

March 13, 1966

Dear Com. Tsushima:

Finally I have been able to photostat Lenin's comments on Bukharin; here they are directly from the Leninski Sbornik XI. As for Stalin's perverse sense of "quoting", it is not worth comment. He as deliberately transformed Lenin's comment into their opposite as transformed the workers' state into its opposite. I fail to see why they should occupy any special place in Marxist literature. As Trotsky long ago put it (on this one question at least he was correct): of course, Russian policy "follows Marx's analysis of Volume III on ground rent, but that was a description of capitalism, not of socialism." To me, the whole debate about what "socialism would be like in economic terms" is a waste of time; the next generation will know better than we. Of one thing we can be sure, it will be a question of human relations, not economic terms. Hence, the cogency of philosophy for our age; without the humanism of Marxism, socialism would otherwise degenerate into a quarrel between two sets of State Planners.

What does interest me very much, and is of the essence for my new work, is a description of what is: state capitalism on a world scale, the latest stages of monopolization, stratification, domination over the underdeveloped countries so that the rich countries keep getting richer, and the poor, poorer, the movement of capitalism to its doom in economic and war terms. Hence, my preoccupation with your new essay, the one on state capitalism you outlined to me orally. This would mean the greatest possible help to my new work for economics nowadays borrows me, and so few can do Hegelian dialectics where even Marx and Lenin had to leave off, but we no longer can, that I must concentrate on that. I look forward to that chapter therefore as integral to my work, and, as I said previously, it would also have a great international significance if I could say: this chapter, the world stage of state capitalism was done by a Japanese Marxist.

As for the chapter 3 that I wish translated, that is not for the book, but for a special issue of NEWS & LETTERS which would be wholly devote to bringing Japan to the consciousness of the US. I also was hoping that I could have a dual publication, that is to say, that Tony Cliff would consent to publish it in International Socialism simultaneously with the American publication. I have not yet written because I have not yet found a translator. As soon as I do, I will approach Tony directly or rather Nigel Harris who is presently the editor of IS. As you know by now--we crossed in the mail so that when you still wrote me of your friend doing the translation, my letter was already on its way to you, informing you that your friend said he had no time to do it--I have not thus found a Japanese who is also a Marxist and knows English well. I would be willing to edit the English if only the translation would be done from the Japanese. Some friend promised to give me an answer in a week, so I must wait.

Sorry, but I do not have either the German or Russian text of Engels, so I do not know the word he used, but "invading" has been the standard translation when Engels was still alive and "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific", or the abbreviated version of "Anti-Duhring", was the most popular pamphlet of "scientific socialism", including even Marx's works, with the sole exception of The Communist Manifesto.

I did not find the other work you were interested in, not even in NY. Scholarly works that are not current just don't get reprinted and it becomes impossible to get the original.

How are you? Warmest fraternal greetings.

Yours,

13923