Prof. Anton Pannekoek
Bern-Zweerskade 19
Amsterdam Z
Holland
Dear Comrade Pannekoek:

I thank you very much for your letter and for the expression of your willingness to recommend me once more to the Guggenheim Foundation. However, if this institution has not written you as yet, I assume that it will reconsider your previous recommendation, and accept it as still standing. The chance to get the fellowship is a very slight one, but trying does'nt hurt. Once more many thanks for your friendliness.

I agree with your statements regarding my plan for work in connection with my application. However, should I get the fellowship, there is no reason why I should not write what I wish to write.

I also thank you for your remarks in regards to my Brookings critic. It is very difficult to deal with all the problems connected with the Brookings studies within a review. However, I hope to deal with the neglected passages in a forthcoming lengthy work, which analyzes all the more important Crisis theories in modern economy. I will send you a copy of the work as soon as it is finished. It will contain the answers to some questions raised in your letter. I could not at present deal with this in a satisfactory manner, as I am very much engaged in the attempt to bring out our new magazine LIVING MARXISM, which will be soon in your hands. We all liked your article in "Science and Society" very much, and we hope that you will also contribute an essay to Living Marxism, for one of its forthcoming issues. You may choose your own subject, but we would prefer if it would deal with a question which has more than theoretical value, which can be applied to present task of the working class. The title Living Marxism indicates already the trend of our magazine. The first issue will tell you more about it. Could we count upon an article from you?

With all my best wishes yours

[Signature]

The period of progressive capitalist development is historically closed. The decline period—a condition of permanent crisis—brings about ever growing convulsions in the economic system of capitalism. New imperialistic and military conflicts, steadily increasing unemployment, and general and absolute impoverishment is the inevitable result. Thus is given the objective situation for the proletarian revolution. For the working class there is only one alternative: the building up of the Communist Society. This task must be carried out by the workers themselves.

The Council Communists see in the self-initiative of the workers and in the growth of their self-consciousness the essential advance of the labor movement. We therefore combat the leadership-policy of the old labor movement and call upon the workers to take their fate into their own hands. As our goal and fighting slogan we propose:

ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS' COUNCILS! THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION IN THE HANDS OF THE WORKERS!