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Amsterdam April 13th 1935

Dear Comrade Mattick.

I have to thank you very much for the sending of the regular numbers of the Council Correspondence ^{as well as} (as for your pamphlet "The inevitability of Communism": I read them with much interest, because I see how the new ideas of the working class movement are applied here - mostly critically - to American conditions and phenomena. This, of course, is necessary. Still I find here again - the same what I wrote formerly already - how strongly your propaganda bears the character of a discussion within the intellectual and literate class. From an article in the Modern Monthly of Mr Hook, as well as from what you are quoting from him, it is sufficiently clear that you are entirely right, and that it is necessary to fight these ideas, and to use them as the point of depart to explain the ideas of real class struggle. But often it looks like an intricate and difficult splitting of curled hairs, and sometimes I wonder how such clear and simple a theory ^{as Marx'} can be made so difficult by misunderstandings and learned or quasi-learned complications - so that you in explaining must go through the same task of going through interlocked conceptions, to refute the other ~~the~~ false ones. I do not mean to criticize you; of course when you are asked to fight such ~~theoretical~~ theoretical ideas and tendencies it is necessary to do it. But does this reach the workers? Or should you think that the real thing that counts - knowledge, clearness, insight of the workers who have to do the work - is hastened and strengthened by it. It may be, of course, that this impression, which I got, of a chiefly theoretical fight between socialist and revolutionary literates, is due

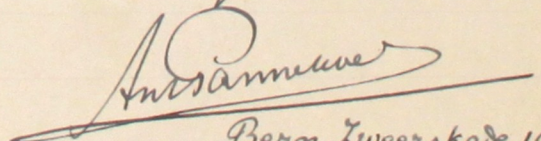
to the fact that I saw these literature only, and the action among the workers cannot be seen at such a distance. Of course you agree with us, that the chief aim must be to propagate the new ideas among the workers, to break their belief in parties, ^{and} leaders, who will do the work for them, and to give them a basis of clear self confidence and active class consciousness, by showing them the principles of the workers councils. This insight does not determine at what time and how ~~soon~~ mass actions and revolutionary uprisings will come; but it determines in a high degree what will be their ^{next} result and how slowly or rapidly the rising to full self determination will go.

I wrote you that one of our groups, who knows theory and practice well, ^{was occupied with} ~~was~~ writing a booklet on the new principles of working class movement, which could serve you for your propaganda. It is ready now and I received it; it must be revised still and typed. It bears a somewhat different character from the pamphlets of the U.W.P. which I received ^{the last year}; it is less adapted to the immediate situation of just this year but treats the general principles of the working class fight for freedom. So it may be the right complement to your own party papers, viewing matters from a more remote and more general standing point. Its sole aim is to bring clearness to the workers, speaking only to them as a class, dealing with the great fight of the class only, treating its basis, its different methods, criticizing trade unionism, socialism, the communist party as insufficient and obsolete means. Hence it is not a propaganda paper for the U.W.P.; this name nowhere does occur in it (save on the title if published by the U.W.P.); ~~because~~ because your party does not work for itself but for the class only, showing the workers how to do the fight themselves. It is, I think, quite what you want, because it is what the workers ^{need} ~~want~~; I think it will ^{render} ~~be~~ a great service to the American workers, if this

booklet will ~~come~~^{be brought} into their hands, ~~be~~ published by your party or by some else (but I do not know of any groups with the principles of which it is so ^{much} (concording), so that these ideas may take a firm holding in their heads and hearts. Will you write me at what address. I must send the manuscript? Of course there must be no question of getting lost; so the address must be a secure one. Then as soon as everything is ready (I suppose within one month) I will send it. The author for obvious reasons must remain anonymous.

I just look through your letter of 29/1 und ich sehe, dass ich ohne daran zu denken, Englisch schrieb, während Deutsch uns wohl beiden noch etwas einfacher liegt. Mit der "Zeit" ist es ja so, dass wir alle so überhäuft sind mit Arbeiten, dass von dem Schreiben längerer Briefe mit theoretischen Auseinandersetzungen, ausser dann bei höchster Notwendigkeit, nichts kommen kann. Uebrigens rechnen wir ja auch auf den belehrenden Einfluss der weiteren Weltentwicklung; wir stehen ja auf dem Standpunkt, dass wir uns nicht an eine Doktrin gebunden haben, und uns offen stellen für die Wirkung der fortschreitenden materiellen Entwicklung und deren geistige Reflexe. Es ist ja auch nicht nötig dass jede Differenz sofort ausgetragen wird; gerade über solche Punkte halten wir Augen und Ohren auf. Ich wiederhole daher, dass ich mit grossem Interesse lese und verfolge was Sie und Andere in der C.C. oder anderswo schreiben.

Mit besten Grüßen
Yours very truly



Bern. Tweerskade 19
Amsterdam Z.