

Note to: EVERY READER

EVERY READER should read the attached "Outline of Contents." both before he reads any of the completed chapters and after he had read them all. This will serve to give an overall view of the book as a whole.

Only those chapters, which are not yet written out, are summarized in the attached "Outline." Those chapters which are already completed in preliminary draft -- and which are herewith submitted for study and discussion -- are simply indicated by title in the attached "Outline."

In addition to reading this "Outline," it would be good if the reader could consult the material which is only indicated as a subject to be dealt with, but is not yet analyzed. For example, in Part IV: State Capitalism and Workers Revolt, a reference is made, at one point, which states "the 1920 dispute to be dealt with here." This dispute was analyzed in a special issue of the mimeographed paper and was called "Then and Now."

At another point in Part IV, there is a reference to the 1943 dispute. (insofar as the American reader is concerned, it is the 1944-45 dispute since that is when the Russian magazine dealing with the dispute first reached this country.) For this, consult either the articles, A New Revision of Marxian Economics and Revision or ReAffirm-OF Marxism? which appeared in AMERICAN ECONOMIC REVIEW, September 1944 and September 1945: and-or "Stalinists Falsify Marxism Anew." 2/48.

Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks should be re-studied in connection XXX with Part III; The Great Divide in Marxism.

The author will try to have one more part -- on Automation and The Absolute Idea -- completed before long. This is not, however, to stop present discussions on the book which is sufficiently complete in its present form.

PRELIMINARY DRAFT -- NOT FOR PUBLICATION

Outline of Contents

INTRODUCTION AND CONCLUSION

The today-ness of Marx's thinking is seen in this: Not only are the problems he posed one hundred years ago battled out today as concrete problems in the factory, in this stage of automation, but as fundamental questions in society on a world scale. "Can human power bring freedom to man out of totalitarianism and under threat of H-bomb rule?" is asked by everyone from the man on the street to the philosopher in his ivory tower.

Marx's fundamental critique of political economy is the basis for his answer to the various tendencies in political economy. Unlike the representatives of these other tendencies, he saw that capitalist crises arise, not accidentally and not because of a deficiency of effective demand, but out of the very vitals of the economic system -- the contradiction between the productive forces and the productive relations. He held that the mode of labor under capitalism was the underlying cause of crises.

Until the development of the totalitarian state, the philosophical foundation of Marx was not fully understood even by Marxists. It is only today that it is possible fully to comprehend that Marx's analysis of alienated labor was not a nineteenth century humanitarian adjunct to his scientific theory. Far from being a vulgar materialist, Marx based his perspectives of the inevitable collapse of capitalism and its transformation into socialism on a realization that labor would seek universality and completeness in its actual material life as a producer.

Marx foresaw the present trend toward state capitalism not because he was a prophet, but because of his dialectical method of tracing through all trends of economic development to their end. It is impossible to understand Marx's major theoretical work if one begins by thinking that the particular method, Hegelian dialectics, is an absurdity. The absurdity would be if the method were the proof. The proof can only be in practice, in the development of society itself.

The fact that the first workers state could be transformed into the greatest tyranny on earth has posed the question: "Can man be free?"

Marx posed precisely that problem when he described the degradation of the worker to a cog in the machine. What Hegel called "the labor, patience and suffering of the negative," Marx called "labor, patience and struggles of the oppressed." It was precisely the degradation that brings about the striving for universality, for total freedom.

In 1915, Lenin realized for the first time that the answer lies, not in economics, but in a total approach. While he kept his notebooks private, he tried to apply it in his many speeches and in his warnings about the beginnings of bureaucratization in the early workers state. His prediction, at the last congress he was to attend (1922), that Russia was going not toward socialism but toward state capitalism -- even as his



creating and overcoming of opposites was a landmark that has never been equalled since.

In the period of the Industrial, American and French Revolutions, the bourgeoisie had realized its highest development also in thought. It reached that height and "perished." The development of the dialectic method on new beginnings is to be found in Marxism.

Chapter IV: The Early Economic-Philosophic Essays of Marx (Preliminary view of CAPITAL and the Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic)

In his student days, Marx had mastered the Hegelian philosophy. The first thing he did when, in his mature days, he had to face the real world and its material interests, was to make a critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law. In the Preface to the Critique of Political Economy, Marx tells us that he was led by his studies "to the conclusion that the legal relations as well as forms of state could neither be understood by themselves, nor explained by the so-called general progress of the human mind, but that they are rooted in the material conditions of life ... It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but, on the contrary, their social existence determines their consciousness."

The early Economic Philosophic manuscripts show that it was not only Hegel whom Marx stood on his head. He at once put his finger on the philosophical weakness of the classical political economists -- its superficial concept of private property: "For when man speaks of private property, he believes he has only to deal with a fact outside of man. Where man speaks of labor, he has to deal directly with man. This new posing of the question already includes its resolution."

Marx complete Hegel's own analysis. Hegel, he said, could not carry out his dialectical logic consistently because he remained from first to last a philosopher seeking to trace the logical movement, not of the worker, but of the intellectual. Hegel had established the principles: "The greatness of the Hegelian Phenomenology and of its final result -- the dialectic of negativity as the moving and creative principle -- lies, in the first place, in the circumstances that Hegel regards the self-production of man as a process ... that he therefore grasps the essence of labor and conceives objective Man, true Man because he is actual man, as the result of his own labor. The true and active relating of man to himself ...."

But the philosopher, working only with the ideas in his head cannot solve the problems of society. He cannot create new unities but only summarize the stages already reached. He is always standing apart from the real process of nature working on nature and constantly transforming it into a new unity with himself. It was necessary to turn to the labor process and see in it the dialectic movement. Where Marx's Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic is the precursor of his "fetishism of Commodities," Marx's analysis of alienated labor is the precursor of his analysis of the labor process itself in CAPITAL. 1848 was to put all theory to the test.

## PART II: MARXISM

Chapter I: 1848 Revolutions and Theoretic Interlude

Chapter II: The Structure of CAPITAL

Chapter III: The Paris Commune

Chapter IV: CAPITAL, Volume I: The Law of Value and the Theory of Unemployment

Marx begins his study of capitalist wealth with an examination of the manner in which it appears: "an immense accumulation of commodities." That soon turns out to be mere appearance which dazzles the sight and departs to the social relations between men "the fantastic appearance of being relations between things."

To discern the real relation between men involved in the exchange of commodities, Marx introduces his first major contribution to the science of economics. He makes a distinction between labor power, the ability of man to ~~produce~~ labor, which is a commodity bought at value like all other commodities and labor, the act of laboring itself, which is not a commodity is not bought or sold, but is the source of all value. By means of this distinction between labor and labor power, Marx is able to show that the exchange ~~between~~ of commodities between the capitalist and the worker is based on the fact that both money or wages and labor power are exchanged according to the socially necessary labor incorporated in each. The law of value has thus not been violated.

But, continues Marx, one of these commodities, money, is materialized labor, while the other, labor power, is inseparable from the living laborer. It is true that the laborer was paid at value, what it will take to produce him and reproduce his kind -- clothing, food and shelter. But since the use-value of a commodity belongs to him who paid for it, the utilization the capitalist makes of the commodity he bought is his affair. In the factory, where labor power becomes labor, the laborer works more hours than it takes to produce his means of subsistence. The capitalist is thus able to extract from the laborer an unpaid surplus. Thus Marx's law of value is his law of surplus value. This we cannot see in the market, but only in the inner abode of production.

Volume I, which Marx subtitled, "The Capitalist Process of Production" can further be defined as the "Law of Value and the Theory of Unemployment." The solution to the ills of capitalism remains the same: "centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of capitalist private property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated."

Chapter V: CAPITAL: The Theory of Crises

Volume III, which deals with the phenomena of capitalism in their concrete movements, is the one which is preferred by present-day economists. These tell us that it is only from this vantage point, where Marx deals ~~with~~ with prices and profits, that one can understand Volume I, where he

deals only in abstractions: value and surplus value. Marx's point was the exact opposite.

Marx was concerned with human freedom and the inevitable waste of human life that the economic system called capitalism entailed. He shows in Volume III that the realm of freedom cannot commence until after the realm of necessity has been overcome. The fundamental premise for that, he says, is the struggle for the shortening of the working day.

Part III: THE GREAT DIVIDE IN MARXISM

PART IV: STATE CAPITALISM AND WORKERS REVOLT

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