

Buenos Aires  
March 28, 1963

Dear Miss Dunayevskaya:

... I want to tell you that I'm very interested in the Spanish translation of your book because I hope it will turn out a success. I am willing to undertake this and I think the publication may include all the appendices you would decide. Although we have the original of the "Political and Economic Manifesto", and its English, Italian and Spanish translations, I think it is always interesting to consider a new version. We also have the French and Italian editions of the "Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks", but we haven't the Spanish translation of these. Your pamphlet "Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolution" may be included in our publication too.

I'll have all our materials sent to you as soon as possible, except those which are out of print. You will advise that some of them are not in fashion, but you may take the opportunity to know what have we done as yet.

We shall take it our business to do whatever you suggest about this matter and to begin a regular exchange of materials.

I'll be hoping to hear from you soon and I should like to meet you here for in-person discussion between us.

Most truly yours,  
Silvio Frondizi

Detroit  
April 2, 1963

Dear Dr. Frondizi:

... I think it would be an excellent idea to include the pamphlet on the Afro-Asian Revolutions because all of this does apply to Latin America as well as to Africa. I am including herewith one of the letters on Africa that I had written when I was there, plus the pamphlet. Under separate cover we will also send you all of our other publications.

Will you write a special introduction for the Latin American edition? I certainly hope so and I too will wish to write a special preface. I will not comment on the trip because I don't see it as an immediate possibility, unfortunately, because of the cost. No doubt, however, by the time the book has been translated, I hope to be there. Will you please inform me what type of publisher you have in mind? How long do you estimate the translation and the printing will take?

Fraternally yours,  
Naya Dunayevskaya

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May 29, 1963

Dear Com. Frondizi:

Thank you very much for inscribing your LA REALIDAD ARGENTINA to me and forwarding to us your other books as well as those of your collaborators, Marcos Kaplan and Eugenio Werden. It is most exciting to find that in the same two decades —1943-1963 — in which our ideas were formulated, so were yours. While, in its main current, the Marxist-Humanism, internationalism and revolutionary aspirations are on the same level —or, as you phrase it in "Doce años de política argentina", "que aspira a superar las limitaciones y la antítesis del stalinismo y del trotskismo" —, the different origins and environment of the American and Argentinian Marxist-Humanists should also show themselves.

What is quintessential is that, finally, after a theoretical void begun with the death of Lenin and never ended, a dialogue between us should begin on the serious level of bringing out a Spanish edition of MARXISM and FREEDOM, with, I hope, an Introduction for the Latin-American readers by yourself. Naturally, at the same time, I will see that your works get read by our people and, while the situation in this country, hardly allows for translation and publication of your works, I shall certainly try to see what I can do.

If you will permit me to call to your attention the method of my book, I believe we will also be able to see wherein the emphasis you have put in your works differ. Your group impresses me as being serious and all intellectual; ours is serious but it is, nearly 50 per cent, proletarian. Hence, while we have theoretical works like MARXISM and FREEDOM and the pamphlet on the Afro-Asian Revolutions and presently the National Editorial Board's statement on "American Civilization on Trial", we have not only the unique combination of worker and intellectual in the monthly paper, NEWS & LETTERS but also such pamphlets written by workers and Negro youth as WORKERS BATTLE AUTOMATION, FREEDOM RIDERS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES, etc. It is this concentration on letting the workers speak for themselves that has also influenced the writing of the major theoretical work, as you can easily see by the break in style in Section Two on the American Scene of Part B, THE PROBLEM OF OUR AGE: STATE CAPITALISM vs. FREEDOM.

This same concentration on the working class's self-activity explains why the re-establishment of the Humanism of Marxism in the United States dates itself, on the one hand, to the miners' strike against Automation in 1949-50 and the East German revolt against Russian totalitarian "norms of labor" in 1953, on the other hand. Your concrete theoretical analysis—whether your own "La Realidad Argentina", "Doce Años de política argentina" and "La Revolución Cubana", or Marcos Kaplan's "Economía Y Política del Petróleo Argentino (1939-1956)— therefore were of greater value to us than the philosophic statements, whether of Rousseau, Locke, or dialectical materialism. This is not because philosophy is not of the essence to us as an organization and to the epoch as an age that must still achieve its revolution. Rather it is because your latter works trace a philosophic development, in an of itself, whereas our philosophic theses relate directly to the present stage of politics and proletarian development.

Let us take, as one example, Humanism. Of course it can be traced from Rousseau and surely we come closer yet to Marx through Feuerbach. And I agree with you that Rudolfo Mondolfo is surely underestimated in Europe and not known at all in the United States. I remember being impressed with his "Marx and Marxism", especially his attack on the current pretenders to Marxism as against "genuine Marxism which is animated by a deep historical consciousness and the highest demands for freedom." Nevertheless the stress

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on Feuerbach did not help the Marxism of the late 19th century not to betray nor, which is more important, Lenin be able to find his way back to the Hegelian dialectic as self-development, self-activity, self-movement and the humanism that followed without breaking with the whole philosophic foundation of the Second, even in its revolutionary internationalist days, of counterposing materialism to idealism instead of seeing them as synthesis.

In any case — to return to the method of MARXISM & FREEDOM — the 1844 Manuscripts are dealt with, not in relationship to either Rousseau or Feuerbach or, for that matter, the dialectic of the Greeks upon which Marx also surely depended, but as they arose in the beginnings of the factory age. That is to say, the Industrial Revolution, on the one hand, stimulated the American Revolution and English classical political economy with its theory of value; and, on the other hand, impelled the great French Revolution, the Hegelian dialectic, and the utopian socialist and vulgar communists. Out of all these forces plus the actual class struggles of the 1830's came Marx's Humanist essays, the anticipation of the 1848 revolution.

The next "break" in Marx comes as a result of the American Civil War, the struggle for the 8 hour day and birth of First International, and the Paris Commune. These forces help him theoretically break with his former method of presenting his Critique of Political Economy as a dispute among theoreticians, to CAPITAL, as a history, not of theories, but of production relations. The Humanism and Dialectic of CAPITAL re-establishes, therefore, the Humanism of 1844 on a very much higher level, right within his most "economic" work.

To me, Lenin's need to break with his own philosophic past has the most cogent effect on us today, and is seen, not so much in his break with the Second International which betrayed, but with his own Bolshevik colleagues, especially the main theoretician of the party, Nikolai Bukharin, whom he considered suffering from "economism" and not "fully a master of the dialectic." In this Lenin predicted all state planners of today. Naturally he couldn't know them as we who have suffered from Stalinism know them, but the anticipation of state-capitalism and degeneration of Russian Revolution in his last speech have never been mastered by Leon Trotsky, though he had remained the one symbol of opposition to the Stalinist buracracy, it turned out to be no more than a footnote to history, and now the Trotskyists are nothing but left-wing whitewashers of both Russian and Chinese Communism.

Finally, the Humanism gets to the American, East German and Hungarian Revolution scenes and it is on such a need for a new humanism that I and the book, I do not go into the French "resuscitators" of Humanism in the mid-1940's who used it only to whitewash Stalinism — and later the American state department through "Congress of Cultural Freedom." I do have in a recent Two Worlds column the new spate of books on the Early Essays of Marx, but on the whole I will not argue with those who speak one way when they talk abstractly (as Lefebvre, Merleau-Ponty, let alone that Stalinist apologist Sartre) and act quite differently on the political and organizational front. I would rather then stick with the proletarians and follow their real movement for the reconstruction of society.

Do please let me hear from you as to the actual possibilities of bringing out the Spanish edition this year. As you noted from the various people who introduced the American and Italian editions of my work, they were not co-thinkers. This is why I look forward so much to your introducing the Spanish edition so that both you can say what you feel in it applies to the Latin American scene — and we get both Praxis and News & Letters Committees as the organizations to whom theory means something of great importance.

Fraternally,

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*Copy*

Prof. Dr. Silvio Frondizi

Buenos Aires, June 4, 1963

Dear Miss Raya:

I have received all the materials you'd promised to send me. Thank you very much. I'm very interested on them, specially on "Marxism and Freedom"; it's excellend and I think it will prove very useful in our struggle against rightists and communists.

We have already begun to translate your work, but it will be some time before it is over, because we have many things to do but our political affairs, too. I am sure you will be well impressed by our materials.

I should like to continue a regular correspondence with you in the near future. Watching for your reply I am, my dear friend, yours fraternally,

Buenos Aires, June 14.

Yours of May 29 reached me yesterday, but I had written this letter before. Notwithstanding I want to tell you that it's really exciting to find we had both met in the same point around the same time.

According to my opinion there are many possibilities of bringing out the Spanish edition of your work this year, on account of the dinamic conditions of the Argentine affairs; I shall take it my business to introduce the publication and I'll be very pleased to do it.

I cannot explain my opinions about the subject matter of your letter to you now, but I shall do it when I recover my health. On Junday June 9, I was set at liberty after some days being arrested on account of a short course of lectures on neoliberalism, newcatholicism and neomarxism in the Cordoba University. My detention turned out a great success. On Monday of this week, I have retaken the professor's chair in the Buenos Aires University.

Most truly yours,

Silvio

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June 20, 1963

Dear Com. Frondizi:

If you could win your battle with them and resume your professorial chair, hurrah! My congratulation, however, are tempered by worry over your health. I do hope it is nothing serious. By now --especially the correspondence from Japan where tuberculosis is so common among the students!--when I hear any references to need to "recover my health", I feel like putting down concern with Marxist-Humanism and giving all and sundry a lecture on how precious health is, how few are the Marxist-Humanists, and how precious each one is, so that nothing should take precedence over health if we really are serious about unfurling the banner of the original philosophy of Marx in a manner in which it becomes the foundation of a new human society in our time. Please take care of yourself!

There is no doubt that a Spanish edition of MARXISM AND FREEDOM would not only be "useful" in the struggle with both communists and rightists, but would be only comprehensive, as well as solid, foundation for a movement. Without it, one appears like others, that is to say, people disagreeing on this or that subject, but, fundamental as each subject is, it still does not make up a restatement of Marxism for our age, as a fundamental study of 200 years of history does. I am most happy to hear that you have begun working on the translation and that you yourself will introduce it.

Have I told you that the Japanese Marxist-Humanists who have gotten a contract with a small bourgeois publisher have decided that, in place of Marx's Early Essays which have been published there already by the communists, they will use as appendix, instead, my special study of MAO TSE-TUNG. For your purposes I believe that the more general one on the Afro-Asian Revolutions, that is to say, my pamphlet on it, could serve that purpose --unless you should feel that our very latest pamphlet, AMERICAN CIVILIZATION ON TRIAL, would suit you most; an Italian translation is being made of this right now, and the intention is to publish it as a separate pamphlet. It is off the press only 2 months and we have nearly exhausted our 5,000 printing.

To return to the Spanish edition, it is not only a necessity for Argentina but for all of Latin America. Back in the days when I was Trotsky's Secretary I used to have contacts all over the place, but in the years of separation and original research, I have lost contact, and that can't be. Also, as I wrote you previously, there were some requests about a Spanish edition even for Spain itself. So, you see, you really bear now the responsibility for a continent - or two!

In answering some questions from the Japanese comrade, Yukiama, as to my political biography and writings, I felt you too might find that useful, therefore, I am enclosing, beside a copy of my letter to him, also a listing of writings, and some of the stupid reviews that my publisher put out for publicity purposes, as well as the review that appeared in The London Times Literary Review Supplement--I do not have originals left, but this is our reprint in NEWS & LETTERS. ~~xxxxxx~~

I look forward to hearing from you on the last letter and this one. Give my warmest fraternal greetings to the whole Praxis group --I feel I know them now that I have struggled with my poor Spanish through their writings and also, as you put it, "it's really exciting to find we had both met in the same point around the same time." Yours, 

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