

May 16, 1967

Dear HM,

Finally I have returned home after a very exhausting, though exciting, lecture tour. In Berkeley, one day alone, I spoke very nearly continuously from noon until ten P.M. with only time off for food, and by the end of the evening when I had already covered The challenge of Mao Tse-tung, the theory of alienation: Hegel, Marx and Sartre; and, the Barbarous United States war in Vietnam, I saw you listed on the latter subject in a different hall, and no doubt we both were marching in SF April 15th but somehow we never did meet.

I had hoped that when I returned to Detroit, I would find your criticism of the second chapter of Marx's Transcendence of, and Return to Hegel's Dialectic. I know you did not promise it before June, but since you will by then be on your way to Europe, I hoped you would get to do this earlier.

I need not belabor the point of my appreciation of your stealing sometime from yourself to do this. Thanks again.

Yours,

P.S. Did you know that you were still using my old, old address and the note to which you referred as having sent me and which I insisted I never received, finally caught up with me, some two months later. Please, it's - 4432 - 23th, Detroit, Michigan. 48210.

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DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY

LA JOLLA, CALIFORNIA 92037

22 May 1967

Raya Dunayevskaya  
4482 - 28th  
Detroit, Michigan 48210

Dear RD:

Thanks for your letter. I am really surprised that you survived your lecture tour, but I know that your energy is inexhaustable, which is perhaps the most essential difference between you and me.

I am terribly sorry that I have to disappoint you. I could not read your chapters, and I shall not be able to read them before my departure early in June. Up to that date I have so much work to complete that I just can't help it. I am returning your chapters herewith.

With apologies and best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'H. Marcuse'.

Herbert Marcuse  
Professor of Philosophy

HM:slp  
Enclosure

9967

December 20, 1967

Dear R. D.

Sorry, it just doesn't work. I am in the midst of writing a larger theoretico-political essay; in addition four ph.d. dissertations to supervise. I cannot take on any additional work. And you do not need my advice and criticism anyway. Good luck!

And the best wishes for another year of Johnson, Meany, and the longshoremen and other workers, unionized or not, who so nicely beat up the anti-war demonstrators...

*H.M.*

9968

July 14, 1968

Dear Ed:

My sister has just forwarded to me the report in the LA Times about the harrassment of you; not a word has appeared here, nor has TV reported it. No doubt nothing should surprise me about these USA which has always operated under a different white than that of the ivory towers. But I am shocked, and naturally wish to do whatever we can. Please let us know at once what we should do.

To begin with, I do wish it widely publicized and will make some photo offsets and send it out to some of the intellectuals like Erich Fromm. A few months back he asked me for your address as he was much concerned over the anti-Semitic overtones of the anti-intellectual campaign in Poland, especially in regard to Leszek Kolakowski and Adam Schaff. It seems that both Praxis in Yugoslavia and the newly appeared Left in Czechoslovakia were anxious to express their solidarity with the philosophers under attack for alleged "Zionism." In any case, Fromm would be for organizing any sort of committee that may be needed for your defense.

Do you really mean that you would not return to the San Diego campus at all this fall? More than your students would greatly miss your presence and the dialectic of your thought. It may be as present in your writings, but there is still no substitute for live in-person dialogue, not even in the dialectic.

Eugene Gogol missed you both in West Germany and in Paris, but heard about you. He spent the whole of May at Sorbonne and you seemed to have left early. It was an experience he will not forget. No doubt you saw his report in N&L. He, too, feels sure that the youth would wish to do what they can to make even Orange County livable by dissenters.

We will be getting an in-person report from some one in Czechoslovakia as to what is happening there as only an East European can know the situation, and so next month's N&L will be devoted to it, and if you tell me where I can send it to you when it comes off the press in August, I will, of course, forward to you.

Do please give my warmest greetings to your wife; I'm sure she has courageously lived through more than one such situation, but it is never pleasant, always dangerous, and it's only the full confidence in the future that makes it possible to bear what bourgeois democracy has hidden in its darkest corners.

Yours,

9969

July 24, 1968

Dear R. D.,

Thanks for your good note. Yes, the reports on the threats to my humble existence were correct.

I am about to leave for Europe - hope I can finish there a larger essay on which I have been working.

Good luck!

JM

Copy  
Make reference  
to [Signature]

October 6, 1976

Dear Joe:

Recently a good number of documents have been released to the SWP under the Freedom of Information Act, as a result of your legal battle against the government's political surveillance. I have not been that successful in trying to get files held on me by the FBI, CIA, Attorney General and the NSA. The National Security Administration has acknowledged having a folder on me, but refused to reveal its contents "because it is classified and therefore exempt from access or release pursuant to Title 5 U.S.C. 552 (b) (1). The record has been reviewed and is judged to be currently and properly classified in its entirety under criteria set forth in paragraph 2-303, DoD Regulation 5200.1-R, which implements Executive Order 11652." (Letter from NSA, Serial: N 9325, dated Sept. 7, 1976)

My attorney, Neal Bush (Halpern, Mogill, Bush, Posner, Weiss, and McFadden, 1455 Centre St., Detroit, Mich. 48226) naturally appealed the decision. You know better than I what a tedious, long and bureaucratized road that is to travel. Neal Bush, who is handling all the inquiries, thought his job would be greatly facilitated if you would make available to me any of the documents you obtained which list me.

Here are the periods I thought most likely to include references to me:

- 1) 1937-38 when I was with Comrade Trotsky in Mexico.
- 2) In 1943, although I was no longer in the SWP, the Russian Embassy in Washington, D.C. applied pressure upon the American Economic Review to try to stop the publication of my translation of an article from Pod Znamenem Marxizma with an analysis by me called "A New Revision of Marxian Economics." The Embassy wrote the AER that "Raya Dunayevskaya is very obviously a pseudonym, no doubt of a Trotskyist or a fascist, probably both." Since the U.S. and Russia were allies then, this was followed up by our State Department likewise pressuring the AER not to publish. The AER resisted, telling me that "everyone" knew I was a Trotskyist but it was so important an academic contribution they would publish it, and the Russians shouldn't object since they were giving the Russian view 30 pages as contrasted to the 6 pages for my commentary. Naturally, I do not know whether any of this -- and the international controversy that arose from it which hit the front page of the New York Times and lasted for an entire year -- found its way to SWP files.
- 3) 1947, when I attended the Fourth International Conference in France. I do not know whether you know that on the very day I arrived, at a very cheap hotel on a side street in Paris, I was visited by a man from the American Embassy who had known me in the '30s when I worked for the government. I asked him how he could possibly know I was in Paris and where I was staying when I had no contact with him for years. I believe the name of Irving Brown was cited by this man, after which he proceeded to tell me that the youth section of the Socialist Party which had just been won over by Trotskyism

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had openly advertised the conference, and since he was a "specialist on splits," he wanted me to help him get into the adult conference for the sake of "scholarship." I naturally told him off, reported it at once to Pablo, and changed hotels. The harassment continued when I proceeded to England, allegedly because I was carrying the film of Trotsky in 1917 for "public show." (The joke is that the authorities also inquired about me of Gerry Healy, and he evidently assured them that he had never heard of me.) By the time I returned to New York, the Immigration and Naturalization Department confiscated a shorthand notebook of mine which they mistakenly thought contained the minutes of the Fourth International conference, but since they did not bother to acknowledge they absconded with it, I didn't bother to inform them that it was a lecture on Shakespeare. Rowland Watts of the ACTU was then my attorney.

4) After the Johnson-Forest Tendency left the SWP in 1951, it happened that the Militant was carrying some articles written by someone named Adams. At that time I was married to a man by the name of Adams (of the Bicentennial Adamses), who was a Senior Economist for the government and who was being harassed for having married me. Once again, the name of the SWP and the Militant came up. I went to see Comrade Cannon and he assured me that the name Adams would no longer be used in the Militant.

I do not believe that there are any other periods of my life which might enter into the SWP surveillance documents. However, I was in considerable difficulty from both the British and the U.S. governments when I was in Africa in 1962; my passport was lifted on my return to the U.S. Rowland Watts, who was still my lawyer, finally got my passport back, but the Immigration Dept. offered no explanation, claiming it was "all a mistake." But it was the same period when, because of our struggle against the labor bureaucracy in Detroit, a youthful son of a UAW leader informed me that the UAW likewise had a file on me which listed me as "a far-left split-off from the Trotskyists." Finally, just last year, during my lecture tour in Berkeley, "Trotskyism" as a characterization of me was suddenly linked to a Chinese friend, whom I had met when I was in Hong Kong in 1965-66, where I was doing research work for the Mao chapter in Philosophy and Revolution, and when the Mao chapter for Marxism and Freedom was translated into Chinese and smuggled into mainland China.

Besides Raya Dunayevskaya, the names I submitted when I demanded to see my files were: Rae Spiegel, Rae Adams, Freddie Forest. It goes without saying that I would greatly appreciate anything you can do to help me with my fight against the FBI, CIA, NSA and other surveillance agencies.

Comradely yours,

PS: Anne Jaffe, who is delivering this letter to you in person, is both a comrade and an attorney, will know the contents of this letter, and is authorized to receive your reply to me.

9972

November 1, 1976

Dear Raya:

Thanks for your greetings and the copy of your letter to Joe  
I return it herewith. I myself have requested my  
file a fortnight ago. I shall write you as soon as I  
have received it.

You will laugh when you hear that I am working on  
Marxist aesthetics: "doesn't he have other worries?"  
But perhaps we do meet again some time somewhere  
for a good discussion and disagreement.

Best wishes

Herbert

9973



Nov. 10, 1976

Dear HB,

C  
O  
P  
Y

Thank you very much for your note of the 1st. If you get your file, I certainly would be grateful to hear about your success. After all, our names also crossed, and I'm not only referring to your 1957 Preface to Marxism and Freedom, but the 1943-44 dual pressure from both the State Department and the Soviet Embassy against the A.E.R. publication of my translation of Stalin's revision of the law of value, and commentary upon it, which seemed at that time to touch upon some of the Frankfurt School that were in this country. It is true that this came to me second-hand, but one thing was sure--there were then many Luxemburgists who were looking for me in a very friendly way.

So you're into Marxist aesthetics, and Fromm of course has never left psychoanalysis, so us poor, "un-erudite" revolutionaries will have to keep fending for ourselves. Did I tell you, in 1974, that the H.S.A. had invited me to present a paper on Hegel's Absolute Idea as New Beginning? There must have been some from the Frankfurt School there too, since my talk contained criticism of Adorno's Negative Dialectics and I engaged in quite a discussion with them. Would you like to see a copy of my talk? The proceedings were supposed to be published by Nijhoff in 1975. Then I heard that Humanities Press instead will be the ones to publish it in 1976, but I have yet to see proof of it. Do you suppose that since I promised the Society that I'm not really calling them to the barricades, time has become eternal?

Yes, it would be great to meet again for a discussion. Do you ever come east? I have been to the West Coast every year, but I have promised myself not to do so in order to create time for me to do some serious work on my projected new work on Rosa Luxemburg and today's women theorists.

Yours,

9974

9975

January 31, 1978

Dear HM,

How are you? Do you know whether you'll have any free time April 21 or 22? My lecture tour this year calls for my speaking in San Diego those two days, and I thought I would like to talk with you on two matters.

As you know, I have been working for some time on a study of Rosa Luxemburg and today's WLM. I've been concentrating on the period 1910-14, which is when Rosa broke with Kautsky, heightened her agitation not only on the general strike, but the opposition to imperialism, not only "in general," but most specifically the SD's failure to carry on a campaign during the Morocco crisis, and writing her greatest theoretical work, Accumulation of Capital. In all these, she was way ahead of all other international leaders, including Lenin. At the same time, I was most anxious to get a feel of the times and the person, from those who knew Rosa or participated in Spartakus. ~~Always~~ few of the letters I did receive were quite illuminating. I was most anxious to get your reactions, but since you never write to me, I am looking forward to the opportunity of talking with you.

The other matter concerns those horrors in Washington that manage to compete with the tortoises in the lackadaisicalness with which they respond to requests under the Freedom of Information Act. Since I wrote you last on the question, I have received very little from them, and they have not moved an inch when it comes to not just censoring what they did send me, but refusing categorically under god knows what "special" laws to allow access to any part 1962-63, and 1964-65. In '62-'63 I was in Africa, had quite a bit of harassment, especially from British and French imperialism, and...as well as the fact that here I "celebrated" the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation with my pamphlet American Civilization on Trial which in the very first paragraph challenged J. & R. Kennedy, J. Edgar Hoover, and a few other big names. In '65, I was in Japan and Hong Kong, and I didn't leave until the beginning of Mao's Cultural revolution. Have you had any better results from your requests for information?

Yours,

