

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 ^{too} 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 ^{not} 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 movement⁶ 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;
Page P. 13 - P. 15.

I would say

"The ~~board~~ ^{of}
cons consists, determined by
etc. whenever 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

But I would leave out
the immament laws
of C. P.; and the term

"Anti-capitalist"

8

However my dear sister when I had made my ^{book} 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 J. 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 'Ruscar dispute' is being raised and is it timely? Note

8939

please that you raise the ¹
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 ⁵⁰
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 say 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. expounding that charlatan J. C. and let 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. To XX 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 - one
thing 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. True care of
yourself and my regards
to the good Bernards.

P.D.

8945

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

8946

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 asking
nobody out to lecture
them.

8948

My dear Rae,

Hold everything - even
your wrath against me.

I am pressed to the utmost limit.

I'll come over 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 had to swallow it -

8949

least they have said
nothing allis! 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 bad opinion caused
by the plenum & the

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

(2)

related

8950

had consulted with everybody (3)
and everybody had agreed
that the R.R. was not an
issue etc; and ^{that he} 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 so
But the attempt will be made
is being made to peddle 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

brought it, /
secretly the Negro Question is here. Harlan
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. Could
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 acknowledged
unacknowledgments are I
felt like

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 babble is gone.

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 application but using the same headings. Then at the end you deal with (you) 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. True? Time is not of the essence. The issue is to have it clearly in your head. and that you have.

The opening violation² 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 ^{3.} 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 absurdity
because as he says in Vol
III and in Principles of S-V
the ~~price~~ ^{value} 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-calculator⁴, as far as
our 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
epoch 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 rehearse
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