

May 23, 1965

Dear EF:

Have I written to you that during my recent lecture tour in British Columbia I found an "adherent" of yours in Vancouver -- a very unusual man named Lefty Morgan, a railroad worker who is presently (after an industrial accident) at work on a book on the conditions of labor which lead to spontaneous actions, workers' control of production, self-development quite other than those the managers of production planned as they worked out those conditions of labor? Lefty quotes from your works, especially The Sane Society, and wanted to know whether he could get your permission. I told him that I felt sure you would grant such permission. Have you heard from him?

Are you still here or are you in Europe? I've misplaced your schedule. Because of the objective situation--both as it related to the US bombing of North Viet Nam and the Maoist taking over the JCP--my trip to Japan has been delayed from spring to fall. The comrades there felt also uneasy about my safety as I speak both against US imperialism and Maoism and felt I should not travel without a "guard" and since that would mean more money I cannot have, I thought I better think more about it, while they work more with the Japanese edition of the work to expand Marxist-Humanist grouping there. So I am still here, but, instead of having time to work on my new book, I'm rushing to completion a pamphlet on The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution, which will also include a contribution by Mario Savio.

I thought you might also be interested in an appendix to it which will reproduce the lecture that was so popular with the students and which I printed on my return: "The Theory of Alienation: Marx's Debt to Hegel." Also included because I think it may interest you is "Remembrance of Things Past in the Future Tense" in The Activist; it's rather out of my usual mold for me to review Sartre's autobiographical work but it did impinge on philosophical and political problems --and, in any case, I always "capitulate" to youth requests and the Oberlin College students asked me to review The Words.

Thus far I have not had luck in convincing a bourgeois publisher to undertake issuing MD's "To Be A Whole Man", but since I haven't given up hope, may I ask you please to repeat your summer schedule: when do you leave for Europe; when do you return? Thank you.

Yours,

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Sept. 23, 1965

Dear EF:

As you saw from my review of Sartre, I did, of course, utilize Mms. de Beauvoir's autobiography. I don't know whether she is more frank deliberately or only more dumb. But she is not the one who had a whole generation of post-war youth bamboozled; he did. You are, of course, right about his egocentricity and his thoroughly bourgeois nature. But that, too, does not explain the pull he exercised over many who thought themselves revolutionary. The very fact that it was not even held against him that he studied in Hitler Germany and was never abashed about the fact that his philosophy had its origin in the reactionary Kierkegaard and the Nazi Heidegger shows the decadence of our so-called revolutionaries as well as of the bourgeoisie. No, I think closer to the truth resides in Hegel's profound analysis of the Unhappy Consciousness which he further defined as "the giddy whirl of a perpetually self-creating disorder", "a personality confined within its narrow self and its petty activity, a personality brooding over itself, as unfortunate as it is pitifully destitute." The irony is that this section of the PHENOMENOLOGY OF MIND was Sartre's favorite, though he failed to recognize himself in it, even as he failed to recognize himself in the attribution of "bad faith" to all others, including Freud's discovery of the sub-conscious.

Finally I got from Doubleday your Socialist Humanism; it's a beautifully produced job in form as it is in content. Such a rich house surely doesn't need free ads from such poor ones as us, but I am anxious for workers to read it, and so I put in ad in NEWS & LETTERS, herewith enclosed, and already we had 6 orders.

Yours,



I trust you are well; what made you ill in Europe?

10006

ERICH FROMM

TELEPHONES:  
MEXICO CITY: 48-54-20  
CUERNAVACA: 2-30-49

MAILING ADDRESS  
PATRICIO SANZ 748-5  
MEXICO 12, D. F.

1st October, 1965

Dear Raya

I just got your letter of September 23.

I do not know whether I wrote you that I found your piece on Sartre excellent. Your remark about him and Mme. de Beauvoir is very much to the point. I am always puzzled by her utter political and human naiveté. Since she is not really that dumb to explain all this, I suspect that Sartre too must be in a way very naive, although he covers it with lots of words. How he could bamboozle a whole generation so thoroughly has also been puzzling to me. Of course he appealed to the despair and cynicism, especially by speaking in such glittering words. Also, I believe people do fall for very voluminous and somewhat obscurely written books. But still, that is probably not the whole explanation. I was very much interested in the further remarks you made about it.

I am very glad you liked Socialist Humanism, and I was delighted with your ad in NEWS AND LETTERS.

*(I wrote about it to Sunday)*

Cordially yours,

*Erich*

Erich Fromm

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*Pers*

May 16, 1966

Dear EF:

You may consider the intrusion into your thinking on your new work as a bit far-fetched, but I trust not irrelevant. Somehow, ever since you mentioned developing the ideas of Marx's Humanism in the psycho-analytic field, I have felt (and I trust not only because I do not know psycho-analysis) that certain historical-philosophical analyses by Marx and Hegel could serve not only to illuminate the field, but actually to inspire opening new avenues. The work of Marx that I was thinking about in this relationship is one that is hardly ever mentioned and has not been translated. However, a good selection of quotations does appear in Lowith's From Hegel to Nietzsche. I am referring to Marx's doctoral thesis on the difference the philosophies of Democritus and Epicurus. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Marx's profound insights there relate not only to the two philosophies, but to those turning points in history where a great philosophy having "perished", the epigone arise because they have been unable to establish altogether new beginnings and so must chip away (interpret) at the last great philosophy. I'm sorry to say I don't have this work of Marx, but I feel sure that if you don't have it, the quotations you will find in Lowith will stimulate you sufficiently to want to read it in relationship to your specific work now rather than as part of Marx's development. I'm sure also that you will not be the least diverted from this pleasant task by the fact that Communists, Trotskysists, and such other old radicals hold this thesis to have been "the bourgeois Marx".

Now the section in Hegel's Phenomenology of Mind which I consider indispensable to any serious analysis of people in power and those who hunger to get there is entitled "Spirit in Self-Estrangement -- The Discipline of Culture". The "Unhappy Consciousness" is much more famous than the "Spirit in Self-Estrangement" but in fact this "higher" stage of alienation is the most interesting for the analysis of characters like Mao Tse-tung or Fidel Castro, for that matter. What I'm trying to say is, that whereas the "Unhappy Consciousness" comes at a time when the world is going to pieces and the individual cannot find his place in society, either with the old or the new, the "Spirit in Self-Estrangement" comes at a time when the person has gotten power and should be most happy, but, but, but -- just listen to Hegel himself:

" Spirit in this case, therefore, constructs not merely one world, but a two-fold world, divided and self-opposed." (p.510) "The noble type of consciousness, then, finds itself in the judgment related to the state-power ... This type of mind is the heroism of service ... The result of this action, binding the essential reality and self indissolubly together is to produce a two-fold actuality -- a self that is truly actualized and a state-power whose authority is accepted as true." (P.526-7) "Such a type is the haughty vassal " (p.528) "This estrangement, however, takes place in language ... Speech, however, hides ego in its purity; it alone expresses I, I itself." (p.529-30) "This type of spiritual life is the absolute and universal inversion of reality and thought their entire estrangement one from the other" (p.541).

For a man as erudite as Hegel to have this merciless attack on "culture" is one more of those paradoxes which show the duality in Hegel as man, as a Prussian, and Hegel, the genius, who could step across class and historic barriers -- and with very good humor at that.

Yours, *Ray*

P.S. I don't know whether the letter above could pass as a congratulatory note for your getting the Guggenheim grant, but I was diverted from sending regular congratulations by the fact that, as expected, I did not get it or any other foundation to sponsor my "subversive" study and thus I must do it and work and scrounge for pennies at the same time. Anyway, I know you'll understand.

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**TELEPHONES:**  
MEXICO CITY: 48-64-20  
CUERNAVACA: 2-30-49

**ERICH FROMM**

**MAILING ADDRESS:**  
PATRICIO SANZ 748.5  
MEXICO 12, D. F.

29th October, 1966

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

Dear Raya,

It is almost four weeks since I received your letter and have not yet answered it. Please excuse this delay, but there were certain special circumstances which made it impossible for me in the last few weeks to take proper care of my mail.

I see from your letter that Doubleday has not sent copies of the paperback to the authors, but I shall be very glad to send you some if you will tell me about how many you want.

I got an invitation from the Japanese Radio to go to Japan to give some lectures, which I have promised to do, from about the first of April on. I plan to stay there about ~~3~~ 4 weeks. I would greatly appreciate if you could write me what persons you think I should contact to have some interesting conversations. I know the difficulties I have had with many Japanese, whose English is poor, so that a conversation ends up in a half-understanding but I am sure you must know some who speak English well, so that one can really talk. Any comment on the people whom you suggest would be most welcome also, and if you have them, their addresses.

Last spring I was in Czechoslovakia, and gave lectures at the University and at the Academy of Philosophy. There is a great interest in everything Western and American, which I do not consider entirely positive. Philosophically it seems that existentialism has more influence there than in Poland or Yugoslavia. It seems that they are now prepared to give up their relative equalization of income, in order to have better "incentives" for production, and there seems to be little doubt that the material incentive is the only one that works. I feel that is a tragic defeat for socialism, which was based on the idea that in a proper and more human form of society other

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incentives such as interest, etc., would replace the purely materialistic interest in money. In my lecture at the Institute of Philosophy I spoke about the general trend towards unlimited and further increasing consumption which has its original root in capitalism, and which is now also increasing in all socialist countries, and I spoke, of course, from a critical standpoint towards this phenomenon. The reaction was a stony silence, and I think there is hardly any understanding for this problem.

Have you seen the Yugoslav publication PRAXIS which is edited by a group of very intelligent and humanist Marxists? It is published in English, German and French. If you would be interested I will get a subscription for you; perhaps you would decide to write something for them.

With best regards,

Yours,

*E.F.*

Erich Fromm

10010

Nov.25,1966

Dear EF:

Why not play it by ear? My friends will certainly not impose any lectures on you. If you feel after you have met Kurokawa that you wish to speak to a small group rather than just an individual, it can easily be arranged right on the spot. However, I took it from your letter of the 16th that you would rather meet and talk individually with Kurokawa in Tokyo and Prof. Mizuta. Therefore I wrote that you were not available for lectures beyond those arranged for you by those who have invited you to appear on TV-radio. If you will tell me when and where your lectures will occur, I will inform them and they can attend if they wish to and have others listen. Otherwise, either they will call you or you will call them. You alone will be the judge if you wish to develop the relationship beyond that.

I was surprised that you did not mention Hiroshima as one of the places you intend to visit. I dare say I should not recommend a visit since, after seeing the Peace Museum, I had the most abominable nightmare. And yet it has an attraction that is absolutely irresistible. The students at the University there are the ones who wrote to the White House asking Lucy not to get married on the day the Americans dropped the bomb on Hiroshima but that stupid and insensitive girl not only went through with her marriage, but said "How would it be if I get married on the day they attacked Pearl Harbor?" As I told the <sup>Hiroshima</sup> students "the day of infamy", historically, will be August, not December, although no one wishes to excuse any imperialist war act. But, can you imagine any in our old USA having a mass meeting in honor of the war dead by the hand of their own rulers as the students there had for me on December 7th?

Thank you for both the act of writing to Praxis and Doubleday.

Yours,



You never did answer me on the question I once posed regarding Hegel's PHENOMENOLOGY OF MIND and the particular aspects of Humanism that you were working on for your new book. I wondered whether you ever got that letter quite a few months back.

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