

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.

VIEWS and COMMENTS

of the libertarian league



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WITH THE NEXT ISSUE, Views & Comments will change its
name to:

THE ANARCHIST



SNCC and the vote in dixie



JAMES FARMER'S ANNOUNCEMENT, shortly before Christ-
mas, that CORE was going to "...tighten central control..." over
dissident chapters made apparent what many people have known for
a long time. CORE is in the hands of a public-image conscious bu-
reaucracy. In itself, this is not a particularly startling or even
grave development. What is important in this, however, is that the
militant young people who are drifting away from CORE have but
one organization to go into, SNCC.

Ever since its founding in 1960, the Student Non-Violent Co-
ordinating Committee (SNCC-Snick) has been the only civil rights
movement controlled by students. It is also the only one that rec-
ognizes the full importance of working at the grassroots or very
bottom level.

Unfortunately, SNCC's leadership is also under the impression
that the main way that the poor southern Negro, with whom SNCC
primarily works, is going to win his freedom is through the power
of the vote. For this reason SNCC, for the past three years, has
been concentrating on voter registration.

Undoubtedly there is something to the SNCC argument. Im-
mediately after a Negro senator's election, for instance in Sun-
flower County, Miss., some gains would be made by the Negro
residents. Power however, as we all know, corrupts, and the
Negro political machine which would soon replace the white one,
would not be any better, as the case of Adam Clayton Powell il-
lustrates.

If SNCC had been content to enter the field of politics only as

far as voter registration, the results might not be so bad. It is even possible that the momentum of this program, revolutionary enough for the Deep South, would have pushed SNCC toward more direct action. However, because of a program just started, which is staffed and supported mainly by SNCC workers, the time is past when we could think like that. This project, which according to SNCC carries hope of liberation for the Negro people, is the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP).

This party was founded before the Democratic Convention in August. Under the direction of Aaron Henry and Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer (a SNCC field secretary and a remarkable lady) MFDP hoped to be seated at the convention, instead of the regular Mississippi delegation because it is claimed quite rightly that the Mississippi Democrats were disloyal to the national organization and would not support the Johnson-Humphrey ticket. The MFDP, on the other hand, pledged full support to the Democratic Party. The plan failed, although there was much valuable publicity.

Now, the MFDP is carrying the challenge forward. This involves no less than the ousting from the House of Representatives of the Mississippi delegation on the grounds that it was elected without the Negroes of Mississippi having had a chance to vote for or against it. Again, all this is on a perfectly legal basis. If the laws of this country were applied, the MFDP would have been seated already. The first attempt has already failed.

In my opinion, the whole idea of the MFDP was a grave mistake. Of course as anarchists, we condemn on principle any involvement with the State. One does not have to be an anarchist to realize that every organization that in some way fought for justice has lost its character when it left the streets for the government hall.

The question one asks oneself immediately is, how did SNCC, a group of intelligent militant young people, get involved with the MFDP? The trouble, actually, is with the entire civil rights movement. It has no ideology. The sole goal of SNCC, CORE and the rest, is to somehow make life better for Negroes. There is no agreement on how this is to be done, or what America will look

like when this happens. There are numerous socialists in the movement who see the race problem as directly related to unemployment and poverty; foremost among these is Bayard Rustin. However, for the sake of solidarity, and so as not to lose public support, the socialists and others talk about such matters only in private, or else (like Rustin) use language such as might be employed by George Meany. Thus, the movement, with no fixed political ideas, has no foundation upon which to base its actions.

What consequences does the continuation of the MFDP project hold for SNCC? I am not very optimistic. If the present state of affairs continues, several things are likely: (1) as greater emphasis is placed on influencing government officials, by such means as ceasing demonstrations, a small group of shrewd political types might come to power in SNCC. One can imagine a single man giving the order to "cut all activity for a while." This might then happen for about a year, as field secretaries tried to control the rural population after arousing it, believing that it is in the best interests of the movement. Such a situation would almost surely lead to a split, with the best people leaving SNCC. (2) There is also danger that SNCC would become popular with the power structure and with the people, as political activity within the framework of the two-party system is so highly regarded here. In the stage it is right now, even when they are accused of being controlled by Communist China, the SNCC workers, for the most part, care very little about public opinion.

A little success in this field could be a dangerous thing however. Popularity and power are closely allied, and people like to give up neither. Again, as a result of less militant action, a split would be very likely.

It is sad that one can even make such predictions. SNCC's leadership seems determined to continue in politics. They will have to reckon with the consequences. My tone throughout this article is rather critical. This is only because I think that the subject is so crucial. SNCC right now is the best civil rights organization. Its staff is made up of dedicated young people who daily face incredible dangers. This is true, no matter what mistakes they make.

-- P.K.

cuba:

REVOLUTION AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION

THE FOLLOWING, TRANSLATED from Accion Libertaria
(Organ of the Argentine Libertarian Federation Buenos Aires, July
1961), is even more applicable today.

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 em-
ployee 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 sub-
servient to the governing clique—THIS IS COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

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

But to deliver the country to some foreign powers under the pre-
tense 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 exterminat-
ing as counter-revolutionaries, those who oppose communist infil-
tration 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 obliga-
tory 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.

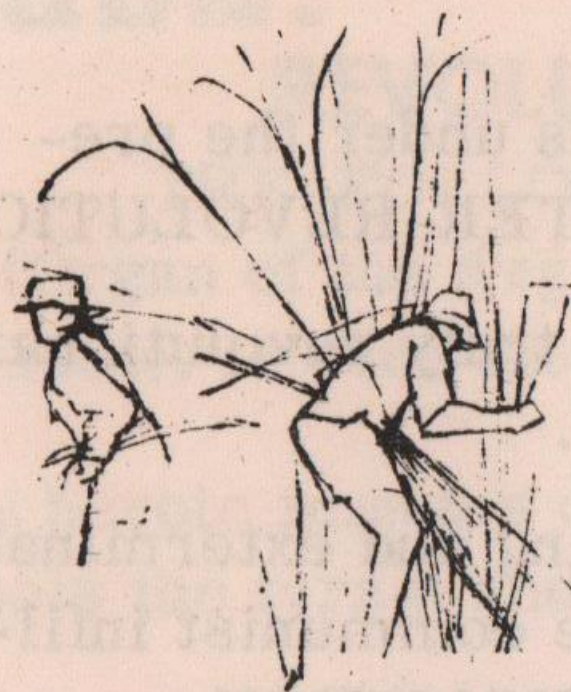
To give the labor unions full freedom to organize and administer
themselves as the basic organs of the new economy—THAT IS
REVOLUTION.

But to stamp these with the seal of subordination to the dominant re-
gime—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.

(continued on p. 25)



Who Were the Cuban Anarchists ?

The Cuban libertarians have a history of activity going back to the period of Spanish colonial rule. The roots of Cuban anarcho-syndicalism are to be found in the early Spanish movement. The struggle against the colonial regime, decimated their ranks so that the early period of the Republic inherited the almost leaderless remains of what had been a bigger movement. But the seed was there and the continuity was never really broken. The fight against the Machado dictatorship in the twenties and early thirties also cost us the lives of numerous comrades. This was followed by the intense activity of the 30s and early 40s, which was a time of constant struggle against the Stalinists for influence in the labor movement. During this period the libertarians collaborated with the Trotskyists in the Labor Federation of Habana which they jointly influenced. The commies entered into collaboration with Batista under the banner of a "Peoples Front" against the interests of the workers and the people. The formula was simple: The Communists were subsidized and given control of the labor unions and they in turn supported the political regime in which they participated as minority partners.



In the mid and later 50s, the Libertarian Association of Cuba (ALC) had functioning local groups (delegations) in Habana, Pinar del Río, San Cristóbal, Artemisa, Ciego de Avila and Manzanillo, as well as a heavy scattering of members elsewhere. Their sympathizers and influence were in complete disproportion to their actual membership. Anarcho-syndicalist groups consisting usually of a few members and a larger number of sympathizers existed in many local and regional unions as well as in other organizations. The following is a partial listing (from one exile comrade's memory) of the libertarian activities and influences in the six provinces of

Cuba. The listing is by provinces and municipalities from west to east.

PROVINCE OF PINAR DEL RIO

City of Pinar del Río - There was a delegation of the ALC that coordinated the activities in the province and which on occasion ran local radio programs. In addition, our comrades influenced and participated in the leadership of the following unions: tobacco workers, food workers, electricians, construction workers, carpenters, transport workers, bank employees and medical workers. The magazines of the tobacco, bank workers and electricians unions were edited by libertarians.

San Juan y Martínez - Libertarians influenced and led the tenant farmers union which covered a large agricultural zone.

Viñales - a comrade pharmacist personally influenced various activities of local civic institutions.

San Cristóbal - There was a delegation of the ALC whose members influenced and led the Municipal Agrarian Association, the Sugar Workers Union and the Association of Tobacco Harvesters, exerting also some influence among metal workers and commercial employees.

Artemisa - There was a delegation of the ALC. The libertarians influenced and led the Tobacco Workers Union (one of the strongest in Cuba) having also some influence in transport, sugar and food industries as well as among high school students. The group also had occasional radio programs.

PROVINCE OF LA HABANA

City of La Habana - Seat of the National Council of the ALC, which also functioned as the Local Delegation. Edited the newspaper El Libertario (formerly Solidarity) which had been able to appear with but few interruptions since 1944. There were occasional radio programs and some books and pamphlets were published. There were weekly forums at the headquarters and public mass meetings were occasionally held in La Habana and other points throughout the country.

Our comrades influenced and participated in the leadership of the following unions: Electricians, food workers, transport, shoemakers, fishermen, woodworkers, medicine, metal and construction. To a lesser degree their influence was felt among the dockers, slaughterhouse workers, movie industry, graphic arts, and journalists, as well as in the Naturist Association and the Spanish Republican Circle. In the food workers sector, the libertarian group published a monthly periodical "Solidaridad Gastronómica" for over eight years without interruption. Libertarians wrote regularly for the publications of the unions of other industries imparting what doctrinal orientation they could. Sporadically, it was possible to influence various professional and student organizations.

Arroyo Naranjo - In this town our comrades influenced and led the Parents, Neighbors and Teachers Association, the Progressive Cultural Association and the Consumers Cooperative.

Santiago de las Vegas - Here our members sparked the "Mas Luz" Library, and the Cultural Lyceum.

San Antonio de los Baños - Influence in the Workers Circle and among the tobacconists.

PROVINCE OF MATANZAS

City of Matanzas - Some influence in the textile, graphic arts and bank employees unions as well as in the Spanish Republican Circle.

Limonar - Strong influence in the Sugar Workers Union.

Cárdenas - Some influence among commercial employees and in the Secondary School.

Colón - Influence in the tobacco workers union.

Itabo - Influence and leadership in salt workers union.

PROVINCE OF LAS VILLAS

Santa Clara - Some influence in the electricians union.

Camajuani - Influence in the tobacco selectors union.

Zaza del Medio - Some influence in the Association of Tobacco Harvesters.

Isabela de Sagua - Some influence in the dockers union.

Sancti-Spiritus - Influence in the unions of construction workers and medicine, and also in the Association of Secondary School Students.

PROVINCE OF CAMAGUEY

Camagüey - Strong influence in the Agrarian Federation and some in the railway workers union and journalists.

Jatibonico - Strong influence in the Sugar Workers Union and in the peasants' association.

Ciego de Avila - There was a delegation of the ALC which for a time maintained a daily radio hour. Influence in the peasants association, medical workers union and among the sugar workers of the Steward and Estrella Centrals.

Santa Cruz del Sur - Influence in peasant organizations and in the Santa Marta sugar central.

Morón - Influence in the sugar central Violeta. Active among the tobacco harvesters of Tamarindo and in the Agricultural Union of Florencia.

Nuevitas - Traditionally this zone has always had strong libertarian tendencies. Together with Morón it can be considered the cradle of the strong anarcho-syndicalist movement of the 20s. For decades there was no other socio-political movement in the region. In the 40s there was an active ALC delegation in Nuevitas that took the initiative in the formation of various unions and of the local peasants association which was the best known peasants organization of the island. It seized a large extension of uncultivated farmland establishing the Cooperative of Santa Lucía. In the ensuing struggle with the landlords and the Government, there were killed and wounded on both sides including one ALC member. The peasants won and retained possession of the land.

PROVINCE OF ORIENTE

Santiago de Cuba - Strong influence in the food workers union and some in textiles and transport.

Victoria de las Tunas - Some influence in the sugar workers union.

Holguín - At one time there had been a delegation of the ALC - some influence remaining in local unions.

Bayamo - Some influence among electricians and in the Peasants Association.

Palma Soriano - Influence in the Union of Commercial Employees.

Manzanillo - Delegation of the ALC with influence among food workers and carpenters.

Contramaestre - The Miners union here had been organized and was still influenced by the libertarians.

San Luís - Some influence among bakers, commercial employees and sugar workers.

Guantánamo - Many years ago the Coffee Producers Cooperative of Monte-Rus was organized by libertarians and since then the anarchist influence has remained strong in the area, especially among the sugar workers and peasants.



During the struggle against Batista those of our comrades not then in prison or who had not been forced into exile by being too well known as enemies of the tyranny, were in the forefront of the struggle in many localities.

When Batista collapsed, there were in the Province of Pinar del Río, attempts by several peasant groups under libertarian influence to establish agricultural collectives. These were set up by the local people who seized the land they had been working. However the Government of Fidel Castro promptly saw the danger to itself of such action and crushed the collectives by force. State farms have been established in their place. Big Brother felt he knew best!

--R.B.

Labor Notes

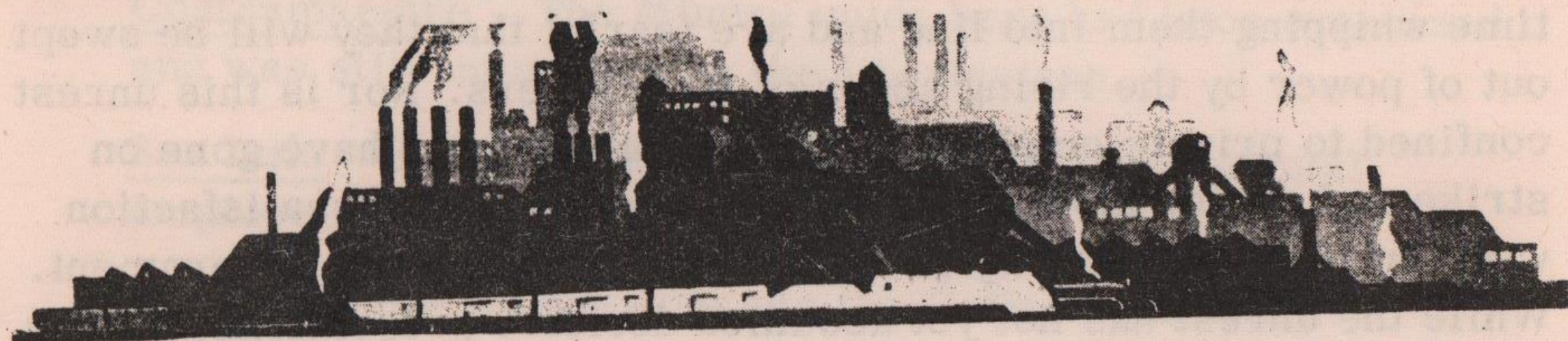


THE STABILITY OF the American economic system depends upon "partnership" between big business, the labor tycoons who, through their command of the intricate bureaucratic apparatus, control the unions, and, last but not least, the Government. The union leadership can remain in power only if the membership can be pressured into accepting agreements made by the "partners." Now, the dictatorship of the leaders is being threatened by the revolt of rank and file workers at the plant and local levels. Union officials seeking re-election, or negotiating new agreements must at last reckon with the wishes of the "lowly" members. They are having a hard time whipping them into line and are fearful that they will be swept out of power by the rising anger of the workers. Nor is this unrest confined to private employers. Municipal workers have gone on strike and more; more workers are voicing their dissatisfaction with settlements made by pressure from the Federal Government. While the unrest has not yet assumed decisive proportions, it does (as the following examples show) herald a new spirit of militancy, so badly needed in the labor movement.

STEEL

At this writing the close election race between the incumbent, David McDonald, and the challenger, I. W. Abel, Secretary-Treasurer for the \$50,000 per year presidency of the 1,200,000 member Steelworker's Union, is still in doubt (Abel is leading slightly, and both sides are accusing each other of stealing the election). There is no real difference between the rivals. As one steelworker remarked, "Both Abel and McDonald have been sleeping in the same bed for 20 years!" Abel was a loyal member of the McDonald administration, helped frame its policies and cooperated 100% in stamping out any and all opposition. Abel as a seasoned politician, cleverly exploited the widespread resentment of the steelworkers, by voicing their just grievances against McDonald. He felt that the rank and file sentiment was strong enough to sweep him into office.

Steelworkers know Abel's sorry record. The vote is not so much FOR Abel as it is AGAINST the McDonald policies. The issues in the campaign illustrate some of the grievances of the workers. The right to call local strikes in order to correct plant grievances even after a national agreement is signed. The rank and file must have full power to define new contract demands with full power to enforce compliance. No repetition of the four-year wage freeze shall be incorporated in the new agreement. More money and shorter hours, better protection against automation, and the bosses shall no longer have any part in formulating union policy through the infamous "Human Relations Committee." The workers are in no mood for nonsense. If the winner of the election does not deliver the goods when the new contract comes up on May 1st, the workers may follow the example of the auto workers and shut down the mills by widespread unauthorized strikes.



LONGSHOREMEN

On 12/16/64, after six months of bargaining, the top officials of the Longshoremen's union, assisted by Federal mediators worked out a new four year contract with the East and Gulfport shipping companies subject to ratification by the local unions. It provided for an 80 cent hourly wage increase over a four-year period, a guaranteed annual wage, and a minimum of 1,600 hours work annually. The union leaders boasted that this was the best contract ever negotiated. When the workers refused to ratify the agreement, the negotiating team was stunned. Four out of six Baltimore locals rejected the contract. The men insisted that they were getting the worst of the bargain. 15 percent of the workers would lose their jobs, speed-up and work loads would be increased, the employers would be free to introduce job-cutting devices, they would have less control over working conditions and many of the favorable provisions would be cancelled out by obscure restrictions imbedded in the intricate contract.

the libertarian bookshelf

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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 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 Cockpit : Borkenau	2.25
The Spanish Labyrinth: Gerald Brennan	1.95
Homage to Catalonia : Orwell	1.25
Lessons of the Spanish Revolution : V. Richards	1.00
Spain, The Revolution of 1936 : Anarchy No. 525
The Truth About Spain : Rocker15
The Tragedy of Spain : Rocker10
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Spain : Souchy10
The Tragic Week in May : Souchy15
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Memoirs of a Revolutionist : Kropotkin	1.45
Marx, Proudhon & European Socialism : Jackson95
Testimonial to Rudolph Rocker25
Letters of Sacco and Vanzetti	1.85
The London Years (autobiographical) : Rocker	2.00
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Sexual Freedom for the Young : Hewetson50
Pioneers of American Freedom : Rocker	2.00
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To Hell with Culture : H. Read	1.75
Delinquency : A. Comfort15
Food Production & Population : Tony Gibson10
The Expanding Environment : Gutkind	1.75
Hungary '56 : Anderson50

Longshoremen registered their objections not only by votes but by action. Half the Port of New York was tied up by "wildcat" strikes. Direct action protests took place in Philadelphia, Baltimore and other ports. The union leaders refused to respect the unmistakable mandate of the membership. On the pretext that the workers did not "understand" the contract, they called for another vote. The union machine went all out to pressurize the workers into accepting the contract. They were assisted by the Federal Government. The Assistant Secretary of Labor threatened the rank and file opposition with FBI prosecution as "subversives." The agreement was finally ratified. But the dockworkers in the South Atlantic and West Gulf ports, are at this writing, still on strike. "Temporary" injunctions forcing the men in settled ports to go back to work were issued. It is ironic that a government ostensibly committed to eradication of unemployment endorses an agreement which puts men out of work!

NEW YORK CITY WELFARE WORKERS

There is no fundamental difference between drafting men into the armed forces and compelling people to work against their will. This principle is legalized on the provincial level by the N. Y. State Conden-Wadlin Law. This law prohibits strikes by public employees. Like the Public School Teachers union a few years ago, the public welfare workers servicing relief clients, were also, whether they knew it or not, challenging the authority of the State by going on strike. For this, the strike leaders were jailed, workers threatened with dismissal, loss of two days pay for each strike day, demotion and loss of tenure.

The strike ended with a compromise which left the principle of the law intact. It is understandable that city and state officials, by virtue of their position, should applaud the agreement. But, that representatives of the labor movement should recommend so outrageous a compromise is despicable!



The disappointing results should demonstrate to more and more workers that sympathy and some financial support are not enough. The relatively few strikers could not successfully fight such a vast power apparatus alone.

As the number of manual workers dwindles because of automation, the bulk of the workers will be employed in the technical and service industries. In the past "white collar" and professional workers were hard to organize and more reluctant to strike. This strike demonstrates that the will to fight does not depend upon occupation.

--S.W.



Congo:

GREENBACKS AND BLACK BLOOD

A MOST EXTRAORDINARY set of swindlers and self-serving butchers have found an unending fountain of sacrificial victims to meet their whims and ambitions: Fourteen million black inhabitants of the Congo.

More than three-quarters of Congolese live in small villages, in large families. They tend gardens of manioc, keep a few chickens, and perhaps share a goat or two. Most are reasonably sure that when they die, they will rejoin their fathers and grandfathers in the land of the dead. In the meanwhile they must make do with the living. And it isn't easy. There never was much cash to be earned (\$60 or \$70

per capita income per year say the books...and that is a highly distorted figure). There is even less now. The cotton, the rubber, palm kernels they once grew and gathered can no longer be sold. The old side-paddle riverboats have stopped navigating. And if one is lucky enough to live near a road, one is more likely to be visited by a column of armed men than a company agent. Whether these men will be white mercenaries, rebel simbas, or Mobutu's own troops is unimportant; behind them will leave dead men, raped women, and burning huts. The chickens and the goats will be in the trucks.

The immortal gods will not help them. So they cry to the mortal ones: The Batetela to the heirs of Lumumba, the Bakonge to Kasavubu, the Balunda to Tshombe, the Bayeke to Munungo, the youth of Kwilu to Mulele, the peoples of North Kivu to Kashamura... to Soumialot, Gizenga, Kamitatu, Bomboko... even to the dead Sendwe.

The leaders are busy plotting and ruining. One has his Swiss bank account (one? No...most). Another worries about his string of brothels, or newspapers, or general stores. A third, under house arrest, waits for his daily hemp ration. A fourth collects Cadillacs and Mercedes. Yet another issues manifestoes and declarations from Nairobi or Cairo.

In Washington, Averell Harriman tells a group of specialists: "Make no mistake, gentlemen; it is the Chinese we are facing in the Congo." The rest doesn't interest him. Last November, when he ordered the paratroop attack on Stanleyville, he was certain the rebellion would collapse. Now, in spite of the fact that it is clear the rebels can control a good third of the country indefinitely, he still obstinately clings to a "military solution."

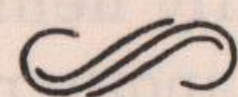
In Nairobi, Thomas Kanza, ex-Harvard student, a rebel only because his father quarreled with Kasavubu and thus joined Lumumba, is talking with an Egyptian: "How many light machine guns, how many land mines, how many rifles," he asks. The Egyptian smiles: "I don't know. We count in plane-loads."

In Leopoldville, Tshombe waves to the crowd. Why do they cheer when barely a year ago they were hissing? Because he filled the stores with goods. The shelves were bare when Adoula left. Who

cares if his secret police have executed 600 men in Stanleyville since November? Who cares if men are killed right here daily, because they once voted for Lumumba's MNC? Tomorrow you may lose the job at the ministry, or blackmarket dollars may rise again.

In Brussels, Monsieur Spaak is worried. The Yankees are making inroads into the Société General (they now hold two directorships). What is one Belgian bank against the power of the Rockefellers, the Guggenheims, the Duponts? We must have order in the Congo! Half the economy has collapsed since 1960. The plantation houses in the north lie empty. Cotton, tea, coffee ripen on the bush and drop to the ground. Spaak signs the voucher on his desk. Another million for the mercenaries. Fortunately, copper, manganese, cobalt, uranium production remain constant.

In New York, a young Congolese student gets off the plane and shivers in the cold. In his diary he has written: "Oh my father, Oh my mother whom I have left behind. My friends told me I must travel and learn, but now I am afraid. When I return, will I find only your blood on the ground and bits of dried entrail?"



Traditionally, the Congo was little more than a neat system of overlapping economic concessions governed by the usual rules of corporative finance. An administrative skeleton representing "government" existed in the person of a few thousand colonial officers. Only in southern Katanga and in Kivu had whites settled in any number.

The blacks were forbidden to form political associations, discouraged from seeking secondary education, encouraged to study the catechism, and to obey their chiefs. There was little opportunity to mix with peoples from other tribes. Even in the towns, those speaking the same dialect tended to stick together. The peoples of the Congo were hopelessly fragmented socially, for even the most rudimentary forms of inter-group communication and cooperation had been denied them.

On these foundations their leaders and ex-masters decided to

build a nation-state. And as if that wasn't absurd enough, they then decided to invoke universal suffrage as a basic instrument of organization. Within a few months, two hundred political parties announced themselves. But only three had any power basis: Kasavubu's Abako in the Leopoldville region, outlet to the sea, banking and administrative center of the colony; Tshombe's Conakat in western and southern Katanga, a region producing between 60 and 70 percent of the Congo's wealth; and Lumumba's Mouvement National Congolais, in Stanleyville, Sankuru, Lomani, Uele, the agricultural parts of the Congo.

Since 1960, the story of the Congo has been that of this three-cornered fight. Not far behind Tshombe, always, was the Société General, the Lambert Bank, the Empain Bank and other large investment groups. And the largest of these was the Kingdom of Belgium. Hardly a major concession exists that does not have Government investment (Unilever, sole purchasers of the Congo's palm oil is perhaps the only exception).

Just as the Congo was a fictitious political entity when a colony, so it remains today as a sovereign nation-state.

None of the three centers is strong enough to hold all the Congo, either by itself or in coalition with one another. Men in power, however, cannot accept this axiom. Thus mercenaries and Central Government troops are hurling themselves into the northern bush in the futile hope of somehow "controlling" the area. As the control evaporates, more equipment, more men will be brought in. Villages will be "resettled" to isolate them from rebel guerrilla bands. Trails into the Sudan and Uganda will be mined. Refugees will start pouring out into neighboring countries. And all this time, the rebel numbers will grow.

Which way will the Baluba of northern Katanga go? They are good mine workers, the Baluba. One finds coal, tin, tungsten in their region. They are now siding with Leopoldville. But they have suffered at the hands of Tshombe's mercenaries. They could swing to Gbenye and the rebels.

The Stanleyville paratroop drop was a profound political mistake, not because it precipitated an anti-American tirade on the

parts of most African states (that is mainly talk), but because it committed the U.S. firmly to the Tshombe regime. And Tshombe, while astute enough as regional leader, is an incompetent national politician.

The lives of hundreds of thousands of Africans can be spared only if the jackal-like bands of leaders compromise on the division of power. Cyril Adoula proposed just such a plan not so long ago. Spaak, anxious to settle the dust a little, took it seriously enough. So did the rebels. "Let's talk," said Soumialot. But in Washington, the proposals for reconciliation talks were dismissed with contemptuous silence, as have all other previous attempts at reconciliation. Thus in Leopoldville, when Adoula's name is mentioned, people spit. Soon, it will be blood they cough up.

It is not unlikely that, eventually, partition along standard cold war lines will come to the Congo. It will be an insane solution, and at the most, only temporary. No solution will assure peace, prosperity and progress. The people have no voice and will have none within our lifetime. There will be a succession of self-appointed messiahs, outside meddlers, influence peddlers. Yet a political accommodation of sorts is possible if the Congolese were left to work out their affairs alone.

What is Tshombe without Belgian subsidies? Nothing but the son-in-law of a paramount chief of one region.

What is Gbenye without Tshombe? Nothing but the "spokesman" of a conglomeration of tribes from the northern Congo.

What is Nendaka without his secret police and private assassins? An exile on the Riviera, nothing more.

And so on.

Let the United States take its grubby hands off the Congo. They have enough trouble of their own without being burdened with our own dirty little paranoiac minds.

Social Conflict & Authority

CLASS AND CLASS CONFLICT IN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY.

Ralf Dahrendorf. Stanford University Press, Stanford, Calif. 1961.
\$6.50

"Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society" is a book in which Ralf Dahrendorf, sociology professor at the Hamburg School of Economics, attempts to explain the existence of social conflict and of continuing social change by a radical reorientation of the science of sociology.

Mr. Dahrendorf sets the stage for his analysis by contrasting the theories of Marx and those of present-day sociologists, and by rejecting them both. His criticism of Marx seems fairly standard, and rests mainly on the assertion that human motivations are not purely economic and on the pointing out of the evolution of a comparatively nonviolent regulation of the conflict between worker and capitalist. While one can almost hear the gloating of the apologists for capitalism in the background of this last point, it is reassuring to see that Dahrendorf can admit the truth of this inescapable fact and then continue to undermine their position as well.

Present-day sociologists, according to Dahrendorf, view society not in terms of class conflict, but of what he calls the "integration theory," whose father was in the main, Talcott Parsons. He summarizes it as follows:

1. Every society is a relatively persistent, stable structure of elements.
2. Every society is a well-integrated structure of elements.
3. Every element in a society has a function, i.e., renders a contribution to its maintenance as a system.
4. Every functioning social structure is based on a consensus of values among its members.

Dahrendorf discusses this theory and finally rejects it on two grounds: firstly, on its failure to account for outbreaks of violence and secondly, on its failure to account for social change.

In its place he proposes a theory of his own, which he calls the "coercion theory." In this theory he conceives of social change as a product of an eternal conflict between rulers and ruled, and explains how any society, capitalist or other, must develop into a state of class war:

The formation of conflict groups of the class type follows a pattern that can be described in terms of a model involving the following partly analytical, partly hypothetical steps:

1. In any imperatively coordinated association, two, and only two, aggregates of positions may be distinguished, i.e., positions of domination and positions of subjection.
2. Each of these aggregates is characterized by common latent interests; the collectivities of individuals corresponding to them constitute quasi-groups.
3. Latent interests are articulated into manifest interests; the quasi-groups become the recruiting fields of organized interest groups of the class type.

Dahrendorf then proceeds to apply this theory to an analysis of present-day society, which he calls "post-capitalism." The most significant development of this society is the introduction of conflict regulation through intervention on the part of the political state. Largely a product of this is what he calls the "encapsulation of industry," whereby rights and behavior patterns become less dependent on one's position in the productive process. This does not, however, eliminate the existence of class conflict. "Like its precursor advanced industrial society is a class society. Concept and theory of class are still applicable."

The rise of living standards does not affect the existence of this conflict:

For the emergence of social conflicts the

standard of living of their participants is in principle irrelevant, for conflicts are ultimately generated by relations of authority, i.e. by the differentiation of dominating and subjected groups. Even if every worker owns a car, a house, and whatever other comforts of civilization there are, the root of industrial class conflict is not eliminated, but hardly touched. Social conflict is as universal as the relations of authority and imperatively coordinated associations, for it is the distribution of authority that provides the basis and cause of its occurrence.

Joint-stock schemes and the involvement of government representatives fail to eliminate the conflict:

If a person occupies a position of domination in an enterprise, it is irrelevant in principle whether his authority is based on property, election by a board of directors, or appointment by a government agency. For the latent interests of the incumbents of positions of authority, their incumbency of these positions is the sole significant factor.

Democratic representation does not necessarily decrease the conflict between rulers and ruled:

There is already, in many Western countries, a widespread feeling that "it does not matter for whom one casts one's vote," because "whatever one votes, the same people will always rule." This state of affairs corresponds suspiciously closely to the dichotomous image of society according to which it makes no difference whether "they" call themselves representatives of the workers or of the employers. It also corresponds to the actual collusion which is so general a feature among the representatives of political parties.

Thus, according to Dahrendorf, social conflict is never resolved; at best it is only channeled into nonviolent means of expression. The end product of this process is a socialist bureaucracy, which prevents the still unresolved conflict from breaking out into the open by institutional means, the chief of these being enforced compromise and delay. The conflict of worker vs. capitalist is not extinguished in this new society—it is only transformed into conflict between those who exercise political authority and those who do not.

Because Mr. Dahrendorf envisions this final conflict as a struggle for nothing more than the occupation of positions of political power, he resigns himself to the conclusion that it is a conflict that will continue forever. It would be interesting to see what he would have to say about a conflict between those who have political power and those who do not, in the case where the aim of the subjected party is the complete abolition of political power itself. Because he never in his analysis takes this final step, it cannot be considered strictly anarchist. His book, however, is a well-documented argument in support of the anarchist picture of present society.

--Walter Coy

CNT-FAI pins

\$1.50



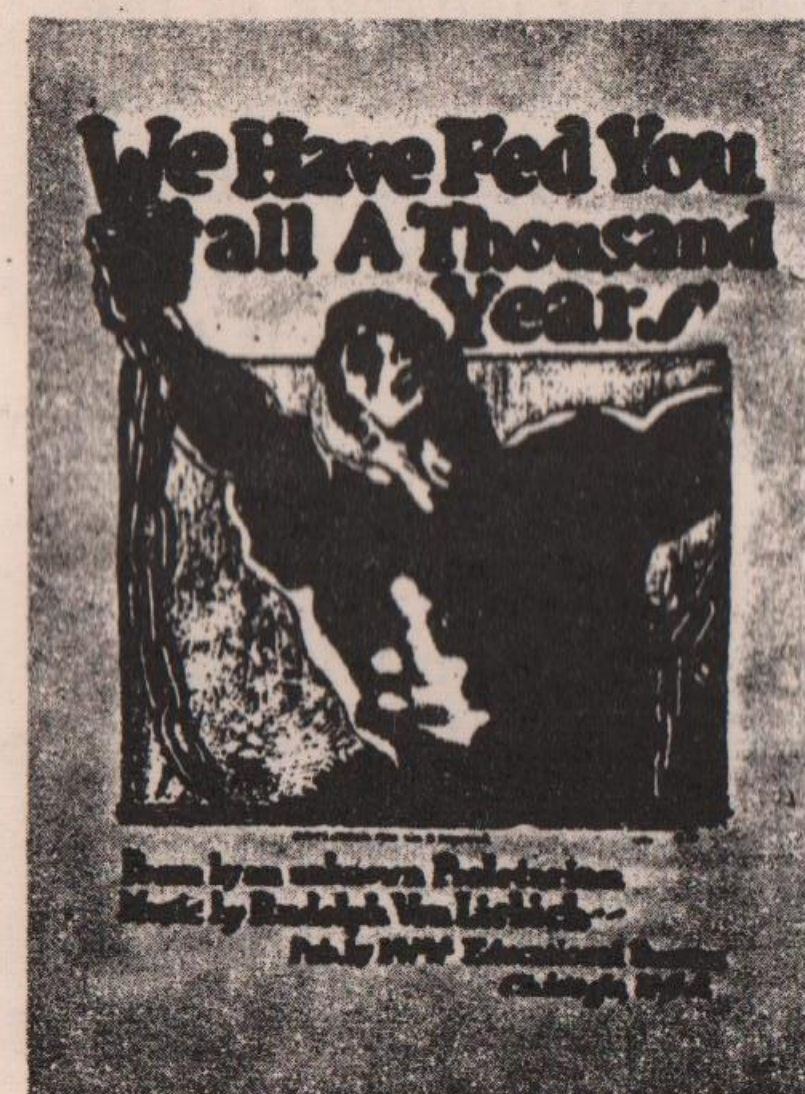
A remarkably absent-minded comrade recently turned up a box of these rare, red-and-black enamel metal pins dating back to the Spanish Revolution. To order, write to the Libertarian League, indicating which of the two you want.

(22)

The Wob in History

REBEL VOICES, An IWW Anthology: Edited with comments by Joyce L. Kornbluh. The University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1964, \$12.50.

THIS IS A BIG, handsome book measuring eight and a half by eleven plus inches, 419 pages long. Each section relates the important events in the 60 year history of the IWW and tells about the



outstanding personalities who participated in its struggles. Mrs. Kornbluh lets wobblies tell the story of the IWW through selections of their own writings, cartoons, photographs, pamphlets, books, etc. Each section is introduced by Mrs. Kornbluh. There are also excerpts from the fields of social psychology, government labor literature, from theses published and unpublished. And there is an excellent glossary of wobbly 'lingo' much of which has been incorporated into and enriched the American language. The index alone is a gold mine of information for anyone interested in IWW history.

Taking into account the complex and widespread activities of the IWW, one is impressed with the enormous task of selection of materials with which Mrs. Kornbluh was confronted. On the whole, she displayed good judgment in her selections, bringing together under one cover data never published before, or long out of print. These selections from IWW sources mirror vividly, not only the events themselves, but what is equally important, the wobbly self-image.

(23)