

21-st February 1959,

Dear Miss Raya Dunayevskaya,

I thank you very much for your air letter dated 13-th February 1959, which I received on 18-th February 1959. But I do not receive a copy of MARXISM & FREEDOM. Below is my reply to your letter.

Now in Japan there is exchange control and I cannot remit over-sea, without the personal case to remit the ~~cost~~^{cost} for books. Therefore I have no ways to remit you the moneys and royalties of the book MARXISM & FREEDOM, if I could act as the literary agent. But of course I can try to visit in person the various publishers or to write them for publication of the MARXISM & FREEDOM Japanese translation. If the worst case, I will publish it by myself.

Naturally I like receive some of the reviews concerning your book. I ~~do~~ do not read the review appeared in the Socialist Leader, but I read the book review appeared in the Universities & Left Review. The reviewer of U.L.R. don't estimate the ~~value~~^{worth} of your book, I felt, because your book is anti-Communist Marxist Humanist.

If you write a special Introduction to the Japanese ~~edition~~ edition, this helps us very much, because Japanese readers ~~don't~~ don't ~~acquainted~~^{get} acquainted with your thought and your movement. If you write a rather long Introduction concerning the American movement (or if possible, world wide) for anti-Communist Marxist Humanism from the period of ~~the~~ Great October Socialist Revolution to the post-war period of ~~the~~ the opposition of U.S.A. and Russia.

Reply soon, please. And please let me know the address of Italian comrades.

Yours Sincerely, 岩崎重夫.

★ Please reply to: IWASAKI SHIGEO,
NAGANO P.O. BOX 31, NAGANO-Kan, JAPAN. 9723

Feb. 28, 1959

9724

Dear Iwasaki Shigeo:

Your letter of the 21st which testifies to your interest in Marxist Humanism and thus seeing that my work, MARXISM AND FREEDOM is translated into Japanese and published in Japan is naturally very gratifying. We live, to borrow a phrase from Hegel, in "a birthtime of history and period of transition," and such letters from other continents and across other oceans are proof of the world character equally of the crises and of the need to reorganize the world on totally new, truly human beginnings.

The reason I look for a standard commercial publisher is that they can give the book wider circulation than can a small group. The work is a contribution both in scholarship and scope and has many original features to it and therefore even a bourgeois publisher ought to be found who can see its value. I assume some also know that the whole world is divided into but two parts and that the world conflict between Russia and the United States which threatens to put an end to civilization as we have know it needs both an anti-Communist and anti-capitalist approach if it is serious to enter the struggle for the minds of men. In any case, we must try to find one in Japan even as we finally found one in America and now in Italy.

One American publisher-distributor with a big office in Tokyo--Charles E. Tuttle Company--at first showed interest. He has my book; I enclose a copy of my letter to him, asking him to turn the book over to you. I did not give your address for him to send it to because there was no way of my knowing whether you wish the address known there, and I felt that in any case you would have to be in Tokyo to visit the publishers. By all means, do that for a few weeks, before you take up with me any idea about needing to publish it yourself.

I cannot understand why you have not received a book since NEWS & LETTERS sent one to you on 2 separate occasions. In any case, I this time asked them to send it to you registered mail, and also enclose in it the various reviews in this country and some in England. You are absolutely right about the review in ULR--they broke with the Communist Party but are very Communist-tainted still. For any reviewer to dismiss the counter-revolution the Russians carried out in Hungary, the slave-labor camps in Vorkuta, etc. as not affecting the "achievements" of Russia is a capitalist mentality and totally inhuman, by no matter what name they call themselves.

I enclose one cover of book and one montage so that you have material on which to build your letters to the publishers and if you get the copy from Tuttle Co. you are set; otherwise you will have to wait for the book to arrive. I will look forward to your comments on the book when you do get it and study it.

Now then as to the Special Introduction to the Japanese edition. Of course I shall be glad to write one but I will need your help and as many Japanese workers and intellectuals as you can get to read the book and ask questions and reply to the questions that I will put to them. You see, one of the things I am most proud of in my work is that it was written with the collaboration of American workers and intellectuals. For the Italian introduction I asked the friends there about the current scene--history is easy to learn, but the attitudes of workers, genuine rank and file workers,

young students, to the problems that concern them and their aspirations—well, for that you have to dig pretty deep down, have their confidence and the Marxist method of how to do so. I would rather wait to discuss that at another time when we first see that you have the book at hand, a translator and a publisher, and then there will be time. Books at best take 6 months before acceptance, or rather between acceptance and publication, so we have time.

You can reach the Italian friends at: Onorato Damen,
Via Lipari 8, Milano, Italy.

Do keep me informed of each stage of approach to the publishers, and meanwhile why don't you write us also little articles of the current scene in Japan for NEWS & LETTERS?

Yours fraternally,



Raya Duanyevskaya
4482-28th Street
Detroit 10, Mich.

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CONF

Tadayuki Tsushima
2227 Kitamicho,
Setagaya-Ku
TOKYO

Miss Raya Dunayevskaya
c/o Bookman Associates Inc.,
31 ~~XXXXXXXX~~ Union Square West,
New York 3, N.Y.

Dear Miss Dunayevskaya,

Please excuse me for this abrupt address to you.

The group in Japan to which I belong has been in correspondence with Comrades Tony Cliff and Michael Kidron in the United Kingdom. Recently we published in Japanese the Comrade Cliff's work "Stalinist Russia" and "Rosa Luxemburg", which aroused considerable interest in the reading circles especially among young Marxist students. We share to a large extent the views with Comrade Cliff on the economic and political character of the Soviet Union.

Now, I have recently read and been impressed by your latest work, "Marxism and Freedom." The idea occurred to my mind for publishing the book in Japanese which no doubt make a valuable contribution to the students associated with us as well as other thoughtful and serious students on the subject. However, I have to confess, we cannot afford to publish it in Japanese on the basis of paying royalty for the book. I therefore request you to let me know of the possibility on your part to grant permission for publishing free of royalty. At any rate, I am going to write a short book review of the book for the forthcoming issue of "The Vanguard," monthly organ of the Marxist Students Association.

To say a few words about my personal history. I was born in 1901 and for some time until the middle of nineteen thirties I was associated with the Japanese communist movement. At present I am advisor of the aforementioned monthly "Vanguard" and am editing the selected works of Leon Trotsky, four volumes out of twelve have already come out. I am author of number of books on Marxism and Socialism especially critical analysis of the political and economic structure of the Soviet Union, the latest one being "Criticism of Soviet 'Socialism'".

Looking forward to hearing from you, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Tadayuki Tsushima
(signature)

Dear Bee;

This is a copy of the letter that Bookman held for you without forwarding to Rae! Olga and I are at the [unclear] [unclear] [unclear] to send [unclear] [unclear] [unclear]

Feb. 24, 1962

Kenichi Koyama
Tokyo University
Dear Comrade Koyama:

Two aspects of your article on The Zengakuren in "New Politics" were especially exciting: (1) "It is not enough to say that Marxist philosophy is materialistic.... He placed living human beings in the center of his philosophy instead of dissolving everything into material substance... In this connection, it is vitally important to study the process whereby Marx's thought went from the discussion of alienated labor in the Manuscripts to labor power as a commodity in Capital." And (2) In carrying through the need for a New Left and the examination of our age and separating oneself from Stalin, Khrushchev or Mao Tse-tung, you then ended with "The vanguard party, the united front, the Chinese communes-- these are some of the areas which must be examined and understood if we are seriously to discuss the future of human liberation."

These are the very fields which have motivated the establishment of NEWS & LETTERS both as a workers' newspaper and organization in the United States as well as the theoretical basis of our organization as formulated in my study, MARXISM AND FREEDOM, published in 1958. The book had for its aim the reestablishment of the Humanism of Marxism. It did not limit itself either to the translation of the 1844 Manuscripts which were first translated by me into English and appeared as an Appendix to my book, but traced through the philosophic categories of 1844 as they developed into the economic categories of CAPITAL, showing that there was no separation between Marx the supposed economist or philosopher or revolutionary as all were one. I believe you should find interesting the chapters on "The Humanism and Dialectic of Capital, Vol. I" and "The Logic and Scope of CAPITAL, Vols. I-III, including Theories of Surplus Value." (Under separate cover I am sending you my book.)

At the same time I did not of course make it either only an academic debate or one that rested when Marx died. In coming to World War I period, I deal with Lenin's break with his own philosophic past, which was vulgarly materialistic in Empirio-Criticism, and which first grasped the Hegelian dialectic in all its profundity of self-development with his Philosophic Notebooks on Hegel's Science of Logic (Lenin's work is also published for the first time in English as the 2nd Appendix to MARXISM AND FREEDOM). Naturally we there have to re-examine how did his concept of the vanguard party change from 1903 to 1923, including his predictions of state-capitalism for Russia if the early bureaucratization and "Communes" (communist lies) did not change and that change did not extend also to the "administrative mentality of Trotsky". (I broke with Trotsky at the outset of World War II over the class nature of the Soviet Union which I call state-capitalist and over the Stalin-Hitler pact. Finally, I come to the problems of our own age of state capitalism and workers' revolt.

I'm sorry to say that although I have deeply interested in developments in Japan, I did not know sufficiently about it, and have no connections with organizations there, though we have sent both the Zengakuren and the Socialists some of our literature. And therefore it plays no part in my book. However, I did follow up the book with the pamphlet on the relationship of the ideologies to the Afro-Asian Revolution and I enclose this along with the special supplement on Mao-Tse Tung. I am the chairman of the National Editorial Board of NEWS & LETTERS in which the supplement appears. Naturally I would be honored to receive your comments, and to begin an exchange of literatures in establishing a relationship with Japanese Marxist-Humanists. Yours fraternally,

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June 17 1963

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Dear Comrades Yukiya and Tsushima:

In preparation for the special Introduction to the Japanese readers of MARXISM AND FREEDOM, I should like to enter into a discussion with you two. Some of the questions I pose may sound naive. For example, certain answers as to why Mao has any appeal to the so-called New Left in Japan are rightly answerable outside of its Japanese context, and I certainly have posed and answered and reposed that question all the way from England to Africa, and from Italy to Latin America. Nevertheless it is important to see how you see it from there because unless one can really pinpoint a problem that is universal and yet seems to have a different concrete answer in each separate culture, the most concrete answers begin sounding abstract and the most comprehensive philosophy gets narrowed down at the same time to where it is little more than a cliché.

First, I wish to take up the question of state capitalism. It would appear, from here, that if any concept would be clearer in Japan than any other place on earth, it would be that of state capitalism. Precisely because the development of capitalism got so telescoped and brutalized in Japan. Precisely because, from its very inception in the Meiji Restoration, capitalism was a state "invention" --it was only afterward given over to private monopolies which allowed the Zaibatsu "to cash in", as we say in America, but its impulse came, not from private entrepreneurs as in Europe fighting against the monarchy or Tsar or aristocracy, but the "august Emperor" doing away with clans and shoguns and "tribalism" and instead establishing a nation-state. And precisely because it was so militaristic at once and, in its further development, prepared for world conquest, it achieved rate of economic growth, in 1932-37, above that of Stalinist State Plan in Russia.

Now it is true that, with the American Occupation, and the alleged fight against monopoly hold over economy, not to mention the "forbidding of war" in Article 9, there was a "decentralisation" of capital and "de-statification" of plan, but, for heaven's sake, how can anyone want to go back to the old as "the better" simply because the old has the new form of statification, a la Russia or Mao's "Communes"? And yet I find, in all the cries even among the finest elements in the "New Left", I find all sorts of demands for "restudy" of Marxian economics and its imperialist phase as if we hadn't had Lenin and, above all, that wasn't the presently new in capitalist development? Not one single ~~single~~ word have I read about state capitalism as something that at least had to be studied, or even that it exists? And the reference to world market, instead of new world stage of production is in the old, pre-1914 conceptions, and as if neither the World Depression had taken place, or World War II, or the post-war world in which two, and only two, Big Powers--Russia and the US-- came out "alive" enough to want to continue into another war, only this time not for redivision of the world, but for its mastery?

What, if anything, is known in the New Left of the struggles within Trotskyism, not about "socialism in one country" vs. "world revolution", which was a struggle within Stalinism, and an abstract one at that; but against the Hitler-Stalin Pact, for defeatism during World War II; the elaboration of the theory of state capitalism as not only applicable to Russia, but as a world stage, and that is not just a "corruption" or "degeneration" of a workers state, but a transformation into opposite from Revolution to counter-revolution?

Secondly, what about the Humanism of Marxism? I have heard that thrown around, but either it is made synonymous with "abolition of philosophy", or it is degenerated to a substitute for class struggle. It is neither, of course. First of all, the "abolition" of philosophy can no more occur before you have a new truly human society that has already abolished the division between mental and manual labor than the "abolition" of the proletariat can occur the day of the overthrow of capitalism. Secondly, the question that needs answering is not, how did Marx move from Humanism, or alienation of labor, to labor power as a commodity, but how did Marx, after he worked out the theory of the alienation of labor in economic terms and showed that work as activity was reduced to work as a commodity, he returned to his early Humanism, now more concrete, and enriched by 2 decades of class struggles, organization of First International, and spontaneous eruption of the Paris Commune.

of CAPITAL

In a word, Volume III/sounds exactly as the Economic-Philosophic Essays of 1844, with the additional new perceptions that we see in the French edition of Volume I. That is to say, the crucial two additions which (1) show the form of the commodity, labor power, to be so "simple" because it is the expression of the total perversity of capitalism where a thing, a machine, is master of man, not man of machine, and (2) conclude that this, being so, the accumulation of capital leads, and can lead to naught, not even where it is "concentrated in the hands of one single capitalist or capitalist corporation" and thus "planned", but collapse, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, "the new passions and forces" that would reconstruct society on new beginnings.

Not only is there no perception of all this I can see from this distance, but, politically too, there is the inevitable fall back to Stalinist traps, such as opposing Western imperialism and its Suez, but not opposing Russian imperialism and its destruction of the Hungarian Revolution, and being, at one and the same time, for "peace" and for Mao's adventurist shoutings that H-bombs are only a manifestation of "a paper tiger". Please inform me, also, of what is the direction of Prof. Shimizu and his "Association for the Study of Contemporary History" who did seem to see that pre-war militarism and post-war obsessions with peace as if that were outside of the class struggle, and yet I see a certain hiding behind the class struggle when it comes to defining the needed creativity also of the intellectual.

Thirdly, labor. There is no place where capitalism is as highly developed as in Japan and yet where the conditions of labor are so miserable -- and yet the preoccupation not only of students but even of labor leaders seem to be more with "political slogans" than with reduction of the working day. I was shocked beyond belief that textile workers--mainly women--were still working 14 hours a day and living in barracks such as Marx described at the start of the Industrial Revolution. And yet I see that the most active unions are teachers and the more skilled trades where it is among workers. It appeared to me that when the Comintern, in the Leninist days, got rightly excited about the great Rice Riots of 1919 and then the shipyard strikes as auguring both spontaneous movements and labor struggles, the preoccupation of the new movement also within Japan was to go to the lowest, deepest and most oppressed, whereas here it is, a 1/2 century after, and no one even proposes to concentrate on these needed class struggles, instead of running after all sorts of will o' the wisps "politics."

On our television screen one day I also saw the great sophistication of the Japanese capitalists in establishing what we in the US call "head fixing", that is to use, use by the capitalists, of psychiatrists, etc. to try to make the worker accept class collaboration.

The new, however, here was that a room with punch bags was provided by the boss and the worker could come in and punch that bag instead of the boss, and "meditate." Now this sort of thing is nothing to laugh about. It is on a par with Mao's "thought reform", which is done on a mass scale. It is the type of brainwashing that is very, very different than just using all mass media to make the ideology of the ruling class that of the working class. It is something very 20th, very totalitarian/

What I am driving at is that Marxist-Humanists in the US do not just write analysis or theories from books or even from life but as observed by intellectuals, but from life as lived by workers and analyzed by them. In the New Left in England, instead of becoming preoccupied with stimulating such studies, they went in for "statistics" and thereby helping the Labor Party "win elections"--except they have been losing them ever since. In France the New Left fell into the existentialist trap of whitewashing communism and "letting" the workers vote for De Gaulle. Now, what is it that is being done in Japan? I do not mean to say that I will comment on it, but I must have a lot more in the back of my head than those I speak out, and they must be concrete.

Finally, back to Communism, whether in its Stalinist, Khrushchevite, or Maoist varieties. It is fantastic for the new left to talk of this class phenomenon as if it were a question of (1) "competent or incompetent leadership", (2) "bureaucratized and therefore stagnant", or (3) a question of "habits", much less (4) "abnormality" of Stalin, and (5) "lack of new ideas." They certainly didn't lack "new" ideas--they were all full of them, from "socialism in one country" to "communism in one great leap". The trouble with the "newness" of the ideas was that it was only the new form to suit the new stage of world capitalism. From it, flowed the transformation into opposite also of the theory of the party. That is to say, it became elitist, not merely by being "professional revolutionaries", but the "new" ruling class of State Planners.

The trouble with thinking of "stagnation", or even of class struggle without a Humanist philosophy, is that the minute the Communist change the line from "national revolution" to class struggle in the other countries, you are left without arguments --and by the time these militants have won state power, it is too late, you are living under a Mao! They will most certainly do so also in Japan --and the Japanese Left should certainly know that even a militarist-semi-feudal-Shinto-worshipping--Heaven-born Emperor knew how to use class struggle for the other country? Didn't Japan give asylum and money and help in organization to Sun Yat Sen? The class struggle must be both within one's country and outside; the "world revolution" cannot be, a la Mao, just because one is a have-not nation, and forget that if even, as he thinks, China can survive a nuclear war, he would rule the Orient, much less the world, when it is Japan that is the industrialized country and he, etc, etc.

My point is I want to feel what is agitating both intellectuals and workers in Japan so that the unfoldment of the Marxist-Humanist banner can mean something to their aspirations?

Yours,

*My reference is to Kenichi Koyama. You will recall I mentioned him in my Political Letter on Japanese Intellectuals. I want to ask you whether you know him or about him. I tried writing to him but as I had no address, I'm not sure he got either the letter or the book. I sent to Tokyo University. It was a remarkable article, and yet it had many of the flaws that I now direct against the Left. There also was too much interest in Sartre & for that reason I enclose here a...

Dear Comrade Yukiama:

I suppose I cannot keep avoiding writing a biographical sketch any longer, although I still cannot send you a photograph, since I have none suitable. One of the reasons that it is difficult to write the biography is due to the fact that most of my life, in fact all of it since the age of 7, has been spent in the Marxist movement. Since the fact that I was Trotsky's Secretary is the best publicity, one always starts with that. The truth, however, is that it is only after I broke with him, over the Stalin-Hitler pact, that my writings, my activity, and the organizational expression of both, rise up to the challenge of the times.

I began the study of the Russian economy from original sources, in 1940, and completed the study of the three Five-Year Plans in 1942. In December, 1942, "The Nature of the Russian Economy" was published. It was the first analysis of Russia as a state-capitalist society. It was the first analysis of the three Five-Year Plans which showed that, despite their denials (that is to say, the denials of the Russia theoreticians) the law of value was indeed operating in Russia. The study was widely quoted in many books. It was quickly followed by my study of the Early Economic-Philosophic Essays of Marx, and the Philosophic Notebooks of Lenin. Though I had tried, ever since 1947, to have these published, first by the Trotskyists who refused, and then by the academicians (the Russian Institute of Columbia University in New York City) I was unsuccessful. In their mimeographed form, they did reach a small circle, but all this did not see actual publication in the United States until I was able to publish them as an Appendix to my own work, Marxism & Freedom.

The 1950 general strikes of miners, which I covered when I lived in West Virginia, gave me the first opportunity to abandon the intellectuals of New York for the rank and file who were indeed raising the most fundamental questions of Humanism at a time when the intellectuals, and that includes the Marxists, were still behaving as if Marxist-Humanism was a Hegelian aberration, or at least, an aberration of Marx when he was still an Hegelian. Since then, it was not only a question of listening to the proletariat, but also giving him the confidence that he can do all sorts of things that heretofore have been the prerogative of intellectuals. For example, a worker can edit a paper, and in fact, unless I could convince a worker to do so, there would be no point in starting yet one other radical grouping that would consider itself "vanguard" but not have shown anything in practice, that the theoretic void since Lenin's death was being filled both by intellectuals and workers. After some years of experimenting with a mimeographed paper we were ready to appear with NEWS & LETTERS as both an expression of the unique combination of worker and intellectual and as the first one to be edited by a worker, strictly speaking, two workers, one white and one Negro.

The Negro worker, Charles Denby, had come to us both on the basis of our position of the destiny of the workers being in the hands of the workers, and on our position on the Negro question. Long before I had broken from Trotsky on the Russian Question, I had developed a unique position on the Negro Question, that is to say, I believed that they occupied a vanguard role in the whole development of American Civilization. I made a study of "Marxism and the Negro Question", which analyzed the sorry history of Socialism and Communism in the United States, as well as the trade-unions, within the context of the economic development of the United States. My review in 1944 of Gunnar Myrdal's An American Dilemma, which I called "Negro Intellectuals in Dilemma" (and which we reprinted in News & Letters in Feb. 1961) was one of the turning-points that led to the writing, editing and publishing of AMERICAN CIVILIZATION ON TRIAL, in this the centenary year of the Emancipation Proclamation.

From the start, we considered the restatement of Marxism for our age to be something broader than the revelation of its American roots. Marxist-Humanism was a world phenomenon, and we acted accordingly in organizational terms as well. As soon as Marxism and Freedom was published, in 1958, I undertook a trip to Europe in which relations were established in Italy, France, Great Britain. Indeed, a group that was not Marxist-Humanist, but was a break-off from the many thousands who tore up their Communist Party cards when the Russians crushed the Hungarian Revolution, (The Left Group of the Cambridge University Labour Club), was the one that republished Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions. At the same time the Italian co-thinkers published in their theoretic organ Prometeo a good many of my theoretical articles, especially the "Critique of Luxemburg's Accumulation of Capital", and "The World Situation and the Theoretic Void".

The next trip that I undertook was to West Africa. Again, despite the currency and urgency of the whole situation in the underdeveloped countries, my writings on Africa were solid theoretic contributions that began where Lenin left off in 1920-22 when he first promulgated the possibility of the "Eastern" opportunity to telescope the industrial development provided it had the aid of the workers of a technologically advanced country. The Orient, in my own view, was not however, one long list of underdeveloped countries. Quite the contrary. Both in Marxism and Freedom and in articles I showed the extraordinary development of Japan, its economic rate of growth outdistancing the state-capitalism of Russia in the 1930's, while its revolutionary and Marxist past and present was on a much higher level than the more famous Chinese Communists. "Mao Tse-tung" deals with the new variation of Communist state-capitalism.

Finally, there is naturally also a relationship with the Latin-American countries, where the American imperialist is the greatest aggressor and the need for solidarity between the American and Latin-American workers is likewise of urgent need. There will no doubt be a Spanish edition of Marxism and Freedom by the end of this year or the beginning of next.

Now, Yukiama, I hope you can make something out of this for your biographical sketch, especially when I attach to this a listing of the most important part of my writings. Far rather, I should say, those of the writings and lectures which have been listed by the bourgeois publishers. None mention that I am also chairman of the National Editorial Board of News & Letters, nor do they mention my Weekly Political Letters. In your country, which is much more democratic than ours, perhaps you can mention that these important political features are as characteristic of the academic writings.

Yesterday, when I sent you the letter in which I was raising certain questions to you and Tsushima in preparation for the Preface to the Japanese edition, I mentioned that I was including a copy of the letter on existentialism that I had written to a student in this country, whose name happens to be Chip Gallery. I failed, however, I believe to enclose it. Here it is. If, however, I did send it, please return this as I have no other copy.

Yours,

Raya

4482-28^B St.

Detroit 10, Mich.

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Do you happen to know Italian? I could send some more writings

Bess

February 15, 1965

Dear Comrade Tsushima:

The problems you raise in your letter of Feb. 8 must be divided into two fundamental levels. First of all, the objective situation which has developed quite critically since you wrote. Secondly, there is the tour and its relationship to the anti-Stalinist groups in Japan, as well as to the Marxist-Humanist groupings both in Japan and the United States.

Now, the American bombing of North Viet Nam has changed the situation radically, both for the masses of the world, and the big power play between East and West. The revulsion of the masses against the U.S. attack and its fear of war in general, is, of course, to be developed in every possible way since it is they alone who can stop the hand that would dare trigger the nuclear bomb. At the same time, no more favorable situation could have been presented to the Sino-Soviet orbit, than when the masses are so anti-American-imperialism, and when the Sino-Soviet bloc seems to be "defensive" and even for what the South Viet Namese want themselves. Nevertheless, they are moving quite cautiously, and doing so not only because of a possible nuclear war, but because they themselves have so many conflicts within their own orbit that they do not know who would take advantage of whom -- Russia of China, or China of Russia -- in the attempt to ~~conquer~~ conquer Asia.

It is the duty of Marxist-Humanists, and all true internationalists, to see that we do not get sucked into any big power play, but insist that anything short of a new social order, on truly Humanist beginnings, would not advance humanity forward by an iota. I have tried to say this rather hurriedly, and not in sufficiently developed form, in the editorial now going to press. I enclose a copy of the proof, and I wondered whether you wouldn't be able to make use of it in a leaflet for the Japanese anti-Stalinists. ~~There~~ The one memorable moment of solidarity between East and West has happened altogether too long ago -- in 1905 when Sen Katayama and Plekhanov shook hands to emphasize the solidarity of the Russian and Japanese proletariat, though the two governments were at war. It would be the highest tragedy if, 60 years later, the Japanese Left would turn against America because the American government is imperialist, and shake the hand of Mao, just because he too is anti-American, although he is as intent on dominating Asia as is America, on the one hand, and Russia on the other.

My tour to Japan was planned for two reasons. One was to establish a relationship with yourself and your group. That remains of the highest importance still. It wouldn't matter whether you were alone, or you had a group of five, or you were a leader of a massal movement. The key is to have relationships with people throughout the world who have your theoretical outlook and who can work out practical and theoretical activities, which would coordinate the organizational functioning of various countries. Ever since the death of Lenin, no one has been able to achieve this. Trotsky tried, but because his own theory, or, perhaps I should say lack of theory, turned out to be no more than a left variation of Stalinism, World War II came and went, and a whole new world of revolutions in the underdeveloped countries unfolded without a link of historic continuity having been established between the Marxism of Marx and Lenin, and the Marxism needed for our epoch. Mao arose to divert the whole relationship of the proletariat of the advanced countries, and bend them to the will of a monolithic totalitarian party, which based itself on exploiting the proletariat and the peasantry, and circling the cities through dividing the peasantry from the proletariat, calling this concoction of state-capitalism "Mao's Thought", and, so bereft of original thought in restating Marxism for our age, is the "New Left" that we are on the verge of being dragged into the war without leaving a single banner of freedom unfurled.

We could contribute to the cause of the oppressed peoples, and it appears to me it would be important for you to have your own analysis of the current situation in an organ in which to express yourself, especially in this period in which we are to be heard by none.

Respectfully yours,

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Marxism and Freedom tried its best to so present the restatement of Marxism for our age as not to divide theory from practice. We at no time isolated ourselves from activities in the mass movement, and yet at each stage insisted that thinking, too, is an activity. The dialogue that resulted both in the U.S. and abroad, especially in Scotland on the one hand, and West Africa on the other, led directly to Japan because you were there first of all, and secondly, objectively the Oriental country which was both technologically advanced and had a rebellious youth became pivotal both to the theoretical development needed, and the organizational solidarity that is so imperative.

You say that I overestimated the development of the Japanese students. No doubt you know the situation better than I. However, in this case, it is not the concrete which is of the essence. It is the representative, that is to say, it is what the break in the student movement represents. And, dear Comrade Tsushima, what the student movement, if even it were reduced to the five you are referring to, symbolizes for starting anew is what counts.

Naturally, if you consider that my trip to Japan in May would be "fruitless" I will not undertake it in that month. If, however, you mean by that that I am not to undertake it until you have actually created a much wider base among those in the Left who would sponsor me, I would be opposed to an unlimited delay. I propose that we make it no later than September 20. This would be after our Convention where we could discuss every aspect of it. It would be undertaken because of what you and we decide, and not be deflected by what other groups may or may not do.

Naturally, it would be best if you could convince others. And I certainly hope that your functioning with Zenshin or other groups in the June elections would stimulate the other groups to where they would be willing to arrange lectures for me and listen to me. However, here again, I would not consider that a so-called unity of anti-Stalinists on tactical or other questions should take precedence over our meeting and discussing.

We must also remember that we cannot dictate that development of the objective situation. Frankly, I had felt as far back as a year ago, that we should have planned for my coming to Japan at the time of the appearance of the Japanese edition of Marxism and Freedom. I so wrote, I believe, to both you and Yukiama, but it may have been only to Comrade Yukiama. In any case, my point was that principled positions and theoretical clarity must be established before delving in to a unity of all the anti-Stalinist left, some of whom no doubt represent Maoism, Khrushchevism, Trotskyism, and are just parasites on the mass movement trying to did its way out to entirely new bases. I also had stressed then that it became clear to the European comrades after I came there that it was much easier to develop and to get the voice of Marxist-Humanism from the other side of the Atlantic heard, than it was for the little group in any single country to function with its own resources only.

I hope you agree with me this time. I hope that we will make up our minds that the trip should take place in autumn, and no later, irrespective of what other developments take place in your relationships with the groupings in Japan. I hope also that we do not limit ourselves to radical groupings, but see whether it isn't possible to approach some rank and file workers in various unions, some independent students and even professors in some universities, and just plain apolitical people.

Please let me hear from you. I do hope your health has improved, and that you are taking good care of yourself. How far have you gotten in your work on Trotskyism? Do you believe it is possible to issue a new edition of your magazine Vanguard which would reproduce some parts of my book, such as the chapter on the Humanism of Marxism on the one hand, and the Political Letter on Mao on the other hand? How much would it cost? Would \$25 help? We could contribute that type of sum, or maybe a little more. And it appears to me it would be important for you to have your own analysis of the current situation and an organ in which to express yourself, especially in this period in which we are trying to be heard by more.

Fraternally yours,

Feb. 23, 1965

Dear Coms. Tsushima and Yukiama:

It is best, I think, that we keep up a continuous dialogue now on Japan, both as it affects the whole objective situation and the organizational perspectives of Marxist-Humanists. Heretofore, I have felt diffident about discussing Japan except in the most general terms because you know of course more than I could possibly learn; books are never a substitute for what comes naturally from being on native grounds. Nevertheless, internationalism would be defective indeed if it just bowed to that superior knowledge. (In any case, perhaps being in British Columbia and Vancouver being the port to Japan where I can almost smell Japan, I am emboldened.)

The following two features of Japanese Communism must not be under-estimated in our fight against it: (1) Of all the world's CPs taking sides in the Sino-Soviet conflict, the Japanese CP alone (i.e. first) expelled the khrushchevite leadership at the time of the 22nd RCP Congress in 1961. In a word, though Chou En-lai walked out of the Moscow Congress, though the dispute had moved from indirect to direct criticism with the Open Letter of June 1963, it had remained "factions!" till then and even after, but the Japanese CP chose at once to make a clean break organizationally as well, whereas to this day, even the Chinese CP has left itself an opening for being in the same International to fight "the common enemy, American imperialism", and now, with Vietnam they are shouting to the mountains that "no force on earth" can break them from Russia, hoping thereby to push Russia into war with USA. (2) Outside of countries like Malaya and Thailand where the CPs are predominantly Chinese in composition, Japan alone has a common tradition.

The strong traditional base, moreover, has 3 divisions which make it overlap in a way in which it persists from "old" to "new". Thus: (1) the common cultural origins and ties have the advantage also of the same color, so that, no matter its long history of being enemies and Japan's conquest of China both after World War I in part and throughout late 1930's and World War II, it could be together in its anti-Western attitude. So deep was this feeling, say, back in 1905 when it won over Russia, that Sun Yat-sen was willing not only to forgive Japan its intrusions into Chinese territory, but actually used (or let himself be used, as you wish) Japanese aid to overthrow the Ming dynasty to establish a republic. And there are many instances between anti-Japanese wars, when China and Japan unite against "the west".

(2) Peculiarly enough, the strong militarist strain in Japan (not to mention war lordism in China itself) worked to a tendency toward acceptance of the new Maoist Chinese tactics of "guerrilla warfare". We must not allow either the Communists or the Trotskyists to forget that the Japanese Communist tactics that were so hated by the masses and were so wild as to isolate the CP were, in fact, Maoist, Stalin having given him more or less separate authority KMXM in the Oriental world, and especially so when Russia needed China to do its fighting in Korea. And (3) even economic foundation of state-capitalism of the "new" China had parallels in Japan where the state, though semi-feudal, was very strong and pivotal in bringing capitalism in "from above". In the original edition of MARXISM AND FREEDOM I pointed out that Japan's economic plan was not so different from the "Communist" State Plan in Russia that it hadn't outstripped the latter in productivity terms. It applies a hundredfold to the Chinese State Planning. Indeed, Mao is confident that if he could have a strong party in Japan and undermine that rule, he wouldn't need the West European proletariat to help get over his extreme industrial backwardness.

As against these common features, I chose to single out, instead, what are the foundations for Marxist-Humanism: (1) the greatness of the Japanese youth's break from the older generation of militarism, paternalism, etc. and therefore also CP's false policies in Zengakuren, and (2) the fact that a section of this youth raised philosophic questions, whether or not they had seen that China, like Russia, was state-capitalist.

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It is true that in my Introduction, since both I had to deal only with general problems, not concrete details, and was interested more in the future than the present, there were "exaggerations" of just how great was this leap forward. But this does not change, it seems to me, the fact that, with the publication of M&F, we have a way to BEGIN by stressing the HUMANISM of Marxism. Indeed, it is here, more than in the economic or state capitalist features, where we can actually take the offensive. Thus:

(1) Marxist-Humanists alone began where Lenin left off in his Philosophic Notebooks. No one but us built on it. The Russian Communists simply published them as if they were "archives" The Chinese Communists reduced them to the "practicality" of the "need" to unite with Chiang Kai-shek to fight Japan. We alone moved them forward so that we had Lenin's method for dealing with the break in the Second International, in order to deal with the break in the Third Int., indeed its collapse as well as its plurality and power struggle where you could actually pose so fantastic a question as "Can there be war between Russia and China?"

(2) Since it is our specific epoch that is naturally pivotal, the uniqueness of the Marxist-Humanist contribution, the demand for total answers so that politics is not divided from economics and both are only aspects of the philosophic question which reinstate the human force as the only one that can possibly establish a new society that would not buckle to either East or West, but go on to a totally new beginning.

At no time is this independent, third road more critical than at this very moment when Viet Nam seems to unite Russia and China, and yet where both are as ready for a sellout as for a blow-up, indeed more ready for the one than the other.

The fact that the Maoists have not only captured the Japanese CP, but seem to have re-established themselves in the Zengakuren so that all one will hear now in Japan is what they are against, never what they are for, so that even so retrogressionist and reactionary a conception as the Maoist concept of uninterrupted, unrelenting revolution against the masses who must continue to labor ever harder "for a century or more" before "communism" can be established, should not be disregarded by Marxist-Humanists just because we too are against American imperialism.

There is never a way out when one is merely "against" something; one must be for that new human dimension -- or the nuclear holocaust will destroy mankind.

Do please keep me informed of the repercussions of the Viet Nam war, and the elections in which you'll participate with Genshin. I'm waiting also an answer to my last question whether it is possible for you to issue a new edition of your Vanguard. Is there any possibility of discussion groups around Marxism and Freedom?

Yours,

RAYA

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Sept. 17, 1965

Dear Com. Fukiyama:

I should like to develop further the ideas I put forward in my letter of the 14th. Since Marshal Lin Biao has now (September 3rd) spelled out in military terms Mao's concept of world conquest which he calls world revolution, a genuine Marxist can disregard the reduction of revolution to militarism at his own peril. In a word, there is no point to burying one's head in the sand by saying this is the Defense Minister speaking and therefore it is only "military talk." What other talk is there coming from Mao's China?

The concept of encircling the cities and their proletarian masses by the peasant army (it was always more army, and less peasant), when brought to its "logical", i.e., ultimate illogical conclusion, to mean the whole industrial world is thereby to be "outflanked" by the technologically underdeveloped world, would, under ordinary circumstances, bring the revolutionary world to declare Mao insane.

But these are not ordinary times. And, if you'll forgive me for choosing a "foreign" country—Japan—as my example, you'll see that it is precisely Mao's success there which proves insanity to be the "sanity" of the state-capitalist age and its administratively-minded revolutionary intelligentsia looking for short-cuts, ways to outflank the proletariat and its self-development. Watch the development of the Japan Communist Party which you probably know a good deal better than I, and you'll see what I mean:

1) It would have appeared suicidal in a country like Japan where the anti-bomb movement is so overpowering to have come out against the limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty 1963—and yet not only did the JCP do so, but by the time in 1964 Peking explodes its bomb, Kaoru Yasui, head of Genjūkyō, congratulates Mao. The fact that the, before World War II, been a leading militarist as well as pro-Nazi jurist, cannot be used by the Russian Communist faction against him since they, too, had gloried in his getting the Lenin prize.

2) If you roll the date back to 1958 when the pro-Soviet faction controlled the JCP, both the cultural heritage and the proximity would have made one think twice before saying the Russians control that party. After all, no matter which faction you take, you'll find, at one time or another, and for lengthy periods at that they were Yenan trained. Thus, Kosaka in 1937 at outbreak of Sino-Japanese war. Thus, Tokuda at the outbreak of Korean War. And even though the JCP presently blames Moscow for its adventurist guerrilla tactics in 1951 and 1952, it was in fact Mao's strategy. (Just as Stalin was glad to carry on the Korean war—till the last Chinese—so he was willing to let Mao elaborate policy "for the East"—provided only it was anti-American. IT IS THIS ANTI-AMERICANISM THAT CUTS ACROSS THE LESSER DIVISIONS NOW AND EVEN THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT IS BY NOW A LESSER DIVISION IN JCP'S EYES.) I've seen estimates of about 1,500 Japanese Communists who had been to China in 1953-57 and returned to Japan in 1958 so that the pro-Soviet faction's victory that year was hollow indeed.

3) Of course, though the JCP may have political and military unanimity with Mao, it doesn't hurt Mao's cause any to have as much Peking money flow into the coffers of the Party as China sees to it. And yet Mao also sees finances be subordinated to the aura of "Mao's Thought", as witness the August 1962 declaration to the Japanese Workers' Educational Association: "China attaches great importance to the liberation of Japan. The first revolution in the world was the Russian revolution. That changed the world. The second was the Chinese revolution. That, too, has changed history. As we have recently witnessed, colonies have almost ceased to exist, and capitalism has been weakened. The third revolution will be the Japanese. When Japan is liberated, the East will be liberated and that will lead to the liberation of the world."

Only Maoism's waiting for that day to come out of a self-developing Japanese revolution, but of an imposed military development

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throughout South Asia from Vietnam to Pakistan, and today's threat to India and India's reply that it does not mean to get out of the disputed territory in Sikkim has brought us closer to World War III than even US imperialism's bombing of North Vietnam.

Now this highly critical situation cannot be "resolved" by Marxist groupings by going from one immediate action to another, almost all on "foreign policy" (as is the present Japan-Korea Treaty), and fail to recognize that thinking too is an activity, one that has long been abandoned by people claiming the name of Marxism but doing nothing seriously to answer the problems of our age. Why, for example, don't the Trotsky groups ask themselves why everything is much more active around a foreign policy controversy than in working among the proletariat and leading strikes against automation?

And if Mao can appear revolutionary even in that respect—when it concerns not ~~his~~ "his" proletariat but that in Japan, then why is the class-compromising Indonesian Communist Party so great a favorite?

But it really is not then I'm concerned with. It is with Marxist-Humanists, with people who see that there is no fundamental difference between state-capitalism calling itself Communism and private capitalism. In my last letter I began our dialogue by pointing to the situation in the US in 1947. I should have also mentioned that it was the year I was in France to present the state-capitalist position to the congress of the Fourth International. I then met the Vietnamese Trotskyists with whom I had quite a dispute because, despite all that they had suffered under Ho Chi Minh, were tailending once again because, as they saw, it was more important to have a "united struggle" against French imperialism than to lead an independent struggle and begin asking, or, more correctly answering, what the Vietnamese peasantry was asking: what happens the day after revolution? Will we have a new society in which we decide our own fate? Or will we once more tell us what to do? When, in 1959 in Paris, I met one Vietnamese and pointed out that the Geneva agreement had evidently not meant that South Vietnamese was going over enthusiastically to North Vietnamese but that there was actually a mass refugee movement the other way, he had nothing to say. And yet, if not in 1947, surely in 1954, the question of what happens after revolution is successful had to begin to be answered, and answered fundamentally as what do we stand for, not only what we are against.

You know, Com. Yukiama, that the constant avoidance of serious confrontation of ideas, this reservation of the thinking for the intellectuals despite the very poor job they've made of it, this degradation of international solidarity to "foreign policy" objections between two bourgeois governments would be enough to transform intellectual sloth into betrayal **WERE IT NOT FOR MARXIST HUMANISTS WHO, DESPITE THEIR NUMERICAL WEAKNESS, KEEP UP BOTH WORLD CONTACTS AND SERIOUS THEORETICAL DEVELOPMENT.** Any who wish to substitute what Hegel would have called "immediacy for mediacy", that is to say, wish to substitute immediate calls for actions on single questions for that which must be mediated and transcended, will not be the participants in a new world—nor even be able to drive US imperialism out of Asia, for it will surely not be done by militarism, guerrilla or otherwise. Isn't it time to call for only one action—and that is the clearing of one's own head?

I'm looking forward to hearing from you, and am anxious especially to the Japanese reaction both to the "theoretical" statement of Mao's Minister of Defense and to the threat to India.

Yours,

Papa

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May 10, 1966.

Dear Mrs. Raya Dunayevskaya:

This letter is to explain the subject of our present study and ask you to give me some information which will be helpful to us.

To introduce myself, I am a Japanese student of the Spanish Revolution. It was several years ago that I took interest in the Spanish Civil War of Spanish Revolution and began to study it closely in collaboration with a few companions. The reason for which I became interested in this subject was probably just the same as yours, I believe. While considering the various problems involved in present society, its politics and civilization, I became aware of the necessity to know more about the Spanish Revolution and learn from its historical lessons. In Japan, where "Americanization" has been seen to spread rapidly, at least on the surface, since the end of World War II, people seem to be gradually displaying a keen interest in this great historical event, of which they have had scarcely any knowledge up to recent days.

We, the members of "Studying circle of the Spanish Revolution", as we call our group, aim to base our study exclusively facts, avoiding any preoccupations whatever. At present we are studying it with the help of such books as follows:

The Civil War in Spain, by Felix Morrow.
Revolution & Counter-Revolution in Spain, ditto.
The Spanish Labyrinth, by G. Brennan.
The Spanish Cockpit, by E. Borkenau.
Homage to Catalonia, by G. Orwell.
Lessons of the Spanish Revolution, by V. Richards.
The Spanish Civil War, by H. Thomas.
Communism and the Spanish Civil War, by D. Cattell.
Soviet Diplomacy & the Spanish Civil War, ditto.

Among these books mentioned above, the works of Richards, Thomas and Orwell have already been published in Japanese translation. (The complete translation of the "Homage to Catalonia" by Orwell which we made ourselves, has just been published by Gendai Shicho Sha this April, 1966). Two ~~more~~ books of F. Morrow are soon coming out in Japanese with myself as the translator. Publication of F. Borkenau's works, translated by one of my companions in the circle, is also under preparation.

Now, it is my sincere desire to know who the author, Felix Morrow, was, for I know nothing about him except that he wrote the following three works:

The Bonus March (N. Y., International Pamphlet, 1932).
The Civil War in Spain (N. Y., Pioneer Publishers, 1936).
Revolution & Counter-Revolution in Spain (ditto, 1938).

I am surprised to find that D. Cattell identified F. Morrow with Joachin Maurin in his book. (See D. Cattell "Communism & the Spanish Civil War, N. Y., Russell & Russell, 1965, p. 100 and p. 253). According to my present knowledge about the history of Spanish Revolution, Joachin Maurin who was the former chief of the Workers and Peasants Bloc in Spain, and

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then had joined with Andres Nin to form the party P.O.U.M. (Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista), is just the person whom F. Morrow has scathingly criticized because of his wrong program. Therefore, I cannot but doubt if D. Cattel's theory about him is true.

I wonder if you might know something about the said F. Morrow, and shall be much obliged if you would not mind enlightening me about his identity not only for me, but for the readers of the forthcoming Japanese translation of his works.

I am looking forward to your very kind reply at your earliest convenience.

Wishing you always the best of health, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

T. Sawa

May 21, 1966

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Dear Takaaki Sawa:

Your letter of the 10th has just reached me. (I'm out of town, working on my new book, Philosophy and Revolution.) I'm naturally glad to hear that there is a group of students in Japan devoting themselves to the study of the Spanish Revolution, the greatest, at the time, since the Russian Revolution. And it's easy enough to answer the specific questions on Felix Morrow which I'll do at the end of this letter. However, I am most surprised that in our epoch, so devoid of philosophy and so in need of it, a study of revolution should describe itself as concerned "exclusively with facts, avoiding any preoccupation whatever." I thought such preoccupation with the "neutrality" of facts was the characteristic of American pragmatists, not of the Japanese who (at least in the decade since the Hungarian Revolution) had learned from the movement from practice the indispensability of theory. This is the one thing that I considered the uniqueness of the Japanese New Left who, on my recent trip there, had shown that they did not separate that revolution from its underlying Marxist-Humanist philosophy, understanding thoroughly that the theoretic void in the movement since the death of Lenin demands a new unity of theory and practice.

The two greatest features of the Spanish Revolution that you are now studying are (1) its spontaneity, and (2) that the movement (the movement, not the parties that led it) aimed at a new stage of unity of economics and politics, higher than the 1917 Revolution whose preoccupation, as the first, was politics, i.e., political power. By 1937 the workers were building, not soviets, but direct occupation of the factories. The Stalinist betrayal consisted, precisely, in separating what the workers in action had united. And, by counterposing, united front, dominated by them, of course, and therefore not stopping at the murder of Trotskyists, or giving any predominance to fighting against fascists--as compared to the Communist preoccupation with seeing that the workers do not control production at the point of production itself. In a word, the betrayal was of proletarian revolution, of workers' power, of self-determination by committees instead of by a centralized government that was moreover beholden to Moscow for its arms (which it paid with gold that had, besides that, demands and what we call "political strings", going the whole gamut of its enemies from anarchists to ~~xxx~~ Trotskyists, etc. This wasn't just a difference in "program"; this was the essence of being either for self-activity of workers, their self-development, ~~xxx~~ their self-determination of the conditions of labor and life,—or being against it. And all, absolutely everybody on the Left, and not just the right, was against the self-activity, which includes not only fighting against fascists but setting the aim as well as means of what would the new society be.

My heavens, when I think of how such fellow-travellers like Louis Fischer (no doubt he too has written "facts" of the Spanish Revolution even as he now writes "facts" of Lenin's life and Mahatma Gandhi's and wins prizes for both—that's what we call "neutrality", bourgeois neutrality.); I repeat when I think of how fellow-travellers would be ready to scream against any who raised any questions of where the revolution was going by implying the questioner was close to fascism to dare question Stalin's role —and how they now talk about "end of ideology" because they had made their peace with their own bourgeoisie instead of "progressive Communism", I'm ready to deny there are "facts"—except those you take from the workers' own thoughts and actions.

Take H. Thomas's "The Spanish Civil War"—it got all those rave reviews about having all the facts, and all the facts "objectively", that is to say so far removed from the "passions of the day" that they were cold enough to be "accepted by all." Tommyrot. Thomas's book has just enough facts that his narrow vision—for we all do live by thought, by a philosophy, whether we admit it or not—could encompass. And his is by no means the worst book. Borkenau's has his specific ideology—move back to social democracy. Orwell's is by far the finest, and poetic, and one who was there, but he too has his presuppositions.

we all do. The point is, to be conscious of it, and therefore to chose that philosophy of freedom which will assure the realis of freedom.

Naturally I consider that to be Marxism and Freedom, the Humanism of Marxism. Or take the anarchists in the Spanish Revolution: surely they were great fighters and idealists—and yet they too fell into the trap of Stalinism precisely because they refused to look at "abstract philosophy" while lives were at stake—and thus they too became part of the government. I assume you are acquainted with my work which was translated into Japanese as Alienation and Revolution, and I'll ask you, please, to look at footnote 250: "Since the Spanish Revolution of 1937, the theoretical void has engulfed also the Anarchists and Anarcho-Syndicalists who had ended up as part of Government, which they had always theoretically disclaimed/ what is far worse than becoming bound to Russia by gold payments was to become prisoners of administrative thinking."

It is this "administrative thinking", which always hides behind facts of the "immediate concrete" instead of facts, as Hegel puts it, that emerge out of existence, a condition of life that does not separate the universals of philosophy, or the ideals which live and die by, from the mere enumeration of facts, administrative planning instead of creative self-activity by the masses, etc.etc. I happened to have become Secretary to Leon Trotsky because the international brigade organized to help the Spanish Revolution would not accept women. With Leon Trotsky, therefore, I felt I would at least be part of the formation of theory. Surely, his position was better, comparatively, than any one else's—on the Left, naturally; and he also wrote beautifully on the Spanish Revolution and, in fact, had me translate some of his "How the Revolution Armed Itself" on the Russian front, in defense of Petrograd, for the benefit of the Spanish revolutionaries so that they would know not only the words, popular front, but self-defense. (And I will admit that the rest of this paragraph is hindsight, not foresight, since in 1937 I was a Trotskyist.) But did he raise the question of criticism of Stalinism as a class nature opposed to the proletariat, or merely "bureaucratic distortions of a degenerated workers state"? Did he ever, for one second, consider those forsaken but most urgent Humanist Essays of Marx, and say: Look, Marx says you must not only overthrow capitalism, but also "vulgar communism" which is but a euphemism for state-capitalism, for a new property form instead of a new human relationship? Did he test his own theories, not as "abstract" permanent revolution, but, concretely, for Spanish Revolution, what is that new relationship of theory to practice? No. We were busy with those great infamous Moscow Frame-Up Trials and they were never once connected with the counter-revolution against the masses that was going on in Spain; and when these were over—all there was the Hitler-Stalin Pact and World War II and Trotsky was still for "defense of Russia, though degenerate."

Please, friends, study that Spanish Revolution: it is one of the greatest ever, and now that you are studying when also we have had the Hungarian Revolution that did make, or try to make, a unity of theory and practice, a bringing unto the historic stage of the Humanism of Marxism as a burning question of the day, do not deprive yourself of all the historic lessons by once again bringing in new dualities and ambiguities about fact, "exclusively facts."

Forgive this outburst, but it is essential, I believe. And now I will answer your concrete question. Felix Morrow, at the time of the writing of the pamphlet on the Spanish Revolution, was a Trotskyist, a member of the leading (National) committee of the Socialist Workers Party. Naturally, his viewpoint was Trotskyist and he would have been critical both of Min and Maurin; when the POUM was formed, the Trotskyists still tried to keep out of the government, at least some of them, like Munis did. At the outbreak of World War II he was imprisoned for opposition to the war as an imperialist war. When, however, he came out of prison, he began to have disagreements with Trotskyism; unfortunately, these soon proved to be not very principled for he was on the way to rejoin bourgeois society. That's where he now is—somewhere near the publishing world as any other "non-ideological" ideologist. —Yours,

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