

32 Chrystobel Crescent
Hawthorn E2
Melbourne
Australia
10th March 1950

Dear Comrade Pannekoek, I am glad to tell you that the printing of the last sections of your book "Workers' Councils" is now well in hand - in fact the first proofs have already been printed corrected by Comrade Dawson and myself, and returned to the printer. The proof printing had already been done when I received your air-mail letter on 25th Feb. For a good while past I had been thinking what a pity it was that such a valuable work should remain uncompleted for publication but Comrade Dawson's financial position was and is such that he could not have gone on with it. My own position also was not good enough for me to intervene. Lately however it has improved and I have advanced to the printer the money to cover the printing of the last section. As this was before I got your letter, the section had been printed in full, including the sections you had decided to omit to save time and money.

I went over all this with Comrade Dawson and also asked him about the preface and Index. He was not able to find them so it looks as if it will be needful for you to send them again. There is also the question of an Index. Will this be needed? A separate section for these additional points will have to be added - also a table of contents. As regards the binding, Comrade Dawson is of opinion that it would be best to accept Paul Clattick's offer and have it done in America. I thoroughly concur with this. My exper-

-ience with getting binding done in Australia has not been encouraging. When my book on Bakunin was first published I ordered 50 copies to be bound in cloth. That was fifteen months ago, and I am still waiting with no immediate prospect of getting them.

The fact is that in the printing and binding industry there is a great shortage of labour here as there is in every other branch of industry. Consequently the employers have more work on hand than they can easily get done and the customer just has to wait his turn. You might easily have to wait a year or more to get them bound here.

In any case from the point of view of distribution America would be infinitely better than Australia. Not only is our population so very much smaller, but the number of workers here who are interested in Socialist theory and history is unfortunately very small indeed. I wish I could speak more optimistically of the Australian workers but I could not do so with any regard for truth. The Australian working class is extremely materialistic using that word in the ordinary, unflattering sense. What interests them is immediate demands. Theories and social analyses go right over their heads, without any point of contact. It is said of the English here that they are eminently matter-of-fact, without regard for theory or doctrine. In this regard the Australians are more British than the British themselves. We have had no large foreign infiltration as America had had to leave the lump and bury some intellect into the working class movement which has remained stolid and unimaginative.

It has been said of the Australian Labour Movement that its policy is "Socialism without doctrines". It is certainly, without doctrines but is not Socialism. Even when one finds Labour leaders here in a moment of exuberance making statements which sound almost revolutionary and Socialistic when analysed they simply amount to public ownership of monopolies i.e. nationalisation. The rank and file workers are utterly destitute of even the rudimentary idea of Socialism - namely that the workers themselves should own and control the means of production for the workers' own benefit. The abolition of the wage system as advocated by Marx has simply never entered their heads - of course only a very few of the unions and persons like the Socialist Party of Australia and J. A. Dawson have ever preached ~~such~~ such a doctrine here and have not been able to influence the masses, because they were too few and because their ideas were too alien to the Australian workers' consciousness. The Australian workers have no revolutionary tradition as have many groups of European workers. What they want here is not a change in the whole structure of society - a thing quite alien to their minds, but better conditions under the present conditions - and, in recent years owing to the special circumstances of Australia in the war, they have managed to secure this.

That is one of the reasons why it has been quite impossible to get a real anti-war movement going here. As you

strike in one of the sections of the 'Workers' Councils' the struggle against war is bound up with the struggle against the capitalist system. As the workers are not struggling against the capitalist system (though some times against some of its accidental effects) naturally they are not struggling against war.

Between the war and post-war period as contrasted with the pre-war period might almost be described as Heaven compared with Hell. I shall set it out here in tabulated form to show the difference:

1929-1939	1939-1949
PEACE ECONOMY	WAR ECONOMY
UNEMPLOYMENT	FULL EMPLOYMENT
DEGRADING POVERTY	ABOUNDING PROSPERITY
INSECURITY	SOCIAL SECURITY

These facts speak for themselves. In addition, it must be borne in mind that Germany practically suffered not at all from the war. The British people have not really experienced war, nor has the average person the imagination to envisage it. In any case their minds are conditioned by the press, pulpit, schools, churches and cinema, by the political parties (including Labour) support of war preparations, and by their being habituated to direction and control in the war years. Hence they are not rebellious against the present system. I think it was John Stuart Mill who said "It is better to be Socrates dissatisfied, than a pig satisfied." Such is not the opinion of the industrial workers. They would think Socrates a crank. They are perfectly content to be pigs satisfied as long as the sky is reasonably comfortable and the swill is good. What is now thought of as a goal of things should get better, none would be better pleased than I. I am not optimistic, yours fraternally, J. F. Kenfield.

BY AIR MAIL
PAR AVION

DR. A. P. R.

REGENTESSELAAAN . 8.

ZEIST.

NETHERLANDS

83/4

32 Chrysothel Crescent
Hawthorn E2
Victoria
Australia
18th May 1950

Dear Comrade Pannekoek,

I received your letter with the proofs, proofs etc. for "Workers' Councils" ~~etc~~ and forwarded it to Comrade Dawson for him to look it over. However, he has been up to his ears in business, as we say and therefore, was not able to give any attention to it. This has unfortunately caused some delay. However, I got the material typed, as you recommended, and now this additional material has all been printed in proof and revised by the printer and myself. Comrade Dawson, has also revised the concluding instalment of the book itself, as well as the printer and myself doing so and therefore I should think that there will be ~~was~~ little or nothing in the way of uncorrected mistakes. I strongly impressed on the printer how anxious you were for good

BY AIR MAIL
PAR AVION

MELBOURNE
9 30PM
2 AUG
1950

DR. A. PANNEKOE.

REGENTESSELAAN. ^{38/5} J.

ZEIST

NETHERLANDS

32 Chrysothel Crescent
Newtown NZ

Victoria
Australia
2nd August 1950

Dear Comrade Jannetka, I received your
air-letter on 27th July and at once saw
the printer about it. He agreed that the work
could be done in the way Mattick had suggested.
I then went and saw Dawson and asked his
advice on the matter, and he agreed also with
Mattick's views. As I judge from your letter
that you are willing for it to be done in
this way, I have given orders to the printer
to go ahead. The book can be published in
Australia with the Excelsior Press imprint.
And then we can send some copies to
Mattick in New York. When he sends word
that he has received them, we can send more.
I can place some with booksellers here. As
regards England, the only people with whom I am
in touch at present are "Radon Press," "Direct
Action" and "The Word" (Guy Aldred) in Glasgow.
Do you think Gollancz might take some
Dawson is out of touch with all these
things now, and largely out of sympathy
too. He has lost all faith in the working
class - for which one can hardly blame him,
looking at things here in Australia - and
"being to his neck" in financial diff-
-iculties which seem to be growing worse in-
-stead of better. He explained to me his fin-
-ancial commitments and it seems to be useless
to expect any assistance from him,
financial or otherwise.
As regards the printer, the printer and I
agree that your view of the matter is correct and
that they must remain. It is of course

all printed now, in fact the whole book was
in the way that you had asked. The new first
page, title page etc, will be reprinted now
to show the instruction instead of the New York
address. The book will be registered here within
a few days for transmission through the post
as a book, and then the binding of it can go
straight ahead, and I shall send you some
copies as soon as they are ready.

I am glad that you liked my book on the
Conscription Campaign. I have just received
the ^{soft cover} bound copies of this, and of the Bakunin
book and will send you copies of both. The
smaller book is almost free from printing errors.
I wish I could say the same of the larger one!
By the way do you happen to have any idea
of what writer it was from whom Bakunin
derived his scientific views, "System of the
World" ^{etc.} as explained in Appendix 1?

As regards the political situation here
at present the Korean War veils shadows way-
Alamy. It has greatly strengthened the hands
of the military party and consequently harmed
the cause of peace. Another factor that is
harming the latter is the "spurious" peace campaign
being pursued by the Communist Party. They
make the public think that the only peace lover
was Stalinist and the latter are now very unpopular.
Even the Labour Party, which had vigorously fought
as a danger to freedom the Liberal Govt's bill to outlaw
the Communists, unanimously supported the same Govt's
proposal to support UNO and Southern Korea.
Compulsory military training for youths (not for
boys!) has been announced and though this is opposed
to Labour policy, I seriously doubt whether they will
fight the issue. Press propaganda for it is very
strong. I cannot see any man in the working class to
prevent it. Things are very different here in political
stance from what they were even two years ago.
Nothing to be done for you after shortly yours faithfully
A. P. Senapati

BY AIR MAIL
PAR AVION

COLLINGWOOD
3 15 PM
13 DEC
1950



DR. A. P. AMNEROEK

8 REGENTESSELAAN

ZEIST

NETHERLANDS

32 Chrysothel Crescent
 Hawthorn
 Victoria
 13th December 1950

Dear Comrade Panneboek,

I have received your air letter of 17th Nov. and am glad that you are pleased with the efforts to get the publishing of "Workers' Councils" finished. I sent you 10 copies on 4th October, so I suppose you have got these by now. I have also instructed the printer to forward you 20 more, so that you can yourself distribute them to anyone in England or Europe that you know would want them. I sent copies to the addresses you mentioned and also copies to "Freedom" and "Direct Action" in England. I have not yet heard from America but as the 50 were sent on 2nd November they should have arrived by this. I asked Clatter to let me know as soon as he received them.

Of course, as you say, the international situation is such that it is not impossible that they may be held-up and in fact I heard over the wireless only this morning that Truman is declaring a state of emergency. As you have pointed out, some people in America are so hysterical today that they may take the wrong view of the book, though anyone in his sober senses could see that it is not pro-Stalinist, but in fact anti-Stalinist.

You mention the possibility of the book being confiscated here because of the anti-Communist measures. The possibility had not occurred to me, and in thinking it over, I still do not see that it is likely. The anti-Communist hysteria in Australia is not comparable to that in America. A good deal

of it here was mere election campaigning. In any case there is much more respect for freedom of speech and expression, more tolerance than seems to exist in America. We have had bad cases here from time to time of political persecution. e.g. Dr T. W. W. in the First World War, but even this was rectified later, and there has never been anything like the case of Sacco and Vanzetti.

The legislation banning the Communists and their affiliates has been passed by Parliament but is at present being contested before the High Court, and while this case is on, the measure cannot be enforced. Besides, the Labour Party has a majority in the Senate, and the Government will have to go very carefully in case it is accused of victimisation. There are Labour Senators, such as Donald Cameron formerly Secretary of the Victorian Socialist Party, and Donald Grant, the ex-T. W. W. leader, who though no longer very Radical themselves, nevertheless will not stand for persecution of genuine Radicals. And even Mr. Chifley, the Labour leader, though much more conservative, is yet quite tolerant of genuine Radicalism (Some of his rather suppressive acts as Prime Minister were directed against the Communists as saboteurs in the interests of Russia).

I think therefore that the Government would think for quite a while before attempting any persecution of anti-Communist Socialists such as Dawson and myself, and for the same reason any publication by us is not likely to be banned. In fact "W. W. W. Comments" as you will see by the imprint has been accepted for registration by the Post Office and has already been placed in bookshops in all London and Sydney and has sent out circulars publicising it.

Best wishes for the New Year, yours fraternally,
H. J. Senafield.