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ERICH FROMM

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10th July, 1967

Miss Raya Dunayevskaya  
4482 - 28th St.  
Detroit, Mich. 48210

Dear Raya,

Thank you for your letter which reached me with a great deal of delay in Switzerland.

Thanks for telling me about my friends in Berkeley. I have spoken there a few times, but it is nice to hear that with some people at least there has remained a positive reaction.

As to your question about the dialogue between Marxists and Catholics in Spain I know nothing. I just heard recently from the Secretary \* General of the Society of European Culture in Venice to which many people of the Eastern bloc belong, that they had their last meeting in Spain and that the Spanish government went out of its way to facilitate it. There were, if I remember correctly, Catholics present and also Marxists. But that is about all I know. If you want any very special information I could get it through a friend of mine who was the / Director of the Fondo de Cultura Economica in Mexico, and now directs his own publishing house, who has very good connections in all Spanish-speaking countries, including Spain. So that if you want anything very specific, let me know.

With all good wishes,

Yours

Erich Fromm

Transcribed in Mexico from a  
tape Dr. Fromm sent from  
Europe.

10012

July 23, 1967

Thank you very much for your kind letter of the 10th. When I first asked about the relationship of the Marxists and Catholics in Spain, it was a purely abstract question, but since then something concrete has arisen, and perhaps your friend from the Fondo de Cultura Economica in Mexico who directs his own publishing firm could help, so here are the new developments, and you be the judge.

Out of nowhere--to this day I do not know how they got a copy of MARXISM AND FREEDOM and how from that they had written to an English publisher and who, besides, is not the one who dispirate the American edition--via a further unknown source in England, there finally reached me a letter from an Editorial Ciencia Nueva, Preciados 23, Madrid 13, Tel. 2315497. The editors asked how much would the rights to my work cost if I granted them the Spanish (and Latin American) rights. I replied that it was simple--and cheap in view of the fact that I was indeed very interested in a Spanish edition: a mere \$100 for copyright and 10% of wholesale price of books sold, and I sent them a 1965 edition since it was clear they had available only an early edition which did not have the Chinese chapter, but did have the appendices that did not reappear in the latter edition, i.e., 2 of the Early Marx's Essays, and Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks.

I then received another letter which said they were studying my book most seriously and are interested, but I must understand that everything published in Spain must pass censorship. And my work does have a reference to specific Spanish fascism and the destruction of the 1937 revolution. Since then I have not had a single word for them, which need not mean that the censor already said a categorical No, but, of course, it may mean that. Several times in these years I have had inquiries from Mexico and once from Argentina where they actually translated the work, but it didn't get published, and indeed I only heard of the existing Spanish translation, but had never seen it, and since then those interested in it--one of the Fredisis--has landed in jail. So if your friend either knows the Ciencia Nueva in Madrid or the relationship of this publisher to Latin America, or how to put over a new translation and this time actual publication of MAF, I'd naturally be most grateful.

I'm glad to hear that you are travelling in Europe which must mean you are well. Hurrah! The Japanese friends who were interested in you and so disappointed that you could not come were

P1001

10013



July 31, 1968

Raya Dunayevskaya  
8146 Ward  
Detroit, Michigan 48228

Dear Raya:

Thank you for your letter of July 15th and for sending me the report about Marcuse.

About the question of organizing a committee for Marcuse, it seems to me a little too early for that. Until the University is in serious negotiations about his new contract and shows their unwillingness to renew the contract it is difficult to organize something. At any rate, one would have to know what Marcuse would wish to have done. In the meantime, I have read that he plans to be back in the fall. I have just scrapped a chapter which was to be in the book I am writing and was a very sharp criticism of Marcuse. I thought that this criticism could give material to his rightwing enemies and hence I decided not to publish it. But after having read the whole of One-Dimensional Man and Eros and Civilization--I had never read more than parts--I am really shocked, not only about the incompetent treatment of Freud, which is a drastic distortion, but more than that about the irrational and, to me, somewhat sickening character of his ideas for the future man. Excellent as Marcuse is with his purely philosophical work, these two books are the expression of an alienation and despair masquerading as radicalism. Basically the salvation lies in the regression to infantile egotism, and as far as the polymorphous sexuality is concerned, I don't think we need a revolution for that. Perversions have been practiced not only by storm treatment but with mutual agreement throughout the ages and in all classes.

*1. tropes*

I am sorry that I did not write you last spring about the committee of solidarity with the philosophers and students of Poland. I made some efforts but did not get anywhere, partly because I became very active in the McCarthy campaign and at the same time tried to write a book--which I am just finishing--on the present situation.

I am very much interested in what you write about the activities of Svitak. I have not heard from him for a long time and I would be most interested in finding out what he is doing in trying to unite workers and intellectuals in the new democratization.

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ERICH FROMM  
180 RIVERSIDE DRIVE  
NEW YORK 24, N. Y.

I might go to Europe in a few days so please write me to Mexico, from where I shall have my mail forwarded. I had intended to go to Korcula but I cannot make it. I might see Marcuse in Salzburg, where we both are supposed to talk at a peace conference, but I don't think that there is too much which would be the basis for a fruitful conversation.

Cordially yours,

*E.F.*

Erich Fromm

10016

Aug.10,1968

Dear EF:

HM is off in Europe, working on a new essay, and thus/the university is <sup>far</sup> defending him, so there is nothing for us to do.

I do hope you will not scrap any chapter of criticism you have written. If every time the Right attacked, we felt that our defense of the Left required self-censorship, it would be awful, that is to say, more self-defeating than censorship imposed by outside authorities. Naturally, the language has to be modified; I assume you would not use words like storm trooper and I happen not to be particularly fond of subjective terms like "masquerading" since I think that for a radical it/much more damning to express alienation and despair and yet be truly radical than to "masquerade" as radical. HM most certainly would like to see a revolution, but he absolutely cannot escape his own pessimism. We (he and I) fight like cats and dogs all the time, but that doesn't mean I would either not defend him, or keep my criticism of him to myself. I cannot say as much for him since he really goes in for a string of ridiculous adjectives when one does not agree with him, which was the case when I once criticized Isaac Deutscher and he very nearly called me an "agent" (I think he never could make up his mind about my "ultra-leftism" and "romanticism" so he never knew whose "agent" I would be!)

The reason I am encouraging you not to discard your criticism (though I doubt that I in turn would agree with you and in any case I know nothing of Freud and keep far away from any field I am not competent in) is that I feel very strongly on the historic blunders made when revolutionaries feel that martyrs must never be criticized, not even theoretically. ~

Ivan Svitak did not reply, but I did get a magnificent report of what is happening in Czechoslovakia from a lesser known figure, who also sent me some of Svitak's speeches which seem magnificent both on the question of plurality of parties and the need for unity of worker and intellectual. In any case, the Prague report, "At the Crossroads of Two Worlds" by Stephen Steiger, I am having published in NEWS & LETTERS. I shall send you a copy, and if you agree with me that it is as worthwhile of publication as I do, you might see that it gets published in other journals, and perhaps translated into Spanish.

Yours,

Incidentally, to get back to Marcuse for a moment, I do not quite know who is responsible for the extraordinary publicity he has gotten recently, but his influence on the West European youth is greatly exaggerated. It isn't only as Daniel Cohn-Bendit put it, that there aren't more than a dozen students who have studied his works (unless, he added, it be Eros and Civilization) but that they sharply disagree with his politics when they do hear him.

One student in this country, Richard Greenan, who happens to be a friend of mine has written a critique of his philosophic works, which will appear in the next issue of New Politics. Since you are listed as a sponsor of the magazine, I assume you do get the journal. Did you happen to see my piece there, "Cultural Revolution or Maoist Reaction?" in the Spring issue?

10017

Nov. 7, 1968

Dear EF:

Ivan Svitak is now with the Russian Institute and, thus, can be reached at Columbia University. Generally, it is Brzenski's secretary who takes all of the calls since Svitak, both for security reasons and because he is working on a book on Czechoslovakia rather than a regular member of the faculty.

You have your differences with Marcuse on psychoanalysis and I have mine with Svitak on Hegel. I was quite surprised, considering that he is both a humanist and a Marxist (which, to me are one) that he was so "hostile" to what he considers "going backwards". As you know, I have been working on the relationship of philosophy to revolution, from Hegel and the French Revolution through Marx and the European Revolution of 1848 and 1871 to our own epoch. I feel that it is absolutely the most neglected field which only looks overworked because Marxists felt it necessary to say that they are dialecticians like a Catholic feels it necessary to cross himself when he passes a church. In any case, because I have been unable to get any foundation funds and, naturally, both Communists and Socialists and even Marcuse who has really become a great deal more "political" than philosophic in his attitudes considers me "romantic", the work is progressing extremely slowly as I must continue to earn a living. But, I do hope to complete it, at least in full draft form, by the end of this year. There is one thing that I always did appreciate in Marcuse and that is that he tried to rescue me from being an unperson by lending his name, that is to say writing a preface to *Marxism and Freedom*, though I doubt he would do as much now. We may even get to debate in public -- some of the student youth are very interested in getting us on a single platform, thus far without success -- when I get to California on my Spring lecture tour next year.

8 Thank you for sending me your latest book; I assume I will receive it soon, and if I feel at all competent (which I doubt) I shall write you my reaction.

New Politics seems to be following an independent road so I would not imagine you would want to break with it. As you know the Spring issue carried my piece on the Chinese Cultural Revolution and the fall issue carries the Critique by Richard Greeman on Marcuse's philosophic works. If you do not have it, I shall be glad to send it to you. Will you remain in the states?

Yours,

RD:dmg

10018

ERICH FROMM  
180 RIVERSIDE DRIVE  
NEW YORK 24, N. Y.

November 30, 1968

Miss Raya Dunayevskaya  
8146 Ward  
Detroit, Michigan 48228

Dear Raya:

Thank you for your letter of November 7th which I received on my return from a trip to California.

I was glad to hear that Svitak is in New York. That means safe. I am somewhat surprised that he stays in Brzenski's Institute. In fact, I am a little reluctant to call him up. I would have expected that he would have called me up here or written me and I am afraid that his not having done so indicates that for one reason or another he does not want to have anything to do with me. Naturally, I do not want to embarrass him by calling him.

I am sorry to hear that due to external circumstances your work proceeds slowly. I wish I could be of any help. My connections with funds are nil, but if I could be of use in connection with the publisher please let me know. I have great respect for your knowledge, your penetration, your honesty and your courage and I believe that you have something to say which should be known as much as possible. I am surprised that you have not received my book. If I cannot find a hard cover edition (the first printing is sold out) I hope you don't mind if I send you a paperback. If you could send me your piece on the Chinese cultural revolution and the issue with Greeman's Critique of Marcuse's philosophic work you would do me a great favor, but how can you dispense with your volumes? If you are used to preserving them then you had better not send them to me and I will try to get them independently.

With all good wishes and warm regards,

Sincerely yours,

*Erich*

Erich Fromm

EF:mw

10019



December 10, 1968

Dear E.F.,

Here are the articles on Marcuse, and Mao. (Come to think of it, the accidental nearness of the names is not quite as shocking as I thought it to be when I reached the name of Mao since Marcuse, with a straight face and not really with tongue in cheek, said to me that there wasn't anything wrong in going to bed with "Quotations from Chairman Mao" under their pillow as all good Maoist are said to do). You may keep the articles; I have other copies and tore them out of the magazine, only to make it possible for me to send it to you air mail.

Thank you very much for your very kind and warm letter. I may take advantage of your offer to intercede with publisher when (or should I have said if ever) I complete my work on Philosophy and Revolution. I have given myself a deadline -- the end of next year -- but then my self-discipline holds only when there aren't overriding objective compulsions, and who can say there will not be still one other lost, crushed, aborted revolution?

As I believe I wrote you, I couldn't find it in me to be able to say to Ivan Svitak that he shouldn't accept the post at Brzenski's Institute when I knew that he had only \$2.00 in his pockets, the clothes on his back and two brief cases stuffed with manuscripts. The fact that he asked my view shows that he hasn't been brainwashed yet. I believe he would be glad to hear from you. The real hold-up is Brzenski's Secretary through whom everything "clears". Your judgment may be best on that after all.

Yours, *R*

P.S. I shall be looking forward to getting your book in paperback. As a matter of fact, I generally prefer it that way. There was only one time when I jumped out of my skin in anger to see the very cheap paperback which the French publisher used to get out the original Russian edition of Trotsky's History of the Russian Revolution. So, on his birthday, which is November 7th, (he told very few people that fact since it had all the earmarks of a birthday made to order). I had it bound in sharp red leather. He was as happy as a child; it would have been difficult for anyone to recognize "Man of October" in that childlike glee.

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