Dear Raya:

For once I was glad not to be in the mass activity since your letter arrived Saturday, and rather than being in Washington, I was able to go immediately to give you a report on what Rubel did with Capital, Volumes II and III. But first let me mention what I noticed a few weeks ago, yet another book which cites you: Bober's Karl Marx's Instrumentation of History, a recent Norton paperback. On p. 287 he cites your translation of Marx's Notes on Wagner in the MER articles. I don't remember any more, since I saw this in a bookstore and stood there and read it rather than buying it or reading it later in library. If you can't find there! I'll be happy of course to xerox here and send, or get a copy of the book itself for you.

Park Rubel in this second volume has als own massive 117 page introduction, proceeded by a 10-page preface. The Preface notes that this volume (1970 pagen) is devoted only to works "arx did not publish during his lifetime. It includes not only his versions of Vols. II and III of Capital, but the 1844x canuscripts from the Grundrisse and the 1860's notes thich led to Capital. The Preface we he accuses Engels of doing "too much and too time little at the same time..." with Capital after Marx's death: I Engels included too many tols. II and III. (2. Also erred in not publishing the whole——here he mentions were already used in the Critique of 1859 and Volume I". He also sometimes were already used in the Critique of 1859 and Volume I". He also sometimes the notes for Vols. II and III which Marx left behind "with other texts which send to us more important for the understanding of the "Economics". He does not always tell us when he is doing this, he warms the reader. (All quotes so Engels rather than reproducing it as Marx wrote it, but also is acting as later. All and the proceducing it as Marx wrote it, but also is acting as later. Then he gives the 1857 list Marx made in his letter mentioning 6 volumes

of Capital. He goes through alot of argument to we conclude that any claim that this later changed to 4 volumes is, "this is to deny the evidence" (xiiif) Then he ends his preface by returning to what Lucien Goldmann riderridar ridiculed him for, [Marx's "ethics" was as more important then his "science".(xv) He closes by thanking many people for helping with editing and translating, of which I are recognized the names of "ean Malaquais and Paul Mattick.

In the much longer faktoria Introduction(117 pages) it is all wrong from the first word. Section I is entitled "De la Philosophie a L'Economie Politique" where he claims that Capital is both political economy and "a moral condemnation a gestime gesture of refusal" toward capitalism.(xvii) Then he gives a real victous summary of Hegel and Marx's break with Eagel, hi 1843-44. For example: "For Hegel, the monarch is in a way the ontological proof of the reason of state". We can even see this size how he puts the "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic" last in his selection of the 185 1844 manuscripts. Another way of downplaying Hegel rather than slander is to consider him as one of "many" influence, for example: "Like Hegel, he (Proudhon) had a constant influence, whether of attraction or repulsion."(LIX). He also notes that when him as careful to present it as the 'exact opposite' of Hegel's "Lixily". "he

Has Now he moves to his other main attack on the Markist dialectic:

"A Legend—the Change in the Plan of the Economics". Says the idea of (p. XCIV)

4 volumes(not 6) is wrong, and that it was first used by Kautsky in Not 1897, although he does not really blame Kautsky. Then he criticizes

Grossman's view that 1863 was a turning point. It Then he gets into how

Mark supposedly felt pressured to write 'gros volumes' instead of 'brochures'.

ond like she

P XXII

Says confusion arose because Capital ist Volume I is really the same to thing as mentioned in 1952 1850(Feb. 22) letter to Lasalle with list of 6 books, but that Vol. I as we know it is simply a combination of Books. I and II. He implies that the reason is that the Germans like gros volumes which is what he gives as he his reason why Vol. I is long and as to why in Vol. I of Rubel's Cevres, he warm he put some parts of the longker? chapters as appendices instead of the way Mark wrote it. This latter point is not referred to explicitly here. He cites a lk letter to Kugelman of Oct. 13, 1966. Figure 1866 to prove that Capital I is simply the old plan of 6 with books 1 and 2 combined into Vol. I. (CXV)

He claims that the market period from 1874 to his death was work on Vols, II and III of Capital. The 1872 letter to Schott which you and quote He cites a th letter to

in new book, Rubel understands to mean something like Stalin's idea of teaching in historical xxivexxxxx rather k than dialectical order: "He intends to edit Capital in the inverse order, the historical part preceding Books III, II ... and finally Book I"(CXX)

His last section in his retire introduction he calls "Engels, Editeur du "Capital" (CXXI) He asks why Engels did not include texts from 1844-45, 1857-58 in his version of Vols. II and lil: "In originality of style and content, these works are often superior to the manuscripts from the last period" (CXXV) He continues: "... Engels preferred to re-edit and publish the works of Marx over spending all his time and efforts only on the rough drafts and manuscripts of Capital". Need to follow Engels by going to themer original manuscripts in Amsterdam, which is what he did. All this 117-page introduction is dated May # 5, 1968, without any mention of contemporary events. II did not read every word of this introduction, but rather scanned

it, taking notes here and there)

He alcolor has short prefaces to each of the main sections of the book.

He alcours has short prefaces to each of the main sections of the book.

and you can see break both these and what he includes from the table des matieres (contents) which I have xeroxed. I did not xerox any of his long introduction, however. He gives pages 175-358 to extracts from the Grundrisse, which he and Malaquais translated, which he antitles "Principes de Critique de L'Economie Politique". The next big section is "Materiaux pour l'Economie Politique, 1861-1861 which comprises pp. 365-498. Here he includes both previous unpublished that material plus material from Theories of Surplus Value in the section from 1861-1865. Rubel claims that in 1863-65, Marx "manex "seems to have added a first version of Vol. I" since the original manuscript for this bears the title Erstes Buch, as published in Archiv Marksa i Engelsa Vol. III bears the title Erstes Buch, as published in Archiv Marksa i Engelsa Vol. II( Mescow, 1933, pp. 4-266). He laments that the original manuscripts for the period 1861-1865 ard not in Amsterdam. Area they in Moscow, he wonders?

Apparently, since they gave us a more complete edition of Theories of 32 SV

(Berlin, 196 1956-1962). I have xeroxed the short are Preface to this section for you.

Now we come to Capital, Vol. II. In his short preface (501-504), Rubel tells us: "Whatever the marks merits of Engols' edition...one is obliged to recognize that, in his zeal to enhance "arx's reputation, he committed the serious error of presenting Vol. II as a finished work when in fact, only the form but not

of presenting Vol. II as a finished work when in fact, only the form(but not the text--Kevin?) had been revised. He repeated this error nine years later in publishing Vol. III." Therefore: (pp. 501-502) Therefore Rube Rubel will give "a new edition from a choice of materials and we can only speak of a choice —for Volumes II and III"(502). This is based on having had "the published of the publis privilege of studying the original manuscripts of Vols. II and III of Capital for several years"(in Amsterdam) (502).

For "Chapters I-IV choses by Engels, we have substituted the shorten to another manuscript, (even though this is from an earlier work." (502) When you go to the footnote at the beginning of this text, all you get is the reference to the Notebooks number in Amsterdam, so you can't really tell is its origin unless you go to franker Amsterdam yourself!)

In addition: L'Our most audacious step was to have dared, in trying to give a greater feeling of coherence, to abridge the text by eliminathing repetitions" (redites) (502). He hopes this will help that make Vol. II more popular and lift it out of the obscurity it has been subject to since RL's debates with others over Accumulation earlier. Says he is sorry no one ----Moscow or Amsterdam---has issued that we manuscripts onCapital as a whole. I have xcroxed not only this short in findence 2-rage (Preface for you, but also you'll see there(503-504), Rubel's list i of what changes he has made from Engels regions version of Vol. II. His table of contentus gives a more detailed pe picture of his version, although ,t is

net compared to Engels. so you may want to look at both together.

It's not all for the worse, I don't think. See for example p. 528
which I also xeroxed. This was called to my attention in 1979 by Pierre
Leatz(Besancon) book, and has the following beautiful gam Postnots on Regel, which is not by an any means Rubel's emphasis. Marx writes:
After referrings to Dubring, My relationship with legel is quite simple.
an a disciple of Regel, and the parametrizant presumptuous pratting of those epigones who believe they've buried this great thinker appearance of the contract of the ar frankly of adopting a set critical attitude these toward my master, to rid his dialectic of its specifical mysticism and in this way to make it undergo a deep transformation, etc. Rubel's footnote makes sure to tell us that this is the (only time Marx called Regel his "master". As you can see from the table of contents, he has reduced Vol. II to 358 pages.

(As I told you on the phone. I am harmored by a fact that I have (As I told you on the phone, I am hampered by fact that I have not read Vol. II or III we of Capital, I am sad to say. I hope to remedy this soon, especially Vol. II, which I need to know for Lenin and your new book. But I will of course be happy to translate or summarize

of from Rubel's marker version that you might want)

For Vol. III Rubel gives us only 609 pages. His short preface "... of the Your volumes of Capital, it is undoubtedly the third whose elaboration was the longest, but without Marx having ever succeeded in giving it a definitive form." (867) He goes on his to cite the various writings since 1844 on the subject matter of Vol. III.

He continues: "At the end of March, 1865, Mark had signed a contract with the publisher...agreeing to give him the entire work, otherwise called the four books of Capital, in two volumes forthe end of the month of May The first of these volumes was to contain Volumes of that same year. II and III of Capital; the second was re reserved for the History of Theory." (867-868)

Marx was delayed and only published Vol. I in 1867. "After this publication, Marx worked especially on Volume II, but did not stop up to his death his work of bringing together new materials for Volume III" (868)

Rubel tries in this edition to have the same As in the Volume II, Rubel tries in this edition to have the same 'clarity and conciseness' Marx would have wanted (868), as for m example in that Marx mes would have wanted to have cut many "didactic xx examples". He also claims to have caught some "serious errors in deciphering (handwriting reading--Kevin?), not noticed in the preceding editions" which he has caught and corrected.

He also seems to favor wherever possible Luxemburgist economics, at tudging by the numerous footnotes to her work. Here I am way over least judging by the numerous footnotes to her work. my depth, but I simply xeroxed for you one example (pp. 1769-1772.

Also meroxed of course is Rubel's own list of what changes he has made' from Engels edition of Vol. III, \*\*semetalix\*(pp. 869-875). I would be happy to read further either in Capital according to Rubel or Engels's \*\* editions of Vols. II and III. I might also try to hunt down any critiques of Rubel done at the time this book appeared, or since. I did note one reference to the Cevres in Dialectical Anthropology(1979) but it was not available to me easily. There is also at least one book in French of Rubel's essays on Marx. While you yourself would no doubt want to critique Rk Rubel either in the new book or a column, or intro to M&F----in sense his whole work is \*\* mark\* opposed to the way you have seen Marx's \*\* Capital in relationship both to Hegel and to changes in objective scene----I would also be interested in perhaps writing an essay article on this.

As you know, I had been \*\*Morrow\*\* working on mark\* something on Krader\*\*

As you know, I had been marked working on mark something on Krader and the Asiatic mode of production vs. Marx, but had lately been thinking I might without detailed wright critique of ix Mehring's biography. But perhaps a critique of ix Rubel would be more topical and more helpful to us at this moment in development of new book and approach of 1983 anniversary. These there are, incidentally, in German, a West German edition of Marx's notebooks on Mathematicus. I think you are right that this is what the Stalinists might also come out with for 1983.

In 1981 inthe U.S.A., heart hower, their problem is Poland, not only as Poland, but as Marx's Collected Works in English. Mike Reserve Brown's young new left professor who is so "non-sectarian" that he both subscribes to NEL and has friends referred friends in the CP, told our Marx seminar that Poland has held up Vol. 15 of Marx's Collected & Works for 6 months or more at international Publishers. Apparently there are differences over the translation of some of Marx's writings on Poland. The CR Translation of the editors of International Publishers.

Best,

September 28, 1981

Dear Kevin:

Thank you very much for your most informative Sept. 20 letter, regarding Rubel's so-called Vol. II of Marx. I say "so-called" because it certainly isn't Marx. It manages to so absolutely confuse and pervert Marx's Vol. II of Capital, that it's an absolutely perfect way of making sure the reader would not understand what Marx was writing, nor even know what is the difference bitween Marx in 1844 and Marx in 1879. Rubel's pretense that that will prove Marx never changed his poisition is intended to show that Marx underwent no development from what Rubel reduces him to and imposes upon him -- "ethics". To write as if 1844 is the first draft of Capital is marked montto understand why it was that Marx wasted" 30 years of his life writing Capital:

Now let's get down to the concrete proof of all this, and thus to all that 1,970 pages that Rubel has truly wasted:

- 19 As you saw, 117 pages are his stupid Introduction, which were preceded by 10 pages of Freface. (Incidentally, he himself summed up this whole thing -- 10 pages of the first essay in Rubel on Marx.) Perhaps we can discount this since these pages, enumerated by roman numerals, are not included in the 1,970 pages.
- 2) When you get down to the regular pagination. it's still a fact that you do not get to Vol. II, to page 499 or really p. 503 (since 499 503 is again Rubel's analysis). When you get to p. 503 and 504, you find it isn't all that different from Engels: I checked carefully with Vol. II itself, and not just with what he lists as Engels' Vol. II. (Incidently my copy of Vol. II lists all of the manuscripts, alongside each chapter as Engels had explained in his Preface -- and I didn't have to go to Amsterdam to find out that Marx had worked on it as late as 1878. I do not now recall whether my correspondence with CLR and Grace has a letter concarning these dates; this was done in 1945-46, when I was doing my first outline of Marxism and State Capitalism".)
- clude, because Marx had deliberately, most dialectically and profoundly excluded, i.e. the whole form of dealing with theories of surplus value within Vol. I. Rubel dares to tamper with and reintroduce in Vol. II. In a word, he is not revising Engels, but Marx. He is making me like Engels by now, who did not do that kind of tampering with Marx. And he certainly doesn't understand a single whiff of what dialectic means, what form means, why Marx did what he did, both in Vol. I and Vol. II, and why it is that the debates in the post-Marxist world on Vol. II had nothing whatever to do with what Rubel is doing, but concentrated on the essence Part III. "The Repraduction and Circulation of the Aggregate Social Capital, Especially its Final Chapter, Accumulation and Reproduction on an Enlarged Scale."
  - 4) I will not bother with Vol. III, because there is no doubt

that Rubel understands not a word of it, and to this day has not even attempted to grapple with the Ethnological Notebooks; indeed, here it is 1981 and he is still busy explaining that 1968, which is the publication date of his Vol. II and the last date of the essays that O'Malley reproduces, and evidently also Bongiovanni, is 1972. Clearly, he hasn't grown any. Considering that he is so anti-Hegelian and soanxious to make it appear that Marx became a sociologist and not a philosopher, I can just see what he will do with the philosophic volume which will just be coming out in 1982. You can see, in fact, how Proudhonist he remains, at the level of Poverty of Philosophy.

5) The whole nonsense of Rubel's sticking to the number six as the number of volumes for Capital. far from actually showing what Marx left unfinished -- what Marx intended to write on the world market and on the state -- , shows that he even mistakes "chapter 6" as if that proves that Marx "seems to have edited the first version of volume I"way back in 1863-1865. In fact what that chapter 6, which was published in the Archives of Marx, Vol. II (VII) is what I translated way back in the early 1940s, and water proves the exact opposite --, that is to say, that Marx, Marx not Engels, changed that structure, decided that, instead of ending simply with that chapter 6", he would include very nearly all four volumes of Capital in that famous final chapter of Vol. I, "Accumulation of Capital", 1867-1875.

(Interestingly enough, Mandel uses

(Interestingly enough, Mandel uses the tely same excuse, of not having the manuscripts 1861 = 63, which are supposedly only in Moscow but you sent me the French edition. The real importance of that is that Marx was alive and kicking, and Matr. Not Engels, decided to change the structure, decided to have the fight for the working day, decided that the Civil War in the U.S. followed as it was by the struggle for the eight-hour day, belonged in history and not only the theories of surplus value belonged in "history", which the intellectuals could easily read when they get to Book 4.)

6)To repeat so that we know exactly what pages we must deal with, just as up to page 358 Rubel monkeyed with 1844, Poverty of Philosophy and Sections of the Grundrisse, all of which he tried to impose on Capital; and just as pp 365 to 498 dealt with the 1861-65 manuscripts, which Marx himself had put aside; and just as page 501 to 504 are again Rubel's own preface, we finally reach 505 only to find that far from being longer than what Engels published, are both shorter and MANNEY meaningless insofar as structure is concerned. And for Vol. III you say he gives us 609 pages and we know that Marx gave us nearly 1000, and for Rubel to return to the Theories of Surplus Value and give that fantastic misinterpretation of that letter to Schott, simply proves all over again that he understands as little of Vol. III as he does of Volumes I and II. (If, however, you can find a copy of Rubel's Vol. II, please buy it for me.)

What does interest me very much is the footnote on page 528, which is evidently something Engels left out, and which shows that as late as 1678 (is that the date of that mss.?) had referred to himself as a "disciple of Hegel", and "the presumptuous prattling of those epigones who believe they have puried this great thinker appear frankly ridiculous to me..." I want to be very precise on when that ftn. was written by Marx. Or rather the "only time" that Marx referred to Hegel as his "master" — but that's way too easy to disprove. It certainly appears to me as if it would be the 1878 mss. in chapter I, or doesn't Rubel mention the dates the chapters were written, as Engels does.

Yess I would like to see the critiques of Rubel whon that Vol. II was published; it seems to me that somewhere I read that Baida has a whole book directed against Rubel, and it may both of them. 1979 is certainly after Krader published his EN. Do look it up and mark translate the review in that issue of DA.

article on this. For the time heing, I seem to prefer an essay on Mehring's biography of Marx, because to this day, Mehring has a very much bigger name in Marxist circles, whereas Rubel is coralso for your particular stidies to get the degree. The information publication of a volume of Marx's work on Poland would certainly Poland. And at this moment I am as worried about the Catholic Church as about the CP in Poland.

Alor end. 15 my later note to Borgeoverne.

De rive show actually had

he per book on Anti-Stoly son, Arionaly was

The much unimpress their (1975?) — But

per hops me can fed somewhere this time

15300

October 8, 1981 2PM

Dear Kevin:

This is in the nature of a postscript to the letter I just wrote to you, at which point I took for granted that in the next letter you would reply most concretely on some questions I posed last week about that magnificent footnote by Marx that Rubel does show on page 528 of his Marx's Economics. Vol II. However, it now seems that I may want a footnote in my new Introduction for P&R, and in that case, I need both a little more than you quoted, and you, in turn, should really be acquainted with more on the question of inti-Duhring, in sofar as Engels' claim is concerned that Marx had read the whole manuscript and approved enthusiastically. Now then:

On that p. 528 in the ftn. please back up and instead of just beginning with Marx saying he's a dsciple of Hegel, begin with "Dans un compte...." I had asked you the precise manuscript that Rubel was reproducing since, insofar as I am checking it against Engels', that mss. is one of the last Marx would have done -- 1878, and that naturally would make it even more important. To that question I also want to add that the end of that ftn. has a "8". What is the ftn. to that? Is that something Rubel added? I imagine it is and that it is where he took exception to Marx and tried to have it say that it is the only time ever Marx used the word, "master", in relation to Hegel; I have to know precisely, so please be very precise in that translation as well.

The more important point is the whole relationship of Marx and Engels on the question of Anti-Duhring. There is a magnificent essay by Terrel Carver of the University of Bristom, entitled "Mar, Engels and Dialectics" which appeared in Folitical Studies, V. 28, n. 3, Sept. 1980. Have you read it? You should study it most carefully. Here is what is important for us. Whereas the correspondence between Marx and Engels on Profl Duhring begins in Jan. 1868 over Duhring's review of Capital, of which Marx is most critical, but ends with :"But, never mind, I must be grateful since he is the first professional who had spoken at all about the book." In the period 1871-75, Prof. Duhring published three works and Engels gets into a rage when he finds that he has quite a "following" in the Party and Leibknecht asks Engels to answer the article which just praised Duhring. (May 16, 1876) It is first in 1877 (March 5) that there is also a letter, this time by Marx, which has a quite sharp critique on Duhring, "Duhringiana", but on the whole Marx is not interested. In fact, the correspondence on that subject ends. Engels, however, goes all out in writing Anti-Duhring; he asks Marx's advice only on the Political Economy, not on the philosophy. In the first edition, 1878, he never mene tions that Marx wrote anything for it. It is only after Marx's death that he is suddenly made practically to be co-author, and even then, we do not get the whole of what Marx wrote since Engels acknowledges that he shortened it sharply. Terrell Carver makes out quite a case about the fact that Marx and Engels are two very different people on dialectics.

Rubel, however, in his Marx Without Myth, p. 318, does say that the reproduction of the shortened version of Anti-Duhring (Socialism. Scientific and Utopian), the French edition by Lafarge, contains a brief Preface by Marx, but what this says is that Engels' writing represents "in a certain sense, an introduction to scientific socialism." (The reference is to MEW, V. 19, p. 185. Do please look that up and tell me whether it is long or short, I have never seen it.)

The really exciting part, therefore, is back to that ftn. which the left out, which Rubel does produce on p. 528, and especially important in that is both the date of that mss. -- and when you realize that Engels did not publish Vol. II until 1885, when Anti-Duhring is what we have all been raised on, it really is...

Please do this at once MEXIXMENTENTIFXMEXIXMENTALE PRINCESSES AND CALL ME as soon as you have the answer rather than waiting to answer by letter.

Yours,

Kaya

Deaf Raya:

I thought it would be a good idea to give you a written version of what I gave you over the phone from the Rubel edition of Vol. II. His Controte on page 528 reads, in my translation of the part you wanted:
"In a review of the first volume of Capital, Mr. Duhring notes that, in
my zealous devotion to the schema of Hegalian logic, I even discovered
the Hegelian forms of the syllogism in the process of circulation. My At that point in the text, as you know, Rabel has his own footnote, which is that I read over the phone to you. It is a footnote to Merris footnote: LiThe first sentence of this footnote represents page (14(n.14) of manuscript IV. (This is the sentence you were not interested in, as it is on economics only Kevin). We have joined to it is 10 of manuscript II(p. 11). Remaining unpublished to this day, it is the only known text where Mark calls Hegel his 'master'. The term is absent from his other statements on his relationship to Hegel, for example, from his letter of March 6, 1868 to Kugelman and from the 1873 postface to the second edition of Capital. On the critique by Duhring, which appropriate the control of the critique by Duhring, which appropriate the critique by Duhring t the second edition of Capital. On the critique by Duhring, which appeared in 1868 in a German monthly, see the same letter to Kugelman." In his Preface to the second edition of Vol. II, Engels gives date of manuscript II

as 1870. Even though you probably have all this already from the phone call, I thought it would be a good idea to get it on paper from me, to make sure there were no misunderstandings, as I no longer trust oral conversations

for getting precise wooding.

Enclosed is also a xerox of the footnote in French plus a xerox of call the pages of Vol. II up to page 528 which you did not get already, so you can see a bit exactly what Rubel is doing. Now that the Lead is finished --- the hardest by far I have ever worked on --- I can return to look up some critiques of Rubel for you next week. In the future I'll assume that any request you make must be done immediately, unless you state specifically the contrary, so as to avoid the delay I caused you this time, for which I am very sorry.

By the way, I suggested to Anne that we try to contact Octavio Paz while she is inMexico, since he is certainly a big name plus does remounter When I saw him here at a speech he gave a couple years ago, I gave him the Spanish edition of P&R, and he said "ah, Rayar Dunayevskaya" or some such thing. She's going to try and find his address now. some such thing.

He d. Shirtmen p 231 before sp, after i form ga commoded. Whether

It is one forline of group the dialectron of letishism, in some
other neason, the boint is that, they in thes attringence is the

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