

# 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.

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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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**LIBERTARIAN LEAGUE**

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# VIEWS AND COMMENTS

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LIBERTARIAN  
PICNIC

SUNDAY, JUNE 17th  
ALL DAY

Marino's Farm  
3825 Lanterman Road

YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO

Notice - The building in which our New York Libertarian Center is located, having been condemned by the city Fire and Buildings Departments, is going to be remodelled by the landlord. This means that we must vacate the premises by July First. A new place has not at this writing been located. The moving into new quarters will involve additional expense and your help at this time would therefore be especially appreciated.

## GENERAL STRIKE FOR PEACE

During the week of January 29 - February 4, there were an unusual number of anti-war demonstrations, especially in New York City. These actions were orderly and non-violent. Several hundreds of people participated in a serious manner, expressing their deep concern with the problem of human survival in a world ruled by homicidal maniacs. These demonstrations were well co-ordinated, for the most part well executed, and well publicized by the General Strike for Peace Committee. The press gave them a few good stories, while burying others on inside pages.

For sparking the liveliest series of anti-war demonstrations in more years than we care to remember, the organizers are to be commended. The General Strike for Peace Committee rendered an inestimable service to the cause of world peace by calling attention to the fact that a General Strike would be the surest means of attaining it.

On the other hand we feel that a major policy error was committed when this series of demonstrations was publicly proclaimed to be in effect, a "World-Wide General Strike for Peace." Surely the Committee did not expect a general work stoppage, either world-wide, national or local.

As a matter of fact there were sizable demonstrations under the banner of the World-Wide General Strike for Peace, in approximately a dozen U.S. cities besides New York and in a few cities abroad.

In New York City a handful of art galleries and two theaters closed, some for the week, some for one day. But there was not one naval repair shop, one nuclear munitions supply plant, or even one small industrial plant closed by the workers declaring themselves on strike for peace.

There have been numerous cases where a general strike has brought about the overturn of governments or sweeping changes in policy. This has happened repeatedly in Latin American countries and in Europe. Where it has been the expression of what the masses of people feel is their need, it has been remarkably successful. But when a general strike has been called from outside or as a propaganda stunt, it has backfired. In this case the sponsors of the movement had insufficient contact with the working class.

In other ways, the General Strike for Peace Committee attempted too much, promised too much and spread itself too thin. It attempted to maintain continuous vigils at the United Nations missions of all four nuclear powers and at five other points. Few of these came off impressively.

Had the committee set itself more modest immediate goals, concentrating on specific industries, or on pulling students out of high schools and colleges, (where in New York City at least there is considerable anti-war sentiment) there might have been greater measurable success. As it was, the sit-down of 41 people at the Atomic Energy Commission, the demonstration at the Stock Exchange where 13 people blocked the door, and the sit-in by 15 people at the Civil Defense Headquarters, were all very effective. But at none of these places did the workers themselves consciously and willingly support the actions of the demonstrators. They were at times prevented from going out to lunch and at one place (Civil Defense Headquarters) they were sent home for the afternoon.

On the plus side it should be noted that there was considerable favorable reaction by the public. Some have felt that a victory was won with the police since the demonstrators, by their militant efforts, won the right to picket where they pleased and only two arrests were made during the week. This victory would, however, appear to be ephemeral since but a few days later the police demonstrated excessive brutality against the mass demonstration at Times Square.

We have learned that one local trucking firm almost closed down; that it would have had there been a unanimous vote to do so, but since one worker was opposed, it did not. We are told that many cab drivers took off a day in sympathy. It is these kinds of action by working people that are the most meaningful.

The organizational form of this committee is anti-authoritarian and there was considerable spontaneity by participants in the actions. Good co-ordination without rigid bureaucratic control had much to do with encouraging the sustained participation of a considerable number of people. But while the actions were excellent, they constituted in no sense a "general strike."

In the future it would be far better if this committee or its successors would speak of moving "towards" a general strike rather than calling its present actions in fact a "general strike for peace." It is perfectly all right to aim high but the descriptor of any movement should be based on reality. The intention of the organizers was good but the slogan is premature and could have an adverse effect on those workers who see there is no strike and that it is only a slogan.

Unfortunately only a very small minority of people realize the full extent of the dangers inherent in

the present situation and is prepared to actively struggle against war and human exploitation and for a better world. As the reality of the threat of war is realized by increasing numbers, anti-war demonstrations are becoming larger and more frequent. In the foreseeable future they may well take on a genuine mass character, accompanied by boycotts, work stoppages and strikes. This, rather than petitions and prayer vigils should be our direction and our emphasis.

Eventually a general strike may be the means of breaking the power of the exploiters and frustrating the aims of the war-makers of all countries. Our efforts should be directed towards this ultimate objective.



## THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

is again on the order of the day. The literature department of the Libertarian League has a number of pamphlets and several excellent books that are indispensable to an understanding of the background and antecedents of the current upsurge that threatens to overthrow the Franco dictatorship. We especially recommend the following :

- THE SPANISH LABYRINTH, an Account of the Social and Political Background of the Spanish Civil War  
( Gerald Brenan ) ..... 384 pp. .... \$1.25
- THE GRAND CAMOUFLAGE, the Communist Conspiracy in the Spanish Civil War ( Burnett Bolloten )  
A new book - 1961 ..... 350 pp. .... \$5.00
- HOMAGE TO CATALONIA (George Orwell) ... 232 pp. . \$1.25
- LESSONS OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION ( V. RICHARDS )  
A criticism of the Anarchist Role ... 154 pp. ... \$1.00
- SPAIN, THE REVOLUTION OF 1936  
(Anarchy No.5 - July 1961) ..... 32 pp. .... \$ .25
- THE TRUTH ABOUT SPAIN (Rudolph Rocker) ... 16 pp. \$ .15
- THE TRAGEDY OF SPAIN (Rudolph Rocker) .... 48 pp. \$ .10

**Q** Mikhail Bakunin (1814 - 1876) was one of the keenest theoreticians of the Anarchist movement. From his exhaustive analysis of the nature of the State we have selected a few extracts that we consider pertinent and timely.

The State is the government from above downwards over a great number of men, quite different from each other in the degree of their culture, the nature of the countries or localities they inhabit, the occupations they follow and their interests and aspirations.

The State is not a natural society which supports and reinforces the life of everyone by the life of all--quite the contrary, it is the immolation of every individual as well of all local associations. It is an abstraction destructive of a living society. The State is the complete negation--in the alleged interests of all--of the life and rights of all the parts (individuals and groups) that go to make up the whole of society.

The State is an abstraction devouring the life of the people. But in order that such an abstraction may appear, develop, and continue to exist in real life, it is necessary that there be a genuine collective body interested in maintaining its existence. The function cannot be fulfilled by the masses of the people, since it is precisely they who are victims of the State. It has to be done by a privileged body, the sacerdotal body of the State, the governing and possessing classes which hold the same place in the State that the sacerdotal class in religion--the priests--hold in the Church.

To prove the similarity of the State and the Church, I shall ask the reader to take note of the fact that both are essentially based upon the idea of the sacrifice of life and of natural rights. Both start equally from the same principle: the natural wickedness of people. According to the Church, this can be overcome only by Divine Grace, and by the death of the natural man in God. According to the State, it can only be eliminated through the immo-

NEW LITERATURE \*\*\*\*\*

MEMOIRS OF A REVOLUTIONIST - Peter Kropotkin \$1.45  
THE WORKERS OPPOSITION - Alexandra Kollontai .35

(Order from the Libertarian League)

lation of the individual on the altar of the State. Both aim to transform man--one, into a saint; the other, into a citizen. But the natural man has to die, condemned by both the religion of the Church and that of the State.

The anti-human morality of States consists not only in the corruption of the men who are charged with the carrying out of State functions. One might say with greater truth that the corruption of men is the natural and necessary consequence of the existence of the State as an institution. This corruption is but a development of the fundamental principle of the State, the inevitable expression of its inherent need. The State is the negation of humanity; it is a limited collectivity which aims to usurp the role of human society and which seeks to impose itself upon the latter as a supreme goal, while everything is subordinated to the service of the State.

What is permitted to the State is forbidden to the individual. Such is the maxim of all governments. Machiavelli said it, and history as well as contemporary governments bear him out on this point. Crime is a necessary condition of the very existence of the State, and constitutes its exclusive monopoly. From this it follows that the individual who dares commit a crime is guilty in a twofold sense. He is guilty against human conscience, but above all, he is guilty against the State in arrogating to himself one of its most precious privileges.

What do we see throughout history? The State has always been the patrimony of some privileged class: the sacerdotal class, the nobility, the bourgeoisie--and finally, when all the other classes have exhausted themselves, the bureaucratic class enters upon the stage and then the State--rises...to the position of a machine. But for the perpetuation of the State, it is absolutely necessary that there be some privileged class interested in maintaining its existence.

In every historically developed society--the mass of the people are divided into three main categories:

1. The vast majority, exploited themselves, but not exploiting others.
2. A considerable minority embracing all the estates of the realm (what is today known as the middle class, small and medium-sized employers, clergymen, executives, minor officials, moderately wealthy individuals, the capitalist

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press, and many others--editorial note)  
These estates constitute a considerable minority, both exploiting and being exploited, both oppressed themselves and oppressing others.

3. A smaller minority who are exploiters and oppressors pure and simple, conscious of their function and fully agreed as to a common plan of action among themselves. They are the supreme governing class.

It frequently happens that rebellions break forth from among the middle class (category 2). These rebellions often end in victory over the government and its replacement by another government. These rebellions are waged because of injuries to the estates of the realm and not because of injuries to the people. They have as a purpose the defense of the interests of the estates and not the interests of the people as a whole.

No matter how much the estates may fight among themselves, no matter how much they may rebel against existing governments, none of their revolutions has had, or ever could have, for its purpose the overthrow of the economic and political foundations of the State which make possible the exploitation of the toiling masses, that is the very existence of classes and the class principle. Much as they (the privileged classes) may detest a particular form of the State, the State itself is sacred to them. Therefore no revolution, bold and violent though it may have been, has ever yet dared to put its sacrilegious hand upon the Holy Ark of the State. Since no State is possible without organization, administration, an army, and a considerable number of men invested with authority--that is without a government--the overthrow of one government is necessarily followed by the setting up of another more sympathetic government, one that is of greater use to the groups that triumphed in the struggle.

But useful though it may be, the new government, after its honeymoon, begins to incur the indignation of the same classes which brought it into power. Such is the nature of any authority; it is doomed to work evil. I am not referring to evil from the point of view of the people's interests, since the State as a fortress of the estates, and the government as the guardian of the State's interests are always an absolute evil insofar as the people are concerned. I am referring to the evil felt by the estates for those whose benefit the State and the government are necessary. Notwithstanding this necessity the State, while serving their essential interests, is always a

heavy burden on these classes. It fleeces and oppresses them; though to a lesser extent than it does the masses.

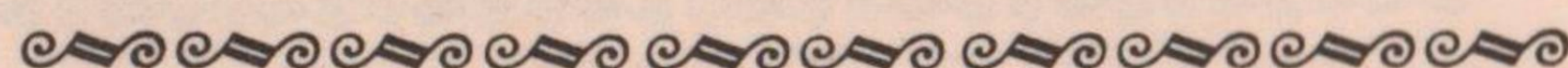
Human nature--the nature of every man--is such that given power over others, he will invariably oppress them. Placed in an exceptional position, and withdrawn from human equality, a man becomes a scoundrel. Equality and the absence of authority are the only conditions compatible with human morality. Take the most radical revolutionist and place him on the all-Russian throne or give him the dictatorial power, of which so many of our inexperienced revolutionists day-dream, and within a year he will have become worse than the Emperor himself.

The estates of the realm long ago realized this and gave currency to the adage proclaiming that "government is a necessary evil," necessary of course for them, but by no means necessary for the people, to whom the State, and the government necessitated by it, is not a necessary evil but a fatal one.

Every government has a two-fold aim. One, the chief and avowed aim, consists in preserving and strengthening the State, that is, the systematic and legalized dominance of the ruling class over the exploited people. The other aim is just as important in the eyes of the government, though less willingly avowed in the open, and that is the preservation of its own exclusive governmental advantages and its own personnel. The first aim is pertinent to the general interests of the ruling classes; the second to the vanity and the exceptional advantage of the individuals in the governmental apparatus.

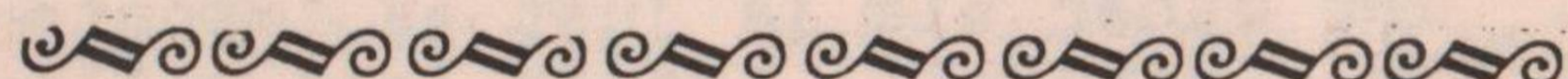
By its first aim the government places itself in a hostile attitude toward the people; by its second aim toward both the people and the privileged classes themselves. There have been moments in history when the government has seemingly become even more hostile toward the possessing classes than toward the people. This happens whenever the possessing classes, growing dissatisfied with the government try to overthrow it or to curtail its power. Then the sense of self-preservation causes the government to forget its chief aim: The preservation of the State or class rule and class welfare as against the masses. But such moments cannot last long since the government, of whatever nature it may be, cannot exist without the estates, just as the estates cannot exist without a government. When the classes can no longer insure the stability of the State, the government creates a bureaucratic class of its own, like our nobility in Russia. (In varying degrees and under various names, "Welfare

State," "State Capitalism" or "State Socialism" most modern governments are in the process of creating just such bureaucratic classes of their own. Editorial Note.)



The whole problem of government consists in the following; how to keep the people obedient or quiescent, and at the same time preserve the independence, not of the people, which of course is out of the question, but of the State, against the ambitious designs of neighboring States. At the same time it seeks to increase its possessions at the expense of these other States. In a word, war within and war without--such is the life of government. It must be armed and ceaselessly on guard against both domestic and foreign enemies. Itself breathing oppression and deceit, it is bound to regard all, within and outside its borders, as enemies, and must be in a state of conspiracy against all of them.

However, the natural enmity between the States and the governments ruling them cannot compare with the enmity of every one of them toward their own toiling people; just as two ruling classes engaged in fierce conflict are ready to forget their intransigent hatreds whenever a rebellion of the common people threatens, so are two States ready to forsake their open warfare as soon as the threat of a social revolution appears on the horizon.



Governmental science has been developed and improved over the centuries. I do not believe that anyone will accuse me of overstating the case if I call governmental science the highest form of State knavery evolved amid the constant struggle of, and by the experience of all past and present states .... It is the science of taking soldiers from the people and organizing them by means of skillful discipline to build up a regular army as the principal force of the State to keep the people in subjection. It is the science of covering whole countries with a tight network of bureaucratic organization, and by means of regulations, decrees and other measures, shackling, disuniting and weakening the working people so that they are unable to act together. They must be kept ignorant making it difficult for them to be influenced by new ideas and dynamic personalities. This conspiracy embraces the entire diplomacy, the internal administration - military, civil, courts, police, finances and education - and of course, the Church.

The people must struggle against this huge organization that is armed in every way - mental and material, legal and illegal - and that can in an extremity count on the cooperation of nearly all the ruling groups. The peo-

ple though having an overwhelming preponderance of numbers, are unarmed, ignorant (or mis-educated) and have no revolutionary organization! Is their victory possible?



It is not enough that the people wake up, that they finally become aware of their condition and the causes thereof. True, they possess a great deal of elemental power. They have indeed, a greater power than there is in the government itself, together with all of the ruling groups. But an elemental force lacking organization is not a real power. It is upon this incontestable advantage of organized force over the unorganized strength of the workers, that the might of the State is based.

Consequently the question is not whether the people have the capacity to rebel, but whether they are capable of building up an organization that can enable them to bring their rebellion to a victorious conclusion, - not just a casual victory - but a prolonged and ultimate triumph. This is the crux of the problem. The first condition for victory of the people, consists of agreement among the people, or organization of the people's forces.



The Manifesto of the Communist Party written in 1848 by Marx and Engels says :

" The first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to establish democracy. The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest by degrees all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the State, that is of the proletariat organized as the ruling class, and to increase the total productive forces as rapidly as possible."

What is meant by : "to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class" ? Will the proletariat as a whole be at the head of the government ? There are about forty million Germans (1873). Will all the forty million be members of the government ? If the whole people should govern, there would remain none to be governed. This means that there would be no government, no State. But if there is still a State, then there will be people who are governed, and there will be slaves.

This dilemma is solved very simply in Marxist theory. By a people's government they mean the governing of the people by a small number of representatives elected by the people. Universal suffrage - the right of the whole people to elect its so-called representatives and rulers of the State - this is the last word of the Marxists as well as of the democratic liberals, and bourgeois socialists. This is a falsehood behind which

10 lurks the despotism of a governing minority, a falsehood which is all the more dangerous in that it appears as the ostensible expression of the people's will.

But, the Marxists say, this minority will consist of workers. Yes indeed, of ex-workers, who, once they become rulers or 'representatives' of the people will have ceased to be workers and will begin to look down upon the toiling people. From that time on they represent not the people but themselves. Those who doubt this know precious little about human nature.

But these elected representatives will be convinced socialists, and learned socialists at that. The words "learned socialist" and scientific socialism" which are met with constantly in the speeches of the LaSalleans and the Marxists prove only that this would-be people's State will be nothing but the despotic rule over the toiling masses by a new, numerically small aristocracy of genuine and sham socialists. The people lack learning and so they will be freed from the cares of government, will be wholly regimented into one common herd of governed people. Emancipation indeed !

The Marxists are aware of this contradiction, and realizing that government by "learned socialists and scientists", notwithstanding its democratic form, is a veritable dictatorship console themselves that this dictatorship will be only temporary and of brief duration. They say that the only aim and care of this government will be to educate and uplift the people - economically and politically - to such an extent that no government will be necessary. Then the State, having lost its political character, that is, its character of rule and domination, will turn - all by itself - into an altogether free organization of economic interests and communes. Anarchism, that is, Freedom, is the goal, the State - dictatorship - is the means. In order to free the working masses, it is first necessary to enslave them !

All work is to be performed in the employ and pay of the State. The State will become the sole proprietor following a certain period of transition necessary for society to pass without too great political and economic shock from the present organization of bourgeois privilege to the future organization of equality for all. The State will then also be the sole banker, capitalist, money lender and organizer. It will be the director of all national labor and the sole distributor of its products. The State will divide the mass of the people into two armies - industrial and agricultural - under the direct command of the State engineers who will constitute the new scientific political class. Such is the fundamental principle of State Socialism, of authoritarian communism.

Such a regime will not fail to arouse great discontent among the masses. In order to keep it in check the enlightened and liberating government of Marx will

11 have need of a not less considerable armed force.... It is quite clear that behind all the democratic and socialistic phrases and promises of Marx's program, there will be in his State all of the despotic and brutal features to be found in all States, whatever their form of government.

We do not accept even as a revolutionary transition, either National Conventions or Constituent Assemblies, or so-called Revolutionary Dictatorships. We are convinced that the revolution is only sincere, honest and real when it resides in the masses, and that when it is concentrated in the hands of any governing individuals, it naturally and inevitably becomes reaction.

Bakunin's basic ideas have withstood the test of time. The Marxists themselves have already proven in history, many of his contentions. The oppressive totalitarian character of the Marxist type "workers states" in Russia, China, Cuba and elsewhere are an unconscious and unwilling tribute to the prophetic vision and realistic analysis of Mikhail Bakunin.

## STATISM AND LIBERTY

Marxist theory has never been able to resolve the problem of Freedom and Socialism. The Marxists insist that the classless society can only be achieved through a "Workers' State". Disagreements among the various Marxist factions hinge mainly on the type of State best suited for that purpose. The Bolsheviks (communists) would abolish the democratic capitalist State and replace it with a one party dictatorship allegedly representing the proletariat. The Social Democrats aim at coming to power by using the legal machinery of the "democratic" capitalist State. By electing a socialist majority, they expect to control the government.

For these bourgeois socialists, the only practical alternative to communist dictatorship over the masses is in effect bourgeois democracy. We call these people bourgeois socialists because they think that socialism can be attained by the gradual or piece-meal evolution of capitalism in a socialist direction. The tasks of the socialists thus consists in speeding this evolution by parliamentary action, and the pressure of the trade unions for higher wages, shorter hours and more social welfare legislation.

Like the bolsheviks, the bourgeois socialists are able to justify their position by copious quotations

from Marx. Such quotations, and a defense of bourgeois socialism can be found in the works of Kautsky, Bernstein, Jaures, Hillquit, Spargo, Martov and other writers. Among the moderns there is the French Marxist Maximilian Rubel who establishes the connection between the communism of Marx and bourgeois democracy in this comment :

" .... He (Marx) came to communism through the adoption of an ethics of democracy and he never denied the positive nature of his earlier conceptions, neither in theory nor in his political attitudes. If I wish to give my thesis a paradoxical form, I would say that Marx was a revolutionary communist only in theory, while he was a bourgeois democrat in practice". (New Politics - Winter 1962) Rubel quoted extensively from Marx in the article.

In applying their theory to modern capitalism, the bourgeois socialists endorse "enlightened Welfare Capitalism". Essentially, Welfareism means class collaboration under governmental supervision -- a partnership among Labor, Management and Government. The Government sets up and administers a system of unemployment insurance, old age and disability pensions for widows, children and veterans, and all the other services that go under the heading of Social Security. The central government operates or subsidizes public power plants, transportation, agriculture, and an enormous network of other enterprises. All the other major economic relations of the society, such as banking, the conduct of unions, corporations, etc., while ostensibly free, are allowed to function only within the legal limits set by the government.

These bourgeois Social Democrats admit that a considerable amount of regimentation is unavoidable under such a set-up. They hope that a limited freedom will be safeguarded by two main checks: Firstly, that the classes will cooperate instead of fighting each other, making further governmental intervention unnecessary except in minor cases, and Secondly, majority rule under universal suffrage to insure a certain degree of control over the government by the socialist electorate.

Both of these assumptions are false. In any social system where there are rulers and those who are ruled, where there are privileged classes and economically under-privileged classes, struggles remain inevitable although their form may change.

The social democratic representatives in the government will be forced to ask for ever more welfare legislation in order to get and hold the votes of their constituents. The government, acting as both partner and arbitrator and armed with unlimited coercive power, will "settle" the disputes to its own advantage.

The government as the administrator of an expanding welfare program will add to its already enormous powers. The government's power will be further increased in the process of defending and extending its interests as against competing foreign states. It is obvious that under these circumstances the "Welfare" State will become more and more totalitarian. The area of freedom will shrink almost to the vanishing point.

It is true that this system can provide a certain degree of "security". But this is a security purchased at the price of freedom. Perfect security will create perfect slavery. How "secure" is a slave ?

The difference between communist dictatorship and bourgeois social democracy is one of degree. While using different methods and following different roads they both arrive at the same ultimate destination : Totalitarian State Capitalism.

Between the Communists and the Social Democrats there are a variety of other Marxist tendencies oscillating between them. Unable to free themselves from the dogma of Marx, they ascribe the evils inherent in Marxism to the "un-Marxist" policies or betrayals of leaders. The literature of the Trotskyites and other tendencies is loaded with such accusations. Faced with the evidence that Marxism leads to State slavery, some have invented the term "Marxist Humanism". They proceed to dig up obscure fragments of Marx's earliest writings from which they select passages to "prove" the infallibility of their oracle.

There is for example the book Marxism and Freedom by Raya Dunayevskaya, a former secretary of Trotsky's and currently associated with the publication News and Letters. She explains that Marx's Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts, from which she extracted two essays "... did not see publication until nearly a century later - 1932" (page 228). Long before these manuscripts were unearthed, the Marxist movement was already fully developed and could not have been guided by the ancient scripts. The theory of Marxism must therefore be assessed by what Marx and his alter ego Engels, published openly and by how their ideas were applied during that period. The long-dead writings of the young Marx cannot be used to camouflage the contradictions of mature living Marxism.

Dunayevskaya thinks that "Russian totalitarian bureaucracy is the most deadly enemy because it springs from the proletariat and cloaks itself in Marxist terminology." (page 239) She reasons that Russia was a land of peasants, the workers were in a minority and were the ruling class. Therefore the oppressive bureaucracy could only arise from the proletariat which was the class in power.



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This assertion is false. The fact of the matter is that Lenin and the Bolshevik Party seized State power in the name of the workers and peasants. The new State then proceeded to take the power away from the workers and peasants organizations, who were the ones that had really made the revolution. The party then established its dictatorship, destroying the effectiveness of the Workers Councils (Soviets). That this was so was demonstrated by the struggle of the "Workers Opposition" and by the Kronstadt Rebellion.

In 1920-21 the "Workers Opposition" headed by Shylapnikov and Kollontay, objected to the dictatorship over the unions by the State. The opposition declared that :

"The organization of the management of the national economy is the function of the All-Russian Congress of Producers organized in industrial unions which elects bodies to manage the whole national economy of the Republic." (page 198)

In March 1921 the sailors of Kronstadt demanded the end of the Bolshevik Party's dictatorship over the Soviets and other organs of the Revolution. This gallant attempt to save the revolution was drowned in blood by the government. In both cases, Dunayevskaya sides with the State against the workers. She praises Lenin for denouncing both movements and quotes him approvingly :

" At this moment in our history - Lenin turned sharply to Shylapnikov - you and your 'Workers Opposition' are the greatest danger to our existence ... look at the Kronstadt mutiny and see how quickly the White Guards have grabbed onto the anarchistic, syndicalistic talk of 'freedom from political leadership' and with guns in their hands are threatening the new Workers' State. For you to propose a 'Producers' Congress' means for you to ask the Workers' State to commit suicide." ( page 199 )

" Our present state is such", continued Lenin realistically, "that the entirely organized proletariat must protect itself and must utilize the workers' organizations for the purpose of protecting the workers from their own state and in order that the workers may protect our state."

" When, asks Dunayevskaya, "has anyone ever made so profound and more devastating attack on the Russian Workers State, than to say that the workers as workers must protect themselves from the workers as state." ( pages 197-198 )

If the workers own their own State, why must they protect themselves against it ? The workers must protect themselves against the State because the

State robs them of their liberty and of the products of their toil.

What is the difference between the workers as workers and the workers as State ? To us as Libertarians, the point is ridiculous. THE STATE DIFFERS FROM THE WORKERS AS THE MASTER FROM THE SLAVES. THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS A WORKERS STATE.

According to Marxist theory, the State reflects the interests of the class in power. If this were true there could be no fundamental conflict between the workers and a "Workers State". The fact is that conflict does exist between the State and the class on which it claims to be based. This is so because the State is a class in itself. Of all the classes in society, the State is the most powerful and dominates all the other classes, by virtue of its monopoly of armed force.

In Russia all other classes have been abolished except the one great mass of toilers. The State has not only survived but has grown all-powerful. The State bureaucracy exercises the functions of the deposed classes and reaps the benefits thereof. The resultant social system is usually called State Capitalism, or, if you prefer, State Socialism.

Bureaucracy springs not from the proletariat but from the State. In view of all this, the division of the Marxist movement into "Right", "Left" and "Center" becomes meaningless. The dictatorship of the State can be imposed just as readily by a "Labor Party" or by "Welfareism" as it can by a "Dictatorship of the Proletariat". The differences will in the last analysis be superficial. Monopoly of power has its own logic - its own relentless rhythm. It is not concerned with labels.

We are not alone in our opinion. Rudolf Hilferding, a noted Marxist economist said :

" It is the essence of a totalitarian state that it subjects the economy to its aims ... The Marxist sectarian cannot grasp the idea that present day state power, having achieved independence, is unfolding its enormous strength according to its own laws, subjecting social forces and compelling them to serve its ends.... It (history) has taught us that the administration of things, despite Engels' expectations, may turn into unlimited administering of people, and thus not only lead to emancipation of the state from the economy but even to the subjection of the economy to the state (quoted by Sidney Hook : Marx and the Marxists )

There are many people of independent mind, Marxists and non-Marxists, who have become aware of the inadequacy of Marxism and are seeking to revise it in a

a bourgeois virtue" (Lenin) is giving way to the conviction that freedom is more important than stateist "collectivism".

The myth that the State will "wither away" and the free classless society automatically follow is no longer being accepted. The dogma that the State, law, democracy, philosophy, science and even ethical conceptions are little more than reflections of the economic "mode of production", is refuted by the growth of the modern State.

It is encouraging that these and similar libertarian ideas which were formerly dismissed as utopian abstractions are now being seriously considered. We do not claim to have all the answers, but we can exchange views and help each other find new roads to freedom.

- SAM WEINER

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HOUSTON

THE "CIVIL RIGHTS" STRUGGLE

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**Q** We regret that lack of space forbids the publication, in full, of the following first hand report from our militant correspondent who is very active in the civil rights struggle in Houston. While some of the incidents described are familiar to those acquainted with the pattern of civil rights campaigns in the South, others will find this information helpful. Mere recitals of transitory incidents quickly lose their cogency in ever-changing situations. Events become meaningful when the social, class, political and psychological factors which shape them are identified and properly evaluated. This is a big order which can be filled only by the contributions of many persons in many special fields. The conclusions of our correspondent are important because they outline some aspects of the great struggle for racial equality which deserve serious consideration.

On March 1, 1960 the first sit-in-demonstration occurred in Houston. The first target was a lunch counter in Weingarten's store, (one of the largest super-market chains in the southwest.) in a neighborhood where at least 75% of the customers are Negro. Approximately 100 Negro college students sat down at Weingarten's lunch counter but were refused service. Most of the people in the store came out of curiosity rather than to shop. The large majority of white spectators were definitely antagonistic toward the demonstrators. What really

libertarian direction. Among these is Daniel Guerin, noted French Marxist scholar, historian and sociologist. Guerin defines his purpose as follows :

"Around us today there is only ruin, fascism, bourgeois democracy ... Stalinism...The hour has come for the French left to re-think fundamentally its problems... within the framework of socialist thought, which remains despite its shortcomings, the only solid value of our epoch. The double bankruptcy of reformism and Stalinism confronts us with the urgent task of reconciling proletarian democracy and socialism, liberty and revolution". (Noir et Rouge, No. 13)

It is to Guerin's credit that he recognizes the validity of many libertarian concepts as well as most of our criticisms of Marxism. He illustrates his agreement with many of our views with copious quotations from Proudhon, Bakunin, Voline, Rocker and others. His aim is to effect a synthesis of Marxism and Anarchism though there is very little left of Marxism when he gets through with it. That little, unfortunately involves fundamental principles. Guerin rejects both totalitarian and bourgeois socialism, But his attachment to his Marxist roots causes him to make certain tactical compromises which lead back to authoritarian socialism.

Many capable and sincere people who would be an asset to our movement would like to effect a marriage between Marxism and Anarchism. Unfortunately the two are incompatible. The concepts that unite us -- class struggle, opposition to capitalism, the ideal of a classless society -- are not enough to offset the fundamental differences of principle that divide us. The most crucial of these is the evaluation of the nature and function of the State. From the Marxist misconception of the State flows the disastrous tactic of the conquest of power by a minority which leads inevitably to totalitarianism. From the same misconception flows also the tactic of parliamentary action which leads to class collaboration and the emasculation of socialism. Marxism and Anarchism are incompatible because Freedom and Stateism are incompatible.

This said, we can now sound a more hopeful note. After a long period of apathy, liberals and radicals of all tendencies, uncommitted students and intellectuals, class conscious workers, are again exploring ways of dealing with our desperate social problems. All of them are deeply concerned with the broadening of individual and social freedom, equality and social justice.

There is the feeling that many of the old cliches are not applicable to the realities of modern life. There is the realization that nationalization of property by the State favorably affect the differences in power, status or privilege. The notion that "freedom is

surprised me was the large number of Negroes who continued shopping in the store while the demonstration was going on. No violence occurred and no arrests were made. Some of the Negroes to whom we spoke, found it hard to believe that there are actually White people who could sympathize with them in their struggle for civil rights and first class citizenship.

On March 4, 1960 a young Negro (who had nothing to do with the demonstrations) was forced into a car at gunpoint by four masked white men; he was then beaten with a chain, cut with a knife with the letters KKK and left hanging by his heels from a tree!

The murderers were arrested, but no one seems to know the final disposition of the case.

The demonstrators formed an organization called the Progressive Youth Association, whose motto is "Freedom, Liberty and Justice." The purposes of the PYA are: Total integration of all facets of American life, civic and political education, inter-racial communication, education for individual competence, improvement of economic status, propagation of spiritual and democratic ideals and to obtain better job opportunities. Most of the members are Negro college students from Texas Southern University, plus a sprinkling of active White college students.

The sit-in movement spread to other super-markets with predominantly Negro trade and to such stores as Kress, Grants, Woolworth's and Foley's (the largest department store in Houston.) I couldn't help noticing the large number of Negroes still patronizing these stores while they were being picketed by the students. On one occasion I saw that almost half the customers in Grant's who crossed the picket line were Negroes! In August 1960 all the above mentioned downtown stores, as well as all the super-markets in predominantly Negro neighborhoods opened their lunch counters to Negroes. An interesting phenomenon is that although these lunch-counters are now desegregated a large percentage of Negroes continue to use the inferior facilities formerly provided for Negroes. It is mainly the Negro college students and professional people who take advantage of the integrated facilities.

On February 12, 1961 the P.Y.A. launched a campaign to integrate the three major downtown theatres. While an integrated group - mainly college students - picketed the theatres, some Negro students tried to purchase tickets at the box office. At frequent intervals the pickets sang song like "God Bless America" ( substituting "my segregated home" for "my sweet home" ) A small

gang of disorderly whites carrying mis-spelled signs reading "We Dont Want to Intugrate (sic)". "We Dont Want Sammy Davis Jr." (Negro entertainer) tried to provoke fights with P.Y.A. sympathizers. The P.Y.A. continued its picketting at irregular intervals.

Unlike the lunch-counter demonstrations, the theatre picketting and stand-in demonstrations, led to arrests on all kinds of fake charges. On one occasion the demonstrators were shoved into paddy-wagons and taken to the police station because one of the pickets allegedly brushed a passerby with her picket sign. Although the man involved in the incident forgot about it and was reluctant to testify, the police told him that he had to show up at the Court and testify against the demonstrators. I must emphasize that whenever I or my friends were near the theatre during these demonstrations, we were ordered to leave by the police. At the same time, those who were looking for trouble were not molested. This, and other incidents justify the suspicions of the P.Y.A. members that the trouble makers were probably planted there by the police themselves.

I told the assistant manager of one of these theatres that we sympathized with the demonstrators and that neither I nor my friends would patronize the theatre as long as it practiced racial discrimination. The assistant manager impressed me as being sympathetic to the action of the P.Y.A. He told me that he could not do anything without the consent of his boss, the manager. He said that every time the manager sees the picket line he gets more gray hair. It's bad for business because whenever there is a demonstration people seem to like the show outside better than they do the show inside.

The only local dining facility connected with interstate travel, which at this writing still remains segregated is the Union Station Coffee Shop in the main railway terminal. Since February 1961, numerous attempts have been made by members of the P.Y.A., but the manager - Mr. Burleson - is the type of individual who will only give in when forced to do so. There is definitely a difference of attitude between Burleson and the managers of those stores that have already integrated their lunch counters. The other places may have postponed integration because they were afraid of losing business. But this man's hatred of Negroes is greater than his love of money. The others stalled because no one wanted to be first, preferring to integrate all together. Burleson is determined not to serve Negroes even if it means losing business.

As noted, the campaign to desegregate the Union Station Coffee Shop was launched in February 1961. At that time, fourteen Negro students staged a sit-in demonstration, were refused service and when they refused to leave were arrested on charges of "loitering". After nine hours in jail they were bailed

out by the Houston Medical Forum (a group that claims the membership of all the Negro physicians in the city). The next evening, seventy Negro students demonstrated at the Coffee Shop to protest the arrests. Forty-eight of the demonstrators refused to leave when ordered to do so, and were taken to jail. One young white man who had been with them was abused by other prisoners in both the City and County jails because of his stand in favor of racial equality. On another sit-in demonstration at the same place, a Negro youth was taken for white and received service, which points up the irony of the whole situation.

In August 1961, a group of Freedom Riders from California (affiliated with the Congress of Racial Equality) arrived in Houston. In cooperation with the local Negro groups a new attempt was made to integrate the Union Station Coffee Shop. While in the City Jail the inter-racial group was kept together and there were jokes about the City Jail being the only integrated hotel in Houston.

However when they were transferred to the County Jail, they were separated by race. It was announced in the white cell block that these prisoners were sit-in demonstrators and two of the whites were beaten up by their cell-mates. There is good reason to believe that the aggressors were encouraged by the prison officials. The white demonstrators were convinced that only a few of the regular prisoners were actively hostile, that most of them were indifferent while a few were sympathetic.

The trial of the Freedom Riders took place the first week in September. In spite of the ridiculous testimony of Burleson and the powerful presentation of the defense, the jury found the defendants guilty on the first ballot and fined them \$100 each. At this writing, the verdict is being appealed. The real significance of the trial was the way it exhibited the twisted state of mind of the racists, in the persons of the prosecutor, the complainant and jury.

Mr Burleson was asked by the defense attorney to be explicit and to tell the Court just what he meant by a demonstration. He answered - "A sit-in." When he was asked what he meant by a sit-in, he said it was a group trying to enter his establishment and interfering with his business. He was then asked what characteristics such a group exhibited that differentiated it from any other group entering his place of business. He answered that they were holding a demonstration.

He was then asked if he would consider it a demonstration in case all of the group were white, to which he answered, No. When asked whether it would be regarded as a demonstration if all the group

were Negroes he answered, Yes. He also added that it would be a demonstration if some were white and some were Negro.

He said that he served Negroes in the restaurant only when they were servicemen travelling with white soldiers. He then said that he sometimes served Negroes in the kitchen but never in the front part of the restaurant.

I believe that this is typical of the attitude of racists not only in Houston but throughout the south, and is also the attitude of a great many northerners. The racial question cannot be solved solely by the removal of legal restrictions. The core of the problem is deeply imbedded in the false ethical standards of our insane social system.

There are certain conclusions that I cannot help drawing regarding the sit-in movement as it has developed up to this point in Houston. One characteristic in both the Negro and white communities is the general apathy of most people. In the case of the white people as a whole, few if any would go so far in their hatred of the demonstrators as to form a lynch mob. On the other hand very few of the whites have been willing to work actively with the movement or even to give their moral support. As far as the lunch counter demonstrations were concerned, as soon as they began occurring on a regular basis, the majority of whites, instead of reacting in a hostile manner, simply ignored them.

At the outset, the reaction of most of the Negro people was apathetic, as was shown when so many Negroes regularly disregarded picket signs and entered stores while P.Y.A. pickets were marching outside. Until March 1961, when the first arrest was made, support of the P.Y.A. by the Negro community was meagre. But the courageous example of these young people inspired confidence and aroused solidarity. Since then, various Negro political, professional and labor organizations have come out in active support of the P.Y.A.

It is interesting to note that when the Negro local of the Longshoremens Union invited members of the P.Y.A. to attend their meeting to rally support and solicit funds, the police arrived on the scene acting as if they were suppressing a mob of rioters rather than treating the assembly like the peaceful meeting that it really was. The next morning a crowd of 500 Negroes appeared before the City Council to protest the breaking up of the peaceful meeting by the police. The mayor promised to investigate. So far, nothing has been heard from him on the matter.

Among the Negro students, the P.Y.A. definitely enjoys wide support, but there are only 30 or 35 active

members in the organization. However, while these young people have taken a radical approach to the civil rights issue, their views on other social matters are at best, only liberal. Most of the members impress one as religious patriotic Americans whose goal in life is to be accepted in white bourgeois society. This does not apply to the Freedom Riders who came through here from California. Most of the latter are interested also in pacifism as well as other "isms".

Radical groups must definitely support such grass-roots movements as the P.Y.A., but the radicals should not lose their identity and their own broader perspectives. It must be remembered that such groups as the P.Y.A. may actually be conservative on issues other than civil rights. This is their contradiction.

There are many other conclusions which the reader may draw from my experience or from his own, that can help in working out realistic tactics and enlarge the vision of the fighting anti-discrimination movement, showing it the road of struggle against the social system that is responsible not only for race hatred, but also for human slavery in all its forms.

- H. W.



HELP OUR FRIENDS IN THE CUBAN UNDERGROUND  
Several have been executed and many are now in prison. Send funds to :-

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will speak on :

THE WALRUS AND THE CARPENTER; A study of the science of Militarism and Military Groups.

Friday, June 22nd at 8.30 P.M. at  
No. 12 St. Marks Place, New York City.

It appears that we're being conned by Con-Ed again. The threatening little man who's rolling up his sleeve is trying to tell us something - and it's not that he's interested in the health and well-being of his "fellow workers" ( Don't let the overalls fool you, boys - he's a company man ).

He and his bosses are in the process of building a nuclear reactor to generate electrical power, just 24 miles from New York City. The plant, soon to be completed, will be just outside Peekskill at Indian Point, and will house a 275,000 kilowatt reactor. Speaking of this kind of reactor, Dr. Edward Teller has said (Our Nuclear Future, co-authored with Albert L. Latter) :

" Reactors are now planned which will produce 300,000 kilowatts of electricity. If such a reactor operates for half a year and then explodes and releases its radioactive content into the atmosphere, its radioactivity will be comparable to that of a hydrogen bomb. " (emphasis added)

In fact, Teller goes on to say that it could be worse than a hydrogen bomb, because a nuclear explosion lifts its debris to a higher altitude where the fallout is diluted before descending, but the activity from the explosion of a reactor will lie close to the ground where its long after-life will wreak contamination for a much more disastrous period of time. Such a reactor explosion occurred at an AEC installation in Idaho earlier this year, killing three men. It was 6 days before the plant had cooled enough for rescue teams to recover the last body and the plant hasn't been entered since. This plant was two years old.

Another point, not mentioned by Teller in the quote, is the danger of local pollution from the dumping of radioactive wastes, often buried in the ground, run off into streams, or released into the air. A survey by the Public Health Service showed that in one river - the Miguel - used as a dumping place by a Uranium refinery, the radiation level was 22 times the maximum permissible level.

Fish and Birds around the vicinity of the Hanford, Wash. plant - which use the Columbia River for cooling purposes - show a high level of radioactivity in their systems.

A coalition of unions in Michigan has succeeded in having a 90,000 kilowatt reactor 30 miles from Detroit temporarily halted in its construction by successfully seeking an injunction in the lower courts against the AEC. The case is now before the Supreme Court.

- Robert Wolf

# THE STEEL SETTLEMENT

Following are extracts from letters written to Views and Comments by a militant rank and file steel worker, before and immediately after the recent Steel "Settlement". Although somewhat outdated, the observations of this worker are extremely important. We have heard too much from the side of the bosses, the Government and their labor stooges and not enough from the producers themselves who are the real victims in the situation.

Youngstown, Ohio - In this raw-steel producing section of the country, I have talked with many of my fellow steel-workers. There seems to be no interest in the coming steel strike. There are many who have worked but a few weeks in the past two years. These men only talk of paying off their long overdue bills. All they want is to catch up and to them a strike is worse than being laid off because they won't get state unemployment compensation if a strike is called. The men who have been fortunate enough to work during the "recession" have been working a cut week of only 32 hours instead of the usual forty. All these men think about is trying to put in a full week.

Many times I have pointed out that it is grossly unfair for one man to make a million dollars in one year and another man cannot find enough work to make the small sum of a thousand dollars. I tell them that the profit system has to go. Everyone has listened and a few have even nodded agreement with my ideas. But there is a general apathy in the men. The grinding pressure of regimentation under the profit system has dulled the intellect and verve of my fellow workers.

I have also pointed out that the Steel Union has never once asked me (or anyone else for that matter) what I wanted or needed in regards to my job. The only response I got was a shrug of the shoulders.

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Big Steel and the big steel union are both monsters holding the workingman in such a clutch that he is not able to emit one tiny yelp of protest. Is this statement preposterous? Not at all - but the situation is! We all remember how Donald Rarick was forced out of the union for daring to criticize and for opposing the one-man rule in the steel union. Does this action not prove that a dictatorship exists in the union? What more proof is needed?

I for one did not believe my ears when I heard that a new contract between big steel and the steel union had been signed. It did not ring a bell with me at the time. But since, with recent developments pointing out

the reasons for no strike this year, I realize what a major coup the big steel barons accomplished without a costly shut-down of their plants that would have eaten into their profits.

Why was there such mystery and secrecy when the new contract was signed? The steel workers had to be prepared for being robbed of well-deserved increases in pay and better working conditions. When the news of the terms of the agreement was released such expressions were heard in the steel mills as: "Mac has sold us down the river again", "up the creek without a paddle". One fellow composed a derogatory poem to the tune of "Old MacDonald had a Farm."

More and more of the rank and file of the steel union are beginning to realize that they are exploited not only by big steel and the Government but by the union as well. We have a saying in the mills of being "in the clique", which is simply a term applied to political patronage. To be "in the clique" means that anything is possible but if you are not "in" then your chances are slim for justice in a grievance. As time goes by more and more union members are becoming dissatisfied with the way that the union is being run.

When the \$6 per ton hike in steel prices was announced, I immediately saw and understood the reason why big steel had signed a new contract with the union. A dastardly deed had been perpetrated not only on the steel workers but on the gullible public as well.

Many steel workers are applauding the moves made by President Kennedy, but how many of the millions of unemployed are doing so? Don't forget, the President has been in office for a year and a half and the unemployment problem is becoming more acute as the time goes by.

The general dissatisfaction and sentiment prevalent in the steel mills shows that the time is ripe for us to denounce the big Steelworkers Union and band together into locals that would do away with the dictatorship situation in the union. Instead of kowtowing to the dictatorship of the leaders we could reorganize into small locals and thus have a truer representation of the workers in any given plant or area. If local autonomy can be started in the steel mills, think how this could spread into other industries around the country! This is a fight not only for members of the big Steelworkers Union, but is the fight of every workingman in the country. We should and must agitate for our own locals and tell headquarters to go peddle its deceit elsewhere!

You ask, "How can we accomplish this?" I say that a good start would be -- demanding for the union locals the power of the strike and the control of bargaining in the interests of their own members. Simple. When all the locals have signed up, there is no strike. But

6) if any one local has not come to an agreement with the company, then all the locals should go out on strike until a settlement has been effected.

It is our moral duty to our fellow workers to discuss and develop arguments in favor of decentralizing the big unions. With smaller local unions, the men will lose their apathy and tend to show more interest in their unions and in the conditions where they work. Decentralizing the big unions will be a giant step in the right direction.

gEo.

## EDITORIAL COMMENT

A detailed analysis of the parts played by Labor, Management and Government during and after the steel settlement would take more space than we can spare at this time. Here and now, we shall raise only a few general points. In the power struggle between these three forces, that of the Government has won a major battle. The State has emerged victorious as the strongest pressure institution in American society today. Labor has suffered a crushing defeat, not in an open strike struggle with the steel trust but by the Government pressure for a "non-inflationary settlement". This amounted to about ten cents an hour, the smallest wage increase and the most "moderate" settlement in the history of the industry.

Through Kennedy's "Council of Economic Advisors", the Government has established the precedent that wage increases must not exceed by more than three percent, the average rise in productivity. Demands for shorter hours will not be tolerated. The Government will do everything in its power to prevent strikes which in its opinion "are not in the public interest". Should an unauthorized strike occur, the President would now have the power to postpone it for 80 days without even having to go to Court for an injunction. "Fact Finding Boards" would now be empowered to recommend "settlements". To their everlasting shame, the six top leaders of the AFL-CIO endorsed these anti-labor, anti-strike proposals of the Government.

The Steel Trust -- Number One Giant of American industry -- was severely defeated by the Government when U.S. Steel tried to raise its price by \$6 per ton. The State forced the trust to rescind its increase by exerting enormous legal and economic pressure. The Government threatened the Steel Trust with FBI investigation and prosecution for price fixing. The Administration threatened to hold back defense orders amounting to 28 billion dollars from those companies that did not cooperate with its economic policies.

The Government established the principle that business may only be permitted to raise prices under circumstan-

27) ces and conditions approved and controlled by the State. Present governmental policies are an extension of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal which laid the foundations of State Capitalism in the U.S.A. For three decades the Federal Government has grown progressively stronger in relation to other forces in society.

This latest episode is another demonstration of the nature and function of the modern State. It disproves the Marxist dictum that the State is merely the executive committee of the capitalist class. The conduct of the U.S. Government in this test of strength has shown that the State can play its own independent role. In effect, the State is a class in itself, stronger and able to dominate every other class in society, and strong enough to regulate the economy and effectively dictate the conditions of all social life.

Those who praise the Government for disciplining the Steel Trust, must be prepared to accept also its regulation of labor. Those who, like the editors of the Trotskyist "Militant", call for nationalization of the steel industry must be prepared to accept the consequences of this authoritarian principle.

Authoritarians, whether or not they call themselves "socialists", who advocate nationalization, and endorse further extensions of governmental controls through "welfarism" are advocating a course that leads inexorably to the further curtailment of human liberties. Revolutionists strive for Workers Control of Industry and the abolition of all exploitation be it by private capitalism or by State capitalism.

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## SPAIN -- STRIKE ACTION

A pre-revolutionary situation exists in both Spain and Portugal. That in Portugal was sparked by the seizure of the Santa Maria on the high seas and an uprising in the African colony of Angola. This was followed by a series of demonstrations and military revolts in the homeland.

In Spain, the wave of strikes has involved tens of thousands of workers in all parts of the country. In large part these have been spontaneous. But without the anarcho-syndicalist and socialist traditions that still live on despite a quarter century of fascist rule, such generalized and well coordinated action would not have been possible.

Just as the October uprising of 1934 led by the Asturian miners, was the forerunner of the glorious July Days of 1936, so, this spring's strike movement that centered largely on a new generation of Asturian coal-miners may well be the harbinger of the revolutionary overthrow of Francisco Franco.

Totalitarian regimes and totalitarian parties resemble each other in essentials more than they differ. Similarities carry over into many surface aspects as well. The propaganda agencies of both Madrid and Moscow would have us believe that it is the communists who are responsible for the heroic resistance of the Spanish workers. Nothing could be further from the truth. Although not a major factor in Spain, the communists have benefitted greatly propaganda-wise from the military and economic aid extended to Franco's regime by the U.S. Government. And, in turn, Franco uses the bogey of communism to blackmail the U.S. for continued support.

Under Franco, the vertical "syndicates" organized by Falange are set up on "corporate" lines and embrace both the workers and their employers. These syndicates represent the workers of Spain to the same degree that the Russian "unions" represent the workers of Russia. For the regime they are useful and at times have been effective instruments for controlling the masses.

The Spanish communists have for some time been infiltrating these vertical syndicates, a fact pointed out repeatedly by the press of the Spanish anarchists in exile. It has been their hope to eventually take over intact and "as is", these organisms that are practically tailored for their purposes. The recent strikes against the regime have shown what the Spanish workers think of these vertical syndicates. These falangist "unions" will certainly not be permitted to survive the tyrant's downfall, and certain people are likely to be left out in the cold .... unless of course they are able to succeed in an abrupt about-face and worm their way into the resistance movement as the Catholics are also trying to do.

When the strike in Asturias was three weeks old, a ship manned with sailors and flying the Polish communist flag arrived at the port of Gijon in Asturias with a load of coal. The Spanish stevedores refused to unload the scab cargo. The Polish communist crew did, under the protection of Franco's military forces.

The mounting opposition to Franco is based primarily on the industrial and urban working class with the support of other social forces. In Portugal, democratic liberalism plays a major role as do dissident forces in the army. There is open revolt in the colonies. Beset by insoluble problems, it appears unlikely that the decrepit Salazar dictatorship can survive much longer.

In today's world there is little chance that either of the Iberian dictators could survive the fall of the other. They both totter on the brink of the abyss and whichever is pushed over first will probably drag the other with him. As in 1936, the Spanish workers will find that they must fight on several fronts at once. New revolutionary perspectives will be opened. Their advantageous utilization will depend on the degree to which the lessons of 1936-39 have been learned.

- R. B.

# JUVENTUD LIBRE

FEDERACION IBERICA DE JUVENTUDES LIBERTARIAS

EN UN LUGAR DE LA MANCHA...

MARZO-ABRIL 1962

## HUELGAS

HUELGAS estudiantiles en Barcelona.  
 HUELGAS estudiantiles en Madrid.  
 HUELGAS estudiantiles también en Sevilla.  
 HUELGAS portuarias en Cartagena.  
 HUELGAS recientes obreras en el País Vasco y otras zonas del Norte de España...  
 HUELGAS igualmente recientes en Madrid por parte de los estudiantes de Ciencias Políticas y Económicas...

Es interesante. Es alentador. Es — sobre todo — muy significativo.

El pueblo español ha sido, hasta ahora, el único que (al parecer) ha llegado a olvidar que la huelga es un derecho sagrado, un recurso inalienable, un dispositivo infalible, un arma tan poderosa y eficaz que, aplicada oportunamente da, en todo momento y situación, la victoria al pueblo, por encima y en contra de las coacciones o amenazas de la tiranía.

Las huelgas que ahora se han producido, las que en estos momentos se siguen produciendo, en los diversos puntos de nuestra piel de toro, son otros tantos grandes pasos dados hacia el progreso, hacia la libertad y el orden efectivo, que deberán seguir a la desaparición del fascismo Ibérico.

Recordemos no obstante que las huelgas causan víctimas; estudiantes barceloneses, trabajadores vascos, portuarios andaluces, españoles, en fin, de muy diversas profesiones y edades, irán nuevamente a engrosar el número de las víctimas del franquismo.

Estos hombres, todos los hombres, el pueblo nuestro en su totalidad, reclaman abiertamente la cooperación, el esfuerzo y entusiasmo por la misma causa que todos debemos aportar, en una correspondencia justa a su sacrificio primero, y a nuestro propio interés y dignidad después.

Aprovechamos — cómo no — estas líneas para hacer patente a todos ellos, sin distinción alguna, la profunda, efectiva y sentida solidaridad nuestra y de cuantos como nosotros piensan, y les aseguramos formalmente que su sacrificio no será, en ningún caso, estéril, porque aún hay jóvenes numerosos dispuestos a secundarlo, reconocerlo y abreviarlo.

¡ADELANTE!

*«La verdadera desesperanza no nace de una obstinada adversidad ni del abatimiento de una lucha desigual; se origina cuando uno no advierte más sus razones para la lucha y finalmente cuando hace falta luchar. Nuestra situación expresa claramente que si la lucha es difícil, las razones para luchar, al menos, permanecen siempre claras.»*



*«Sea como sea, hay un límite que no se podrá superar. Durante muchos años hemos comido el pan de la derrota y de la vergüenza. El día de la liberación, en la cuspide de la más grande esperanza, hemos aprendido también que la victoria había sido traicionada y que era necesario renunciar a algunas de nuestras ilusiones. ¿A algunas? Sin duda. Después de todo no somos unos niños. Pero, sin embargo, no a todas, no a nuestra fidelidad más esencial. Sobre ese límite que trazamos está, en todo caso, España, que nos ayuda a ver claro. Ningún combate será justo si se hace, en realidad, contra el pueblo español. Y si se hace contra él se hará sin nosotros. Ninguna Europa, ninguna cultura será libre si se erigen sobre la servidumbre del pueblo español. Y si se erigen sobre esa servidumbre se hará contra nosotros.»*

*«Estas palabras quizás sean inútiles, pero queda sitio para la esperanza. Ninguna derrota será definitiva mientras que el pueblo español guarde su fuerza de combate. Puede ser una paradoja, pero es ese pueblo hambriento, subyugado, el que es guardián de nuestra esperanza. Guardémonos muy bien de creer que la causa republicana vacila. Guardémonos muy bien de creer que Europa agoniza. Lo que agoniza, del Este, del Oeste, son las ideologías.»*



We reproduce above a facsimile of an illegally published newspaper of the Iberian Libertarian Youth. This is one of numerous anarchist papers that have appeared intermittently in the underground in Spain during recent years.