

March 19, 1968

Dear Friends,

Here, finally, is Part I. Or is it? The question mark refers, however, only to the enumeration and not to the content. It should, besides the sections on the technologically underdeveloped and technologically developed countries, have still a third section, especially devoted to China as to whether that is the alternative path. However, I have written so much on China, and you are so well acquainted with the analysis of it, that I decided not to write a new section just now.

Instead, I am including a new part that will probably revert back to the Why Hegel? Why Marx? part. I would like to explain why this so-called "missing link" has presently been written. Originally, I had thought that, in view of the fact that the Grundrisse is available only in German, whereas my book is directed, mainly, to the American worker and student, that the abbreviated form in which I referred to it in the Chapter on Marx was sufficient. Two things changed my mind. One is the fact that the most cogent topic of our day — that of the Third World — cannot be fully understood if all the myths about what Marx said or did not say on the Peasantry, what he did or did not say on "Oriental Despotism", and what he said and did not say on the "priority" of revolutions in industrialized countries as against "backward" ones, from Russia to China, were cleared away. Secondly, that section of the Grundrisse has finally been published under the title Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations, which you can get from the International Publishers for \$1.95, and anyone who decently have it, should immediately rush to get it. It is some of the most beautiful writing Marx ever penned, as you can see from the Preface which accompanies this chapter.

Finally, we must also consider the sudden fame that has come to Herbert Marcuse with One Dimensional Man, or at least as One Dimensional Man is understood by the so-called New Left. Anything at all that makes things "easy" — from guerrilla warfare to psychedelic posters — is preferable to some as a substitute for "the labor, the patience, the seriousness, the suffering of the negative," that is demanded by both Hegel and, above all, by the urgency of the times, the need to resolve contradictions rather than to compound them, and laying the foundations for a totally new society, beginning, ending and never deviating from human power, "in and for itself".

This will be last part that you will be getting before the convention itself, from now on I will rework, more or less alone. I would, however, like to get discussion on this no later than May.

Yours,
Raya

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