

Dec. 9, 1970

Dear Mikhailo Markovic:

Perhaps holidays get celebrated also in "Communist" lands, and this will give you time to write me, especially regarding my new book which is laboring toward a conclusion, although I do not have "Eastern Europe there."

What I mean is: Part III, "Economic Reality and the Dialectics of Liberation", may have appeared to you to be mainly the African Revolutions. It is true they were central, but both to the philosophy as well as the economics, East Europe began considerably ahead of the African Revolutions to test whether there wasn't a way to industrialize that would lead neither to capitalism nor to Communist totalitarianism, but to Marxist-Humanism. The 3 chapters I intended therefore were: Relations between industrialized nations and technologically underdeveloped countries, as seen in the 1960's when the African Revolutions came on historic scene, and were pulled toward state-capitalism. It is by no means "finished", but they certainly have reached crossroads.

The 2nd chapter was to show what has happened in EE, 1953-68, from East German Revolt to occupation of Czechoslovakia, or you may prefer from 1948-1968, which is where (your country) it did begin, except it looked as if it were only "a national revolution rather than a totally new stage in world development. You decide. In any case, it was not the economics but the philosophy that interested me here. First (when Fromm was editing Socialist Humanism) I began by writing letters to various Marxist-Humanists, you among the top. Then I began meeting some --Kolakowski had impressed me most before I met, then, either because he is changing his position, or practically he did not wish to get involved. Then there was an actual small group in Czechoslovakia and it was he who wrote the one essay signed "X" in our pamphlet.

Since I met you I felt that, instead of having either a signed chapter (unless so desired by the author) or even necessarily by just one, it might come out as a collective effort. I wrote a little bit, but, of course, he doesn't have the rough chapters of the book whereas you do have. (He also wrote me from Germany that he was not yet at home, but would get anything I sent him when he does get home.) In both cases it would be a question of international clasping of hands theoretically at least, provided one wished, whether or not they agreed with Philosophy and Revolution, to raise the challenge to work out a new relationship of theory to practice.

My impression, when you left US, was that you would think about it all, and let me know. Meanwhile I have been hard at work. I have just completed the final draft of Part II, which deals with Trotsky, Mao Tse-tung, and Sartre, and now I'm starting on Part, III, but starting with the 3rd and last chapter--"New Passions and New Forces", that is the black revolutionary dimension in the US, rather than with either Ch.1 or Ch.2 until I am able to hear a voice. May I hope to hear your voice?

How are you? What is new? How is Christina? How's Gajo returned home yet? What do you suggest I do? What do you think you will do?

Yours,

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