

April 18, 1984.

Dear Prof. Dunayevskaya,

Excuse me for not replying to your letter of March the 5th earlier, which is due to my being away from Belgrade during March.

I regret that we have met only for short in New York, because I really enjoyed your works and wished to meet you. I read with great interest your Marxism and Freedom, which I referred to in my book Stalinism and Socialism. (The book was published in 1982 in Belgrade in Serbo-Croatian. If you read my language I would like to hear your comments - I would send the copy to you).

I do not know whether I'll come again to the USA soon, but if I do, I'll certainly try to meet you.

* [I fully agree with your remarks to the Draft of the Encyclopedia of Contemporary Socialism, particularly those concerning a need to clearly distinguish Marx's theory from a variety of Marxisms.] (As a matter of fact, I've begun asking myself whether the very term "Marxism" is any longer of use, or one should speak in terms of Marx's tradition). It is very important when the concept of socialism is in question. For according to my opinion, Marx's idea of socialism differs more than it is recognized, from both Engels' and Lenin's, not to speak of Stalin's conception of a "totalitarian socialism".]

x Although I don't think it is justified to limit the conception of socialism to Marx's idea alone, I am quite convinced that a revival of his original idea, very often known from second-hand sources (either from Engels' or Lenin's interpretation, or what is worse, from a Stalinist distortion) might help humanizing our contemporary vision of a new society.

That's what I have tried to demonstrate in my book when confronting a Stalinist ideology with Marx's emancipatory theory, and the latter with Stalinism as a practice realized in the USSR.

[Closely connected with the abovementioned comment is your demand that a more clear differentiation should be made in regards to Bolshevism and Stalinism. Moreover, I agree that Bolshevism itself is to be differentiated, for there is no identity mark between Leninism, Trockism, Buharinism, and the conception of the Workers' Opposition, on the one hand, and between each taken separately and Stalinism, on the other.] Reducing of all these tendencies to merely a "struggle to power" (as L. Kolakowski did) is, to my mind, a great mistake, losing sight of the potential the early twenties still offered. Unlike Stalin's period which closed up all the perspective of socialism.

[I've also read with pleasure your contribution to News and Letters on "Marx's philosophy of revolution vs. non-Marxist scholar-careerist in 'Marxism'".]

Hoping we'll be in touch,

Kind regards,
Zaga
Zaga Golubović

P.S. If you want I'll send you a copy of my book?

16937

May 1, 1984

Dear Zaga:

It was great to get your letter and, naturally, I was glad to hear that you agreed with the thrust of my commentary on the Draft of the Encyclopedia of Contemporary Socialism. It is of the essence, I believe, for Marxists of our age not only to reformulate Marx for our age but to take the measure of all post-Marx Marxists. The reason I so stress the difference between Marx's Marxism and all others', beginning with Engels, is precisely due to the fact that in this case we are not dealing with any betrayer; we're dealing with Marx's closest collaborator; and on the topics most urgent for our age -- both Women's Liberation and the Third World.

Though I gave you my latest work, Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, I'm enclosing a xerox of the last ten pages on Marx's new moments and the 1980s' view of it, as I see it. I also thought that you might be interested in seeing the collective manner in which I not only wrote the work but didn't consider it ended just because it was in print. Therefore, I enclose also the additions I made to the book after it was in print as I embarked on a very extensive tour on the Marx Centenary.

Though I do not know Serbo-Croatian I would very much appreciate getting your book, Stalinism and Socialism. You must know that Russians are conceited enough to think that it entitles them not only to know all Slavic languages but to know "languages" in general. So do send me your book. I hope this will be the beginning of a continuing correspondence and we will also have to make sure that we see each other again some day. I consider it a real adventure to have met you. It all goes to prove to me that there is no substitute for the struggle for ideas of freedom; these are the real comrades that break down all national boundaries. Yugoslavia was the first to break away from Stalin's totalitarian grip and, not matter how I wanted that to be a world breakaway, a Marxist-Humanist breakaway, I hailed it as signifying the beginning of the end of Stalinism.

Yours warmly,

10938

January 14, 1985.

Dear Professor Dunayevskaya,

Thank you very much for your letter and New Year's greetings, which I've passed to all our friends. Let me send you our regards with best wishes.

I have been very busy since we have met in New York working on my project on "real socialism" and preparing a book. That is the reason why I could not have found time yet for reading your latest book, but I hope to do it soon.

However, I've read your article in News and Letters commenting Dupré's book. I want to express my appreciation of your comments, which I found very important, in particular when touching the point of Marx-Engels relations and refuting an economic determinism attributed to Marx. It is my experience from the USA too, that it is necessary to repeat it again and again that a great difference exists between Marx's writings and those of Engels, and if a blind deterministic approach and a simplified conception is derived from Marxism, it is from Engels' sources, not from Marx's. I've had an impression that even many students of Marxism still rely upon second-hand sources and interpretations than on the original works of Marx. Which is why, they still insist on certain misinterpretations, long ago revealed by the intelligent critics of Marx, and published in English.

For this reason I find it very important to insist on clearing up what is Marx from what it is not - however, not on the purpose of dogmatically defending every word he wrote, but for the sake of liberating Marx's thought of the prejudices, so as to save the "rational seeds" which may be developed and incorporated into a modern critical reflection to social reality. Unfortunately, there are not many persons fighting this kind of battles within Marxism, but rather, an intensified dichotomization takes place, between those who dogmatically stick to the selected but empty phrases proclaimed as a Marxist Weltanschauung, and ex-Marxists who became the sharpest critics not only of Marx's theory but of communism as well, when establishing a direct link between Marx's vision and the practices of the "real socialism". Thereby, a critical analysis of these practices is very significant in order that the existing reality and the hidden/suppressed possibilities be distinguished, and a more modern conception of socialism suggested.

Hoping to remain in touch,

friendly yours,
Zaga
Zaga Golubović

*00471
10002*

16939

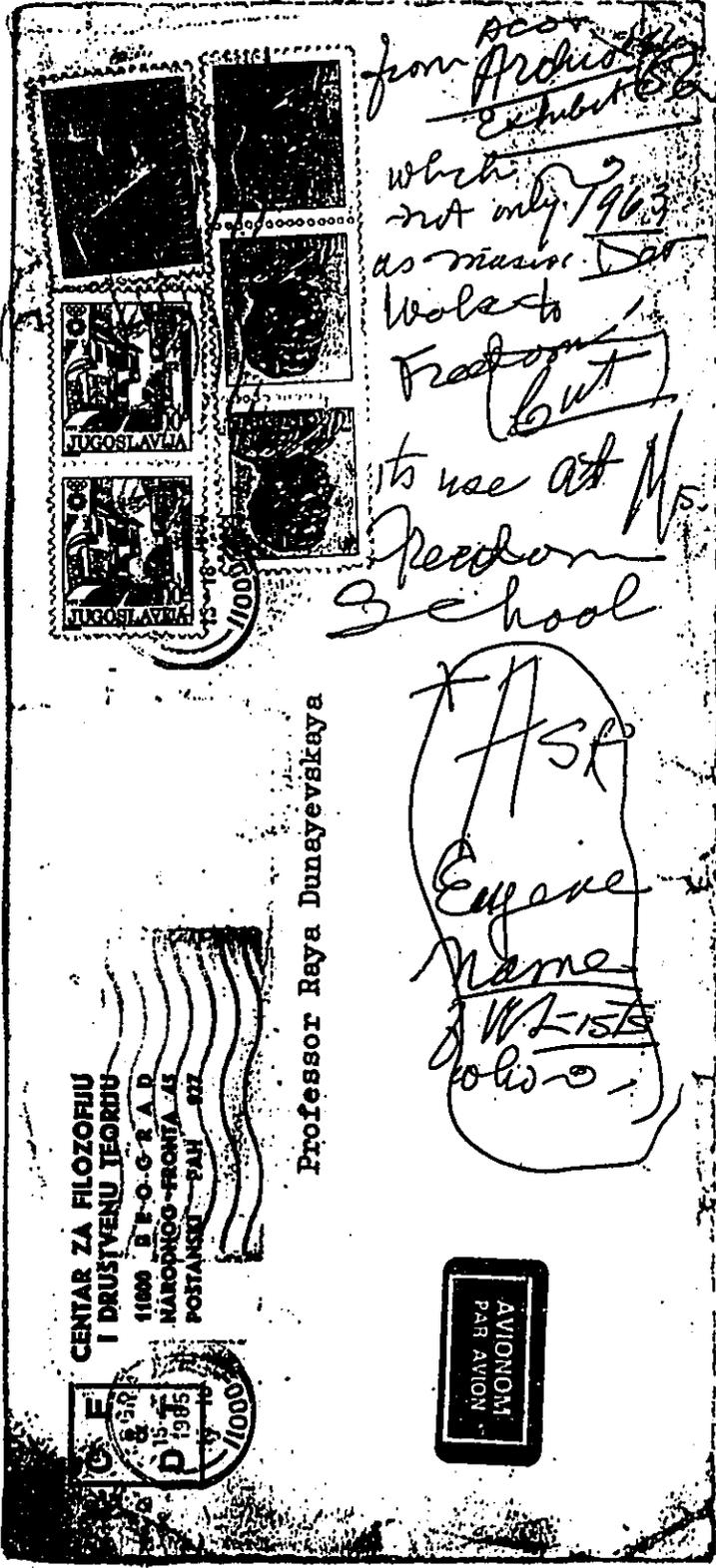
UNIVERZITET U BEOGRADU
OUR INSTITUT DRUSTVENIH NAUKA
CENTAR ZA FILOZOFIJU
I DRUSTVENU TEORIJU

C F
&
T D

11000 BEOGRAD
NARODNOG FRONTA 45
CENTRALA: 642 955
UPRAVNIK: 646 342
POSTANSKI FAKS 917
TERETNI RACUN:
60884-603-1067

C P
&
S T

UNIVERSITY OF BELGRADE
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
CENTER FOR PHILOSOPHY
AND SOCIAL THEORY



from ^{Acad} ~~Archives~~
Exhibit 66
which
not only 796.3
as mass. Ser
Wolcott
Freedom
(but)
its use at N.S.
Freedom
School

CENTAR ZA FILOZOFIJU
I DRUSTVENU TEORIJU
11000 BEOGRAD
NARODNO-FRONTA 25
POSTANSKI PAK 917

Professor Raya Dunayevskaya

ASR
Eugene
Name
J.W. Lists
Polio

AVIONOM
PAR AVION

16940

25

June 5, 1985

Dear Zaga:

I just this minute had the opportunity of reading Praxis for October 1984. I absolutely loved your critical review, "Why 'Dictatorship Over Needs' is not Socialism", beginning with its very title, through to its conclusion: "This controversy has enabled the manipulation of human needs through their homogenization, which has had a fatal effect on the doctrine when it implies that it is a 'proscription of free individuality.' Being characterized by a 'coercive need imposition,' which stands 'contra the individual and his need dynamic,' the Soviet-type system cannot be taken uncritically as socialist, unless basic socialist values are left out."

it
Frankly, I have always thought that/wasn't only Lukacs himself who openly capitulated to Stalin (and who was always not just ambivalent about Stalinism) but the whole Frankfurt School. Coming West did nothing to free them from that ambivalence; on the contrary they used their erudition in glibness, and to be all things to all men in the field of academia. Your name must be untouchable, for which I'm very glad, since your critique was published in the very first issue in which Ferenc Feher became co-editor with Markovic. Congratulations.

I'm rather confused about what is happening to the Yugoslav Encyclopedia. I was surprised at the last communication from them. I enclose a copy of my letter to Zoran Vidakovic, which shows my annoyance at the fact that there is no mention of the commentary I had sent them in March 1984 which I called "Commentary on Draft Project for the Encyclopedia of Contemporary Socialism." As you saw, from my enclosed letter to Zoran Vidakovic of May 23, 1985, I mention that you are the only one who had commented on it, but I had assumed that my letter from you was "personal" and not an official response from the Encyclopedia Executive.

I'm sorry that I still have to be so brief, but the fact that the Director of my publishing firm had died has delayed the publication of my new book which was supposed to be out for International Women's Day, March 8 of this year; and I am thus still busy in the final proofreading. As soon as it finally gets off the press (hopefully in July) I will send you a copy.

Hurriedly yours,

16941