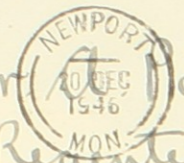


22/2



Dr. J. J. Vannebock,  
Regentse laan,  
Zeist, Holland



Harris

for br 

Dec. 20. 46

14, Bishop St., 22 1/2  
Newport.  
Mon.  
England.

Dear Comrade,

I was very pleased to see that you intend to ~~xxx~~ have one of your works published in English and I write in the hope that I might be of some assistance in this matter. At present I am in contact with quite a number of people and groups who might be able to publish your work for you I also think that Victor Gollancz who, although not a Marxist, has published many useful books, including the "Life of Rosa Luxemburg" by Paul Frolisch, might bear the expense of its publication. I will write to Gollancz on this subject if you wish me to.

A word about myself, I am a Marxist, a member of the Socialist Party of Great Britain, a body which holds that the so-called Socialism of the British Labour Party, I.L.P., Communists etc is not Socialism at all but state-capitalism and that only the common ownership of the means of production and distribution of wealth and their democratic control by the whole community constitutes Socialism (Communism). This communalisation of the means of living can only be accomplished by the outright expropriation of the expropriators by a class-conscious

majority of the working class. The Socialist Party wins its support on the unobscured issue of Capitalism versus Socialism and thus has not one social-reform in its election programme. The Party opposed the war of 1914-18 and the war of 1939-45 and suffered for its opposition.

It holds that the system in Russia is not Socialism but State-Capitalism and that Socialism cannot be established in one country for the proletarian revolution must be international.

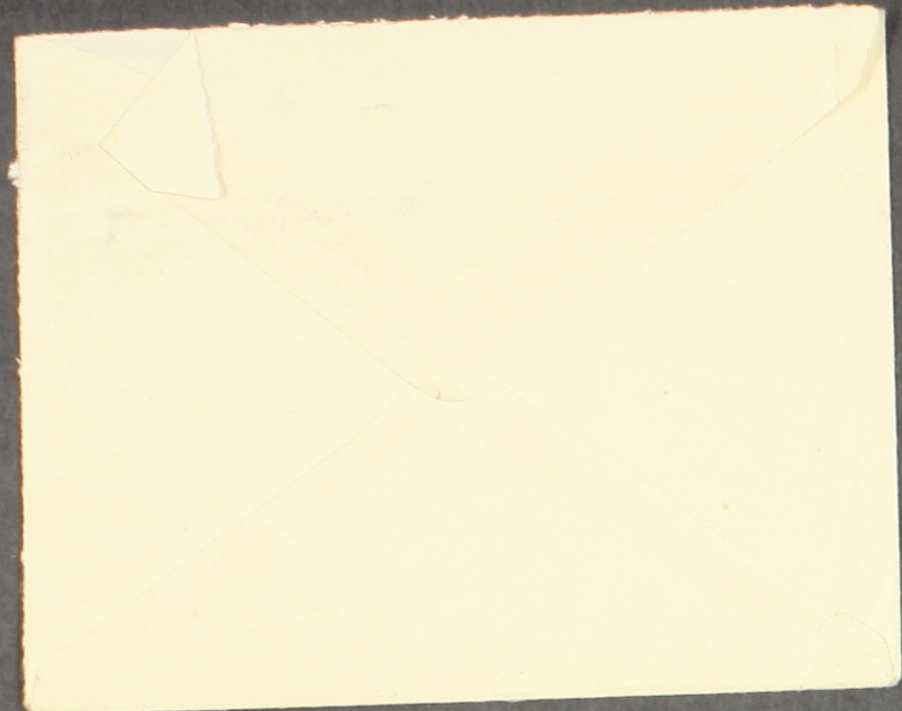
In short, we fight and educate for the only thing worth fighting and educating for, that is the Socialist World Revolution.

We are a small party, but we refuse to water down our Marxism for the sake of popular support. We issue a monthly paper the "Socialist Standard", incidentally your comrade Paul Mattick has had some of his articles printed in our American Cominternian Party's organ "the Western Socialist".

Let me have ~~to~~ some details of your party's work and let me know, as soon as possible please, if you wish me to contact Gallang for you.

Yours for Socialism,  
M. C. Harris

P.S. Is Comrade Hermann Gorter still alive?



I  
Jan 3.47

14, Bishop St.,  
Newport,  
Mon.

22/3

Dear Comrade,

Many thanks for your letter of Dec. 24<sup>th</sup>; the views of your group shine as a ray of light through the fog which Social-Democratic, Stalinist and Trotskyist reformist-opportunists have cast over the continent.

There is, however, one point on which we may disagree; but as you say — "other ideas quite as useful may arise in other brains; we have all to learn from one another" and so here is that point:—

The Socialist Party of Gt. Britain believes in using the ballot as well as workers organisation on the industrial field in order to accomplish the revolution; but make no mistake comrade we do not entertain the illusions which the Social-Democrats of the 2<sup>nd</sup> international had with regards to political action, we are not ballot-box utopians, victims of what Engels called "parliamentary cretinism" —

"That incurable malady... a disorder which penetrates its unfortunate victims with the solemn conviction that the whole world, its history and future, are governed and determined by a majority of votes in that particular representative body which has

the honour to count them among its members" (Engels),  
~~with~~ neither do we wish to be considered  
as 'peaceful worshipers of legality' and thus  
be entitled to don the cloak of bourgeois  
respectability; In the words of the 'Manifesto  
of the Socialist Party of Gt. Britain' - "The workers  
must organise upon the basis of their class,  
politically and industrially, with the object  
of ending <sup>the</sup> capitalist system and establish-  
~~ment~~ ing the Socialist Commonwealth.....

... Emancipation, not palliation, must be the  
watchword of the workers, as it will be  
when they become Socialists..... In a word,  
the basis of the workers' organisation must  
be class solidarity and class interests.

Its tactics must be aggressive as well as  
defensive, and its aim must be revolutionary.  
On the political field such an organisation  
exists (the S.P.G.B), on the industrial field it  
has yet to be born"

We think that in some countries  
such a policy is correct, in Gt. Britain at  
least, I am looking forward to your views  
on this subject. At the present time, however,  
we tell the workers that general elections are  
mere circuses and farces for they are

invited to choose between capitalism administered by Conservatives and Liberals and Capitalism administered by Labourites and "Communists" (Stalinist and Trotskyist) in other words they have to choose between Tweedledum and Tweedledee!

As the issues in present day elections ~~are~~ <sup>have</sup> nothing to do with the workers we urge the workers to make their votes invalid by writing across them: "International Socialism" and thus register a protest against the capitalist system and its social-democratic and "Communist" lackies and henchmen.

The S.P.G.B. has never joined any of the Internationals (2<sup>nd</sup>, 2<sup>1/2</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup>) because of their non-socialist basis, we hope, however, for the day when an international based on rejection of reformism, nationalisation etc, (in short based on the principles which I outlined in my first letter) will arise a start has been made in this direction and there are parties in the U.S.A Canada, New Zealand, Australia and a group in Eire with absolutely identical principles and teachings, all are tiny but sound

I regret to say that I have never read any work by Herman Gorter I would very much like to but I am unable to obtain any of them (on Dec 1<sup>st</sup> I wrote to a firm in the U.S.A. which obtains out of print works for inquirers requesting a copy of Gorter's "Letter to Lenin"; but I have had no reply as yet); but I know that Gorter was a genuine Marxist and a close friend of yours, I look forward to the time when his work on the history of literature will be published in English.

I ~~am~~ will send you as many copies of the "Socialist Standard"; "Western Socialist" (USA+CANADA) as I have at hand to be followed by party pamphlets. We use your pamphlet "Marxism and Darwinism" for propoganda purposes but I don't think you need a copy of that!

If ~~you~~ Gollony publishes your work I will do all I can to make it well known, by the way did you write C.H. Kerr on this matter? He has published some fine works in his time.

Will eagerly await your next letter.

Yours fraternally,

M.C. Harris



22/5

14, Bishop St.,  
Newport,  
Mon  
7. Jan 47

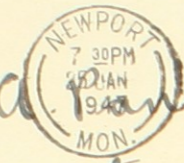
Dear Comrade,

This is not the bundle  
of "Socialist Standard" and "Western Socialist"  
which I promised you in my letter  
you will receive them in a fortnight's  
time, meanwhile I hope these few  
pamphlets etc. will interest you.

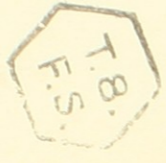
Is it possible for you to supply me  
with some of the publications of your  
group and "Spartacus"?

Yours fraternally,  
M. C. Harris

Dr. A. J. Minkock,  
Rengentesse laan 8,  
Zeist,  
Holland



22/6



22/6  
14, Bishop St.,  
Newport,  
Mon.  
Jan. 24<sup>th</sup> 1947

Dear Comrade,

Thanks for your letter of Jan 12<sup>th</sup>. It gives me great pleasure to be able to write to someone on the continent who is not concerned with agitating for social-reforms and schemes of nationalisation and state-control (my only other contact on the continent is a member of the German Social-Democratic Party in Hamburg, a reformist of course); but although we on most points are in agreement there still exists a difference between us on the question <sup>of</sup> how ~~the~~ the proletariat is to obtain power.

The following extract from an article by "S.R." in the "Socialist Standard" comments on your views concerning political parties and is very relevant as you will see: =

"Anton Pannekoek, the Dutch writer on Marxism, states his position in the blindest of terms. Writing in an American Magazine, "Modern Socialism" he says:

"The belief in parties, is the main reason for the impotence of the working class . . . because a party is an organ-

wed ik  
niet meer

isolation that aims to lead and control the workers."

Further on, however, he qualifies this statement:

"If... persons with the same fundamental conceptions (regarding socialism) unite for the discussion of practical steps and seek clarification through discussion and propagandise their conclusions, such groups might be called parties, but they would be parties in an entirely different sense from those of to-day."

is it  
desire

Here Pennekoek himself is not the model of clarity, but he points to a distinction which does exist. *hardly practically*

what you  
call  
parties

However, it is not the practice of forming and supporting 'parties' which has brought the workers to grief; the failure has come about by the aims and methods of particular organisations and the membership which they have consequent by recruited. Thus, with the exception of the S.P.C.B. and its fellow organisations abroad, all parties constitute themselves as groups of persons seeking power above the workers. That is just as true of labour and communist groups as it is of conservative or Fascist groups.

Though some will proclaim their intentions to abolish the present order in favour of a more equitable one, the main object will be to to replace

II

one ruling clique with another.

Only Socialism can guarantee the conditions of a life worth living for all. Because its establishment depends upon an understanding of the necessary social changes by a majority of the population, these changes cannot be left to parties acting apart from or above the workers. The workers cannot vote for Socialism as they do for reformist policies and then go home or go to work and carry on as usual.

how will that do in practice right

To put the matter in this way is to show its absurdity.

Socialist ideas are not acquired merely by the experience of hardships and ~~tragedy~~ tragedy under capitalism. They must be propogated and learned.

no, but by practical fights

The party of the workers, therefore, cannot be anything less than a Socialist Party; its task, the conversion of the working class to the principles of Socialism. Now can it & at present

of course more! instruction and discussion

be much more. It must eschew all the cheap trick of electioneering and propoganda, whether these consist of open support for capitalism on the plea of 'urgent' problems, or a futile appeal for a 'Socialist Britain now!'. Such activities will not bring Socialism any nearer; the workers who support them are only postponing or evading their real responsibility.

That they do so is not due to any evil machinations or secret plots by these power-seeking parties. On the contrary the existence of these organisations and the popularity of their illusory remedies is conditioned by the inadequacy of working-class political understanding. So long as the workers do not comprehend the necessity and meaning of a revolutionary social change they will have no choice but to leave their fate in the hands of 'parties' and 'leaders'. With the development of socialist consciousness (class-consciousness) will come the realisation that they, the workers themselves, must take control of society.

no,  
do it  
themselves

Knowing what has to be done will give them the will and assurance needed.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain and its fellow parties therefore reject all comparison with all other political parties. We do not ask for power; we help to educate the working class itself into "taking it".

that's  
fine

Well that proved to be a long extract but it should interest you very much. Now to get back to the question of overthrowing capitalism. The capitalist class are only able to receive their surplus value because their right to it is upheld by

III the state, the armed forces and police forces. Therein lies their power, and they have control of the state because the majority of the workers are politically ignorant and support capitalist parties, Labour, Cons., Liberal, "Communist" etc, at every election. How then if the workers reject the ballot are we to gain control of the state power which has always been used against the workers?

State machinery not utilisable

You are quite right when you say that the Weimar Republic was a capitalist stronghold; but it was capitalist because the German Social Democratic Party was never a Socialist Party but a party which won its large votes and membership on social reforms. So the Weimar Republic is no proof of the usefulness of the vote.

I am also interested to know your exact position on Trade Unions

Now on the continent there are quite a number of groups claiming to be non Stalinist and Trotskyist Communists i.e Communist in the Marxian not Bolshevick meaning and if you could give me some information on these groups I would be very grateful

In France there are 3 such groups, to my knowledge that is,

"These groups are: =

① The "French Fraction of the International Communist left (of Paris) its official organs are { L'Internationalisme  
~~et~~ L'Etincelle

② The Union of International Communists (of Paris) official organ "La Flamme"

③ Revolutionary Communists of Lyons official organ "Le Proletaire"

In Belgium: = Belgian Fraction of International Communist left of Bruxelles official organ "L'Internationaliste"

In Germany: = Revolutionary Communists of Germany official organ "R.K.D. Bulletin"

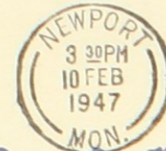
In Italy: = The International Communist Party official organ "Battaglia Comunista" (Amedeo Bordiga is a member of this party)

I sent you some pamphlets some days back and have just posted you some "Socialist Standards" and "Western Socialists" I should like some of your groups and "Spectator's" publications if you could possibly let me have some

Yours Fraternally,

M. C. Harris





Dr. A. Pannekoek,  
Regentesse laan 8,  
Zeist, Holland.



22/9



Feb/9./47.

141 Bishop St.,  
Newport,  
Mon 22/9

Dear Comrade,

Your letter of February 4<sup>th</sup> cheered me at a time when I most needed cheering, for I have been in poor health of late and have had to stay indoors, have been unable therefore, to pay my daily visit to the local Public Library.

You are quite right when you say that the workers must not look for others to liberate them, it is for this reason that we oppose the Leninists (Bordighists etc) Social Democrats when they say that the workers must have 'leaders', for we hold that their view that the workers will need "leaders", "active minorities" and "professional revolutionaries" to lead, drag, pull, push or goad the workers into Socialism is absolutely false, for the workers must stand on their own feet they do not want ~~the~~ crutches, progs or bath-chairs but understanding.

We do not say to the workers "vote our party in X to power and we will pass an act, do this and that introduce a bill to do that and this, issue white papers, blue books, and give you Socialism."

When the workers understand and want Socialism then they will use their political supremacy to gain control of the armed forces once they have control then the master-class is doomed, then there will be no

need for acts and bills, ~~the~~ no ~~longer~~ bureaucrats or officials will order the workers to do this and do that for socialism, then the workers will regulate and determine the production and distribution (according to needs) of wealth themselves, democratic control will be the keynote of our new society. The ~~the~~ emancipation of the workers must be the work of the workers themselves!

Regarding the book "Workers Councils" I am very ~~not~~ sorry that it is not being published in England for it is more difficult for us to obtain books from ~~a~~ U.S.A.; but Gallang, although he has published several good works, is not a socialist neither is he supported by socialists.

I think that Charles H. Kerr and Co. are worth trying in the States. ~~It~~ It is unfortunate for the movement that our comrades of "International Review" (New York) are no longer able to publish literature, for they would have, I feel sure, published "Workers Councils". "International Review" published many fine works in English including: "Reform or Revolution" by Luxemburg, "State and Socialist Revolution" Jules Martov, "Open letter to Lenin" by H. Gorter, "Essays on leadership" Luxemburg, "What has become of the Russian Revolution" Yvon, "Kronstadt" Ida Mett, "Bolshevism" by Rudolf Springer. Did you ever have any contact with "International Review" when it was in

existence? The comrades in Newport are looking forward to the time when they will be able to read Gorter's essays on the world's great poets; how much of this work is already translated?

We agree with you that trade unions 'now form part of the social apparatus for dominating the working class' and we look forward to the day when the workers will wake up and discard these outwork bodies with their bureaucracies and rule by officials and "habow heads" and in their place erect a democratic class union resolved to fight the capitalist system tooth and nail until they are able to finally abolish it and with it poverty, unemployment, war and the 100 and 1 miseries of class rule. You ask after details of the London Transport strike well here they are: The S.P.G.B., as you are by now aware, welcomes every attempt by the workers to fend for themselves instead of relying on officials, who are almost always advocates of class collaboration, and others to do their work for them.

The Independent Labour Party supported the strikers but be not deceived, opportunists go to any length to win support and foster an illusion of 'standing by the workers', thus it is with the I.L.P. which formed the greater part of the 1924 labour government which was

prepared to use the Emergency Powers Act against striking  
Tramway men and underground railway workers  
The I.L.P. ~~also~~ also helped the Labour Party into power in 1945  
and support its programme of nationalisation and  
social reforms. I know of no publications in which  
the strikers published their case if I trace any I will  
send them to you. Are there any pseudo-socialist  
papers you would like me to send you?

Did you receive the second lot of party publications I  
sent you? What is your opinion of them?

I am pleased that comrade Pat has asked  
you to contribute to our "Western Socialist".

IMPORTANT: = How would you like the Socialist  
Party of Gt. Britain to send to Holland a speaker  
to address the comrades in your groups? if you  
would then let me know and I will see about  
making the ~~arrangements~~ required arrangements

yours fraternally,  
M. C. Harris

P.S. In my next letter I will explain how the S.P.G.B. came  
to be born and the struggles which we have had will also  
be recorded by me

better love at the future!

NEWPORT  
9 59AM  
14 MCH  
1947

STAGGERED  
HOLIDAYS  
FOR COMFORT



Dr. A. Pannekoek,

Regentesse laan 8,

Zeist,

Holland.

22/11



14, Bishop St.,  
Newport, 22/11

March 13. 47 Mon.

Dear Comrade,

When our pamphlet says "labourism must fail", it means it must fail to introduce socialism, which millions of workers are under the illusion that it can do. The pamphlet sets out to answer the question "Is labour government the way to socialism" and we rightly say that it must fail to do so; but we are not blind to the fact that the labour government will succeed in strengthening the capitalist system, in fact we ~~have~~ have always pointed this out. I disagree that, 'socialist parties everywhere help in establishing this dictatorial power of the state' not socialist parties but pseudo-socialist parties, à la S.D.P.; I.L.P., Stalinists, Trotskyists whose views are expressed by writers such as G.B. Shaw, the Webbs, G.D.H. Cole, F.A. Ridley, H. Pollitt, Earl Browder, Victor Gollancz etc. etc., etc.

Nowhere do we suggest that a simple majority vote will expropriate the capitalist but we do hold that when the majority become class-conscious that they will use their ballot to return a majority of socialist delegates to parliament, what will ~~such~~ result from this action remains to be seen (the capitalists may 'shut down parliament' as some suggest and the task of overthrowing capitalism will become a more difficult and bloody affair but the workers behind the votes will not have their minds cluttered up with social reforms, nationalisation schemes, <sup>etc.</sup> and using the best means at hand they will raze the capitalist edifice to the ground); but our main task is to make socialists.

You ask about the size of the Socialist Party, well the actual enrolled membership is about a thousand but the number of people who actively sell our literature put our position in debates, speeches etc is not known (an example of this type of supporter is our present day Branch Secretary A.S. Wilson who, without being a member of the S.P.C.B. took our stand in debate speeches, arguments, sold our literature and worked for the party from after the last (1914-18) War, ~~was~~ joining the party only 2½ years ago) besides these there are members of our discussion groups who wish to improve their socialist knowledge before joining the party. We will try and send a speaker to put our case if you should ever request this; you are mistaken when you say that 'nobody on the entire continent would understand' our position, for before the war we had a companion group in Austria (our comrades there translated our pamphlets into German and gave ~~the~~ lectures and debates putting our position, some of them may still be living) and in other continental countries ~~also~~; to-day we have some groups in France and a French comrade who gave a report to the 42<sup>nd</sup> Annual Conference of the S.P., ~~also~~ has held meetings in Belgium and Switzerland, Party literature has been translated into French by our French comrades.

The S.P.C.B. gets about 1,500 to 2,000 workers as an audience, for its open air meetings, in Hyde Park, Victoria Park (London) and about 2,000 for its indoor meetings, if the hall is big enough, unlike all other parties the S.P.C.B. allows anyone to take over



platform, in opposition, at every meeting (except in fixed debates where time must be rationed) and ample time is always allotted for discussion and questions, none of our meetings, ('business', Executive ~~Committee~~ Committee, branch etc.) are barred to the public as is the case with all other parties

In answer to your inquiry, I have read all your letters to the Newport Branch of the Socialist Party; It is not possible for us to publish 'Workers' Councils' for <sup>our</sup> ~~our~~ ~~reason~~ to paper shortages etc. we already have four pamphlets in M.S form which we cannot publish (they deal with the U.S.S.R; War, India etc) we are also anxious to develop the "Socialist Standard" as a 16 page fortnightly or even weekly (by the way has the "Group of International Communists" published any leaflets, pamphlets, papers yet?) but for the moment are unable to do so; Send an article giving details of your group to the := Editorial Committee S.P.G.B (name in full) 2, Rugby Street, London, W.C.1. and ask that it shall be published in the 'Socialist Standard' together with the comments of the S.P.G.B. on it. If it is possible for us to do so it will be published.

F.A. Kidley is by no means a 'revolutionary' he is an <sup>opportunistic</sup> first class (with bar) and 2 years ago when the I.L.P. was a candidate for Newport, he urged support for the following programme of reforms "Improved Beveridge scheme", "Family Allowances", "30 shillings a week Old Age Pension", "Common Ownership of Banking" !!!!! "Living Wage for Workers" !! || The I.L.P. holds that Nationalisation is Socialism or Socialistic, I need not comment on this belief.

Since I last wrote you I have received copies (3) of the 'Internationalist' organ of the Gauche Communiste de France in one copy is a letter to the S.P.C.P. and a letter to Paul Mattick. Have you seen this issue? Copies can be obtained by from :- Salama, Boite Postale 47/14 Paris. Can you give me the address of the group which publishes 'La Flamme' in France? If you are still unable to get 'Workers Councils' published let me know and I will get in touch with Guy Aldred of the Strickland Press Scotland he might be able to get it out. Have also received articles from the 'Hamburger Echo' (Social Democrat) and news that two years copies of the "Western Socialist" and "Socialist Standard" which I supplied to a member of the S.D.P., have been placed in the Hamburg library of the German Social Democratic Party. There is then some possibility of our contacting members of the S.D.P. who are disgusted with the reformism etc. of their Party.

Yours Fraternally,  
M.C. Harris

14, Bishop St.,  
Newport,  
Mon.  
England

1  
22  
13

28. July 47

Dear Comrade,

As soon as I received your letter of July 10<sup>th</sup> I wrote to Lenny Alved giving him the details of "Workers Councils", he replied:=".... I could publish the work in full or in four parts [I suggested publishing in parts if the whole could not be got out m.c.H.] Maybe parts would be best, unless it was absolutely essential to the continuity of sense to publish in one work. This could be. But would it not be better to approach a firm like Allan & Unwin [hopeless! m.c.H.]? In my case, as I have only one typesetting machine setting would be slow & we have to do all our own work.... whilst I have a large stock of paper, I would need financial help towards the paper which I would have to set aside for the job. I believe in making ship with as little money as possible and I could publish all manner of work easily, but I do need help to carry on: paper item is tremendous. But I have the paper and can do printing & publishing."

Well I will reply to Alred and ask him to write to you. Let me know how things develop. Alred also sent me some interesting literature including articles on Rosa Luxemburg & Liebknecht & "Spartacus", a ~~short~~ brief 'life' of Herman Gorter, notes on the left groups in Germany, Holland etc after 1918 (including some letters of Henk Conne Meyer).

You are right though, he is prone to self worship, 'ego-mania' as you put it; But fear not if he publishes your work he won't alter it. Yes, Ridley is busy trying to make Europe safe for capitalism thru' his party's U.S.S.E. campaign!

Many thanks for the list of your writings; your "Lenin als Philosoph" is being published in monthly instalments by "Internationalisme" of Paris. Will you be so kind as to ask Paul Mattick to send me a copy of the English translation (Lenin Philosopher) when it is published in U.S.A.?

I am unable to read German, but we have our German translators here, so that if you do send any literature in German good use will be made of it. By the way do you receive our "Socialist Standard" every month? We are soon to publish six new pamphlets, including certainly an edition of "Communist Manifesto", I will send you copies of these and will welcome your criticisms. I have heard nothing of your article since I sent it off. If you find time we would like you to critically review<sup>an</sup> article from the "Soc Standard" or one of our pamphlets the review to be replied to in the "S.S." or perhaps you would care to criticize our "Declaration of Principles" or our stand in general? An attack on our political platform in the columns of the "Standard" would be of great interest. If you wish to write something a little more constructive an article on the Materialist conception of History or on Reformist action or on Colonial

Nationalism, the 'Independence' movements  
would be appreciated by our party.

I received the invite to the Brussels conference from Willem Holtwijk and reported to the E.C. on it, while in London I read the letters you have sent me to a number of party comrades, they were greatly interested by the stand you take up and were pleased by your rejection of ~~the~~ reformism and state-capitalism and your insistence on the marxian truth that the emancipation of the workers must be their own work. There is to be a second conference in Christmas, so Holtwijk tells me, to this rally we might send a party representative. Did you write the article in the ~~the~~ edition of Le Libertaine that was signed A.P.? This article dealt with the Brussels Conference, ~~inaccuracy~~ <sup>inaccuracy</sup> I regret.

What stand do you take on the trouble in Indonesia?  
Yours Fraternally,  
M. C. Harris

Dr. Anton Pannikock,  
Regentesselaan 8,  
Zeist,  
Holland.



22/15

From M. C. Harris,  
14, Bishop St.,  
Newport,  
Mon.,  
England



26 Aug '47.

14, Bishop St., 22/  
Newport, 115  
- Mon.  
England

Dear Comrade,

I have written to Guy Alved and asked him to write direct to you re. "Workers' Councils"; has he done so? I am displeased to learn that our "Socialist Standard" has not been sent to you for I placed your name on our official mailing list months ago, Holtwijk reported that he had not received the "SS" that is why I enquired, someone is inefficient at H. Q., however I will send you the back numbers and 'SS' each month myself, also the new pamphlets we are soon publishing.

Now on the question of the titles "Lenin Philosopher", "Philosopher Lenin" etc., I find, as the result of tests, that people seeing the title "Lenin Philosopher" read it as := "Lenin: Philosopher", that is they think the word "Philosopher" is a 'title' or description applied to Lenin, such as "Pannekoek: Astronomer". Now you do not want this impression created

that is why you rejected 'Lenin as a philosopher,  
incidentally this title has already been recently  
used in the U.S.A for a short work by  
Simone Weil who holds a similar view to  
yours on Lenin's right to be called a philosopher,  
and as you say 'Philosopher Lenin is too meaning'  
The way out seems to be thus; on the cover  
of the work print 'Lenin Philosopher' and  
underneath this '-A critical examination of the  
philosophical basis of Leninism'. No one can  
then misread your title! You ask me if  
I know some one, <sup>(a novelist)</sup> well versed in literature able  
to assist with the preparing of Gorter's work  
on the 'World's Great Poets' for publication,  
now I don't wish to raise your hopes too  
high but I am sure I can find you the  
very person you need, for in our party we  
have one or two successful poets and  
also one novelist - Mrs Cameron (author of  
'Common People' Gollay 1936 and "The Day is  
Coming" MacMillan New York 1941) Cameron

2  
22/  
16

is also an artist. I will try to contact these comrades; if ~~these~~ they cannot be found, they sometimes go away on lecture tours, Comenon spent the war lecturing at Uppsala Sweden, then I will open up other avenues known to me. I am certainly interested in this work of Gyater's, you mentioned it in your first letter to me, is it being published in Britain or U.S.A.?

Is it true Gyater retired from politics in 1922? why was this? I have a list of his works, is it complete? :- "Mei" 1889 ; "Pan" 1917

"Het Imperialisme, de wereldoorlog en de social-democratie" 1914

"Het opportunisme in de Nederlandse Communistische partij '21

"Open brief aan partijgenoot Lenin" 1921

"De wereldevolucie" 1919

"Marxism and Revisionism" 1909

"Der Arbeidaraad" (unpublished?)

Can I obtain any of Gyater's works in any other language except the Dutch?

The stand you outlined on the colonies is the stand taken by our Party.

I have just seen an English translation of a leaflet on China issued by your ~~of~~ group van International Kommunisten in 1925(?)

Holtwich writes to inform me that the "Spartacus" group is going to split into two sections the "Leninists" are to go their own way the other group of Council-Communists are to have a new monthly organ

A point I almost forgot to raise, when you publish "Lenin Philosopher" will you print under your own name, or is there a reason for the continued use of a pseudonym?

There is to be another conference of left groups in Paris at Christmas, I hope to attend this gathering, as a party member, not as a delegate, ~~with the group~~

~~with the group~~ Have you seen the May 1<sup>ST</sup> "SPARTAKUS" leaflet, distributed in Germany by the Swiss proletarian-revolutionaries-Class-War group?

Yours Fraternally,  
M. C. Harris

9. Dec. '47.

14 Bishop St., 22/  
Newport,  
Mon., 1/17  
England

Dear Comrade,

I last heard from you on August 6<sup>th</sup>, I trust that nothing has gone amiss and that you received my answer to your letter. The Overseas Secretary has promised me that he will keep sending you the "SS", I, for my part, will send you the numbers you have missed if you list them for me, in addition in the New Year I will be sending you some of the new pamphlets we are publishing. We are to send a delegate to attend the conference of Revolutionary groups in Easter '48 which we learn is to be held in Amsterdam, will you be present?

Did you write Aldred on the subject of the publication of your "Workers' Councils", a copy of which, in Dutch, was sent me by Holtwijk, or has he contacted you? You know that I am interested in this work I would therefore like to know when it goes to press. When will your "Lenin Philosopher" (if you retained your title) first be published, <sup>and</sup> how many copies are being printed?

As for Lyot's "World's Greatest Poets" I was unsuccessful  
in contacting W<sup>m</sup> Cameron and the Poet Kirsch,  
that does not mean that I am defeated ~~if~~ there are  
others I can approach. If you let me know exactly  
what work needs to be done on the M.S.; I think  
Herbert Read would be willing to assist on this project.  
I think it would make things much easier if you sent  
me a specimen page of the chapter on Shelley as  
a guide for those I appeal to. What say you?

So Spartacus has split! We are in touch with  
both groups and notice that the Spartacusbond  
sells your "Workers' Councils", this (although I  
have not read your work; we have a Dutch trans-  
lator about to ~~be~~ translate chapters for us) we find  
strange, that both fractions do not unite yet embrace  
the same ideas as embodied in the book written by  
the Council Communists Dr Anta Kannebach!

Lately we learn that the Communistbond Spartacus  
has formed an Action Committee on Indonesia with  
the two bodies = Nederland Bond van Vrije

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22/18

Socialisten, and Vrije Socialisten Vereniging; the bodies are new to us, can you give me some details on them?

The article on "Parliamentarism", space permitting, will be published in the early part of 1948; I write 'space permitting' since the article requires an answer, that you will understand.

Traces of class-consciousness are more prominent today amongst the 'British' workers than they have been for years, some begin to see the state as it is - not, the "friend of the workers" or the "impartial mediator" as it has long been presented - but as the Iron Force ever smashing into the proletarian ~~is~~ according to the needs of modern Capitalist society. It would be foolish, however, to imagine that they will tread the path of revolution in the near future, they have still to, ~~be made~~ clear their minds of dangerous illusions. The increasingly brutal encroachments of capital on their living standards and the next war will

do a great deal to sweep away these fallacies. We  
for our part aid the evolutionary mental process by  
our educational work and by ever participating in  
the Class War.

If your "Workers Councils", "Lenin Philosopher" and  
Lyons' "World's Great Poets" are published or distributed  
in Gt. Britain I promise you that I will draw att-  
ention to them through letters to the press [Forward,  
Tribune, New Statesman, World Review, Freedom, etc]

I ~~write~~ present subscription we are soon to  
throw the clear light of Marxism through a  
new set of pamphlets; myself I hope to duplicate  
some of the "best", finely written essays by the  
outstanding Marxist writers on War. :-  
Kasa Luxemburg, Labrousse, Gustave Heron,  
Simone Weil (have you read her "War and  
Revolution"?) all these will be represented. Can  
you help me by lending or giving a copy of  
a work by yourself or Lyons' this "~~Historical~~ Imperial-  
ism and Social Democracy?" <sup>or more</sup> We can translate all  
important tongues.



22/19

Such a project, the issuing of these essays, will acquire an importance since the War clouds are swiftly gathering and the message must be driven home. I don't know if Lyot's work on war is outdated or whether it would need revising. If this work is obtainable can you revise it?

If it is impossible to obtain any of your writings on war can you suggest any fine essays to include in this series written by other Marxists?

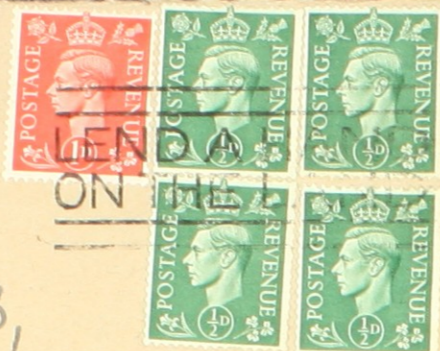
Would you be prepared to write an essay for a pamphlet entitled "What Shall we do in case of War"?

War with all its entails is a problem demanding the utmost attention, I, therefore, ask you to aid us in our self-appointed task

Yours Fraternally,  
M.C. Harris.

NEWPORT  
11 15 AM  
25 MCH  
1948  
MON

Pr. Anton Pannikock,  
Regentesselaan 8,  
Leest,  
Holland



22/20

From M. C. Harris, 14 Bidon St.,  
Newport Mon.,

NEW

England

24<sup>th</sup> March '47  
43

14 Bishop St.,  
Newport,  
Mon. 22/  
England 20

Dear Comrade,

Your letter of March 21<sup>st</sup> arrived this morning (24<sup>th</sup> inst); I wrote you a letter yesterday speaking my thoughts on Lytton's m.s. but this letter now cancels out my suggestions of the 23<sup>rd</sup>. I am quite willing to, as you suggest, revise the m.s. indeed I would regard such a task as an honour and a very pleasing labour of love. I am intimately acquainted with the works of the poets treated by Lytton, <sup>thus</sup> my interest in this m.s. is very strong. I am not officially connected with a library, unless one includes the party library!, but as the greater number of the public library workers are close friends of mine I receive 'priority' treatment with regards to books, archives and other sources of information & reference. These friends have been of great assistance to me, this week they have traced a work of yours (Religion & Socialism 1906) <sup>(in German)</sup> which you omitted from the list you sent me; a month back they found Lytton's "World Revolution" in English for me; they can be relied upon to find correct 'quotes' for Lytton's m.s. if they are needed. In speaking of quotes I mean of course the extracts from various poems which I am certain this m.s. will contain. If Lytton, for instance gives extracts from Shelley then in your English translation these extracts must be taken direct from its English original source. If you then

are willing to entrust this work to me I ask only that I receive the m.s. as soon as you are able to despatch it. Two questions, however, must be answered so that delays may be avoided, they are 1. If I revise the m.s. will ~~the~~ my revised version of it be the one sent to the typesetter? For if this is so it would have to be typed on one side of the paper, and my typewriter is out of action. 2/ How soon would you need the work completed? You see I am able to put in quite a good deal of time on ~~the~~ <sup>this</sup> work, but as you will agree, such a work must not be rushed, after all it is someone else's work that will suffer from such mishandling! That then is the position, I await your decision on this matter.

Many thanks for the copy of 'Lenin as Philosopher', I have but glanced through it so far, but what I see is of great interest, when I read it in earnest I will let you know my opinion of it and will submit the copy to our literature secretary asking him to order from the U.S.A. Even if here and there are found sentences or tactics we disagree with this will not lead to a refusal to boast this work, for <sup>in</sup> ~~with~~ most works we sell one can find ~~the~~ such sentences. The work as a whole must be considered, if a few blemishes were to be used as an excuse to boycott various works then we would indeed be without any reading matter whatsoever.

as for your article on "Parliamentarism", did I say it would be in the January issue of "SS"? If so I erred, but if we have the space (for the necessary reply) it will be printed, if not it will not be wasted "Left" will print it. When we have space you know, we invite controversy and the airing of views which differ from ours (even if this difference is small); before the war ~~we~~ we ran long debates in the "S.S." on all subjects related to the class fight and Marxism. It is however heartening to reflect that more and more people are realising that socialism can and must be won by the workers themselves and cannot be won in full or part by any "leaders". On this important point we are in complete agreement with your Council-Communists, you however are at fault in chiding us for our belief that the emancipation of the workers will result from "pure parliamentary" activities (Souths. Workers Council). We hold but this, that the state power must be wrested from the hands of the ruling class; of course the workers must use whatever means they find at hand at the time of revolution - this may be through "parliament" or some form of organisation resembling factory committees or workers' councils; class-conscious workers will know what steps to take; we help to speed up the rate at which class-

consciousness falls upon the masses.

I hope you saw the comments of the Western Socialists on your articles in their paper I think they misunderstood your stand in the second article, or perhaps your points weren't made clear enough. Your first "U.S." article, was it the one on "Common Ownership & Public Ownership"? If so you will be pleased to know that Hebelin of the Hamburg S.P.P. so admired it that he's translating it into German and is to publish it in their discussion paper. ~~Hebelin~~

Yours fraternally,  
M. Harris

14 Bishop St., 24/22  
Newport,  
Mon.  
England

Dear Comrade,

On receiving your letter of Jan 19th I wrote to Herbert Read on the subject of Gater's Book, Read replies expressing his great interest in this work but, in his words, "I am, myself, much too busy to offer to undertake the task of revising the translation. I can suggest, however, a competent professional reviser whose work I know to be excellent. This is Mr. A. S. B. Glover, of 14 Cavendish Ave Rd. London N.W.5. I am afraid he would require a fee, but perhaps he would give you an estimate in advance."

What I suggest doing now is as follows; I have to be in London for Easter and while there I will contact in person people competent to revise the M.S. I will ask them to do so, if no one can take the job on then I will write to Mr. Glover asking <sup>for an</sup> estimate of his fee; on receiving his estimate I will advertise for donations for the purpose of paying ~~for~~ this fee in "Left Wing" papers. Do you agree to this? It is to me the only way out so please let me know as soon as possible if you approve of my proposed action.



There was no room in the "Standard" for your first article so not wishing to waste it I sent it to "Left" who published, it *Lavora* reprinted it, did you know of this? As to the impact of your "Lavin as Philosopher" by our party I will enquire if our <sup>printed books</sup> quota is yet exhausted when I reach London. When I speak of translations from your "Workers Councils" I mean but rough translations until we read the English approved translation. I will inform the publication committee of your offer regarding Gates' "Historical Materialism" I think this would be of great use the best version though would be the German one as we have several good German translators and only one Dutch translator. Will you reply to the criticism of work in "L'Internationalisme"?

I will let you know more about the proposed works on war when details are settled, just now our first pre-war pamphlet, <sup>on war</sup> written by a Newport comrade, is to be set in type, it is but a short work but is to be followed soon by a much longer pamphlet these will be sent you our works on "Race" the "The Communist Manifesto" and "Socialism and Chaos" are printed, you will have them in two weeks time X Yours fraternally,  
M. C. Harris

X Together with copies of the "S.S."

Harris

Dr. Anton Pennkoek,  
Regentesseleer 3,

Leist,

Holland



22/28

From Mr. Harris C/O J. I. Clarke,  
119 Belsize Rd.,  
London, N.W. 6



Dr. Anton Pannekoek, <sup>22/24</sup>

Regentesselaan 8,

Zeist,

Holland

M. C. Harris, 112 Didsbury Rd,  
Stockport, <sup>Didsbury</sup>  
England.

M.C. HARRIS; 40 J. L. CLARKE,  
119 Belzig Rd; 22/23  
Swiss Cottage,  
London.

Dear Comrade,

A thousand apologies for my prolonged neglect of you; since I last wrote you I have been traveling around quite an amount and this has led me to fall greatly behind with my correspondence. Now I am at rest near London and will endeavour to answer promptly all your letters to me. First of all let me thank you for your helpful criticisms of my revision of Gorter's M.S. I am now enabled to avoid further errors. To speak truthfully I thought straight away on receiving the M.S. that the jerky, spontaneous nature of the sentences was due to the translator only, now that you have shown me that it was an attempt to render Gorter's style into English I am directed onto the right path. I will continue revising and will send you my resultant revision as soon as completed. How are things with you and your friends in Holland? Do you still receive our "Socialist Standard"? When I next write to you I will send you one copy of the three new pamphlets we have issued - on Race, on Russia and the Communist Manifesto.

Yours Fraternally M. C. Harris