

Dear Blackick. Amsterdam Nov 21st 1945

Your welcome letter of 15th Oct came two weeks afterwards into my hands. And also I received 5 numbers of Politics and one each of The Nation and the New Republic. I thank you very much for sending them. Also already earlier one of the Partisan Review; it seemed chiefly literary. With great interest I read in the "Essays" from Melbourne your article on Otto Rühle, and some other papers. You are right that there is nothing comparable with such English papers as The New Statesman, or the Manchester Guardian Weekly; these English ^{papers} speak as people conscious to be part of the English public opinion, its left wing, responsible too for British politics, criticizing therefore in moderate but weighty terms. In "Politics" you feel the bitterness of criticism powerless against the allmighty big business. They all give a lot of information, but of course all restricted within the fold of middle-class thought and politics.

I agree with you that the key position of the workers' movement is America; and that there is no trace of a revolutionary movement. Besides historical conditions, traditions of the past, there is the chief basis ^{for it} that American capitalism is still in its upgrowing, in its expansion. So nothing else may be expected. And when matters in China will go smoothly there is developing a market there, that may provide ^{for} some dozens of years of prosperity. Revolution can only come when capitalism is at the end of its wits. But in the mean time propaganda must prepare this by studying conditions and clearing up the minds incessantly.

We have, moreover, the conviction that all forms of workers' movement, developed till now, were only preliminary and insufficient, hence ^{or to grow inefficient,} doomed to collapse, the political socialist ^{after German model} party movement as well as the trade union labor movement. ^{after English model} So we think the real workers' movement has still to begin over the world, by finding and practicing its new fundamental methods; and they are appearing here already and will come, ^{also in America. Thus it was impossible}

can only exist in explaining the realities of exploitation and capitalist development of today, and showing what must be the real goal of the workers, opposite to what all their parties of the 3^d, the 4th and the New International teach them. Not to win them for or collect them into a new party. The history of the last dozen years has shown sufficiently, I think, that building a good "marxian", ^{a true} "revolutionary" party, destined to lead the masses in times of revolution is an illusion. The masses ^{will} go their own way; the only thing to be done is to diffuse ^{into them} (as much knowledge and clearness about their goal as is possible. But the difficulty is how to reach them; the apparatus of propaganda can be built up only by winning adherents, and so we go in a circle. In times of crisis this goes easily, in times of apathy difficult.

What you write on Gollits and MacDonald I can assume ^{for the larger part} to be right; but I never expected to find here a Marxian, and so my impression is ^{more sympathetic} ~~mixed~~. What pleased me ~~was~~ that it did not urge one party-opinion upon the reader but ^{stands open for discussion}. For an exposition of our views I find ^(I am sure to) ^{e.g.} (the New International closed; but ~~the~~ "Politics" so far is open to them. To reach a first small circle and ~~the~~ interest it for our ideas and views I will gratefully make use of this review, and I am not bothered by stupid middle-class articles on Marxism besides good critical articles and data on international happenings. I hope to be able to make him more interested in the propaganda of new ideas about the workers movement; but I fear that his resources are too small to be of positive aid ~~in~~ finding a means of publishing our Book on Workers' Councils.

We look out with much pleasure to your coming to Europe and seeing you here in Holland. I hope that you will succeed in finding the means that all will go smoothly and successfully

Yours very truly

Ant. Pannekoek

valuable consequence, without real workers power coming out ^{of it} chaotic but perhaps clarifying; and in England after the disillusion of beginning state-socialism a more solid fight. But it is quite possible that now, ~~then~~ with world-war in suspense, every class in every country paralysed by the fear of coming terrors, the workers everywhere staring at this prospect do not dare to make great moves; so that this unstable situation of Russia contra America must first be destroyed by a new war, or a highly improbable lasting agreement, before the real fight of the workers for communism can start. This means at the same time that a good deal of organisation of industry by state-organs will be achieved, with a strong dominance of the ^{class} leaders, political, technical, intellectual over the workers; so that the proletarian struggle finds a strong state-power with all the intellectual powers of the Soc. and Comm. parties against them. So I think it quite possible, ^{even probable,} that for the next war, in America as well as in Russia, the capitalist class and government will have their working class as a solid block behind them.

This means that our task in the coming times will be chiefly ^{Positive, constructive more than negative, crying down.} clarifying propaganda. And this on the new basis of this new capitalism. Because then "socialism", realised as the new state dominance, the dictatorships of the bureaucracy over the workers, ~~will~~ shows itself as the exploiting power to be thrown off, all the old slogans of the socialist past must be given up, and the new principle of the workers master of the shops and the entire production themselves, must take their place. It does not appeal to Marxism, though we know we are the true disciples of Marx in applying his science to the present conditions; to the modern workers an appeal to Marx has no significance, because they know nothing of him; the parading with Marxism by the C.P. aims only at breeding obedient thoughtless followers. Propaganda now

counterbalance to C.P. theoretical pretensions. So you did
in your many articles; they took a good stand against
all the C.P. and middle class literature, and was needed
for the intellectuals and leaders. But it could not
reach the masses, ~~and~~ neither was it destined for them.
Future propaganda has to go to the masses, because
its contents are, and are only, understandable by the
workers themselves. The C.P. position, expressed by
Lenin's word: socialism had to be brought by the intellectuals
to the workers — the position of most leftist parties —
is entirely reverted by us into the opposite:
free communism ^{which} ~~is~~ ^{is} brought by the ^(fighting) workers
to the intellectuals.

Of course we ^{are} willing to cooperate by sending
contributions as soon as you see the possibility
of publishing a review. But is there any chance
for it? Do you have a circle of friends and
supporters around you, necessary to carry on the
propaganda, for the review and by means of the review?
I should like to have a certain number of addresses
of such persons, to whom I could send things on our
action and our ideas here, especially when you
yourself are away in Europe. Can you send me
a list of such persons with their address?

I am much obliged for the sending of 4 nos of
Living Marxism from '38 to '41 and a nr of New Essays
with the translation of two chapters from Harper's
Lenin Philosopher. That the point of the entire book
was directed against Leninism had to be omitted
here, of course. I think, for the rest, that that
would be just the sauce that can make appetite
for the scientific discourse in these chapters. Your
friend Dier in Santiago is trying to translate the
entire thing into Spanish.

I heard of a small booklet: Modern man is obsolete,

labor and spirit spent on it was lost. American workers' fight for power is a thing of the future, and must then take proportions far exceeding the past fights in European countries. You may be right that in devastated Europe revolutionary movements may spring up ^{sooner,} with more probability. And perhaps they may induce and inspire thoughts of revolution in other continents, and serve, by their experiences, to clarify the ideas. But as to their own content: their limited scope in a continent already devastated, ^{threatened by capitalist enemies} at both sides, ~~will~~ ^{makes that they} cannot perform great constructive results. I consider the constructive side of the workers' revolution equally important as the simultaneous fighting and conquering side. Because they cannot leave it to a government but have to do it themselves. So it seems to me that a real ^{successful} fight of a working class to be master of a highly developed productive apparatus has to be looked for as a final extension of big and universal strike movements in the countries of strongest capitalism.

So I think we must make a close with the old slogans and traditions of socialism, and make a new start. And even with the slogans ~~of~~ and doctrines of Marxism. The science of Marx, the true lasting part of his work, remains the basis of all our opinions and thoughts. But, to put it crudely: the word Marxism should disappear from our propaganda. ~~After~~ Everything we tell is based upon what we see and every worker can see. Every explication based on "Marxism" ~~floats~~ ^{floats} over the heads of the masses and disappears. In the preceding twenty years of utter decline we had to fight against false "Marxism" and had to show up its misrepresentation, especially against the world wide spread Prussian version, as a

by Cousins (?) shortly issued in America, on the necessity of one world government. Is it worth while reading, and, in this case, could you send us a copy? They say that it finds much attention and adherence among the American bourgeoisie. Quite natural; for an American a united-world government means an American world government ^(over the world); and then Russia is a rebel against world-unity. What a fine slogan for the next world war!

We hope to hear from you when you have succeeded in finding a means for reaching Europe. If it takes some months you will then find me no more in Amsterdam, where now my duty work is finished, but in the village Zeist, near Utrecht. (address, from August 12th on: Zeist, ~~Amsterdam~~ Regentesselaan 8)

Yours very truly
Hort Wambach