

What We Stand For

The "free" world is not free, the "communist" world is not communist. We reject both: one is becoming totalitarian; the other is already so.

Their current power struggle leads inexorably to atomic war and the probable destruction of the human race.

We charge that both systems engender servitude. Pseudo-freedom based on economic slavery is no better than pseudo-freedom based on political slavery.

The monopoly of power which is the state must be eliminated. Government itself, as well as its underlying institutions, perpetuates war, oppression, corruption, exploitation, and misery.

We advocate a world-wide society of communities and councils based on cooperation and free agreement from the bottom (federalism) instead of coercion and domination from the top (centralism). Regimentation of people must be replaced by regulation of things.

Freedom without socialism is chaotic, but socialism without freedom is despotic. Libertarianism is free socialism.

These ideas are expanded upon in the provisional statement of principles of the Libertarian League and in other literature that will be supplied free on request.

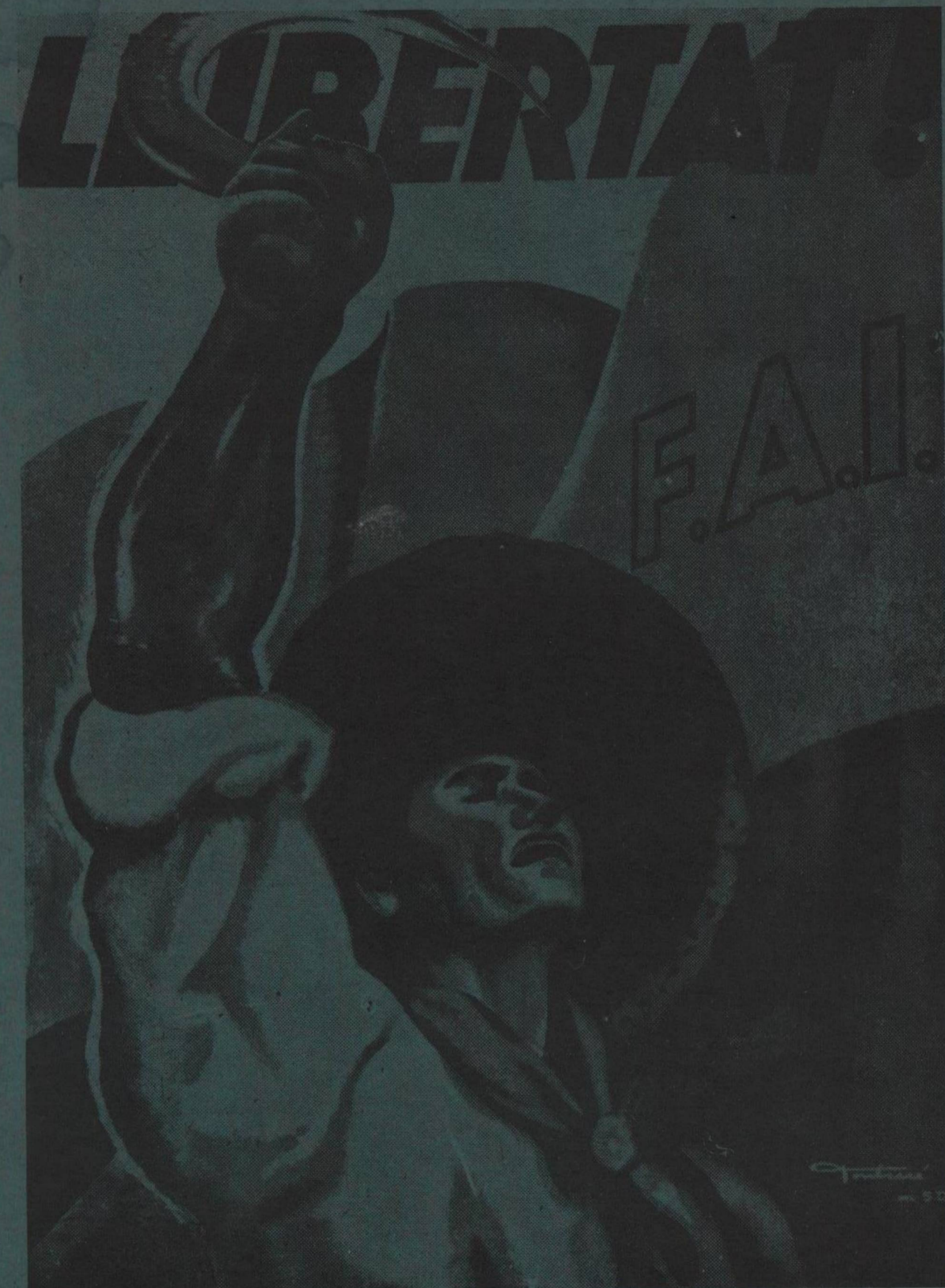
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VIEWS AND COMMENTS

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NEWS-STAND PRICE 10c...

FREE ON REQUEST

Views and Comments is now being mailed free on request. It is nonsense to pretend that 10¢ covers the cost of one copy --or even more absurd, that \$1.00 buys twelve. We are supported by neither advertising nor taxes. We are supported only by contributions. Please contribute at least a fair price for your copies, that we may survive.

NOTICE

We disagree with many of the policies of The Crusader, Robert Williams' paper published in North Carolina. However, in solidarity with its struggle against the Ku Klux Klan and other white supremacist reactionaries, we gladly pass on to our readers a request from the staff of that paper.

Most of its mailing list was lost in a fire at the time of the riots in Monroe last summer. Those of our readers who are subscribers to The Crusader or who wish to subscribe, should send their names and addresses to

Mrs. E. A. Johnson
503 North Boyte St.
Monroe, North Carolina

Sincere appreciation is expressed by the Libertarian League to the Kropotkin Branch of the Workmens Circle in Los Angeles and the Internate Fund of the Freie Arbeiter Stimme and others who contributed over \$600 for purposes of evacuation and resettlement of libertarian refugees from the Castro dictatorship in Cuba.

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PERSECUTIONS IN FRANCE AND SPAIN

This year which marks the 25th anniversary of the Spanish Revolution, has brought a great revival of activity by the anti-totalitarian underground movements in Spain. The world press has reported numerous arrests of liberal-Catholic Basque Nationalists. We learn from underground sources that hundreds of revolutionary workers of the illegal National Confederation of Labor (C.N.T.) and General Union of Workers (U.G.T.) have been imprisoned in Barcelona, Madrid and Sevilla.

Tens of thousands of Spanish exiles, most of them associated with the C.N.T. and U.G.T. have lived in France since the end of the Civil War in 1939. To a considerable extent they have integrated into the French community. Over large sections of southern France, they were the backbone of the anti-Nazi "maquis" during World War II. Over the years they have published several newspapers that have circulated internationally and that have also been smuggled into Spain itself. In France, these exiles have served as a revolutionary leavening and as a counter-balance to Communist Party influence.

When General De Gaulle last re-assumed power it was feared that he might take action against the Spanish exiles. This has now become a reality. Three C.N.T. papers (Solidaridad Obrera, CNT and España Libre) and El Socialista, organ of the Spanish Socialist Party have just been suppressed. There has been a deal between Franco and De Gaulle. Four French army men who had taken refuge in Madrid following their debacle in Algeria, were exiled by Franco to the Canary Islands. The French Government reciprocated by taking action against the Spanish exiles in France. A large but undetermined number of these fugitives from Franco's terror have been jailed. In searching their homes, letters and documents were found which were passed to Franco's police, leading to arrests and tortures of underground freedom fighters in Spain.

The international labor movement must protest these new repressions against the anti-totalitarian forces that have so valiently defended the cause of freedom. Radicals and liberals everwhere must be aroused to defend the right of these people to continue their struggle against a dictatorship that is less bad than were those of Hitler and Stalin only because it is weaker and more corrupt and because it has had a more serious internal opposition.

De Gaulle must be made to respect the right of asylum of the exiles in France. Franco must be stopped from the imprisonment and torture of those who fight for freedom inside Spain. We in the United States must demand an end to American military and economic support for the rotten fascist regime of Francisco Franco. This is part of the struggle to prevent the further erosion of our own liberties.



DIRECT Action

THE SOUTH

When the Justice Department stepped into the hoodlum and KKK attacks on Freedom Riders last spring, there was widespread cheering. Many people, such as the avid-type New York Post reader, saw it as a promise that the Kennedy administration was going to back up other attempts at integration. No such luck, of course. After the second beating up of these modern-day abolitionists, Attorney General Robert Kennedy stepped in, largely because it was making the U.S. look bad overseas.

To the tune of several thousand dollars a day, 660 deputies from local states saw that Freedom Riders made it safely to the border of Alabama. (The Federal Government is quick at dispatching armed forces of any kind. It has, meanwhile, a headier weapon it has never used--the relinquishing of those states' representation in Congress wherever there is an abridgement of the Fourteenth amendment. But, as in all states of this world, practice has long veered away from constitutional directives.) When the bus crossed the Alabama border, however, the Kennedy twins washed their hands of the matter, thus making it possible for the riders to be jailed in Jackson, Mississippi.

The President then appealed to the Negro leaders to call a "cooling off" period. For what purpose? So that European news readers will not hear more about these jailings and attacks? But the daily accumulation of insults and poverties inflicted on the Negro people would not lessen. The white supremacists could only be aided in having more time to organize their violence, while integration would suffer a setback.

After the Emancipation Proclamation and the Civil War, there has been a 100 year cooling off period. The Negroes are not going to cool off a day longer. When they finally win their full emancipation, it will not come from government intervention moving with all deliberate lack of speed, but from direct action increased ten-fold in boycotts, sit-ins, and filling the jails.

BROOKLYN

The Clinton Hill apartments in Brooklyn house 1500 families. Yet, despite their position in an otherwise integrated community, they had never housed a Negro. The Brooklyn Chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) has documented the experiences of Negroes seeking apartments there. The usual procedure is to tell them that no apartments are available, that the waiting list is very long, or if they

should register a complaint, a more subtle ruse. This is the showing of an apartment which is directly next to the elevated, which has no rent control, and which is twenty dollars higher than other apartments in the development. 3

In early June, when one of the bona fide applicants was told that there were no vacancies, a check was made with a white couple, who were shown an available apartment. CORE immediately set up a picket line and a sit-in inside the realtor's office until she closed.

On July first, I was present when the Negro applicant returned with Gladys Harrington, CORE leader, and they were told that the only available apartment was the one near the el, which he had been shown after complaining to the Committee on Interracial Relations (COIR). Gladys told the real estate agent, Miss Bradley, that this was a very clear case of discrimination, and that CORE was now preparing to take steps that would be embarrassing for all concerned, but which would not be necessary if there was a change of policy.

Miss Bradley swore that there was no policy of any kind. It seemed that while there were vacancies three weeks before, now there was, mysteriously, a list of 1600 applicants. Gladys persisted in trying to get the woman to come to terms, mentioning the unfavorable publicity. Miss Bradley finally left the room, continuing to see applicants, and suggesting she was too busy to talk with us. We made seven requests that she resume her conversation with us, and began our sit-in as fifteen pickets assembled outside. There were five of us: Mr. Funnye, the original applicant, a consulting engineer; Gladys, two girl students and myself.

Most of us wore CORE buttons, so it was obvious to other applicants that we were there for some kind of appeal. A pair of college boys expressed some sympathy for the plight of the Negro applicants, enough to cause the guards to let them wait and usher in a new couple of prospective applicants. We explained that the boys had no affiliation with us. The guards were annoyed with this effort as well, but took them next. Meanwhile Mr. Funnye slipped out to get some sign material. We began holding up cards stating how long we had been denied the chance to talk. When he returned the guards wouldn't let him in, saying the office was closed for the day. However, it was not closed for three more white people who came.

At one-thirty Miss Bradley left for the day. Nobody told us to leave, but the office was now officially closed. Nobody else was let in, including a very angry secretary who had an appointment for a job interview.

At about two-thirty a police captain came, a pleasant fellow who mainly wanted to know what our plans were. We told him that the picketing would continue for four days and we would stay inside as long as we could. He tried to dissuade us by telling us that the jails were very uncomfortable, but on the other hand, he advised us that if we wanted to be arrested, seven o'clock was the best time, as we would get a speedy trial in night court. However, he

was not arresting us, although he would "be forced to assist" if Miss Bradley arrested us. The guards were free to forcibly remove us, whereby we would gain nothing but the closing of the office. Since there were no orders either to arrest us or remove us, we simply stayed, with the guards making it as uncomfortable as possible for us. First they prevented us from passing notes to people outside by shutting the windows and drawing blinds. The place became unbearably hot. It was eighty-five outside that day. We found the floor the only cool place. Another attempt to pass us sandwiches was thwarted. But the major humiliation was the refusal to let us go to the toilets. Food and air were dispensable for a while.

In the evening the police captain returned. Again he suggested that we exhaust all legal methods of complaint. We said that we had. But why would we not accept the inferior apartment as a partial victory for integration? But, we insisted, the people did not want this apartment. Police guards were set up, one outside, one in, with them alternating every half hour. Generally, the police were friendly with us, joking, discussing. Not so the guards.

The police began to make bets that the two girls about twenty would not last till midnight. I fully expected myself that at some point in the night I would have to announce that my bladder would not take it any longer and leave those remaining to carry on.

Meanwhile Gladys began to whisper a plan, that she had some sort of plastic bag we could use as a toilet receptacle. We didn't get around to using it till 9:00. It was a large purse with a plastic lining. The girls began the procedure. We tried to persuade the policeman to leave the room. He insisted he was stationed here, but went to the window. I began singing to cover up. The girls used my coat as a door. Before I knew it, it was all over. I had been looking out the window and hadn't really noticed.

After we had all used the bag, I think the police and all realized that there was really nothing now that could prevent us from staying. And one can go three days without water.

At eleven p.m. a police deputy commissioner arrived. After talking in the back office, he asked us what our demands were. We said that Negro applicants would have to be granted choice apartments. He asked us if we would consider a meeting of Miss Bradley with COIR as a victory worthy of calling off our demonstration. For one, we were hesitant to consider Miss Bradley as fully responsible. Also, we wanted some impartial persons present. We agreed finally to any person whom management felt represented its view. We insisted, however, that this would not be a general hearing, but would specifically be on the issue of using the ruse of the inferior apartment. Also, we insisted that the hearing take place within the next five days.

HAVE YOU CONTRIBUTED TO
SUPPORT "VIEWS AND COMMENTS"?

Having won these points, we called off our sit-in. The police asked if we would call off the pickets. We did not answer immediately. The pickets remained to apply pressure over the entire July 4th weekend.

Shortly after this, the first Negro tenant moved in.

Sean Mitchell

DEPRESSION IN EAST KENTUCKY

COAL MINERS, POVERTY AND SOPS

The history of the Eastern Kentucky Labor Movement is rich in heroic struggles, names like Harlan and Hazard, raise pictures of never-ceasing bloodletting, strikes, and dynamite.

Today, the picture is almost as sad as in the thirties. The mountains are listed, politely, as "Depressed Areas" by the Kennedy Frontiersmen.

The much touted plans for the mountain coal-mining regions have not materialized and there is no indication that they ever will. If you are lucky you may wait in queue for a few packages of surplus rice, slightly rotten flour and a promise of "meat" next time.

The miner works an average of three days a week if he is one of those fortunate enough to be still on the company rolls and not "out off". The best homes are little more than shacks, all painted the same dismal yellow or grey. The next best do not have paint. Water supplies are still the well in the back-yard, where also stands the "privy". The cost of living in the mountains is the highest in Kentucky. There is practically no farming in the mountains, for the simple reason that you cannot farm on a 60% grade. Hence, almost every item of food, clothing, etc., must be brought in over poor and treacherous roads.

The major activity these days of the United Mine Workers Union is begging the U. S. Steel and International Harvester Companies to keep the mines open. The UMW has devoted \$2,000,000 to research for more efficient mining techniques and in the search for new uses for coal.

Yet, there is hope for the miners. Some very encouraging trends exist in the mountains which keep the spark of Solidarity alive. For example, the labor movement is not crippled by white chauvinism. There is little racial discrimination against the relatively large Negro population. There are some deep rooted reasons for this.

The mountain people were totally untouched by the institution of human slavery and thus lacked the deep-rooted racial prejudice of the other southerners. Also, the moun-

tains were places where a firm belief in freedom and individualism prevailed. A man was judged by his work, not the color of his skin. Thus, there is little prospect of the miners being divided by the introduction of racist propaganda.

One very important fact is the aforementioned individuality of the freedom-loving mountain people, who are still notorious for their disregard for laws, taxes, and "Revenooers". The trend here is towards tolerance and individualism, and a healthy disrespect for officialdom and government from the outside.

The people are essentially rooted in Unionism, and the more militant, the better they enjoy it. They know what a fighting union can do for them and, I think, are ready to support such a movement.

Discouraging factors are not to be ignored. Ignorance and illiteracy still prevail. And people are distrustful of strangers and "furriners". On the other hand, they are fiercely patriotic, seldom do they have to draft anyone to meet quotas. In fact, after Kennedy's Berlin speech, 300 volunteers showed up at the draft office in Pikeville. Economically, Eastern Kentucky appears to have a dark future. Still, an element of revolt is smouldering and could conceivably erupt at any time.

Jim Williams

The Game of Chicken

412 N. Third St., West
Mt. Vernon, Iowa
April 13, 1961

Mr. John F. Kennedy
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Kennedy:

The late John Foster Dulles followed a policy of "negotiation from strength" and said his "successful" foreign policy was one of going to the brink of war without actually going over. What he meant was that he used the threat of war to coerce those he was "negotiating" with to accept his position.

The analogy of going to the brink of a precipice is not accurate, for other powerful nations are also involved. They also negotiate from strength. The Soviet Union, for instance, did that when England, France and Israel invaded Egypt in 1956. A better analogy is the game of "Chicken" which some young automobile drivers used to play.

When two nations negotiate from strength with each other, each tries to make the other think it will go to war if the other does not swerve from its foreign policy. Each tries to make the other think it is going right straight ahead on a certain policy and that it

will go to war if that other gets in the way. Each tries to make the other chicken out.

Even this analogy is not quite accurate. Each automobile driver knows the other is going to swerve. The international game of chicken is a failure for the nation involved if the other knows it will swerve instead of going straight ahead. The trick is to try to make the other nation swerve without going to war and without swerving oneself. Obviously, this is difficult for two opposing nations to do at the same time.

How can some automobile drivers be so stupid?

I notice that your Administration is also staking the future of civilization on the successful outcome of the game of chicken. You are spending more for military weapons for that purpose. You are playing chicken in Laos.

I do not think I need to dwell on the idiocy of those actions. I do not think I need to labor the point that I am justified in not helping pay for those suicidal policies. As in past years I am not paying any income tax nor am I making any report of my income.

Sincerely yours,
Walter Gormly

The Peacemaker April 22, 1961

CUBA

Translated from Accion Libertaria
Organ of the Argentine Libertarian Federation
Buenos Aires, July 1961

REVOLUTION AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION

The heroic impetus of a people that overthrows a dictatorship and expels the tyrant and his assassins -- THAT IS REVOLUTION.

But to assume absolute power in order to accomplish by dictatorial methods that which the recently liberated people should themselves do -- THIS IS COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

To cleanse the country of the abuses of the regime that has been overthrown -- THAT IS REVOLUTION.

But to establish terror for the shameless, pitiless extermination of those who will not conform to the new dictatorship -- THIS IS COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

To assume the direct participation of the peoples in all of the new creations and accomplishments -- THAT IS REVOLUTION.

But to dictate by decree how things should be done and to canalize the accomplishments under the iron control of the State -- THIS IS COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

To seize the lands for those who work them, organizing them in free peasant communities -- THAT IS REVOLUTION.

But to twist the Agrarian Reform, exploiting the guajiro as an employee of the National Institute of Agrarian Reform -- THIS IS COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

To expropriate capitalist enterprises, turning them over to the workers and technicians -- THAT IS REVOLUTION.

But to convert them into State monopolies in which the producer's only right is to obey -- THIS IS COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

To eliminate the old armed forces such as the army and the police -- THAT IS REVOLUTION.

But to establish obligatory militias and maintain an army subservient to the governing clique -- THIS IS COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

To oppose foreign intervention in the lives of the people, and repudiate all imperialism -- THAT IS REVOLUTION.

But to deliver the country to some foreign powers under the pretense of defense against others -- THIS IS COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

To permit the free expression and activity of all truly revolutionary forces and tendencies -- THAT IS REVOLUTION.

But to recognize only one single party, persecuting and exterminating as counter-revolutionaries, those who oppose communist infiltration and domination -- THIS IS COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

To make the University a magnificent center of culture, controlled by the professors, alumni and students -- THAT IS REVOLUTION.

But to convert the University into an instrument of governmental policy, expelling and persecuting those who will not submit -- THIS IS COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

To raise the standard of living of the workers through their own productive efforts inspired by the general welfare -- THAT IS REVOLUTION.

But to impose plans prepared by State agencies and demand obligatory tribute from those who labor -- THIS IS COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

To establish schools and combat illiteracy -- THAT IS REVOLUTION.

But to indoctrinate the children in the adoration of the dictator and his close associates, militarizing these children in the service of the State -- THIS IS COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

To give the labor unions full freedom to organize and administer themselves as the basic organs of the new economy -- THAT IS REVOLUTION.

But to stamp these with the seal of subordination to the dominant regime -- THIS IS COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

To sow the countryside with new constructive peoples' organizations of every sort, stimulating free initiative within them -- THAT IS REVOLUTION.

But to prohibit them or inhibit their action, chaining them to the doctrine and to the organisms of State power -- THIS IS COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

To call on the solidarity of all peoples, of the decent men and women of the World, in support of the revolutionary people who are building a new life -- THAT IS REVOLUTION.

But to identify with Russian totalitarianism as a "Socialist State" of the type acceptable to the Soviet Empire -- THIS IS COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

All those forward steps that were taken by the Cuban people under the banner of liberty, which shown forth as a great hope for all the Americas and for the World, WAS THE CUBAN REVOLUTION.

The bloody dictatorship of Fidel Castro and his clique, whatever the mask it may wear or the objectives it may claim to have, IS THE REAL COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

APPROACHES TO TODAY'S PROBLEMS

In any healthy movement based on revolutionary ideas and aimed at social renovation, differences of a theoretical and practical nature arise and must be resolved. Unless essential agreement is reached, little progress can be made. We therefore welcome the opportunity that a recent letter from Gaston Laval gives us to present our ideas on several fundamental matters of policy and approach.

Gaston Laval, the essential points of whose letter are printed below, has for decades been one of the outstanding militants of the international anarchist movement. His group, the Mouvement Socialiste Libertaire, publishes the monthly "Cahiers du Socialisme Libertaire" (Boite Postale 92, Bureau Centrale, Neuilly, Seine, France). The questions raised are of extreme pertinence not only to the international libertarian movement, but to all those concerned with the basic problems of our times.

Letter from Gaston Laval

Esteemed Comrades of Views and Comments:

Recently I received issue no. 39 of your magazine and appreciate your kindness in sending it to me. I am anxious that your efforts in favor of our ideas meet with the greatest success, and therefore feel it necessary to point out certain discrepancies. As you will understand, this is done with the friendliest intentions.

Let us take an example. On the back cover of "Views and Comments" the first paragraph says, "The 'free' world is not free; the 'communist world is not communist. Fundamentally they are identical: one becoming totalitarian, the other already so."

We know very well that the material, moral and intellectual slavery that exists in Russia, in the satellite countries and in China, cannot be compared with whatever persecutions we may suffer in the West. Neither you yourselves, nor anyone else in the West is subject to such persecution.

The Bolshevik regime has not only exterminated our comrades: it has liquidated all of the parties, all of the men, and all of the ideological currents that were in disagreement with the dictatorship of the group in power. It has wiped out whole populations to supply cheap labor for the organization of its war industries, and for the monumental projects that characterize all such regimes of force. Approximately 30,000,000 men, women and children were thus condemned to die, surrounded by the most atrocious conditions of existence--the bitter sub-arctic cold, the physical exhaustion, disease, hunger and desperation. The concentration camps have come to hold at one time between fifteen and twenty million condemned prisoners and deportees. Under Czarism, the number never passed 72,000 at the time

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10 of greatest repression, and there were only 32,000 political deportees at the time of the Russian revolution.

At the close of World War II large populations were forcibly displaced. The German-speaking inhabitants of large areas were hurriedly sent to regions where no preparations had been made to receive them. In the process, 2,000,000 men, women and children died of hunger, physical exhaustion and disease.

Now then, you know very well that there is still in Russia a dictatorship that is worse than the dictatorships of Franco or Mussolini. Literature, the theatre, the cinema, sculpture, history--in short, all, without exception, of the intellectual production is under rigid governmental control. To the general intellectual and moral slavery is added a miserable standard of living, which recent travelers estimate to be only about one-third that of France.

You know well that those people who have been able to escape from Russia have sought refuge in the U.S.A. and other countries of the West and that if the borders of Russia were opened, millions of its inhabitants would leave the country. Without the presence of Russian cannon and Russian tanks, the peoples of Hungary, Poland, East Germany and other countries would openly rebel. They are held down and forced into silence by a permanent regime of terror. Hundreds of millions of men and women are kept in subjection by the ever-present fear of imprisonment, deportation and death.

In view of all this, how can you say that the two systems are "fundamentally identical"? How, then, can such an affirmation be made in referring to the Bolshevik dictatorship, which is in many respects worse than fascism, worse than the Nazi dictatorship itself?

Is it because it has appropriated the "communist" label? Must we also be the victims of words, of that verbal deceit so often used to confuse the candid? A regime must be judged not by the name that it gives to itself, but by the crude patent realities of its own nature. We have no need to make concessions to those who deceive--or try to deceive--the whole world.

Furthermore, if it be said that the "line of development" is in the direction of a system similar to the Bolshevik system, then any citizen who reflects will think, as I and others think, that there is no proof for such an assertion. In Russia the regime is a result of consciously applied "political and governmental principles." In the U.S. and the West in general, these particular principles do not constitute the philosophical and juridical basis of the political forms that are applied.

If, on the other hand, you say that as a consequence of the preparations for a new world war, the road towards a gradual introduction of statist totalitarianism is being taken, the reply of any person with sense would be that this course is not being taken purposely by the desire of the political parties and the rulers, but rather as a result of the measures of defense made necessary by Russian imperialism and Russian attacks.

It is not a matter of crying "Long Live Capitalism!" nor of confusing oneself with the capitalists and the defenders of the system of exploitation of man by man--an exploi-

tation that happens to be worse in totalitarian nations than it is in others. But we must avoid going from one extreme to the other. One must criticize the defects of the capitalist regime, of the parliamentary system, etc., but it is an error and a falsification to claim that these defects are as great as are those of the totalitarian or statist-totalitarian systems. It is an error to concentrate all of our criticism against capitalism and denounce with at least equal energy the system on the other side of the Iron Curtain.

Once again, pardon these expressions of opinion and believe in the sincere fraternal spirit that has motivated them.

GASTON LEVAL
Paris, 16 October 1960

Comment:

We are, of course, in agreement with many points raised by our comrade Leval. We summarize these points so that we can limit the discussion to opinions with which we are in sharp disagreement. We agree with Leval's indictment of the "communist" totalitarian system. We hate all dictatorships and have said so repeatedly in "Views and Comments." We shall continue to do so. We are glad to print Leval's eloquent exposé of the Bolshevik dictatorship because it is good propaganda; this proves that we are not "making concessions to those who deceive.." We are acutely aware of the horrible realities concealed under the communist label. We are not blinded by sectarianism, and recognize the obvious fact that there is more "freedom," or more accurately, less dictatorship, in the capitalist democracies. Comrade Leval, we are sure, will agree that from an anarchist point of view, the first part of our statement, "The 'free' world is not 'free'; the 'communist world is not 'communist'." is true.

Our disagreement with Leval concerns his mistaken interpretation of the second part of the statement: "Fundamentally they are identical: one BECOMING totalitarian, the other already so." We call his attention to the word BECOMING. This means that while the capitalist States are not the same as the totalitarian States, they are evolving in that direction. This does not mean that the Capitalist Democracies will eventually be transformed into EXACT REPLICAS of the Russian or Chinese Totalitarian States. (To avoid confusion on this point, readers will note that we have clarified the wording on the back cover of V & C.)

The EXTERNAL forms that the Totalitarian States may take will be determined by the historical background, the economic and political conditions and the relations with other governments. These forms will further be determined by the inner struggles of power blocs for control of the State, and from the powerful cumulative mass pressure of the submerged peasants, workers, students and other elements. The Yugoslav variety of "communism," for example, differs from the Russian brand; it is nevertheless a totalitarian State. The death of Stalin and the emergence of Khrushchev signaled a change in the FORM of the Russian dictatorship, but it, also remains a totalitarian State. If the direction of the Democratic States is not reversed, they, too,

will finally develop their own type of totalitarian social system. As the Democratic States evolve towards totalitarianism, they take on certain basic totalitarian characteristics. As the differences between dictatorship and democracy narrow, the resemblances between the two types of States grows closer because they are FUNDAMENTALLY identical.

We derive our judgment from the nature of the State in general and from the totalitarian tendencies of the Capitalist Democracies in particular. The State is a parasitic institution feeding on the body of society. Every State drives to monopolize power. In the process of conquering, holding and expanding that power, the State suppresses opposition and obliterates economic, political, social and personal liberty. States are totalitarian or democratic to the extent they monopolize power and limit the area of freedom. States differ in DEGREE, but the ESSENCE of the State remains CONSTANT. This is by no means a full definition of the State, but it is sufficient for the purpose of this article.

The history of modern society is to a large extent the story of the expansion and centralization of power in the State institutions. Comrade Laval does not think that there is proof for the assertion that Democratic Capitalism is developing in a totalitarian direction. He supports his opinion on the grounds that the "philosophical and juridical" basis of Democratic States differs from the consciously applied political and governmental principles of the Bolshevik dictatorships. It is true that in democratic countries like the U.S., the centralization of power developed more slowly because the liberal traditions that Laval refers to prevented the State from growing faster. But he does not seem to appreciate the fact that there are TWO conflicting traditions which shaped American society: the tradition of political, social and individual liberty and strict limitation of state power stemmed from the libertarian thought of the 18th century. In France it was expressed in the Declaration of the Rights of Man. In America it was codified into the Bill of Rights. This is the tradition of men like Tom Paine, the tradition that was so eloquently described by the Anarchist Voltairine de Cleyre in the pamphlet "Anarchism and American Traditions."

But there is another, opposite tradition, which escapes the observation of many foreign, and we are sorry to say, all too many American observers. This tradition can be traced to the framers of the Constitution who were ardent Statists and believed in centralization of power. They did not even incorporate the Bill of Rights into the first draft of the Constitution. They were later forced to attach these principles to the Constitution in the form of amendments. The Statists did all they could to prevent the people from directly controlling the government. They employed such devices as the electoral college to choose presidents, election of senators by state legislatures and other evasions. There is the tradition of slavery, of exploitation of indentured servants, of foreign and native workers, of imperialism and militarism. There is a vast literature on this subject, e.g. "An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution," by the eminent historian, Charles Beard, and "The Workers in American History," by James Oneal.

The American sociologist C. Wright Mills, in his book, The Power Elite, tells us: "Since 1776 America engaged in seven foreign wars, four years of civil war, besides innumerable fights with the Indians." (one of the darkest pages in American history - ed.) "...in addition to intermittent displays of violence in China and subjugating the Caribbean, and parts of Central America...about half of the thirty-three who have been President of the United States have had military experience of some sort (Kennedy, the thirty-fourth, was a naval officer - ed.), six have been career officers, nine were generals." Mills then quotes the magazine of the business elite (Fortune, 1935): "The United States Army since 1776 has filched more square miles of the earth by military conquest than any country in the world, except Britain." It may be remarked, in passing, that the Monroe Doctrine, proclaimed in 1823, staked out all of Central and South America as "happy hunting grounds" of early American imperialism. With modifications, it still remains part of the foreign policy of the U.S.

From thirteen colonies on the eastern seaboard, the American imperialism has conquered a continent and become the strongest power in the world. The "free" world is supporting the dictatorships in Franco's Spain, Portugal, Formosa, the semi-fascist De Gaulle in France, the slave-holding government of Saudi Arabia and other despotisms in the Middle East. At different times our "free" democracy has supported Syngman Rhee in South Korea (he was later kicked out by his own people), dictators Trujillo, Batista, Jiminez, Peron and other tyrants. The list is endless.

Now American Capitalism is engaged in the economic colonization of the "free" world. Instead of exporting finished goods to other countries, U.S. capitalism is now manufacturing steel, automobiles, farm machinery, chemicals, textiles, and a wide range of other products in Europe and parts of Asia, Latin America and Africa. American Capitalism owns or indirectly controls gigantic industrial combines everywhere.

The Wall Street Journal (December 3, 1959) graphically describes the situation. The article is headlined: "Yank Plants in Europe Multiply to Tap Vast Market, Avoid Tariffs." "The drift of American corporations into Europe's nascent market is turning into a stampede...Yanks already on the scene are waving newcomers on, asserting profits are more prodigious and marketing prospects more pregnant than those back home." Another inducement, according to the Wall Street Journal (November 6, 1959): "...the flight of Yankee capital to distant shores, lured by the eye-popping ability of workers in other industrial nations to live quite comfortably on wages that seem by U.S. standards to be startlingly low."

What kind of democracies are these which exploit others and help tyrants enslave mankind? What has become of the vaunted principles of freedom, justice and equality which are supposed to underly the "philosophical and juridical basis" of the "U.S.A. and the West in general?" The conduct of States is not guided by moral and ethical considerations. When their interests are threatened (which is most of the time) they will unite with the devil himself to promote their ambitions.

14 On the home front the functions of society are being centralized into the apparatus of the State. This is not a new development. It stems from the nature of the State itself. According to the Wall Street Journal: "Since 1800 the population has increased 34 times. In these 150 years the number of civilian employees of the federal government has increased 18,000 times."

The tendency toward centralization of power has been speeded up by past wars and preparations for new conflicts; modern wars cannot be waged without the establishment of a war economy. Another factor was the welfare program which the Federal and States governments initiated. The purpose of welfare was to supply some of the needs of the restless masses in order to prevent them from upsetting the stability of the State. The fires of revolution must be quenched with bowls of soup.

The degree of centralization is assuming gigantic proportions. The Labor movement is an unofficial part of the State. Arthur Goldberg, the famous labor lawyer is the new Secretary of Labor. He pledged himself to enforce even the anti-labor laws. The military apparatus, the largest and most expensive branch of the government, the scientific machine and a big part of the educational system, the television, radio and other organs of mass indoctrination -- all these and many more institutions are gradually being integrated into the vast and complex machinery of the State. Through its taxing power, its regulatory agencies, its complicated networks of welfare departments, its expanding legal and espionage labyrinths, the State is making every individual dependent upon it. More and more the fate of the people is being decided by the relatively few men who control the monstrous bureaucratic apparatus in all its ramifications. The area of direct participation of the individual in public matters directly affecting him has been steadily diminishing.

The war economy and preparations for war is increasing the power of the military machine over the economic and political life of the country.

In "The Community of Fear", Harrison Brown warns, "There is little doubt that the armed services exert more control over the Congress than that body exerts over the Defense Department. Indeed, the military elite is clearly in a position to assume control over the political command of the U. S. striking forces if there are signs of weakness in U. S. foreign relations."

Even ex-President Eisenhower, who is in a position to know, is alarmed. In his farewell speech he warned:

"We have been compelled to create a permanent armaments industry of vast proportions. Added to this, three and a half million men and women are directly engaged in the defense establishments. We annually spend on military security alone more than the net income of all United States Corporations."

Eisenhower warns that the power of the "immense military establishment and large arms industry" permeates all so-

cial life and involves "the very structure of our society." He says, "We must guard against the unwarranted acquisition of power by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist."

The power of the industrial military complex demands scientific education and research on a grand scale, financed by the federal government and controlled by the warlords. Eisenhower added, "The prospect of domination of the nation's scholars by federal employment project allocations and the power of money is ever present ... public policy could itself become the captive of a scientific-technological elite."

We must agree with the conclusions of Professor C. Wright Mills. In comparing the capitalist democracies to the totalitarian regimes, he declares, "In surface ideology they apparently differ; in structure, trend, and in official action they become increasingly alike. ... Not ideology, but industrial and military technology, geared to total war may well determine that the dreams of each will in due course be found in the realities of the other." (In "The Causes of World War III")

Comrade Leval is wrong. The proof that American democracy, spurred by the war effort, is vast developing in a totalitarian direction is overwhelming. He accuses us of "concentrating all of our criticism against capitalism and not denouncing with at least equal energy the system on the other side of the iron curtain." If we seem to overstress the defects of American capitalism, it is because many of our readers complain that we don't deal enough with domestic problems. But our disagreement with Leval is more fundamental than a mere matter of emphasis.

Leval argues that, "If you say that as a consequence of the preparations for a new world war, the road towards a gradual introduction of statist totalitarianism is being taken...this course is not being taken purposely by the desire of the political parties and rulers, but rather as a result of the measures of defense made necessary by Russian imperialism and Russian attacks."

We do not know whether Leval realizes the implications of this statement. He is, in effect, denying the very existence of Western imperialism. To suggest such an assumption is not only an "error and falsification", it is to completely misunderstand the nature and direction of the evil forces that are shaping the history of our tragic era! Totalitarian imperialism grew in the soil prepared for it by decaying Western imperialism. It turned the nationalistic revolutions to its own account. It exploited the sentiment for social change by infiltrating and gaining key positions within those new elements. China was lost to the West by default. While Russia did gain some power by physical attack--most of the influence outside of its boundaries was unconsciously and willingly expedited by the Western democracies.

Comrade Leval says, "That it is not a matter of crying Long Live Capitalism! or confusing oneself with the capital-

ists and the defenders of the system of exploitation of man by man." His remarks, however, create the very confusion that he is trying to avoid!

Let us see where Leval's reasoning leads. Democratic Capitalism is not developing in a direction similar to Bolshevism. There is more freedom under Capitalism than under Bolshevism. The attacks of Russian Imperialism are forcing the Capitalist Democracies to defend themselves by preparing for a war that they do not want and did not provoke. If a war breaks out, we must be on the side of the "free" world because a little freedom is better than none at all. The Democratic Capitalists cannot win the war unless they prepare for it. We must therefore endorse all the political, economic and military policies which war preparation demands. We do not like to say that Leval advocates the bankrupt theory of the "lesser evil", but we cannot draw any other conclusions from the logic of his contentions.

We do not want to be a party to this confusion. We reject the implications of Leval's letter.

For the sake of clarity we will summarize the position of the letter. We know that Russian Imperialism is trying to defend its vast empire. It cannot feel secure if it is encircled by hostile powers from without, and seething discontent from within. It cannot feel secure unless it eliminates all actual and potential enemies. This means that it must annex or control the rest of the world.

But what is the "Democratic" world trying to defend? The answer is obvious. Democratic Capitalism is faced with economic strangulation. It is determined, come what may, to regain the foreign markets behind the iron curtain and prevent the Russian bloc from flooding that market with lower priced goods and services. Capitalism cannot tolerate a constricted foreign market. The Russian power bloc must be eliminated. Expand or die! This is the law of Capitalism and the State. Expansion means war!

The slogan, "Prevent World War Three" is misleading. Both power blocs are already struggling for the domination of the world. The fact is that the "cold" war is being waged on the political, economic and propaganda fields, and in a limited way, militarily. The armed camps are moving into position for the final phase of the conflict, a general shooting war. Can the rival imperialist war blocs prevent the "cold" war from turning into a "hot" war? The answer is NO. The madness of war reflects the insanity of our statified political and economic institutions. Homicidal maniacs are capable of committing acts that reasonable men abhor. The history of the world proves that the State is capable of following the example it sets for its unbalanced citizens. Modern technology has made it possible to set off a nuclear war by accident, or by the command of a few twisted men empowered to make the fatal decision.

We do not want anyone to think that we underestimate the value of those freedoms which have not yet been taken

away from us. It is precisely because we want to preserve and extend them that we oppose the institution of the State.

Democratic States cannot wage war unless they adopt certain totalitarian forms. War only deepens the built-in tendency of the State to centralize power and restrict freedom. In addition to the legal restrictions on individual rights, there are dark forces in American society, that are acting on their own. A vast network of hate groups, consisting of racists, anti-semites, would be imitators of Hitler and Mussolini, and others, are waiting for a chance to strike for power.

Under these circumstances to choose Democratic Capitalism as the lesser evil is to re-enforce the reactionary war camps by giving aid and comfort to the very elements who would profit by the establishment of open totalitarian forms in America. To pick one side or the other is like asking a man whether he prefers death by hanging or shooting. No amount of doubletalk about defending Democratic "welfare" Capitalism or the Russian brand of State Capitalism can obscure this basic reality.

We love life and we are not obliged to accept murder. There is still time to stop war. The people of the world do not want war. Everywhere the resistance to war is increasing. A considerable "Third Camp" peace movement exists. We will encourage and help crystalize this movement, by explaining our ideas to its members. We must continually warn against the peril of alignment with either camp. Within the framework of our principles and to the extent of our agreement, we will cooperate with other organizations in effective anti-war action.

The anti-war movement will be powerless unless it works outside the orbit of the State and statist oriented organizations such as the United Nations. It will remain sterile if it confines itself to fringe activities and does not ally itself with a rejuvenated labor movement. The workers of the world can stop war. The workers make the goods of war and man the machinery of slaughter.

We say to the American workers, "Turn a deaf ear to the siren calls of your union officials who would lead you to certain catastrophe on the road of the "lesser evil." What good are "high" wages, much of which are swallowed up by high prices and taxes for war, what good are the pension plans, the health programs, the autos, televisions and refrigerators on which the boss class holds the mortgage, if all these gains will go up in smoke when the big bombs begin to fall? Let our voices ring louder than the atom bombs that exploded over Hiroshima, Nagasaki and the Nevada flats: louder than the voices of the warmongers on both sides of the Iron Curtain!!

CHANGE THE SYSTEM THAT BREEDS WAR!

BUILD A NEW WORLD WORTHY OF THE CREATIVE GENIUS OF MANKIND--OR PERISH!!

U.S. SUPREME COURT LAYS AN EGG

We live in a schizophrenic society. The same Supreme Court which has backed up civil rights for the Negro, and declared that bus, rail, and restaurant segregation is unconstitutional, now denies civil rights to members of the Communist Party. It is doubtful that the CPUSA has more than 10,000 members or followers, but, whatever its size, this brings up a major free speech issue. We would recall that among the first steps in Hitler's rise to power was the silencing of the Communists and pinning the Reichstag Fire on them. This is not to say that if they had not been silenced they would have stopped him short. As a matter of fact, shortly before this, the Nazis and Commies would meet each other when they broke up Social Democrat meetings. Nevertheless, right-wing anti-communism was and is the sperm for fascism.

The U.S. now joins fascist Spain, Portugal, South Korea, South Africa, and West Germany as among the few countries which outlaw the Communist Party, or strip them of legal status. Certainly, this represents the most severe shift towards the garrison state in a decade. Yet, by the strangest logic, the Supreme Court declares that there is no issue here of free speech or abridgement thereof, because the Communists are subversive, the agents of a foreign power. Yet, we see no such requirement that each and every publicist or propagandist for the Franco regime, or for that matter every American Nazi is required to register.

Even allowing the government to root out spies and saboteurs, of which some dozen have been found, we see that this has nothing to do with the right of dissent, even to dissent in favor of Russia. Though the Communist Party is undeniably the working propaganda agency of the Soviet Union, there is no basis whatever to say that every member of it, who has, for example, passed out literature on a street corner or worked with reform Democrats is an agent of the Soviet Union in the sense that the justice Department means that.

It is one of the ironies of history that the C.P. is now one of the victims of the Frankenstein which it helped to create. In 1940, when Congress passed the Smith Act and railroaded eighteen Trotskyists to jail for opposing the war, it was Tobin of the Teamsters and Communist Party "patriots" who aided their imprisonment with their testimony and smears. But those were the days of the no-strike pledge, when Roosevelt was hard on the militants who opposed this, and soft on the commies.

There is something of the same atmosphere in this suppression of free speech (for certainly, few will speak freely if they are required to register with the FBI and face fines of 10,000 dollars per day for each day they fail to do so.) It is the silencing of radicals and dissenters as part of great war preparations, further fulfillment of the "New Frontier's"

promise that we will have to sacrifice and sacrifice...for what? But of course--for freedom. 19

There is some comfort in the fact that this injustice passed the Supreme Court by the narrow margin of 5 to 4, indicating considerable doubt as to its constitutionality. In a dissenting opinion, Chief Justice Warren stated that there was at least one unconstitutional ground in that the evidence used to damn the Communists as conspirators was presented by acknowledged perjurers.

May the Communist Party always be scorned by enlightened working people. I would concur, for example, with the workers of Paris when they attacked the Communist Party headquarters after the crushing of the Hungarian rebellion, or at least, express few regrets. But every libertarian worth his salt must oppose the suppression of political freedom by the state.

There has been considerable controversy over this article, even within the League, and your criticisms are welcome.

R.W.B.

CUBAN LIBERTARIANS

As this issue of Views and Comments goes to press, we learn of the arrest of several of our comrades in Cuba.

LUIS MIGUEL LINSUAIN was Oriente provincial secretary of the food workers union. Since mid-July he has been held incomunicado in Santiago de Cuba on phoney charges of plotting to kill Raul Castro. He faces possible execution. Linsuain has a long and courageous record in the labor movement. He fought in the Sierra Cristal against Batista. Today he languishes in prison because he opposed the Stalinist takeover of his union.

AQUILES IGLESIAS is a qualified agronomist who worked with the Ministry of Agriculture after Batista's fall. He had been in exile during the Batista tyranny and from Mexico helped organize revolutionary expeditions to Cuba. He broke with Castro when the Stalinist influence became dominant. He is now in prison and is reported to have received a very long sentence.

JOSE ACENA participated actively in the 26th of July Movement. He was treasurer of its Havana section during the struggle against Batista. He broke in protest against the Communist takeover. After a period of harassment by the secret police he was siezed in August and is still held incomunicado.

SANDALIO TORRES, a libertarian sympathizer, is a construction worker of peasant origin. He fought in the underground against Batista. For speaking against the communists he was jailed last October. Now held in Pinar del Rio. Four times he has faced a firing squad to force a "confession" implicating others.

"Up here in Aragon, one was among tens of thousands of people, mainly, though not entirely, of working class origins, all living at the same level and mingling on terms of equality. In theory it was perfect equality, and even in practice it was not far from it. There is a sense in which it would be true to say that one was experiencing a foretaste of socialism, by which I mean that the prevailing mood and attitude was that of socialism. Many of the normal motives of civilized life--snobbishness, money-grubbing, fear of the boss, etc--had simply ceased to exist. The ordinary class division of society had disappeared to an extent that is almost unthinkable in the money-tainted air of England; there was no one there but the peasants and ourselves, and no one owned anyone else as his master.

"Of course, such a state of affairs could not last. It was simply a temporary and local phase in an enormous game that is being played. But it lasted long enough to have its effect. ...One had been in a community where hope was more normal than apathy or cynicism, where the word 'comrade' stood for something, for comradeship, and not, as in most countries, for humbug. One had breathed the air of equality. I am well aware that now it is the fashion to deny that socialism has anything to do with equality. ...But fortunately, there exists a vision which is different from this. The thing that attracts ordinary men to socialism and makes them willing to risk their skins for it, the mystique of socialism is the idea of equality. To the vast majority of people, socialism means a classless society, or it means nothing at all....

"The Spanish Militia, while they lasted, were a sort of microcosm of a classless society. In that community wherethere was a shortage of everything, but no privilege and no bootlicking, one got perhaps, a crude foretaste of what the opening stages of socialism might be like."

"Every shop had an inscription saying it had been collectivized; .. waiters and shop-walkers looked you in the face and treated you as an equal. Servile and ceremonial forms of speech had temporarily disappeared."

(This portrait of free socialism--not the state bureaucratic kind--appeared in George Orwell's Homage to Catalonia. This summer marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Spanish Revolution, a revolution which has not died yet, and we print these quotes in order that others might capture or recapture the spirit of that struggle.)

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By an unfortunate combination of events, several of our active New York members were in the hospital one after the other - two for operations. Work on V. & C. came to a standstill. The many inquiries received showed that we were missed. We thank everyone for the expressions of solidarity and for the continued contributions. We are especially grateful to the Freie Arbeiter Stimme and the Libertarian Book Club at whose suggestion we were given \$250 from the proceeds of the liquidation of the Stelton Progressive School in New Jersey. This enabled us to pay part of our outstanding paper bill and other debts. (To be covered in next financial report)