

September 13, 1943

My dear Ras;

I hope you are much better. Please take care of yourself.  
Remember, our work is just beginning, just beginning.

This translation is a fine contribution. The notes are exciting. Only in one or two places you write very confidently about such and such (not being correctly translated, etc., for example, note 6 on page 13. Please be sure of all these things, because, as you know, any mistake will be pointed out not to help but rather to smear. For the rest, the whole paper of work is a contribution to the kind of mentality we want to inculcate.

Regards to B.

8931

My dear sister,

We are still up to our ears  
in it, but I send you immediately  
your precious M.S.S.

It is magnificent, one of the few solid  
pieces of work I have seen in  
our circle. The other one on a  
much lower level, was D.M. "W."  
(P.A.)

Now, my general "criticism".  
Scientific Method : - A.I. couldn't be better.  
M-+ all through.

Style : Careless English in parts. I  
have marked some <sup>too</sup> long  
parentheses. I suppose you  
will prune and polish. I  
have indicated deletions of a  
few (sic!). I wouldn't  
make these in a Scientific

study. The facts themselves are  
sufficiently damaging.

So far, so good.

But I have two serious  
points to place before you.

The first is general. As I read  
I see that the general reader  
will <sup>not</sup> get the impression that all  
this was "inevitable." ~~It~~ You give  
the impression that the bureaucracy  
is to blame. You do not constantly  
show how the limitations of  
the economic base and the  
environment of the world  
market compel this relation  
between C and V, in addition  
of course to the class structure.  
Grapple with this. It needs no  
new research. It merely  
means an adjustment of the

frame in which you place your facts. A great help would be to indicate boldly at the end that this must go on, at end of war if even USSR remains, he must keep up etc etc.

The second point is your transitions. They are abrupt. You leave one point and move into another without any visible connection. You absolutely must put sub-heads ~~over~~ breaking up the material devoted to each place

e.g. P. 5 6. 7. 8 sub-  
P. 5. 2 should be headed

The condition of the workers  
or ~~the market~~.

The state and the workers  
P. 8 Para 2 you move to  
"The market once more"

in some similar heading  
or better still

"The market on the countryside"  
but on P. 9. you are at  
Food.

It seems to me that Food  
could be placed next to  
Conditions.

On P. 12 you have a splendid  
point, in fact "the" point.  
It is smothered; for you  
move almost  
immediately into  
"Constitution" and  
almost at once you  
are P. 15 at Results of  
Plan.

It ~~is~~ needs rearrangement.

on some such basis as this

- 57
1. Labor
  2. Food
  3. Market
  4. Results of Plan
  5. Conservation.

or if you like.

1. Results of Plan
2. Results in workers' conditions
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

I am not attempting to say what you should do. I want to see some clearly recognized sequence. I don't see it

The arrangement in general - e.g. The Three Plans and the way you take up different aspects

very good. The general movement  
is not only excellent but instructive  
and shows a real grasp of  
fundamentals. It is the  
detailed arrangement within  
each section that I find  
unsatisfactory.

Particularly you must clarify  
the order and "separation" of  
the third five-yr. section.

Finally, however, there comes our  
greatest point of disagreement.

If we were writing in 1940  
or for an internal bulletin I  
would stop now. But we are  
not. We are writing for the  
N.I. with all the attendant  
circumstances. I would  
therefore cut out every

7  
direct reference to the and  
capitalist production in the  
text. Every one. Every one.

Also to "our program" etc;  
June P. 15 - P. 15.

I would say

"The ~~board~~ of  
cons consists, determined by  
etc. whatever the ideas of  
the body, it is compelled  
to catch up & outdistance  
if it can. There is  
the secret of bringing  
industrial prices etc.  
That is why the m. of p

Part 1 would leave out  
the immament laws  
of C. P.; and the term



"State-capitalist"

However my dear sister when I had made my <sup>base</sup> M.S.S. impeccable from any criticism which would lead in creating a lot of argument I would then in a separate section draw my general conclusions, and I would then say what I have to say quotations attacks on S. and all, drawing the Marxist deductions from my facts. In this way I prevent any hacking of the M.S.S. any question of whether the 'Rus'sian dispute' is being raised and is it timely? Note

1  
Please that you raise the  
Russian dispute. The convention  
said it could be raised. But  
you have a line of retreat  
open in case of trouble. You  
say "O.K.; publish my study  
then ~~publish my conclusions~~ and  
publish my conclusions in  
Internal Bulletin." Don't be  
afraid. We shall fight  
line hell. What you shall  
ask for is a 12 page  
section of the N.I. just line  
Max. It is the first serious  
study of the R. economy since  
Red Betrayed. It is needed  
now. etc etc

draft  
I cannot write a letter

before I see your whole <sup>50</sup>  
M.S.S. I believe that  
the second part is more  
important than you seem  
to think it is. Send it and  
I shall return it in a  
day or two.

~~Now by the way I would~~

In your final 'do' three  
triple spacing and a good  
margin. After I see the  
second part I shall tell  
you whether it wouldn't  
be worth while sending  
the first part alone.

P.S. If I were you I would leave the 'realization' alone. Nobody would know what you were talking about. It should be treated fully or not at all.

What you could do however is to make a little précis (100 words) of Chapter XXV of R.L. A. of C. exposing that charlatan J. C. and tell me see it. Then send it to the N.I. Just stick to the bare facts. as for the ~~to~~ blows that I am preparing for that upstart he'll carry the marks on his hide to his grave.

8942

Love for both of you. I'll write again soon. T. X. for Judy.

My dear Rae,  
Forgive me  
for not writing to  
you. I finished the  
synopsis and handed  
it in. Since then I  
have done little. I  
sit and think and  
go out a little and  
see some friends. I seem  
to have been in a  
cage for one year and  
am just coming out.  
I am just tired - like  
thru I have done. I  
have cleaned out my

8943

room - did it myself  
without help from a  
single soul. It was  
quite a job I assure  
you.

The news of your activity  
on the N. question  
is very cheering. Only -  
see that the others

work that is part of  
your job - not to work  
yourself but to see  
that the others do.

I know you are  
going to complete a

8944

wonderful job. I can  
assure you, dear sister,  
that to be able to say  
to someone do that please  
and to 'know that'  
it will be chosen by  
& beautifully done is  
like a gift of many  
pearls. Take care of  
yourself and my regards  
to the good Bernards.

P.C.D.

8945

What Grace my  
conscious is quite  
clear. She challenged  
our accepted conclusions  
without warning, acted  
in a wilful and  
high handed manner  
attacked me as if I  
were a factional  
obnoxious, dragged  
Harry in the mud  
and bespelled his  
degradation, lashed all  
of us into a fine  
mess, and a mess it  
is, and then seemed to



think that I have  
an attitude. I have  
no attitude. She has  
misplaced me not only  
in words but in deeds.  
What does she expect  
me to do? Smile at  
her & pretend that all  
is O.K. I shall not.  
Call her to lecture her?  
Not me. She took drastic  
political action. She  
can raise the questions  
politically or personally.

8947

or she can leave them  
where they are. ~~if~~ I am  
on leave, I am ~~not~~ <sup>not</sup> asking  
nobody out to lecture  
them.

8948

My dear Rae,

Hold everything - even  
your wrath against me.

I am pressed to the utmost limit.

Will come soon and bring

everything. The situation is

becoming increasingly explosive -

Europe sharpens it and brings

the pressure on me. There is a

steady playing for position. I

hit hard in last issue of

L.A. My God to swallow it -

8949

lead they have said  
nothing at all! they may  
have eliminated the  
articles behind my back.

They will seize on the slightest  
point to make a scandal  
and discredit me. Maybe

I misjudged you but I

hinted many times about  
the new situation caused  
by the plenum & the

Com, and the long speeches  
of M. S. C. of how they

related

8950

had consulted with everybody (3)  
and everybody had agreed  
that the R.R. was not an  
issue etc; and <sup>that he</sup> had not  
consulted with me but he  
knew what my view ought to  
be etc. Furthermore it is agreed  
that the whole weight of  
the P.C. is to be thrown on  
the American question. This  
is bound to turn out a fiasco.

8951

The Service will squish that & I told them &  
that the attempt will be made.  
is being made, to saddle out  
of the N. Q. mess. Otherwise if we  
are not careful they will  
do it. I know how these things  
are done. Forgive me if I  
felt that you were thinking  
only or mainly of getting the  
mess protested and not  
seeing it in the context. I don't  
accuse you of immorality - God forbid -

8952

but I know how writing and the  
expression of something, even unimportant  
for less important can seize one.  
In fact it cannot be done at  
all unless it seizes one that  
way. But we are politicians.

Secretly the Negro Question is here. Harlan  
brought it and the division is as sharp

(below the surface) as on the  
N. Q. We cannot choose occasions.

I think that we are deeper  
in that than we know. Be Careful

handed, we can split the  
cohorts. I can see that they  
are scared at having to  
choose. Their confidence in  
himself against me is  
shaken - not much. But they  
are beginning to wonder  
meanwhile it is a hell of a  
struggle to work at all. And  
yet I have to move. So be  
patient. Remember, I love  
you very much and depend on  
you more than anybody else.  
I'll come to see you as soon as I can.

8954



The news all round is simply  
overwhelming; international,  
national, party and  
personal. I'll love you.

as ever,

Remember me to B.

And please, please do not accuse  
me for not having  
unreservedly accepted  
and acknowledged all things  
put before me.

955

Well, my incomparable Poe

Your outline is magnificent in scope. That is the real stuff and once you see the problem so clearly half the battle is won.

I do not agree with your structure. e.g. I believe that all the "historical perspectives" should be in one sequence, as a preliminary essay. Then you move into Russia, leaving the affiliation but using the same headings. Then at the end you deal with (in) C L M in not "Is it a New Social Order?" but "Is it part of the Collectivist Epoch?" That is when the heaviest blows should fall. Time? Time is not of the essence. The issue is to have it clearly in your head. And that you have.

The opening violation<sup>2</sup> is a masterpiece. Some there at the end at all through you can belabor M. S. with his slave-labor and collectivist speech.

I have much experience in such work. Do not be worried about "time". Sit your head in order and your material. The rest will follow.

Thanks for cash B will forward. B is an exceptional person. When you return you and I will speak about him.

Re Rosa. Whether that was the beginning of her mistake I don't know. I only know that labor paid at its value + industrial reserve army = a base to R. M.

IP that R. M. ~~was~~ built from theory is true, but

the theory was <sup>3.</sup> always kept in  
closest relation to history. It is  
not v. much whether he got  
the idea from the Communists  
or not but the possibilities  
of the future concrete  
development. No. the  
quote "in a given historical  
social" shows that he had  
left the realm of "pure"  
Theory.

It is true (in Vol II. P. 500 or  
so) he argued against Proudhon  
that the same applies to a  
capitalist society as a whole.  
It is true too that the single  
commodity is an abnormality  
because as he says in Vol  
III and in *Principles of S-V*  
the ~~price~~ <sup>value</sup> of a single cty is  
an abbreviation of the  
value of the total product. But  
it is true also that nevertheless  
that cty production is production  
for an uncertain market, whereas

the state-calculator<sup>4</sup>, as far as  
his own internal economy is  
concerned, produces for a reasonably  
stable market. Naturally the  
world market remains  
uncertain, and it is the W.M.  
which is decisive. But I  
think it clear that A.M. was  
saying: In a single historical  
society surrounded by the  
W.M. the laws would  
continue. That is the point  
to be proved.

That is not all that is to  
be said on the question,  
however. I have been  
warning along the ideas  
you indicate but I haven't  
been able to get clear proof  
as when I tackle the question  
from the other point of view.  
Which in my opinion is  
entirely adequate and is the  
question which history has  
asked us to solve.

5

I have been working ~~continuously~~  
on the WQ article. Don't  
worry about typing. We  
shall have to get someone  
capable and I shall dictate  
it to her in the course  
of a day. It is very  
long but its structure  
is clear and I hope that  
there will be much  
clarification of fundamental  
points.

I send photos and  
accept your rebuke  
with a modest grace.

as ever

J