

October 27, 1969

Dear Harry,

Now that we have gone through one of these IS Conferences, I believe that we should make sure that the next time (of course, I mean you) should take the floor, and not only on State-Capitalism, but on the Philosophy of Marxist-Humanism. Specifically, I am referring to the International Conference they are announcing for next year. How much discussion was there on that question? Have you had any opportunity, when talking to Tony Cliff, to raise the question about inviting me to participate in the preliminary discussion for the 1970 Conference to which they are supposed to open the pages of the IS? If not, I believe that you should find some excuse soon to raise the question with them in a letter, perhaps when you check whether they are giving us an ad on the State-Capitalism and Marxist-Humanism pamphlet.

I don't know whether you know that 1970 is not only the hundredth Anniversary of Lenin's birth, but also the 200th anniversary of Hegel's birth, and, of course, that is the year I hope to finish Philosophy and Revolution. It goes without saying that whether I write something for the IS or whether you must wait to attend in person their conference, Philosophy and Revolution would be the central point for both of us. Indeed, that has been the real vacuum in the Marxist movement since Lenin's death, and there is no doubt in my mind at all that this was the main reason that Trotskyism could make such headway in the IS. That is to say, he is just a Trotskyist, State-Capitalism as a theory notwithstanding. Let me give you the following background to the theory insofar as my relations, or, more correctly lack of relations, with Tony is concerned:

(1) In 1941, when I first developed the theory of State-Capitalism the relations with Europe were very much non-existent because of the war. Nevertheless, I am very sure that by 1943, when my study was published, it definitely did get known in Europe; I even met some workers from Turin who had told me that the Resistance Movement was very much heartened by it because they had such fights with the Stalinists, who tried to subordinate the Movement to Russia's foreign policy. Tony Cliff, as an Internationalist and Intellectual, not only knew of this but refused categorically to acknowledge that anyone internationally could have done original work in Marxist Theory ahead of him.

(2) In 1947, he was still in the Trotskyist Movement but did finally decide to make "his own study" of Russia and was coming to the conclusion that it was a State-Capitalist society. Nevertheless, he refused to vote for my resolution at the Fourth International Conference or to take any stand, until he had "his study" completed. That occurred the next year. And, again, despite all references to many sources that would prove his "erudition", he made not a single reference to my study, much less acknowledge that a study before his had been done on this question. We very nearly came to blows when I arrived in London in 1947 and found that his analysis was so fully economist that we really did have little that we agreed on. For example, the theory of State-Capitalism in our tendency was never separated from the new forms of Workers' Revolts, in which of necessity, the spontaneity of the masses played a crucial role. His administrative mentality merely treated spontaneity of the workers as if it were an "Anarchist aberration". The same divergence of views separated us on the question of Palestine as ever; that early, he refused to see anything revolutionary in the actions of the Jewish masses to rid itself of British Imperialism. And, the same wide separation prevailed in our analysis of the situation in Europe which I considered pre-revolutionary, whereas he judged it as merely "nationalist."

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(3) Finally, (insofar as Tony was concerned) he considered himself so far apart from our tendency that when it came to international relations, he preferred ties with the bureaucratic collectivist tendency, (which he has, in fact, to this day with the ISC.) than with the State-Capitalist tendency.

Things changed as a new generation was born and when I was in England in 1959, their youth then (Rigel Harris) insisted on a relationship with us and we began, so to speak, to communicate through third persons. You know the situation since then and you know that this was the very first time that they sent us an invitation to their Conference. We immediately replied that we had a Marxist-Humanist group in England and that you, therefore, would be present as an observer. Had you spoken, however, you would, of course, have spoken, not only for the Scottish Marxist-Humanists but for H&L. Does Tony, when he speaks to you, still pretend that we do not exist in the United States? Did you, by the way, write for in to them for that ad of our pamphlet? I believe that when you get the chance to write to Tony, you should state also that the more you think of the Conference you attended and where you had seen the Trotskyist attempt to subvert the State-Capitalist tendency, the more you are sorry that you didn't speak after all, and then ask whether Raya Dunayevskia had been formally invited to participate in the discussion that they intend to open in the pages of the IS.

By the way, the Trotskyists' faction made me laugh in another respect since I noticed that their amendments speak, as usual with them, against all other Trotskyists, in this case Healyites. Are you aware that the Healyites claim to be the "real theoreticians" and one of their Professors wrote a whole pamphlet on Philosophy, half of which was wholly devoted to an attack on me and my attempt to show the great division in Lenin on dialectics?

Thanks for getting me the Phenomenology. But now I want you to also get me the new translation of Hegel's SCIENCE OF LOGIC, in two volumes, likewise issued by Allen & Unwin; the new translation is by Miller, and it carries a new introduction by J.N. Findlay. It is going to cost more money than you have left. (It is quoted as \$11.00 here but they have no copies). I enclose a \$10.00 bill and please do it for me as soon as you can as it is very important for me to have every single thing that is new on Hegel this year.

Yours,

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