

July 17, 1958

Dear Friends:

In preparation for our second convention, which will be the first at which we will have a full international report, the RWS felt that we should get acquainted with our own specific heritage. Therefore it asked John to gather representative writings ever since the birth of the state capitalist theory in 1941, and not excluding translations from historic works by Marx which to this day have never been published in this country, but which Rae made for her own study. They include the original ending of CAPITAL, Volume I, which Marx discarded when he felt he might not live to issue Volumes II and III and therefore wished to include all of his basic theories, in outline at least, in Volume I; they include Volume IV of Capital--the THEORIES OF SURPLUS VALUE; they include the last writing of Marx--Notes on Wagner; and such other invaluable material as Grundrisse of Marx, on the one hand, and Lenin's "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back" which was directed against Luxemburg's position on the Russian split in the Marxist movement but is alive today because of all the dispute on "Vanguardism". In a word, 3 full books of priceless ARCHIVES material.

In all, the development of the state capitalist theory, the emergence of the philosophic roots so that it first rounds out the theory to where it has not only caught the link to history but moves continually forward to the present, add up SIX VOLUMES, one of which, VOL. III, which deals with the Archives consisting of 3 books.

This does not count the bound volumes of either Correspondence or NEWS & LETTERS. The good part about the letter is that, although we had no money to have NEWS & LETTERS bound from the first issue to the current one, we nevertheless did bind 6 copies and will have a copy for each local to take back with for its own use.

The bad part is that the theoretical part, except for the Bulletins since we have established NEWS & LETTERS, is available in only a single copy and therefore cannot be sent out. We hope enough friends will come in advance of the convention to be able to study them here. The best that can be done under the circumstances is to make a listing of the contents pages, herewith attached, have the friends and study them and ask for certain individual Bulletins that may interest them especially and we might have some individual copies available to be sent. Again, for some of the material that is available only in typescript, some enterprising youth full of enthusiasm for the hard work and magnificent perspectives may volunteer to have those things typed in sufficient copies for the local's use.

are the 1947 and 1950 outlines of book on Marxism  
For example, invaluable as study of method/before the Absolute Idea and the minors' strike were absorbed, and after.

17 years seems a long time, except when we read it in books or in history and say "it's just a drop in the bucket!" Both attitudes are both right and wrong. It is a long time in any one's lifetime, and yet there is no great theory that ever took less to evolve to maturity--and always, as with CAPITAL even after first edition, only at end is both the beginning and end clear and assume their full dimensions. It is a short time in history's book, and we have not yet met our full test, although none can compare with our painstaking and active preparations that have resulted, in 2 short years, in a completed MARXISM AND FREEDOM, and a workers' paper that can have such international impact and connections as had the last issue of NEWS & LETTERS.

The RWS

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CONTENTS:

VIII. I -- BIRTH OF STATE CAPITALIST THEORY, 1941-47

I. 1941

Missing

- 1) Russia Is A State Capitalist Society  
by Freddie James (Forest), Washington, D.C.

Included

- 2) Russia Is A State Capitalist Society  
by J.R. Johnson, New York, N.Y.  
(as reprinted in "Basic Documents" No.1, 1944)

II. 1942-3

Included as ones  
for  
comprehensive  
reading

- Production for Production's Sake, by J.R. Johnson
- 1) ANALYSIS OF RUSSIAN ECONOMY, Part I, by F. Forest  
3 articles in New Internationalist, Dec. '42, Jan. '43
  - 2) NATURE OF RUSSIAN ECONOMY, Part II, by F. Forest  
2 articles in New Internationalist, Dec. '42, Jan. '43
  - 3) (plus J.R. Johnson's Review of Trotsky's  
"Revolution Betrayed", AFTER TEN YEARS
  - 4) First English Translation of Lenin's "Capitalism in Russia", Oct. 1939  
New Internationalist, Nov. '43, Dec.
  - 5) SOCIALISM & THE NATIONAL QUESTION, by J.R. Johnson, XI Oct. '43
  - 6) ON QUOTED TROTSKY, by F. Forest, Nov. 1943
  - 7) THE SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE, by J.R. Johnson

III. 1944-45

- 1) RESOLUTION OF THE MINORITY ON THE NEGRO QUESTION, by J.R. Johnson  
(See also: NEW INTERNATIONALIST, Nov. '44; "Negro Intellectuals  
In A Dilemma" (Review of Myrdal's study) by F. Forest;  
"NEGRO IN REVOLUTION" by F. Forest, May '45; part of  
discussion on Negro Question, as well as "The Negro Question"  
the Debate with Coolidge at W.P. Convention.)
- 2) EDUCATION, PROPAGANDA, AGITATION  
Foster America and Bolshevism, by J.R. Johnson
- 3) A RESTATEMENT OF SOME FUNDAMENTALS OF MARXISM  
Against Carter's Vulgarization, by F. Forest, March '44

IV. 1946-47

- 1) HISTORICAL RETROGRESSION OR SOCIALIST REVOLUTION  
A Discussion Article on the Thesis of the IED, by J.R.  
Johnson, New Internationalist, Jan. '46, Feb. '46
- 2) NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN STALINIST RUSSIA,  
5 articles in Labor Action, by F. Forest, Oct. '46

~~V. 1947-48~~

V.

- 1) OUTLINE OF MARX'S CAPITAL, Volume I, by F. Forest
- 2) RESOLUTIONS ON:  
American Question,  
Task of Building the Bolshevik Party  
International Question  
by J.R. Johnson
- 3) LUKACHSKO'S THEORY OF ACCUMULATION,  
2 articles plus Correspondence on it, by F. Forest,  
April & May, '46, Feb. '47

VI.

SPLIT FROM W.P. -- CREATION OF J.S.F.F

CONTENTS:

Vol. II OF WRITINGS OF STATE CAPITALIST

MISERY -- the Johnson-Forest tendency  
in its weeks of independent existence, July-Sept. 1947

I. TROTSKYISM IN THE US, 1940-47, BALANCE SHEET, by J.R. Johnson

II. INTERNAL BULLETINS. 1-12

Including:

(a) in Bulletin #5, LABOR & SOCIETY, by F. Forest,  
which was actually written as part of  
philosophical presuppositions of Russian economic  
study in 1942-4, based on Marx's Early Economic  
-Philosophic Essays before they were translated  
into English by Stone, Aug. '47

(b) The Revolution in the Army by I. Blake

III. Separate publications:

1) World Revolutionary Perspectives and the Russian Question,  
consisting of reprints of articles on Russia, by F. Forest,  
Historical Retrospection, by J.R. Johnson, and a new  
Introduction, "Dialectical Materialism & the Fate of  
Humanity", by J.R. Johnson

2) Essays by Karl Marx,  
First English translation in mimeographed form

3) Pamphlets not here included:  
Invading Socialist Society,  
The American Worker,  
(published after entry into SWP)

CONTENTS:

Vol. III. -- (3 books) STATE CAPITALIST THEORY STRATEGIC ROLES OF  
THEORIES

Back I.

ARCHIVES, UNPUBLISHED WRITINGS OF MARX & LENIN

A. ARCHIVES OF MARX, all translated by F. Forest, from the Russian  
except one (Grundrisse) by G. from the German

B) CHAPTER 6 OF CAPITAL, original (unpublished) ending of CAPITAL, Volume  
from ARCHIVES OF MARY-KNOX II (VII)

II. Table of Contents and Appendix of First Edition of CAPITAL,  
later the Appendix was incorporated as part of Chapt:

Continuing Contents Vol. III, Book I:

III. THEORIES OF SURPLUS VALUE, ~~III~~ by Marx  
(Volumes II and III those dealing with Accumulation  
of Capital and Crises)

IV. Last Writing of Marx, Notes on Wagner

V. Individual pages

VI. GRUNDRISS

Missing:

First translation from Russian (1943-4) of Economic-Philosophic MSS  
of Marx by R.

(included)

B. Russian Summation of ALL CONGRESSES AND CONFERENCE OF BOLSHEVIKS  
FROM FIRST in 1889 through 1932

Missing:

Russian summation of all positions on trade union dispute, 1920-21  
and Stenographic transcript of the 9th Congress of RCP (2)

(included)

C. LEVIN (Against Luxemburg's position on internal dispute in  
Russian Marxist Party) ONE STEP FORWARD, TWO STEPS BACK,  
translated from Russian by R.  
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Resistances by Anshakov of Marx  
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SEE BOOK II AS for 1st Outline of book on Marxism, 1947;  
2nd Outline, under impact of Miners strike, 1950  
and Correspondence between J. R & G on Dialectics

BOOK III-- for translation of the whole of Lenin's Notes on Hegel's Logic,  
including the sections of Hegel  
\*\*\*\*\*

CONTENTS:

Vol. III. Book II, New Philosophic and American Foundations, 1947-50

I. First Outline of State Capitalism and Marxism, 1947  
by Raya Dennyevskaya (Marginal Notes by Joan Robinson)  
submitted to Oxford University Press

II. Letters on Trotskyism, which served as basis of J.H. Johnson's  
"Nevada Document" on Dialectics, not included here.  
(available only in typescript)

III. CORRESPONDENCE between J. & R. & G., 1949-50

See: especially R's letter of June 7, 1950 to J. (11 pages)  
on changes in structure of Capital and impact of  
Civil War; also on Break in Lenin Himself, letter of  
July 6th, 1949 by R. to J.

IV. FIRST PRESENTATION OF NEW FORM OF BOOK ON MARXISM

by R. to J., G. and J.Z., first worker to be present;  
first view from vantage point of present day America  
and Lenin's Notebooks; also letter to miners.

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Continuing Contents Vol. III, Book III

Missing:

- 1) Regular weekly reports of miners strikes by H, and John published in MILITANT
- 2) Minutes of Ohio-Pittsburgh-V. Va. meeting on strike
- 3) First Presentation of work to J-P-S caucus
- 4) Varied and many drafts of book ever since beginning. (some are available in typescript)

ALSO MISSING BUT AVAILABLE IN TAPES, LETTERS & FILES--the various discussions on book since NEWS & LETTERS.

(Related to this period, but available in another Volume, Vol. IV, because of space considerations: 1) Translation of Russian revision of teaching of Marxism, and commentaries upon it by ED in American Economic Review, 1944-45.

2) Correspondence pamphlet--new writings from

~~Denby~~  
INDIGNANT HEART by Charles Denby. High point

of this new literature preparing us both for Correspondence and News & Letters and book on Marxism.

CONTENTS:

Vol. III, Book III of DEVELOPMENT OF STATE CAPITALIST THEORY,  
HOW DIERL PHILOSOPHY HEV.

I. LENIN'S PHILOSOPHIC NOTEBOOKS:

HEDEL'S SCIENCE OF LOGIC  
& Excerpts of Notes on HEDEL'S HISTORY OF  
PHILOSOPHY.

CONTENTS:

Vol. IV. -- SWP PERIOD AND BREAK FROM THEM, 1947-51

A --

I. STALINIST RUSSIA, A CAPITALIST STATE, by John Fredericks  
(S-C tendency within SWP before Johnson-Frost Tendency's joining)

OIL & LANGR, by John Fredericks

II. Stalinists Falsify Marxism Answer, by F. Forest  
(Fourth International, Sept. '48)

Also P. I., June '49, review of Bonnessovsky's book by F. Forest  
(and one on Barga, and one on Devaluation of Ruble are missing.)

III. STATE CAPITALISM AND WORLD REVELATION, by "JOHNSON-FROST"

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Continuing Vol. IV:

**B -- BREAK FROM SWP:**

- IV. BALANCE SHEET COMPLETED, by J.R. Johnson,  
(includes THE REVOLT OF WORKERS AND THE PLAN OF THE INTELLECTUALS,  
by V. Forest)  
(handed into SWP but only after we already had walked out.)

**A -- "INDEPENDENT"**

- V. REPORT AND DISCUSSION ON BREAK FROM SWP  
VI. "LETTER TO HARRISON" THE END OF AN EPOCH  
(Photographed while independent but never published.)

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THIS IS THE MIMOGRAPHED "CORRESPONDENCE" PERIOD, 1951-3, which exist  
separately & only one special section on "Then and Now" -- Trade Union  
Debate of 1952 and 1953 is included here.

**B -- SPECIAL PAMPHLETS IN POCKET**

- I. American Economic Review articles, reprints, 1944-45  
II. Correspondence pamphlet  
III. INDIGNANT HEART, by Mathew Ward, 1952

See also: "Mariners, Rengades & Castaways", by C.L.R. James

**Contents:**

Vol. V. -- MOVING TO PUBLICATION OF CORRESPONDENCE,  
CORRESPONDENCE SHEET  
(Other BULLETINS of 1951-53 period separately bound)

**A --**

- I. OUR ORGANIZATION, presented for discussion of first convention, July 1953,  
but not released.  
II. On Culture  
III. Weaver on the Paper  
IV. Perspectives  
V. Discussion Bulletin on LIFE articles on Africa

(SEE ALSO BOUND VOLUME OF THE ENTIRE CORRESPONDENCE PERIOD, 1951-55  
plus files.)

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Continuing Contents Vol. V:

**A -- JOHNSON BREAKS UP CORRESPONDENCE**

I. Editor's (JZ) Report to RER, 2/22/55

II. Discussion BULLETIN, each position MAJORITY (which is to become NEWS & LETTERS) and MINORITY (Johnsonites) presented its own documents as it sees matters. March 1955

~~INDEX~~

III. TO EVERY MEMBER OF THE ORGANIZATION:

A WARNING ABOUT THE DISLOYAL AND TREACHEROUS OPPOSITION

(including the fantastic letters of Johnson to me, Jan. '55 as he moved to split the organization, and Discussion on these to RER.) Statement and Letters by Johnson to Weaver (Forest) January, 1953-55, plus FILES.

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CONTENTS:

Vol. VI. as End of Johnson-Forest and Beginning of new workers' paper edited by production workers; NEWS & LETTERS. Completion of philosophic foundations of state capitalist theory; ABSOLUTE IDEA & MARXISM AND FREEDOM

I. First Conference Bulletin,--Chairman's Report and Watkins Letter

II. PHILOSOPHIC NOTES (2 editions) --Lenin's Notebooks plus Letters between R and G, May 12-20, 1953, on Absolute Idea

III. First Convention of NEWS & LETTERS, 7 Bulletins

~~CONTENTS:~~

1. Johnsonism--A Political Appraisal
2. Labor Bureaucracy and Radical Movement
3. What Form of Organization
4. Finance: Needs & Ends & Perspectives
5. Reports on the Paper
6. Discussion Bulletin--Preliminary Drafts of Constitution & Bylaws  
Discussions on Marxism and Freedom (including Youth and Bobk)
7. The Need for a Workers' Paper.  
Plus Rough Draft of International News

CONSTITUTION & BYLAWS

MAIN REPORT AT CONVENTION: Theoretical and Practical Perspectives  
Where to Begin, July 1956

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IV. First Floor of NEWS & LETTERS COMMITTEES:  
Speeches and Resolutions, Labor Day Weekend, 1957

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SEE SEPARATELY PUBLICATION OF: MARXISM AND FREEDOM..  
.....from 1776 until Today

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V. Moving to Second Convention, June, 1958: First 3 Draft Resolutions:

1. WORLD OUTLOOK
2. MARXISM & FREEDOM: Method, Heritage and Principles
3. ORGANIZATION, THE PAPER & FINANCES

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SEE SEPARATELY BOUND VOLUME OF: NEWS & LETTERS, 1955-58

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