant surely he will publish, he must be translating and yet have not heard a word, tho I promised to collaborate with translator and help him find Spanish editions for any references I make in English.

Don't keep yourself so distant for so long a time.  
Yours,

10036



Casa La Monda  
Via Francini 4  
CH 6800 Locarno-Muralto

13th February 1975

Dear R.D.,

Thank you for your letter of January 20th. It was a pleasure to hear from you again.

I am sorry that Unseld refused to publish the book. Did he write that he had read it? As to the List Verlag, I shall try to speak with one of the editors but I am not terribly optimistic since they are a relatively small publishing house and might be doubtful about the financial success of the book. Nevertheless I shall try, and keep my eyes open for further possibilities in Germany.

I have read a good part of Terkel's Working, with a great delight and profit. I am reading right now a book by Stephen F. Cohen, entitled Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution. I find the book very interesting and actually written with great sympathy for Bukharin and Lenin. There are things which I was not aware of at all, as for instance Bukharin's plan for guerilla warfare against the Germans in 1917, in the Mao Tse style. As the author points out, this idea seems to be much less unrealistic if one considers the whole situation, than it seemed at first glance and as it seemed also to Lenin. Another point the author stresses is that the whole change into centralism, terror etc. was entirely brought about by civil war, and quite in contrast to all intentions of Lenin and Bukharin before. He also stresses the absence of any concrete economic plan when the revolution began. I would be interested whether you could make an offhand comment to these three points but maybe you will be interested to read the whole book.

With friendly regards,

Yours,

10037

Feb. 19, 1975

Dear EF:

Thank you for yours of the 13th and also for showing your willingness to try once again to see whether a German publisher could be gotten for Philosophy and Revolution. I do not think that a smaller publisher is harder to convince, especially now that I have signed contracts both with Feltrinelli for Italian publication and El siglo veintiuno for Spanish-speaking audience plus the paper, "Hegel's Absolute Idea as New Beginning", that I read the Hegel Society of America\*last November will be published by Nijhoff of The Hague who publishes all the papers of the Hegel conferences. Since each foreign publication helps the other, and Nijhoff's has a very wide German audience, List Verlag may be impressed. Thank you very much.

Now, as to Stephen F. Cohen's work on Bukharin, I naturally was glad to read an objective study that helps right the record on terror in general and Bukharin in particular. Since the dialectic\*\* is the center of my attention, and that is exactly where Bukharin went amiss, I do not have as high a view as does of Bukharin and just in case you do not have RR at hand, I enclose one of the versions of the chapter on Lenin where Bukharin figures. As to the specific points you singled out, it is true that partisan warfare is not as new in Marxist thought as either Mao or Fidel have made it out to be, but it isn't only Bukharin who antedated them, that is to say, the specific dispute between Lenin (and then including Trotsky) and Bukharin on guerrilla warfare was not on principle--guerrilla vs. "regular" army. Rather, it was on the concrete WW I which, beside the Kaiser's Army, Russia was attacked on many fronts, the Red Army could hardly be called "regular" but it had a chance precisely because it did unite the call for proletarian revolution and a whole body in a centralised place, etc.etc. Partisan warfare, whether Makhno's army, or whatever, (Incidentally, USA is credited as first, outside of Spain, with having developed guerrilla warfare as revolution vs. armed-to-the teeth imperial army and Churchill had his laughs against the "irregulars" in the trees they knew well killing with a slingshot the beautiful British red coats.) is neither a substitute for social revolution, nor a way "to make revolution" for all times, leading to elitism and isolation from the masses. It is good to give Bukharin credit for "discussing", but to substitute discussion for the concrete conditions where a truth is to be tested and lives won or lost is hardly the way to show that theory lives.

Regarding the economic plan, that is even more proof of the mechanical rather than dialectical form of development than Bukharin mechanical Historical Materialism. Yes, Bukharin thought economic even before Trotsky and Trotsky did long before Lenin. Lenin so feared planning as leading to bureaucracy that he wished, when finally convinced, not a national plan, but experimentation, "Soviets plus electrification." And Bukharin's Economics of the Transition Period, even more than Bukharin's siding with Trotsky on trade union debate led Lenin to write that sharp summation of Bukharin as being "major theoretician" and "not understanding dialectic." The one thing that I loved

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most of all of Bukharin is both his audacity and "correctness" in daring the damned Congress where Trotsky who was empowered by Lenin to act in his behalf on the Georgian question "conciliated". Moreover, it is not only the bravery, it is the depth of his understanding the National Question, the very question which he hadn't previously understood, fought Lenin on the Irish question in 1916 when he didn't think the Easter Revolt was any "bacillus" of proletarian revolution, and continued fighting Lenin on the right to self-determination after they got power. But, suddenly, once Bolsheviks were involved, and still Stalin displayed "Great Russian chauvinism", Bukharin caught it as both principle and national life and culture and revolutionary --all three together.

Finally, if I may say something on where I'm really totally unknowledgeable, Cohen practices some "bad psychology"\*\*\* when he cannot "answer" questions in dispute, then Lenin's revolutionary intransigence becomes "cantankerousness." Really! Here is the first world war in full holocaust with "Marxist" Second International in as many pieces; here are the Irish, the only ones braving British imperialism and showing the way to the proletarians who are shooting each other across national frontiers, and here is the most beloved Bolshevik reading lectures on the fact that "National" self-determination is "backward" as compared to internationalism, etc.etc. And it is at that point that Cohen finds gossip as to which factions Bukharin associated with that Lenin didn't like. No, such "analysis" will not do.

Yours,

\*This "gossip" may interest you regarding those conservatives who nevertheless did see their way to invite me where the "Left" still busy helping Stalinism-Trotskyism turn me into an unperson. But they remain conservative, so when Sir T.M. Knox followed me on the proidium, he said he would not "compete" with the "charming lady." I said that he may think he is complimenting me, but it is the most sexist remark I heard that day, and he cannot use such male chauvinism to evade arguing on the content, which is revolutionary. Since everyone was "shocked to death" that I so addressed the knight, I ~~xxxx~~ was allowed to get away with it.

\*\*Adam B. Ulam is another scholar trying a little to right the record, and again they go in for "psychology: when it comes to the dialectic, so in his Stalin (p. 218, ftn. 37, he "interpreted" Lenin's Will on Bukharin not being a dialectician as "Read: not a politician." That made me so mad that, though I seldom address bourgeois scholar, I did write him, and he "thanked" me, without taking any step to correct his interpretation.

\*\*\*I'm using "bad psychology" not psychologically, but philosophically, that is, as Hegel used the expression "bad infinity", someone like Schelling running to the absolute "like a shot out of the pistol" instead of suffering through absolute negativity, "the patience, labor, suffering of the negative."

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Casa La Monda  
Via Francini 4  
CH 6600 Locarno-Muralto

9th June, 1975

Dear R.D.,

I apologise for being so delayed with my answer to your letter of February 9th. One of the reasons that delayed my taking care of the correspondence properly was a broken arm and the piling up of the mail as a consequence. In the meantime you have received the postcard which Markovic and I sent you when he was here a week ago. As he and I agree on many things, we agreed also very spontaneously in our admiration and affection for you.

To go back to your letter. I read it of course with great interest and with profit as is the case with all your letters.

As far as Bukharin is concerned, the only one of his writings which I have read was the ABC of Communism - or was this not the exact title - and that was fifty years ago. I was then more negatively impressed by the narrowness and the mechanistic outlook of his writing and I guess for this reason later on never cared to read more by him, and Cohen's book struck me and impressed me because he shows a much richer personality than I had really expected.

The visit of the representative of List Verlag has been delayed and I thought it would be more useful to talk to him personally than to write, but unless he comes soon I shall write him nevertheless.

I am very glad to hear that your book will appear in Italy, aside from the Mexican edition.

Yours,

L. C.

10040

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June 8, 1975

Dear EF and Mikhailo:

Aren't you magnificent personages! Still, it is good to be as active as I am, chasing time and new societies, so that such complimentary thoughts as yours cannot go to my head, but thank you ever so much. One of the greatest things that abound is having friends, and one at this moment is so anxious to see Philosophy and Revolution published in the birthland of Marx that he thought I would stand a better chance of getting it published if it were translated into German, and he contributed \$500. to see what I can do about that.

Do you, dear Fromm, know a translator who would "know" both Hegel and Marx and the "new passions and new forces" so that translating my work into German would appeal to him/her? I'm rather dumb on money matters (I'm supposed to be an economist but my husband <sup>was SD</sup> I don't even know the price of groceries!) and have no idea whether that \$500 would be all or nothing at all, but once we would agree philosophically, I'm sure we could work out an agreement. It wouldn't really matter whether it was from Germany or Switzerland or wherever, but I would want one in whom you'd have confidence. I also don't know whether knowledge that Nijhoff will be publishing the proceedings of the Hegel Society of America, 1974, which includes my piece on "Hegel's Absolute Idea as New Beginning", would serve as an inducement either to translator or possible publisher. May I hope to hear from you on that matter soon?

Is Mikhailo still in Switzerland? I was trying to convince him not to return to his homeland, but he says that I, being Russian, just see forced labor camps everywhere. Ah, well, perhaps I should have accepted the invitation, in 1970, to come to the Hegel conference in Yugoslavia, but I also know that Tito, like any Stalinist and that is way back from 1937 in Spain, was as proficient in shooting or ordering the shooting of Trotskyists first, and, perhaps, asking questions later. In Mexico I was in constant fear over my being a poor shot and, instead of getting the GPU agents, would be "gotten", not so much about me (though no one likes the prospect of death) as about the Old Man. And yet I know that is not for "my children" but for me that I am working so determinedly for that humanist world.

Yours,

*EF*  
10041

June 21, 1975

Dear Ed:

How and why would you get a broken arm? Don't you know Marxist-Humanism is totally opposed to any sickness? Even absolute negativity is but new beginning, and age especially demands creativity away from pain. I do hope you are well now, and will take better care of yourself, for you are very precious to all of us.

We must have crossed in the mail. Yes, I did get that beautiful card from you and Mikhailo, and either I or he must have told you about my excitement seeing him walk in to a meeting when I feared he was in jail, and my "anarchism", or at least wildness was "proven", by my stopping in the middle of a sentence at a public meeting to run over to him to embrace--and thereby turn the meeting into one on E.E. What crossed in the mail must also have been the news that one German excited about the Idea has contributed \$500. to get Philosophy and Revolution translated. If the representative of List Verlag is coming to see you, no doubt he would know translators, and also know whether that would suffice to get it going as an inducement to him to publish. I will have another copy of P&R sent to you, and include in it the latest reviews--Professor O'Neill of York University in TELOS, and one in Spanish in Puerto Rico, and perhaps I'll also include the one by Dupre from Journal of the History of Ideas. I'll be looking forward to hearing on that subject.

Here is something that might interest you and you may not know about it; I'm a nut for tracing roots of Marxism and Hegelianism in USA where pragmatism likewise was an outgrowth of dialectic. Presently, what I had as mere footnote in Marxism and Freedom--a reference to the 1st Hegelians--the St. Louis Movement in pre & post Civil War days, with that mechanic Brokmeyer teaching the Science of Logic to that Yankee Harris, AND WOMEN INCLUDED, though, "naturally", only as auxiliaries. Well, Susan Blow who first began the kindergarten movement as well as higher education for women, and did a great deal of translating of Hegel had a nervous

breakdown, and went to Dr. Putnam who was the first psychoanalyst who followed the Freudian method. It was no one-way relationship, and she so interested him in Hegelian dialectics, that he wrote Freud, and sent him one of their products--I don't know whether Brokmeyer's translation (which certainly Freud would have known in German) or Harris's "interpretation." Evidently Freud was so opposed to what he considered "mysticism" that he wrote to someone else that Putnam would be great if only he wouldn't "divert" to philosophy. Ah, well, at least somewhere in the archives he left there would be something of St. Louis Hegelians at the end of the 19th century. The world has never been all that distant in ideas even when technology had not made this "one world."

Do take care of yourself.

Yours,

OK - Read review of ... all ... 6/24/75  
... ..

10042

Casa La Monda  
Via Francini 4  
CH 6600 Locarno-Murato

8th July, 1975

Dear Raya,

Thank you for your two letters and for sending me another copy of Philosophy and Revolution, and the various reviews. I read them with great interest and pleasure and I shall try to make the best use of them.

What you wrote about Dr. Putnam who became interested in Hegelian dialectics through his patient I did not know, and find it of considerable historical interest, and Freud's reaction to Putnam's philosophical remarks is also an interesting historical footnote to Freud and the history of the psychoanalytic movement. Why don't you write a note on this and publish it somewhere? I have no connections with psychoanalytic journals except Contemporary Psychoanalysis, which is published in New York. I am sure they would be glad to publish a note on this historical data, and it should at the same time be published in the Spanish psychoanalytic journal, Revista, of which I am still formally the director. If you would be inclined to do this, I would be happy to send it myself to the New York and the Spanish journals. I shall also look up Freud's letters to find the remark in which he comments on Putnam's letter, or do you know to whom Freud wrote this remark about Putnam?

Congratulations also on your discovery of the first maids' petition in 1647. It is really beautiful. I assume this petition was in England - or was it not?

No, I didn't know that you will be giving a series of lectures in this International Women's Year and the topics sound most exciting. It is comforting to hear that among all the trash which, as far as I followed it, has been produced so far, there will be at least something serious which is said about the position of women.

Now to your second letter. You were very kind in interpreting my remark about your friend Marcuse in such a kind way of positive naivety. The remark was made half jokingly but only half because I was under the vague impression that you had, at least for a time, a very friendly relationship with Marcuse and that kind of irked me because I think so highly of you and of Marcuse as a person my opinion is quite in a different category. So I am glad to hear from you that I was mistaken. I think your comment on his political attitude is very well taken; it refers to his great egotism and it is only another aspect of this that, as far as I can see, he is terribly concerned with his 'image' and much of what he says and, I guess, thinks, is determined by the wish to keep it shining, not to lose customers. In this respect I find a great similarity in Sartre's personality. I have heard Sartre once speak at a Peace Congress in Moscow. He was subservient and dry, without any contact with the audience, a typical professor, and at the same time a man who is also mainly concerned with keeping his

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Casa La Monda  
Via Francini 4  
CH 6600 Locarno-Muralto

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image as the philosopher of the revolution. I always felt that both he and Madame de Beauvoir represent in their personalities the quintessence of bourgeois egotism and at the same time a deep disbelief in life, in fact a rather destructive and desperate attitude towards it. This human despair seems to me is then thinly covered by what is supposed to be a revolutionary philosophy. He tends to hide it more cleverly, Madame de Beauvoir is more frank and one learns more about the ambiente from her writings than from his. What a human debacle if a woman writes life becomes unbearable when she gets older and when he at least, as reported in an interview, says he is dead by now because he cannot write any more. I guess everybody is dead for him except intellectuals, and all intellectuals except him. I hope you don't mind my characterological remarks but I can't help forming ideas about the character structure of a person from relatively small indications, provided they fit into a certain theoretical model of various types of personality.

I am still working on Having and Being. My work is slow and I suffer now from a very bad habit. I have many hundreds of excerpts from Marx, made over a period of 20-30 years but my bad habit was that I often wrote them down, sometimes just the main point without the exact quote, but what is worse, without writing the source. Going over them I find quite a few which I would like to use but can't because I often don't know where the source could be. I give you one instance which cropped up recently. I wrote in one of my excerpts a remark of Marx saying that today the passions are without truth and the truth without passion, but I have no idea where it is from. If you should happen to know from where his quote is, I would be very grateful if you would let me know. I always was plagued with a bad memory. I remember ideas very well but I have the greatest difficulty in remembering the exact text unless I wrote it down. Now my age has of course reduced my memory still more and thus my difficulty in quoting is still further increased.

I shall write you as soon as I hear something from the publisher.

With warm regards,

Yours,

G. L.

10044



July 16, 1975

Dear EF:

What you summarized from Marx on passions and truth being opposITES sounded what he wrote before the 1844 MSS where he writes of them as a unity: "Man as an objective, sensuous being is therefore a suffering being—and because he feels what he suffers, a passionate being. Passion is the essential power of man striving energetically toward his object."

Therefore I thought it sounded more like his The Holy Family or Critique of Critical Critique. Since I could not find anything exactly as you remembered I thought I'll cite several quotations on same subject and see whether it strikes a familiar note. (I'm quoting from official Moscow translation, Moscow, 1956): "Mostly Ch. VI, against Herr Bruno, especially "Spirit" and "MaSS")

p.106: "For Herr Bauer as for Hegel, truth is an automaton that proves itself.

Man must follow it. As in Hegel, the result of the real development is nothing but the truth proven, i.e., brought to consciousness." And a few pages down he criticizes their love of bourgeois for its (p.110) effective success' however much the 'pathos' of it evaporated". And again (p.124): "Staggering after its victories, Absolute Criticism breaks out in Pythian violence against philosophy. Feuerbach's Philosophy of the Future is the congealed cauldron whose fumes inspire Absolute Criticism's victory-inebriated god."

That chapter is especially magnificent because so much of history gets into it as he approaches "Critical Battle against the French Revolution" pp.160-166 where he speaks of "self-alienated natural and spiritual individuality". And then, Critical BATTLE AGAINST French Materialism, pp.167-179 where he speaks of "17th c. metaphysics, beaten off the field by the French Enlightenment" and "Descartes in his physics endowed matter with self-creative power and conceived mechanical motion as the act of its life."

On the other hand, the quote may have been part of either doctoral thesis and 1842 where there are more generalisations on truth. The first new volume of Marx's Collected Works has just been published in German and Russian and English, all from Moscow, and has some additional letters and early articles. I don't know whether you're acquainted with a new translation of Marx's Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right, which has a very learned Introduction (and Notes) by a Jesuit Joseph O'Malley (Cambridge Univ. Press) and he quotes earlier works, especially from Anekdotia, again on subject of truth, and the quotation I just cited above on Feuerbach, O'Malley rephrases as "Marx called Feuerbach the purgatory through which speculative philosophy would have to pass if it was to attain the status of truth."

Sorry, I cannot cite the exact quotation you looked for, but I hope the above helps some.

Thank you very much for trying to get German publisher for Philosophy and Revolution, and if publisher wants the choice of translator, he can still be paid from that contribution I got for that purpose.

I would never think of writing anything on something I know nothing about—psychoanalysis. However, I'll suggest to the young woman I'm encouraging to work in the field of the first American Hegelians—Therese Littman. It is she who found the reference to Freud and Fr. Putnam in James Jackson Putnam and Psychoanalysis, edited by Nathan G. Hale (Harvard U. Press, 1971). I'll ask her to find out to whom Freud wrote that letter on Putnam and Hegel and Susan Blow, and will drop you a note.

You must have gotten the impression about my friendship with Marcuse either from fact he did introduce Marxism and Freedom, and once when I asked your help in publishing an H.D. Spinks, Dr. Cogol seemed to have sided with HM

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Eros. I always am very cautious in my criticism if I feel that the Government or other reactionaries (perhaps Birchers in San Diego) are after a dissident. But in fact I was always at odds even before we came to total parting of the ways at the end of the 1960's when I was working on Philosophy and Revolution, and he was going haywire on "biological solidarity." Even then I was ready to bend backwards because I felt that, at his age, the idea that he may not live to experience revolution was too much and he was looking for shortcuts.

What I thought was the greater tragedy was the collapse of the whole Frankfurt School. You may know or you may not that when Stalin first openly revised the law of value, in 1943, and I both translated the article for AMERICAN ECONOMIC REVIEW, and analyzed it, when both the State Department thought I had no right to criticize "an ally, Russia", and the Russians called me "a Trotskyist or fascist, probably both", the news hit the NYTimes, p.1, I met many, many German intellectuals. They searched me out because their view of American intellectuals were so low that they were shocked to find one knew Marxism. But even then we fought because they were working through State Department against Nazism, yes, but I felt differently as to how to work. In any case, W W II ends, and some Marxists got out alive, and it was my turn to be shocked to find that here they had gone through concentration camps, and still remained Stalinist! Specifically, Rosdolsky who had been head of Austrian Marx's Archives. And what all these elitists, especially Adorno did to the poor dialectic, really decapitated it. Whereupon they call me "the mad Russian", and since I was never in academia, preferring to work with workers, and Blacks, and women who are not careerists, I believe that not only did they not collaborate with me; I believe they actually advised some German publishers to pay no attention to my work. Ah, well, each to his own.

Yours,

10046

Casa La Monda  
Via Franscini 4  
CH 6600 Locarno-Muratto

28th July 1975

Dear Raya,

Thank you for your letter of July 16th and the trouble you took to find the source of the statement concerning truth without passion and passion without truth. Maybe I find something in the new translation of Marx's Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right which I shall try to order.

Thank you also for some more data which explains my error with regard to your relationship to Marcuse. I see him perhaps less charitably than you do. I have known him for many years and he has always struck me as a man who is mainly motivated by hate, even though he may "hate" the right people. Besides that, he is given to fancy and romantic thinking in his vision of the ideal that the new man would live a completely erotist life, enjoy the perversions of sadism and coprophelia and live the life actually of the playful child. On the whole I think this unrealistic so-called radical thinking has done much more harm than good.

I was interested in what you wrote about your contact with the German Marxist intellectuals. This is a long topic, especially the Frankfurt Institute. These people, particularly Horkheimer, became so frightened after they had come to America of being considered radicals that they began first to suppress all words which sounded radical, and Horkheimer eventually ended as a pillar of society in Frankfurt, praising religion and the virtues of capitalism.

With warm regards.

Yours,

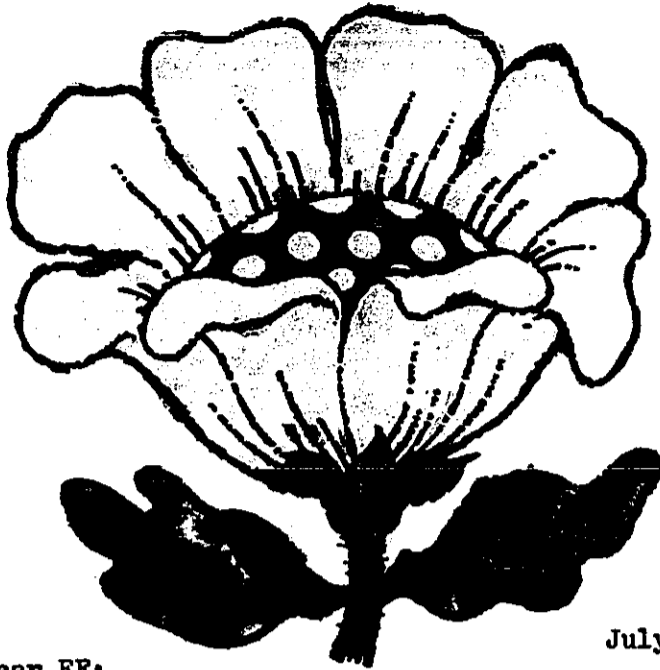
E.F.

*E. F. Schlegel*

P.S. In the meantime I just got your letter of July 22nd. Many thanks for the references. In view of the fact that you have not heard anything from Orfila, I suggest you write him directly and ask him how far the translation and the preparation for publication have gone. If his answer should not be satisfactory then please let me know and I would write him myself. I had at first thought I could write him immediately but I think it emphasis more your independence if you write him. However, if you are of a different opinion please just write me a note and I shall write him immediately. As far as I am concerned there is no hesitation.

P.P.S. Since dictating this letter Dr. Fromm has had to go to hospital with an attack of appendicitis. He is being treated with infusions of antibiotics +, but we don't know yet

10047



July 17, 1973

Dear EF:

You're wonderful! No wonder you remain so young--you do not allow even real time problems to weigh you down enough to say No to nuisances like me.

Your name is way too big to consider that, not having any connections with newspaper and magazine publishers, any review-essay by you would not get into print. On the other hand, editors do not like to be told by publishers whom to invite to do the review. In a word, the very fact that you had read the book and been asked for advice ahead of publication and thus presented them with a review ahead of official publication date, October, will give them a double scoop. Either N.Y. REVIEW OF BOOKS (Editors: Robert B. Silvers and Barbara Epstein), 250 W. 57th St., NYC 10019, or NY TIMES BOOK REVIEW, or, in magazines, THE NATION, or COMMENTARY (165 E. 56th St., NYC 10022; I'm sure you knew its editor, Norman Podhoretz when he wasn't quite as rightwing as now) or nearly any magazine you like to read. I didn't mention quarterlies because, for the impact I'm hoping for, they cannot exercise. Since the book will not be off the press before October by which time you'll be off to Chile (Bon voyage!), I've sent air mail the uncorrected proofs in book form. Not many changes were introduced after the publisher experimented with that sloppy form of book for his trade purposes, price, (\$8.95 hard cover, \$2.95ppb)

Do you happen to know Professor Louis Dupré, the author of Philosophic Foundations of Marx, one of the early humanist religious interpretations of Marx? He is now the president of the Hegel Society of America and, to my surprise, quite friendly to me who wants to review the book for Journal of the History of Ideas, and, despite the society's conservatism, he has invited me to their next conf. in 1974, and their very tiny publication, The Owl of Minerva carried a par. on it, encl. He wrote me that it is time the unperson status of myself were ended and "they" (I have no idea whom he meant by that except some other elite philosophers) consider my contributions on Hegel "significant."

What will your seminars in Chile be on? Wish I were there with you. I had been very anxious to see as they appeared to me to start something very new but with P&R taking so many years out of my life and the rest of the year I'll practically become a New Yorker all over again, I can see no time for travelling.

Yours, ever so gratefully,

*Rape*