

**umbc**

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND BALTIMORE COUNTY  
Catonsville, Maryland 21228

Department of History (301) 455-2312

July 6, 1983

Dear Ms. Dunayevskaya,

I have just been reading your book Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution and have found it extremely interesting.

I called Humanities Press and got your address from them.

You are familiar with my work because you mention my book in your bibliography.....The Tragic Deception: Marx Contra Engels.

This year I sponsored a Marx symposium at UMBC for the 100th anniversary of his death.....a conference you might have heard about.

Next year, 1983-84, I have a Fulbright Fellowship and will be in Germany writing a biography of Engels. I will finish it in the summer of 1984 and it will be published, I have already signed a contract with Allen and Unwin of London.

The reason that I am writing all this is because I agree completely with your thesis of the differences between Marx and Engels. I also agree that the Hegelian influence formed the methodological background for Das Kapital. The theme of my biography of Engels, The Keeper of the Keys, is to trace to differences in depth. I will attempt to show that the biographies of Mehring (Marx) and Gustav Mayer (Engels) tended to overstate the unity of Marx and Engels because both Mehring and Mayer wished to uphold the Lassallean influence inside the SPD. You are correct.... there is too much that Engels did know of Marx to make Engels the irrefutable interpreter of Marx. The Das Kapital is the crucial document and Engels did not know the Grundrisse or the pre-Grundrisse or Marx's original plans for Kapital- (see Rubel) and so could not offer a definitive interpretation of Kapital- or a definitive collation of Volumes 2 and 3.

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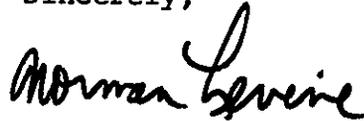
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UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND BALTIMORE COUNTY  
Catonsville, Maryland 21228

Department of History (301) 455-2312

*Yes* I am writing these ideas to you because I wish to establish contact with you. In particular, I want to know if you would be willing to read chapters of my Engels biography as they are written and comment on them? Your knowledge of the sources is impressive and I am certain that your reading of my manuscript would be a help to me.

Sincerely,



Norman Levine  
Professor of History

1583/7

July 11, 1983

Prof. Norman Levine  
Departement of History  
University of Maryland Baltimore County  
Catonsville, Maryland 21228

Dear Prof. Levine:

Thank you for yours of July 6. Yes, I would be glad to read the chapters of your biography of Engels and comment on them. We are both interested in revealing the differences between Marx and Engels. The difference between us is style, which is not a subject I generally comment on, and I certainly cannot get any prizes for my style, but in this case I think it is especially important to sound more objective than you do. Precisely because Engels was the closest collaborator Marx had, and because he was no ~~conscious~~ <sup>conscious</sup> misinterpreter, it is, I think, very important to reveal the pull of both objective circumstances and a considerably inferior intellect to Marx's.

May I give you just a few indications of what I think your biography would have to contend with. The first is the fact that, where Engels is most guilty is in his Origin which he presented as a bequest of Marx -- which it wasn't and moreover we can see that in detail now that the Ethnological Notebooks of Marx have been published. When I studied them I was also impressed with Lawrence Krader's Introduction. I felt here was someone who really ~~did~~ understood the deep gulf between Marx and Engels, and while he wasn't as concerned with the question of Women's Liberation, we certainly saw alike on the attitude to pre-capitalist society and on dialectics. At first our correspondence was quite friendly, and I felt sure that he would agree with my critique of Engels. My shock came when he said not to count him among those who draw a sharp line between Marx and Engels.

There is one other person who has done a magnificent expose of Engels in relationship to Anti-Duhring. If by any chance you haven't read it, you should. I'm referring to Terrell Carver's "Marx, Engels and Dialectics" in Political Studies, vol. 28, no. 3 (1980). His book, Karl Marx, Texts on Method, is also quite good, but he is a pragmatist and I fear that many of the differences between Marx and Engels that he points to are said, with a secret preference for Engels' style. I remember Prof. Joan Robinson telling me that she wished Marx had told all his ideas to Engels and had Engels write them in his very nearly Anglo-Saxon style

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instead of constantly forcing Hegel on her. In a word, the pragmatists are forever fighting the Hegelian dialectic as if it were a living person truly "oppressing" them.

For that matter, I think you would find, if you have not yet read it, valuable one book published in English in Moscow 1950 -- Reminiscences of Marx and Engels. I refer to the article by A. Voden, "Talks with Engels" pp. 325-334. Evidently that young man was sent by Plekhanov to see whether he could get some of the early writings of Marx on Hegel. He had a hard time convincing Engels, who kept emphasizing that no-one was interested, but who finally did show him some of the manuscripts. Voden says that Engels told him Marx "had not displayed any one-sided preference for the materialist systems, but had dwelt particularly on the dialectics..." nevertheless

This type of preference for materialism is/quite obvious in those that very much oppose Engels. I'm referring to Maximilien Rubel, who did a much inferior reconstruction of Vol. 2 of Capital. So I thought that if I turned to an entirely different topic -- the attitude of Marx to Darwin -- I would find that Rubel would recognize how sharply different Marx's views were. To my surprise, I found that ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Rubel repeated as the holy truth (and not revealing that the story comes from secondary sources) the story that Marx had wanted to dedicate Vol. 2 to Darwin and was refused. The true story is too long to go into here, but please read a most interesting and revealing study, "Marx and Darwin, a Literary Detective Story," by Margaret A. Fay, in Monthly Review, March 1980.

May I ask whether you intend to review my book, Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution? As you may know, I still suffer from being made an "unperson", both in Russia and in the U.S. -- despite the fact that Wayne State University has made available on microfilm 7000 pages of my documents from 1941 to today (they titled it "The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection"), and that Humanities Press has brought out my three major works for the Marx centenary (I'm enclosing their brochure).

I have just returned from a national lecture tour around the Marx centenary and the publication of my latest book, during which I made no less than 46 talks in 20 different cities. I'm aware of many other centenary events that were held, but, frankly, none were, in my opinion, on Marx's Marxism; they were on post-Marx Marxism.

Yours,

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## RUHR-UNIVERSITÄT BOCHUM

Abteilung für Geschichtswissenschaft  
Prof. Dr. Jörn Rüsen

Ruhr-Universität Bochum, Lehrstuhl Neuere Geschichte III  
Postfach 102146, 4630 Bochum 1

Universitätsstraße 150  
4630 Bochum 1  
Gebäude GA, 6. OG/52  
Telefon (0234) 700-4691  
Telex 0825860

29 April, 1984

Dear Raya Dunayevskaya,

I have received the newspaper, "News and Letters" you sent to me and I thank you for bringing it to my attention. As you can see from the stationery that I am using, I am in Germany. I have been here since September since I am the happy recipient of a Fulbright Senior Research Fellowship which has allowed me to further my research on Engels. If you write to me in the foreseeable future (as I hope you will) please write to me at the following address:

Prof. Norman Levine  
c/o Lehrstuhl Prof. Dr. Jörn Rüsen  
Abt. für Geschichtswissenschaft  
Ruhr-Universität Bochum  
4630 Bochum  
Federal Republic of Germany.

I have seen Terrell Carver's book but I have not read it. Although I have read your review with interest, I do not think that I can comment on it since I have not read Carver himself. However, I do know him personally....having met him about ten years ago when we first talked about the differences between Marx and Engels.....an idea I first developed in my book The Tragic Deception: Marx Contra Engels (1975). If you look at Carver's bibliography in his Marx and Engels book you will see my earlier book mentioned.

Enclosed you will find an announcement of a new book of mine....Dialogue Within the Dialectic ! I hope you can get a copy of it a review it in your paper. It too also discusses the differences between Marx and Engels.

On one point, however, I can say that I do not agree with Carver. The argument that Engels Umriss is a precursor of Marx's 1844 Paris Manuscripts I think is wrong. Carver is not the first to make this argument. There is a book by Georges Labica Marxism and the Status of Philosophy (Harvester Press) which first made this argument. A careful reading of the Engels Umriss shows, I would argue, that Engels had not jettisoned the major categories of classical political economy. There is nothing in the Umriss which even suggests the labor theory of value. Indeed, Engels defines value in that book in terms of competition and costs of production. The Umriss is Ricardian.....it is not a critique of economic

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## RUHR-UNIVERSITÄT BOCHUM

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Prof. Dr. Jörn Rüsen

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categories but a moral attack on the social consequences of classical economics. He does not critically reject the categories of classical economics, but morally condemn them.

At any rate, the biography I am writing on Engels should clear all this up. It will be a big work.....probably extend into two volumes. I did not start out with such a large project in mind but the concept has grown and since I have put so much time and effort into it already it seems wise to do the job as best I can regardless of the greater effort I must make. My biography will be out I hope in 1987.

Let me hear from you. If you should read my book I would appreciate your comments. You can write to me here until the first of July. After that I think it best to write to me at my Baltimore address.1.....the University of Maryland Baltimore County.

Best regards,

*Norman Levine*  
Norman Levine

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Luftpost

RUHR-UNIVERSITÄT  
BOCHUM



Luftpost

Ma. Raya Dunayevakaya

Detroit, Michigan 48228  
U.S.A.

MIT LUFTPOST

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# DIALOGUE within the DIALECTIC

Norman Levine

OUT NOW!

The development of dialectical thought has, perhaps not surprisingly, been anything but a smooth and simple process. In this comprehensive new book, Professor Levine studies the development path from Hegel to Mao, via Marx, Engels and Lenin. He pays particular attention to the differences which existed between Marx and Engels.

Close scrutiny reveals two distinct strands: an activist-praxis tradition associated with Marx; and a positivist-determinist tradition. The recognition of these is vital to an understanding of both the history and the prospects of Marxist movements. This analysis, which conceives of Marxism as praxis, method and guide to action, is able to define a Marxism which is indigenous to the West as distinct from the 'decadent', positivist Soviet Marxism.

An important feature of DIALOGUE WITHIN THE DIALECTIC is its attempt to unravel the work that Engels performed in collating *Capital* volume II, something which no book has undertaken before. Based on extensive original research, the author shows that Engels considerably altered the structure of these volumes and raises the possibility that, as a result of Engel's editorial changes, they do not now express the original intent of Marx.

This book will be essential reading for anyone with an interest in the history or philosophy of Marxism, whether as historians, philosophers, political scientists, economists or sociologists.

#### Contents

1 Introduction; Dialogue Within the Dialectic; The Destruction of the Dialectic; The Hegelian Foundations of Marx's Method; Toward the Reconstruction of Das Kapital; Hegelianized Leninism; The Dialectic and the Yenan Way.

February 1984

416 pp

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Hardback £25.00

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May 8, 1984

Dear Norman Levine:

Yes, I would like to read and review your Dialogue Within the Dialectic. Please do have a review copy sent to me; the price is certainly fantastic.

Originally my attitude to Engels, which was never friendly, (but had to be obedient since the movement treated Marx and Engels as one), was prompted by my disagreement with his Origin of the Family. I don't think I ever forgave him the phrase, "world historic defeat of the female sex", to describe the move from matrilineal to patrilineal society. As I grew out of my teen age years and began teaching Capital I very much distrusted the difference in Volume I that Engels introduced when he did not strictly follow Marx's French edition. Indeed, I consider the English translation of Capital a horror. When I first worked out the state-capitalist theory in 1941 I very nearly blamed all the post-Marx Marxists' errors on that translation. Naturally, I'm interested in what you do with Volumes II and III, but the proven case can only be made for Volume I; not that it isn't most essential to carry through the critique when you consider that all these debates on Volume II haven't stopped to this day.

Will you, in your biography of Engels, be dealing with the Critique of the Gotha Program? Engels had quite a few compliments regarding that and persisted for 15 long years to try to get the German Social Democracy to publish it. But in fact it wasn't as Marx had written it and the differences were not as minor as Engels led you to think.

Have you read my Philosophy and Revolution: from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao? It's available in German under the Europaverlag title: Algebra der Revolution. A copy must be available at Ruhr-Universität Bochum. Unfortunately, it does not have the new Introduction I wrote for the 1982 Humanities Press edition, which may have special interest for you because I answer George Armstrong Kelly's critique that took issue with my interpretation of Hegel's "Absolute Idea as New Beginning." Let me enclose a copy of that Introduction for you. I am also enclosing a copy of my "Marx's 'New Humanism' and the Dialectics of Women's Liberation in Primitive and Modern Societies" as it was printed in Praxis International, Jan. 1984.

After Bochum how will you look at Baltimore?

Yours,

15844

**umbc** UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND BALTIMORE COUNTY  
Catonsville, Maryland 21228

Department of History (301) 455-2312

5 Sept 1984

Dear Raya Dunayevskaya,

I have returned to the United States from my Fulbright year in Germany, have started to teach again and can be reached at the above address.

Did you ever receive a copy of my book Dialogue Within the Dialectic? If so, I would be pleased to have your comments on it.

I am beginning to formulate a plan for a possible TV documentary on American Radicals. This is really just in the thinking stage since I have not yet put anything down on paper, but at a not too distant time in the future I plan to make a proposal to a PBS station: probably the one outside of Washington, D.C. I am thinking of doing a documentary on American Radicals like yourself, I.F. Stone, Hal Draper and Angela Davis etc.

This is just a preliminary sounding out. Would you be interested in working with such a project? Could you fill me in on your contacts with the Trotskyite movement in the U.S.? I have information that WGBH in Detroit does alot of serious documentary subjects. Is this true?

I am just returning to work again and picking up the threads of my life here. I am sorry for the briefness of this letter but I am pressed for time right now. There are other projects I am involved with-----a book on Lenin-----which I would like to communicate with you about-----but that must wait for another time.

Best wishes.

*Norman Levine*

Norman Levine

15845

September 15, 1984

Dear Norman Levine:

As you can see from above I am no longer a Detroiter. No I did not read a copy of your book and would want to read and comment on Dialogue Within the Dialectic. You may be interested in the pamphlet I am sending you under separate cover which I co-authored on the coal miners General Strike of 1949-50 to which I penned the letters on the dialectic way back then when I translated Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks.

The t.v. documentary you are thinking about on American radicals sounds a bit like the Tamiment project about the oral history of "Old Radicals". I told them they would collect an awful lot of lies and why should they be interested in oral history by intellectuals who can very easily speak for themselves as well as write; indeed I wasn't interested in such personal history and they do have my archives for over 45 years. But they insisted that I never speak of myself and they are very interested in that unwritten page of american history where I was so prominent in the West Virginia coalfields. They finally succeeded not only in getting at least that part of the story but also giving me the impulse for the pamphlet I've sent you.

But, again I'm interested in Marxist-Humanism not in Trotskyism. (My year as Trotsky's secretary is well documented since it was that crucial period of the Moscow Frame-up Trials, 1937-38.) I am completing a collection of essays on Women's Liberation over a 35 year period. Humanities is planning to have it come off the press on IWD 1985 then I will maybe be making a national lecture tour but don't know whether Baltimore is on my schedule. I do not know about WBGH; in Detroit I often recorded on WDET.

Hurriedly,

1584

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October 17, 1984

Dear Norman Levine:

A brief note. Since your footnote on my writings regarding Lenin's philosophic stand mentions as "an early attempt" my Philosophy and Revolution, 1973 edition, I am sending you under separate cover my Marxism and Freedom, which has now undergone four editions (actually six printings) since it first appeared in 1958. That first edition included the first translation in English of Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks which supported my chapter on "The Collapse of the Second International and the Break in Lenin's Thought". That edition is not the first time I had translated the Notebooks, and held that Lenin was the first post-Marx Marxist to return to the Hegelian dialectic as the missing link to Marx's philosophy of revolution. As the "Raya Dunayevskaya Collection" (which is on deposit at Wayne State University Archives of Labor History and Urban Affairs) shows, I had translated it and initiated an extensive philosophic correspondence probing it in 1949-50 (pp. 1492 to 1734 of the Archives). It took ten years to get these Notebooks published after I had failed to convince either universities like Columbia or the Trotskyists to publish it, though I would charge them nothing. I had to include it as an Appendix to my own work before I could get it published. (It did appear as a mimeoed pamphlet in 1955, put out by me.)

Both of my Appendices (not only Lenin's Notebooks, but also the first English translation of Marx's 1844 Humanist Essays) had to be sacrificed to make room for a new chapter on "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung" when the second edition went to press in 1964. On that question, very obviously, we are at opposite poles. But in this note, I am not arguing interpretations; just the facts, Norman, just the facts.

Yours,

Kay

Send  
83 red letter of Mr F  
under sep cover

15847

**umbc**

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND BALTIMORE COUNTY  
Catonsville, Maryland 21228

Department of History (301) 455-2312

25 October 1984

Dear Raya,

Just a note to let you know that I have received your book and I thank you for it. I also note the corrections you made in relation to my book and I thank you for those too. You were honest and that is the highest compliment.

Best regards,

*Norman Levine*

Norman Levine

# *Dialogue Within the Dialectic*

Norman Levine  
*University of Maryland Baltimore County*

82 The attempt to associate Lenin and Hegel is relatively recent, and is dependent upon the recognition that the *Philosophical Notebooks* represent Lenin's mature philosophy. In English an early attempt to forge the Lenin-Hegel connection was manifest in Raya Dunayevskaya's *Philosophy and Revolution* (New York: Dell, 1973). But Dunayevskaya goes too far. She makes Lenin into a thorough Hegelian which amounts to an extreme statement unsupported by the facts.