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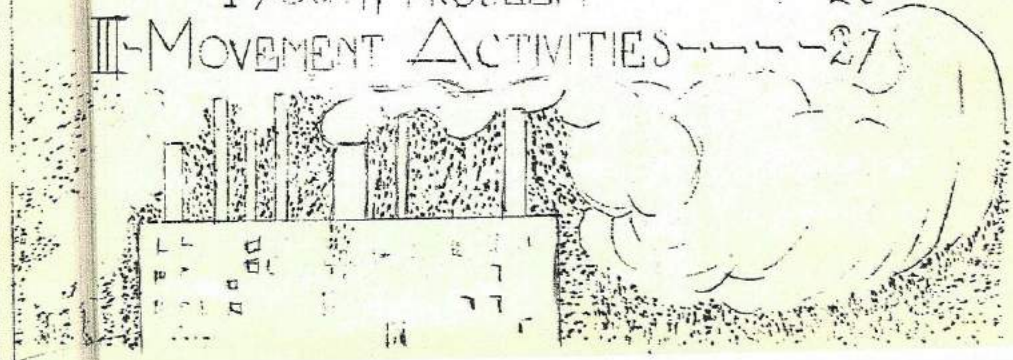
MOVEMENT BULLETIN

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Table of Contents

TITLE	PAGE
I-OPEN LETTER	1
II-RESOLUTIONS	3
a-GENERAL LINE OF TACTICS	3
b-WAR	5
c-UNEMPLOYMENT	8
d-NEGRO TOILERS	9
e-FARM PROBLEM	10
f-THE THREAT OF INDUSTRIAL FEUDALISM	12
g-COOPERATIVES & COLONIES	14
h-REVOLUTIONARY UNITED FRONT	17
III-LABOR MOVEMENT	
1-Labor Unions	18
2-Future Labor Party	19
j-STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM	20
k-PRINCIPALS OF ORGANIZATION	22
l-YOUTH PROBLEM	26
III-MOVEMENT ACTIVITIES	27



OPEN LETTER

It appears that the first Movement Bulletin was not exactly a howling success. We blame ourselves entirely for this because of the poor appearance of the Bulletin. We know that it was practically impossible to read, and therefore we are determined to try all over again. On that ground we take the liberty to reprint the Open Letter To The Comrades which appeared in the first Bulletin, as well as the six Resolutions which were printed there, plus five more Resolutions on problems which we discussed since then. The Letter follows:

This Bulletin is not meant to rival any existing Anarchist papers or publications.

This Bulletin cannot rival any publications in the field because its purpose is not that of a paper or magazine.

It is not meant for circulation outside of the Movement. By "Movement" we mean those groups now in existence and functioning in the various languages in the United States and Canada, as well as those individual comrades who do not yet belong to any group but are desirous of working within the Movement.

By "Movement" we refer only to the Anarchist Communist Movement--that is, the above-mentioned groups and comrades who accept the tenets and principles of Anarchist Communism as their basic philosophy and starting point from which to attack current social problems and pursue suitable tactics and program befitting the current scene.

We are not interested in opening the pages of this Bulletin to long and windy philosophical articles on the merits and demerits of Anarchist Individualism versus Anarchist Communism. We are interested in devoting this Bulletin to inner Movement discussion destined to work out a program--an inclusive and cohesive program--with which we can go out and approach the workers and farmers of this country.

To this end we are taking the first step: we are incorporating within this issue of the Bulletin resolutions representing the conclusions upon which the Libertarian Workers Group has agreed after a number of Programmatic Discussion Meetings devoted to the problems dealt with. We would suggest that the groups throughout the country inaugurate likewise such Programmatic Discussion Meetings for the purpose of discussing these first resolutions. (We will, in the meantime, discuss other important problems of the day which we will publish in coming issues. In this manner we will try to work out a complete program.) The analyses should be recorded and sent to the Bulletin which will then become the medium for threshing out existing differences and achieving that unity of outlook, unity of thought, unity of program which is the primary condition for proceeding to the next important stage, namely, Unity of Action.

At present, the various groups scattered throughout the country, too few and small to satisfy any of us, are each carrying their own activities, with varying degrees of devotion and militance. To an objective observer, the condition of our Movement must appear chaotic and the life of the Movement haphazard. Each proceeds in his own fashion

that this condition represented an already greatly demoralized Movement, one could easily predict that such a condition must lead inevitably to the demoralization of a Movement. We are not now at the stage where, possessing a Movement, we must take action to prevent its demoralization and degeneration. We are at the stage where we must shake off the ashes and dead cinders that threaten to smother the little life still to be found in the faint glimmerings of a few live embers scattered about in the dying fire. We must rake these few embers together so they can nourish each other somewhat and by their mutual aid, perhaps, start the flame that must one day consume all of the old society and establish the New in its place.

In other words, we must try to achieve Unity of Action. We must have a common program throughout the country and we must try to work out more or less similar tactics, varying in degree to reflect local conditions, but not in kind.

To this end, we propose that the Bulletin serve as the means of exchanging opinions as to the type of work it is possible for us to conduct in our present state of limited forces. To start the ball rolling, we will list the activities we are at present conducting and plan to conduct in the immediate future.

This Bulletin is of an intimate character, meant only for the comrades in the Movement itself. Its contents dealing with the proposed Program and Activities for the Movement, it should never get into the hands of outsiders, since it will reflect relentlessly, for some time to come, the weakness of our Movement and will at all times deal with inner Movement problems only.

This Bulletin will not be published at regular periods or intervals---at least not at the beginning. It will appear as more of our program is worked out; as the response from the groups and comrades shows an interest to discuss the Program and achieve a single program for all the groups; and as suggestions and proposals for activities are made. A special edition may be brought out to deal with one particular problem or emergency. For such situations, other groups may also suggest or request that a special number be issued and distributed within the Movement.

In other words, the publication date is not fixed; the number of pages is not fixed; the contents are not fixed so long as they deal with Movement Program and Activities and so long as the Movement is confined to the Anarchist Communists.

Knowing the condition of the Movement, we make no requests for money. We are content to stand expenses and the burden of work involved alone--on one condition: instead of financial support we want your moral support.

We want:

- 1- Acknowledgement of receipt of the Bulletin.
- 2- Information as to the number of copies of the Bulletin you need at the rate of one copy for each comrade. We don't want to send too few and we don't want to put out and mail more than are necessary.
- 3- Serious discussion of the contents of the Bulletin and correspondence from groups where such exist, in the manner suggested above.

Such a response will be worth infinitely more to us than the contribution of a few dollars, for it will portend coming activity on the part of the comrades and not merely the contribution of some money accompanied by complacent retirement and sideline observation.

Remember! This Bulletin depends upon your MORAL support, NOT your FINANCIAL support. We want a PROGRAM and ACTIVITY--NOT MONEY!

P.S. For the benefit of those who did manage to read the first Bulletin, don't put this aside merely because it includes the contents of the first Bulletin: it has in addition eight new resolutions on very important current problems.

P.P.S. Only two groups responded to the First Bulletin, the Toronto Libertarian Groups, and Los Angeles Libertarian Group. All hail to their courageous perseverance for going through it! Remember, comrades, we welcome discussion on the contents.

RESOLUTIONS FOR PROPOSED PROGRAM

(The fourteen resolutions printed below do not represent a complete program. They are the conclusions of the first problems considered. As we see it, the final program will be composed of many points, embracing tactics and principles to answer the great variety of problems that beset the working class and us, as revolutionists, desiring to arouse and organize the exploited masses for the fight to overthrow Capitalism and the State.

If any groups have already discussed these problems, or other problems, unlisted but important for the revolutionary movement, and have arrived at definite conclusions, we should welcome their contributions and publish them as guides for discussion by the rest of the Movement. We must always keep in mind that the fullest cooperation is highly essential if we are ever to achieve Unity of Program and Action.)

GENERAL LINE OF TACTICS

There can be no peaceful existence for the many so long as the few have a monopoly in the control of the means of production and reap the benefits of such control in the form of an unusable excess of the products of industry, while the great majority lives in a state of insecurity, want, and hunger, and lacks the means of improving their lot.

There can be no peaceful existence for the many so long as the few are constantly competing against each for the profits of industry:

1- Within the national boundaries: the great majority, i.e., the working class, pays the price of such competitive wars in the form of wage cuts, price fixing, rationalization of industry, technological improvements causing great displacements of workers, and all the forms of exploitation of a competitive economy, as well as the loss of work due to the disastrous unbalancing of industry resulting from unplanned economic activity (bankruptcy, mergers and amalgamations, crises, etc.);

2- On an international scale: the monopolists of the means of production in each country compete with the monopolists of every other country by pitting the resources and strength of their nation against that of the others. This leads to international rivalries and alliances as one set of imperialists tries to strengthen their position against their rivals--and the logical, inevitable conclusion of the progressively developing rivalries and antagonisms between national groups of imperialists is war, war on a world scale, war that requires universal manhood conscription and involves the civilian population as well as the military.

Therefore the slogan of the First International has as much meaning today as when first the clarion call went forth: "Workers of the World, Unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to gain!"

But--how win that world?

It is an evident and frankly admitted fact that the privileged classes will never yield their innumerable privileges voluntarily. We will have to wrest it from them by force.

Therefore it becomes the duty of the vanguard of the proletariat:

1- To create and foster the class-consciousness of the workers so that they will learn the great power that lies in solidarity, as well as how to use it when the time comes;

2- to destroy every democratic illusion that fosters faith in bourgeois parliaments;

3- to develop independence of thought and action on the part of the proletariat and encourage their growing militance to the point of decisive opposition and struggle against the present system of exploitation;

which ends the revolutionary struggle and the workers, serving both as the instrument that organizes the struggle and as the means of reorganizing our economy along socialist lines, with workers' control and democracy;

5 to prepare the workers to put into practice the principles of solidarity of a socialist economy.

For this end, the vanguard of the proletariat must avoid any participation in any form in the institutions of the bourgeois state, whether legislative, judicial or administrative, since it is the fundamental duty of the state to maintain existing property relationships, and it is the fundamental duty of the vanguard to point out to the workers the absolute necessity of destroying those property relationships. It is the duty of the vanguard to constantly expose the class nature of the state and to conduct an unceasing campaign against it. It is the duty of the vanguard to show the workers that they cannot permanently improve their lot through the state, but only by creating their own powerful organizations capable of mighty struggles, first for immediate demands, finally, for the ultimate demand, can they seek definite and concrete ameliorization of their miserable conditions. It is the duty of the vanguard to point out to the workers that immediate demands won thru the ballot tends to weaken their militance and independence from the state, thus rendering them incapable of resistance against the savage onslaughts of reaction when the deepening capitalist crisis renders it desperate and strong in its desperation; that therefore it is undesirable and inimical to the best interests of the proletariat to win such reforms through the ballot.

To summarize ; Inasmuch as every struggle and victory of the ballot only deepens the democratic illusions of the workers in the bourgeois state, thus serving to disarm the workers and render them completely incapable of direct struggle in defense of their interests; and

Inasmuch as the development of such political movements builds up powerful political parties, to which the working class organizations become mere subsidiaries, thus rendering them incapable of independent action in an onslaught upon capitalism and thoroughly unable to rebuild society on the basis of the mass organizations, but only upon the basis of the dictatorship of a single party,

The Libertarian Workers Group rejects all forms of parliamentary activity and participation in the bourgeois state and advocates the conscious encouragement and development of all the natural tendencies of the proletariat to Direct Action in every form, to the end that:

- 1- the workers will learn the class nature of the state
- 2- they will learn their own strength in industry and power in solidarity;
- 3- they will become steeled in struggle;
- 4- they will create their own mass organizations for

struggle in the pre-revolutionary period, and reconstruction after the revolution, organizations possessing the widest possible democracy and permitting the fullest participation of the entire proletariat.

RESOLUTION ON WAR

The working class faces today once more the outbreak of an imperialist world war. The next war will undoubtedly involve the majority of the world and may result in the virtual destruction of civilization.

War is the armed conflict between the capitalist nations and is the continuation of the economic struggles between the nations for the control of markets.

The capitalist class in every country is faced with the problem of finding outlets for their investments and markets for their commodities. The home markets, owing to the capitalist mode of production, in which the workers receive but an infinitesimal portion of what they produce, are limited.

The territory available as markets is restricted; the capitalists of each nation attempt to expand their markets at the expense of other nations. A continued economic battle is waged; it takes on the form at times of tariff wars, deflation of currency, dumping of goods, military intervention in colonial countries, etc.. This fight goes on until one or a number of capitalist countries consider the time ripe to wage an open conflict and seize the markets outright.

Capitalist governments, in order to recruit cannon fodder from among the toiling masses, revert to various subterfuges to hide the fundamental causes of the war. They often use such incidents as an insult to the flag, assassination of an official, etc. as an excuse to declare war.

In the last world war the imperialist powers were divided into two camps and each side fought for a greater division of the world's markets. The war did not solve the problem of war: it merely intensified the contradictions in capitalist society, and laid foundations for an even greater conflict. The war gave an impetus to the development of industries in the colonial and backward countries which now compete with the older and more developed countries. Production and industry increased tremendously thru the technological development that has taken place. At the same time the world market has remained unchanged, as a matter of fact, it has, owing to the crisis, declined. The home markets of the imperialist countries have shrunk tremendously due to the policy of the capitalists who have endeavored to transfer the cost of the present crisis to the workers. This was and is being done thru rationalization of industry by which the productivity of the workers is increased, the numbers of workers employed decreased, and wages lowered.

A furiously intensified battle is now being waged among imperialist powers for markets which will ultimately lead to another world conflict. All the leading capitalist powers have thrown over their hypocritical pacifistic maneuvers, such as signing of peace pacts and holding disarmament conferences. Today military preparations are being carried on openly without any pretenses whatever. This can be readily seen by the tremendous increases in armaments thruout the world.

Among the most heavily armed and heavily financed is the military machine of the United States government. Its military budgets are the largest in the history of nations. We must keep this fact in mind when we consider the pacifistic declarations of the present administration. The neutrality gestures of our president must be placed side by side with his practical efforts to increase the army and navy and to build up its reserves. These policies are the results of the stakes which our own financiers and industrialists have in other countries. We are being prepared to defend these stakes.

The last world war found the revolutionary and labor movement unprepared. The Marxist parties in practically every belligerent country went over to the side of their respective bourgeoisie and became auxiliary recruiting agencies for the imperialists. Today a similar catastrophe is awaiting the workers of the world. Already, now the major Marxist parties, ranging

from the reformistic social-democrats to the so-called revolutionary communist parties, are disseminating chauvinistic propaganda in favor of an imperialist war.

They take the position that:

1- The world is divided into camps - one, for the most part consists of bourgeois "democratic" countries and desires peace; the other, consisting for the most part of fascist countries, desires war.

2- Soviet Russia must be defended at all costs, even to the extent of supporting the militaristic efforts of imperialist powers who side with Russia at the present time. In these imperialist nations the working class shall temporarily cease their struggle against the bourgeoisie and endeavor to build up the military machine. In the event of a war the workers should collaborate with the bourgeoisie in order to bring victory to the side of the "peace-loving" imperialist powers.

3-Nazi Germany is the strongest bulkwark of fascism; a victory over Germany would result in the collapse of fascism throught the world.

4- The League Of Nations can be utilized as an agency for peace.

5- The workers in "democratic" countries can force their governments--particularly in the United States-- to pass strict neutrality legislation which will keep their countries out of war.

That these arguments are fallacious can be seen by the following:

1- The imperialist powers of the world cannot be classified into two categories of democratic-and-peace-loving versus fascist-and-war-making nations. The present lineup of imperialist powers clearly reveals that in the next world war fascist nations will be arrayed against fascist nations.

2- It is an illusion to claim that the defense of Russia (assuming that Russia is the "fatherland of the proletariat" which it is not. It is a country in which the beurocratic class rides roughshod over the workers who have no actual voice in the management of things.) can be promoted thru the war measures of imperialist nations which at the present time side with her. The defense of a workers' country is the task of the international working class thru its own efforts and not thru the efforts of the most reactionary elements of every imperialist nation--the military caste. Only a working class revolution in one or more of the capitalist countries can give real defense to a workers' country.

The instigators of wars are the bourgeoisie in every country. To stop the struggle against them can only result in the workers serving as cannon fodder, leading to their further degradation. The cessation of struggle against the bourgeoisie will result in the consolidation of the power of the bourgeoisie and lead to more intensified exploitation of labor. The enemy of the working class is the bourgeoisie in every country. The task of the revolutionary workers is to continuously struggle against the bourgeoisie until they have achieved the emancipation of the working class. Even the struggle for national liberation (Italy of the 19th century; Poland of the 20th century; Ireland India and Egypt today) should have no interest for the workers since they gain nothing but a new set of masters, their own bourgeoisie, under the old conditions of exploitation.

3- It is fallacious to believe that German fascism can be overthrown by a coalition of "democratic" imperialist powers. It is to the economic advantage of certain imperialist powers to fight German imperialism but they will not do anything to overthrow the fascist regime. The Nazi regime can and will be overthrown by the German toilers themselves.

4- The League of Nations has been widely touted as a collective agency for the maintenance of peace. The major Marxist parties help to popularize the illusion. The entire history of the League from its inception to the present has proven the falsity of this claim. The League was continuously severed as an agency for the partition of the world among the dominant and victorious powers. Behind this phraseology of peace and democracy the League is no more than the old Holy Alliance of Metternich of the last century. It becomes the duty of all revolutionists to concentrate upon exposing the League before the workers and preparing them for the struggle against war which is being prepared by the League powers under the smoke of its League conferences,

5- The current campaign to "force" the United States Government to pass more stringent neutrality legislation is a deliberate attempt to mislead the workers in their struggle against war. To call upon the workers to demand the enforcement by the war-mongers themselves is to disarm the workers in their struggle. We must constantly and emphatically emphasize that the struggle can only be conducted by those who lose in all wars regardless of the outcome. Therefore it becomes the duty of revolutionists to disillusion the workers in their leaders and to take over the fight over the fight against war on their own shoulders.

As long as capitalism remains, war between nations will continually occur; it is only with the abolition of capitalism and the socialization of the means of production that wars will cease. For then the whole earth will be one economic unit, with no barriers in the form of national boundaries to hinder the development of society, and all the natural wealth will be at the disposal of the working masses throughout the world.

The task at this time is:

- 1) To clarify the workers in their struggle against war.
 - a) To expose social patriotism in all its forms.
 - b) To emphasize that the best defense of the gains of a social revolution in any country by the international proletariat is not the alliance of that proletariat with its respective bourgeois imperialist governments; such defense rests only in persistent revolutionary struggles of the workers within their respective countries.
 - c) To expose the illusion that the League of Nations is anything but an agency for the imperialist powers.
 - d) To expose neutrality legislation as misleading and disarming the workers in their struggle against war.

2) To prepare the workers for the various forms of struggle against war.

a) Agitation in the mass organizations of the workers with the view of preparing them for active struggle when the crisis arises. The major slogan at all times must be "The enemy is at home!"

b) The declaration of war must be met by the call for and the organization of the General Strike, primarily in transportation and related munitions industries.

c) The conduct of a General Strike at such a time--challenging the sovereign authority of our bourgeois government, must lead inevitably to open struggle. It is our duty to prepare the workers beforehand for this eventuality showing the inevitability of the outbreak of civil war as a result of a consistent anti-war policy and struggle.

Therefore the Anarcho-Syndicalists must actively prepare for the outbreak of civil war upon the declaration of an imperialist war and must organize the workers for the struggle. The successful issue of such civil war is the successful issue of the Social Revolution. The Revolutionary Movement must be prepared to face the larger issues of Socialist Reconstruction as a result of its anti-war struggle.

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UNEMPLOYMENT

The problem of unemployment has become more widespread throughout the world since the world crisis gripped all nations than at any time in the history of industrialized society.

So burdensome have the unemployed become for the capitalist system that the bourgeoisie have everywhere pursued the same policy of cutting their relief and insurance benefits. And in each case this cut has been accompanied by increasing the repressive machinery of the State and curtailing and withdrawing the meager liberties of speech, press, assembly and organization which bourgeois democracy granted in the years of capitalist expansion and prosperity.

This intensification of reaction and suppression in all countries in which the unemployed have suffered cuts in their insurance and relief is based upon the wholly correct estimation on the part of the bourgeoisie that the unemployed are potentially the greatest force within the nation for the initiation of revolutionary struggles. To crush all manifestations of unemployed protest in its incipient stages, before it has had an opportunity to become crystallized at the focal point of an organized unemployed movement, the bourgeoisie inaugurated a strict policy of repression with the cut in unemployment insurance and relief. The effect upon the workers is obvious.

But the unemployed cannot be checked in such manner from expressing their revolt against the existing state of affairs.

For this reason the problem of unemployment becomes one of the most important problems of the revolutionary movement and the unemployed movement the most important for the revolutionary struggle.

Disorganized, abandoned by those workers still possessing jobs, neglected by their trade unions, the unemployed become a vast army of hungry demoralized reserves at the beck and call of the industrial overlords, never hesitating to destroy the most sacred code of the working class, the Solidarity of Labor, and assuming the despicable role of strikebreaker and scab.

Rejected by the Social Democracy, which, as a movement of the aristocracy of labor, never understood and consequently never posed any adequate program for the unemployed; and

Repulsed by the dictatorial and arbitrary attitude of the C.P. which did not ignore the problem of unemployment, but never did learn the fundamental lesson of permitting mass organizations to grow under their own impulsion, developing through the dynamics of their own experiences in the struggles, and leaving at all times the mass organizations independent of any particular party. They subjected the unemployed organizations to the same uncompromising dictatorship as all their other creations with the disastrous result that organizations which promised much at the beginning inevitably narrowed down to the relatively few partisans in the field....and the majority are once more without any organization, embittered and prejudiced against all revolutionary working class movements.

But the potential dynamite stored in this considerable section of the population, which has been augmented tremendously since 1929 by the widespread unemployment among the intellectuals, highly skill and technical experts, as well as the continuous influx of youth into the ranks of the unemployed, all of whom are in an aroused mood but possessed of innumerable prejudices of bourgeois society, must explode eventually.

Because the working class of Germany failed to absorb the unemployed, the Nazis were able to exploit them to their own ends. And the same phenomenon is now taking place in those countries where fascism has begun to strike root among the masses.

Therefore, because the continuous neglect of the unemployed on the part of the trade unions resulted in the weakening of the economic power of the workers' organizations, and

Because the disastrous policies of the two Marxist parties alienated the unemployed from the ranks of organized labor and thus made them susceptible to the propaganda of reaction,

We regard it as of crucial importance to draw back the unemployed into the ranks of the workers and link up their struggles with the employed in such manner as to strengthen the solidarity of all the exploited; to increase the capacities for resistance and defense of the employed and unemployed against the onslaughts of the bourgeoisie; to cultivate and encourage the growth of the militant spirit of the employed and unemployed in the struggle for new rights and new conquests leading ultimately to the Revolutionary Struggle itself. For we know that the problem of unemployment can never be solved under capitalism. Only a socialized economy administered by the workers themselves offers such a solution.

To this end we propose to help the unemployed form their own organizations independent of particular parties. Their struggle must take the following course:

1- To bring pressure upon the State for relief and unemployment insurance.

a) This pressure is not to take the form of supporting political parties in parliamentary elections, but that of direct action of seizing and expropriating the necessities of life, etc.. We do not want to stabilize capitalism or establish social peace through unemployment insurance or relief. We raise these demands as a slogan for struggle by the unemployed for their immediate needs. We must draw the unemployed through these struggles into the larger, broader struggle for a New Society.

2- The practise of mutual aid among the employed and unemployed in resisting evictions, lay-offs, relief cuts, and price raising as well as other types of mutual aid.

3- To promote the cooperation of the unemployed and the employed in every strike and in the struggle for shorter hours designed to re-absorb the unemployed into industry.

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NEGRO TOILERS

Although the negro toilers form one of the most exploited and discriminated groups in the country, nevertheless their problems do not differ essentially from those of the white workers. To exploit them more intensely is the policy of the capitalist class who find that if they can segregate a group of workers from the rest of the working class they can exploit them much more and in this fashion reap super profits. Moreover, by pretending to favor one racial group of workers over another, they are able to prevent any unity of action, and in this fashion, they perpetuate their rule.

The problems of the negro workers can only be solved when capitalism will be abolished, for, with the profit motive in society destroyed, the basis for racial discrimination is destroyed. In a workers' commonwealth exploitation of labor, as well as racial discrimination, will no longer exist.

The unity of action between white and black workers is beset by dangers and obstacles from all sides, both from the right and from the left---from the bourgeoisie as well as from the so-called revolutionary organizations. These elements approach the problem of the negro workers from the nationalist or racial point of view and their schemes range from urging the negro workers to ally themselves with the white bourgeoisie to the creation of a negro national state.

The most dangerous scheme, dangerous insofar as it is couched in revolutionary phrases is the scheme for the creation of a negro national agrarian state put forth by the communists. This scheme is not based upon conditions that exist today but on conditions prior to the Civil War. To maintain that the problem of the negro masses is agricultural and that the solution today is the creation of an agrarian negro state is highly fantastic. Mass migrations of negroes from agricultural districts, particularly in the last decade, to urban centers, where they have become an integral part of industry, has changed the program. Between the years 1920 and 1930,

over a million negro workers migrated from southern rural districts to southern and northern industrial centers. The continuous migration of negro workers away from rural sections has created a condition in which we find today that only 3% of the negro workers are in agriculture. To obtain a solid area in which the negroes form a majority of the population it is necessary to select counties, whose territories are contiguous, stretching through the six states of Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina, Louisiana, and Arkansas. The entire negro population of this area is 3,000,000-- or only 25% of the total in this country. However, the most dangerous feature of this scheme is the plan for the negro workers to ally themselves with the negro bourgeoisie in the struggle for a negro state. This can only result in one thing--the division of the working class ranks and the prevention of any unity of action between black and white workers, for their plan will promote among negro workers not class consciousness but racial consciousness.

The Libertarian Workers Group, as an Anarcho-Syndicalist group, maintains that the problems of the negro workers can only be solved when they join hands with the white workers in their immediate struggles and link up these immediate struggles with the final struggle for the emancipation of the working class. To bring this about we propose that the following immediate struggles be conducted:

1- Agricultural toilers

a) Tenant farmers. We believe that negro tenant farmers should unite in one organization with white tenant farmers to fight jointly against the peonage conditions now prevailing in southern agriculture. This organization should whenever possible, join in joint action with the agricultural workers.

b) Agricultural workers. Every endeavor should be made to form one agricultural union of black and white workers to fight for their immediate betterment.

2- Industrial workers. We believe that the barriers that stand in the way of unity between negro and white workers must be swept away. We must fight against the existing narrow craft and racial ideology within the trade unions that bar the entrance of negroes and for the conversion of these trade unions into revolutionary industrial unions.

3- Economic, social, and political equality.

a) We must fight against every form of racial discrimination practised against the negro workers in every field.

b) Lynching. One of the most effective methods used by the ruling class to keep the negro masses in subjection. To combat this evil we don't believe that any anti-lynching legislation will solve the problem; only by organizing the negro and white workers to put up a militant direct battle against the lynchers will this form of terrorism cease.

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FARM PROBLEM

Until the turn of the 20th century American agriculture continued to expand. This was due to the large international and domestic market that American agriculture enjoyed. From the earliest settlement days until the Civil War, America was predominantly an agricultural nation; it was in a position of a colonial nation furnishing agricultural products and raw materials to the more industrialized nations. The opening of markets led to an expansion of American agriculture--billions of acres of fertile western land was brought under cultivation. American agriculture enjoyed its supremacy until the 80's of the last century when the grains and meat products of Canada, Australia, Argentina, and Russia began to compete with America in the world markets.

American industry, which slowly began at the beginning of the 19th century, made gigantic strides after the civil war. This was due to the active aid given it by the American government through subsidies and through the creation of a high tariff wall. In a relatively short period American industry and finance outstripped agriculture and became the dominant force in the country. This was primarily due to the high prices industry was able to exact for its products, due to the monopolization by the financial interests of the natural resources, to the high rates that agriculture had to pay for

transportation services, and to the high interest rates for capital borrowings. These combined factors placed American agriculture in a subservient position to industry and finance.

When in the eighties the American farmer found himself caught between the controlled prices of manufactured goods and the uncontrolled prices of farm products, he began to form organizations to bring relief for himself. His demands were directed toward such reforms as would protect him from the "money powers" without fundamentally changing capitalism. He directed his attacks against monopoly, for governmental regulation of railroads, and for inflation.

American agriculture rapidly recuperated from its first setback because its surpluses were absorbed by the home market. When the World War broke out, American agriculture received tremendous impetus; it expanded and began the cultivation of marginal and sub-marginal lands. The peak of agriculture was reached in 1920. Then Europe's renewed agricultural stability, coupled with the increased competition of Canada, Australia, and Argentina, took America's foreign markets from her. The decline of American agriculture rapidly set in.

Farm land values tumbled, prices of agricultural products fell very low, mortgage indebtedness, interest costs and taxes rose very high. The total value of farm property fell from \$78 billion in 1920 to \$43 billion in 1932. The farmers' income dropped from \$15 billion in 1919 to \$5.2 billion in 1932; in 1919 the farmers' income was 18.5% of the nation's income, in 1932 it was 7%. Mortgage indebtedness rose from \$7.9 billion in 1920 to \$9.5 billion in 1931. In pre-war years interest costs consumed 3% of the gross farm income; in 1931 it took 8% of the income. Taxes, which took 4% of the gross income in pre-war years, rose to 11% in 1931.

These conditions started a trend toward the growth of large scale farming which for the most part is controlled by absentee owners, such as the insurance and mortgage companies and bankers. This led to an increase in farm tenancy. From 1927 to 1932, 13% of the farms were sold through forced sales--foreclosure of mortgages, bankruptcy, default of contract, and sales for tax delinquencies. Farm tenancy throughout the country increased from 38% to 42%; in cotton-growing areas it reached 71%. The major portion of American farmers have been divorced from the ownership of their farms; in cases where the farmers have still retained ownership of their farms; in cases where the farmers have still retained ownership in their land they have done so with the permission of the mortgage holder. In reality the American farmer has reached the peasant status--he has been divorced from ownership of the land and, having no place to go, is forced by economic pressure to remain upon it as a serf.

The Roosevelt administration had made a sham endeavor to bring relief to the farming population through the creation of the AAA. This organization had endeavored to bolster farm prices by curtailing production. This is based upon the utterly false premise that there is an unusable surplus of agricultural products. Figures computed by the U.S. Department of Agriculture show that to adequately feed and clothe the present population of the country we would have to add forty million acres of farm land to raise meat, dairy products, green vegetables, and cotton, of which we happen to have an insufficient supply. The AAA, however, has taken forty million out of production. The AAA has failed to bring relief in the country because its measures have merely increased the cost of living and have thereby intensified the suffering of the industrial workers; the AAA has failed to bring relief to the small and moderate farmers because of the relief money received only a small percentage goes to the farmers themselves, the major portion going to their creditors.

The present condition of agriculture has caused a division of the agricultural population into 4 groups:

- a) The large farm owners, very often companies and corporations.
- b) The small independent farm owners.
- c) The tenant farmer.
- d) The agricultural worker.

The small independent farmer and the tenant farmer exist in virtual serfdom. The farmer and the wage earner, they really work for the capitalists of the country. They put their labor power into the agricultural products and sell them; they wage earners sell their power direct. The farmers own their produce until they sell it while the wage earners do not own the commodities they produce. Both farmer and wage earner desire security from want; both can only attain this when they unite their efforts for the overthrow of capitalism and institute a Libertarian Communist society.

With this as our goal, we would, in the field of farming, organize:

- a) The agricultural workers in industrial unions on the basis of fighting for the improvement of present conditions and for the purpose of educating and instilling in them the desire for a new society.
- b) The tenant and small farmers into a separate organization to fight for the following:
 - 1) The struggle against evictions.
 - 2) The scaling down of mortgages in proportion to the decrease in value of agricultural property.
 - 3) Free farm credit.
 - 4) Creation of distributors' Cooperatives to eliminate middlemen and, through the resulting economies, increase the profit to the farmer while lowering prices for the city worker.
 - 5) Adequate relief without forced reduction of livestock or land cultivation.

The very nature of these demands, i.e., cancellation of debts and resistance of evictions, compels the farmer to seek extra-legal means of winning his demands. It is obvious that he cannot appeal to the constitution to destroy property rights in the form of mortgages when that constitution is dedicated to the maintenance of private property. It is obvious that no government can countenance the defiance of its laws in the form of resisting evictions, sheriff sales for taxes, etc..

Therefore the farmers must seek other means of imposing their will upon the State and the entrenched interests.

If the farmers have concessions in the dairy industry, through state regulation of milk distributors; if they have won state moratoria on their mortgages, it is because they did not hesitate to resort to the tactics of direct action not only against the private companies but even against the sovereign law of the state.

The lessons are obvious. The farmers cannot depend upon the traditional politics of parliamentary parties to win their demands. They must be prepared to continue to struggle along the line of direct action begun so auspiciously in the desperate days of 1932. They must continue their struggle without compromise. No half-way measures can solve their difficulties. So long as the financial interests have their finger in agriculture, so long will the farmers continue to be exploited by them. Therefore the slogan of the Complete Cancellation of Debts must be kept before the farmers throughout the entire struggle for immediate demands. Such cancellation of debts can only be introduced upon the destruction of the financial interest. Therefore we see that the solution of the agricultural problem is intimately tied up with the problems of urban industrial workers and that only with the overthrow of capitalism and the institution of a new society can they be solved.

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THE THREAT OF INDUSTRIAL FEUDALISM

The world wide crisis has accentuated the tendency of governments to invade the economic sphere for the purpose of checking the rapid deterioration of our economic life. This deterioration, an inevitable result of competition and the fruits of competition, namely, the growth of monopoly, threatened the very existence of capitalism. It furnished irrefutable proof of the fact that society cannot be adequately fed, clothed, and housed through the automatic functioning of those economic laws that are based upon free competition and the open market, and dependent upon an initiative springing from the profit motive.

The chaos produced by the mad scramble to capture the market, with its attendant profits, always led to overproduction; while the very existence of profits decreased the purchasing power of the gre

majority of the population, the working class, to a point that made it impossible for them, in an absolute sense, to buy back all that had been produced. This caused the periodic glutting of the warehouses with products that could not be moved. Panics, crises, unemployment ensued. Bankruptcies and liquidations wrought havoc among the capitalists themselves and demoralized them. The suffering of the workers, employed and unemployed, threatened to develop into a spirit of rebellion which might destroy the very bases of capitalism.

The forces of production have become so vast and so powerful that clashes between the various competing and conflicting elements controlling these forces among the various nations might prove fatal to the interest parties themselves and lead ~~them~~ to their complete destruction unless properly prepared.

Under the compulsion of these tendencies, namely, the necessity for some measure of planning to control production, the fear of an aroused proletariat threatening to end its sufferings, and the necessity of coordinating the powerful economic forces with one government, the latter have been drawn further and further into the economic field.

This was true even in the balmy days of laissez-faire and international trade when such government aid expressed itself in the guise of tariffs, gold and silver standards of currency, customs duties, commercial treaties, regulation of utilities, faint gestures toward control of hours and working conditions, child labor, old-age pensions, sickness and unemployment insurance.

Every such measure only furnished more evidence of the fact that the greatest welfare of the greatest number was not achieved through the automatic functioning of the economic laws of supply and demand in the open market. Every step taken by the government in the economic field only proved further that the pursuit of profits by the bosses did not guarantee happiness and well-being of the workers.

Yet the entire system of selfish and unsocial ownership and control of the means of production was tolerated by the masses because the learned apologists of the system, the bourgeois economists, assured them that the economic system could not function without the profit motive to induce the bosses to hire us and carry on business. Behind this patently false philosophy the bosses hid the truth that only a socially controlled and directed economy could bring well-being and plenty to all. With this as a justification, the bosses could keep the workers under the yoke and pretend that if they could not get profits they could not employ the workers and then everyone would starve.

But today that mask has been torn away. Today the bosses are compelled to admit their inability to carry on business at a profit. Frantically they turn to the government. And the government, ever the instrument of our bourgeois masters, is taking all the steps necessary to rescue them. Forgetting all the philosophic reasoning that provided justifications for private control of the means of production with all its attendant privileges, the capitalist governments of the world, whatever their forms (fascist, democratic republic, democratic monarchy), are taking steps to fortify the privilege of the privileged. In one form or another, these governments are stepping into the economic field to "regulate" the struggle between workers and masters on the one hand, and the masters of their country in their struggle against the masters of another country.

This intervention can mean only one thing to the workers: an unconcealed and definite attempt on the part of the masters and their government to destroy their organizations and break their fighting spirit.

It is one thing for the miners' union to fight the mine owner for better conditions. It is something entirely different for that same union to try to resist the government. Yet that is precisely the fate that awaits the miners of England if the government accomplishes its project of buying up the coal mines and running them as a government institution.

This step is one of the most clear-cut steps yet taken by any of the capitalist governments in this period of the degeneration and breakdown of monopoly capitalism. That it is being taken by the Conservative Party, representative of the wealthy and privileged class of England makes it even more significant.

First of all, this nationalization of the coal mines of England must not be confused with expropriation of the mine owners. These owners are to be paid the full value for the mines and given bonds which will draw a regular interest, more than equal to the uncertain profits of the post-war period, backed by the full resources of the national government. In other words, the owners will continue to draw the same income in the future as they have in the past with the added feature that the worries of management are being lifted from their shoulders. They no longer have to worry over the condition of the market, the price they can get, the competition from other countries, the disposal of their product, or the handling of labor. Now the government proposes to take over the functions of management, which once were the source of justification for the continued wealth and privilege of the few that flowed from their exploitation of the many. Yet the government does not propose to take away their privileges. On the contrary, it is taking every step to guarantee these privileges in the future. It will itself undertake to meet the competition of foreign lands; to dispose of the coal; to control production; to handle labor.

This new development has the most vital significance for the working class. Upon a correct understanding of it depends the entire future of the workers. The dangers that lie ahead in mistaking this this as a step toward socialism are many and great. This step must be recognized for what it is: a new form of maintaining privilege for the few on the one hand, and continuing the exploitation of the many on the other. As a result, if the workers do not prepare to defend themselves against this new form of tyranny and exploitation, they will soon find that the strike as an economic weapon has been outlawed because it questions the "sovereign authority" of the State, endangers "national defense", and destroys "law and order". Instead of being opposed by the local police and what private thugs the mine owners might employ, the striking miners, now rebellious citizens, will face the regular army and all the penalties that follow acts of treason. Their organizations will be destroyed; their ~~demands~~ rights to hold meetings, maintain a press, put forward demands and fight for these demands will disappear. The workers will be reduced once more to the status of serfs--serfs of a new, more vicious, more powerful feudalism--National, Industrial Feudalism.

This is the future that awaits us if, for any reasons whatsoever, we remain passive during the current transition from privilege and wealth built up by "private initiative" in the management and control of our economic life to privilege and wealth supported and maintained by government management and control of our economic life. The dynamic qualities of capitalism, that tolerated certain liberties for the individual, and permitted to a limited extent that fluidity among classes, that elusive opportunity for the poor man to become rich which permitted hope to buoy up the downtrodden, will now give way to a rigidly static society with classes maintained in their positions by the arbitrary force of government arms.

We must expose and oppose this tendency for what it is. The growing tendency of the governments of the world to interfere in the economic life of the country, ranging all the way from "nationalization" of industries to "arbitration" boards, tariff and currency regulation, etc., cannot be regarded as "steps toward socialism". They are nothing but the most brazen admission that the automatic functioning of the laws of the open market and free competition based upon the profit motive, their sole justification for the maintenance of current inequalities of wealth, privilege, and power, can no longer maintain that wealth and privilege, and that the position of the privileged classes will now be made secure through the introduction of new methods of control, leading to their objective of a static society--Industrial Feudalism. Unmasked force will now replace "philosophic" justification as the basis of exploitation of man by man.

It becomes the duty of all revolutionists to intensify its educational activities by pointing out the full significance of these government tendencies and preparing the workers to oppose this Nationalization of industry with the demand for the Socialization of industry. Between these two there is an irreconcilable hostility at the present stage of development of the world economy, and the sooner this is recognized by the great majority of the working class the nearer comes the Victory of the Social Revolution.

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The value of these Producers' Cooperatives are the same as those of consumers' organizations with the addition that whereas the members of the latter are not necessarily engaged directly in the processes of production the members of the former are. On the other hand, however, the pitfalls are more dangerous. For example, should a producers' cooperative of bakers, let us say, prove to be financially successful the danger lies before the organization that it may become a private corporation and begin to hire labor and fall whole heartedly into the present scheme of things. This has happened more than once and it is precisely this that the Anarcho-Syndicalist Congress of Sweden foresaw when it passed its resolution dealing with this phase of their activities. This decision protected against any such development by placing the number of rapidly growing producers' cooperatives (especially in the building trades) under the direct control of the union. This, in our opinion, is a very healthy attitude inasmuch as the membership at large in a democratically owned union would certainly not lend their aid to any group of its members becoming private exploiters.

But all this refers specifically to workers' Producers' cooperatives. Farmers' producers' cooperatives present different aspects of the question. By farmers, we mean the small landowning farmer, not the farm laborer or share cropper with whom we deal elsewhere. Whereas the economic and social life of the city worker has already become socialized by capitalist methods of production and distribution, he does not have to organize a producers' cooperative to protect his interests. As a matter of fact it is quite difficult for such an organization to compete with the large trusts and monopolies in a highly industrially developed country like the U.S., because they cannot have a sufficient initial outlay of capital. The city worker can join a labor union or consumers' cooperative to protect his interests. But the small farmer because of his individual methods of production and because of his more or less, home economy is individualistic. It is more difficult to organize him to protect his interests except where he can get a better price for his products. This is usually how farmer's producers' cooperatives begin but that is not where they end or have to end. The next natural step to cooperative marketing, (and naturally buying) is collective production. It is certainly to the interests of the farmers who belong to such a cooperative to aid one or a group of its fellow members if they were behind in their crops as that may hold back the sale of the entire produce of the organization because usually contracts for sale are made beforehand. Further, such an organization naturally fosters good fellowship and comradely mutual help. Also, whereas the individual farmer may not be able to afford any machinery on a large scale, as a threshing machine or combine, or then again, a cornpicker and planter or sugar beet machinery, etc. a number of farmers, organized for cooperative buying and selling could afford such machinery. And once machinery is introduced on a more or less larger scale and production becomes the more socialized because of it, and to a certain extent a greater division of labor takes place, then the whole ideology of the farmer begins to change from individualistic to social. Then the farmer members of a producers' cooperative or a number of producers' cooperatives in a certain locality or state begin to think in terms of still larger collective productivity in related fields, as canning, distilling, refining, etc..

There always has been a struggle between the interests of the farmer and the city worker under capitalism. This struggle is not conscious, nor is it deliberate. It is just in the nature of the capitalist economy. When the farmer strikes (and rightfully so) for a larger price for his milk the city worker suffers by it by having his milk price go up. Or when the workers in a factory, let us say, that produces milking machines, go out on strike for higher wages, the farmer suffers by it by paying a higher price for his machinery. The large capitalist groups always get out of this mess scot free working one against the other. But basically, as producers, the interests of the farmers and workers are identical! Both should fight, and together, against the system that creates these vicious cycles. And there is no better way to initiate the new highly individualistic farmer into this struggle against the system than thru producers' cooperatives. It is but a far step from collective farmers' production, thru a cooperative for the Chicago Board of Trade to collective production for a known market of consumers' cooperatives serving numberless city workers. This would not only cut out the profit of the middleman and give a farmer a price for his produce and the city worker better and more merchandise for his money, but also in so doing, bring the interests

RESOLUTION ON CO-OPERATIVES AND COLONIES.

The worker is exploited at the point of consumption as well as production and so we find that he organizes to protect his interests as a consumer as well as a producer. We find along with, though unfortunately not often side by side with, trade unions, the simultaneous development of consumer's co-operatives. These co-operatives, by the very nature of their mutual helpfulness, based upon an oppressed group solidarity, carry in their womb the social seeds of the new society. Like the unions, these co-operatives, by their very nature, not only act as a collective protective agency through which the individual member can wrest a little more from the clutches of capitalism, but also as a practical school of social organization and social production and distribution for use and not for profit. Although these co-operatives must be limited under the present system, their whole financial set-up being based on the capitalist system of trade and exchange, they could become a powerful weapon for worker's emancipation if they were to recognize the nature of the class struggle and work hand in hand with the unions.

Unfortunately, this is not always the case and very often the contrary is practiced. As often as the co-operatives aid the unions in their battles with the bosses, acting as a commissary for the latter just so often are there also conflicts that arise between the unions protecting the interests of their workers working in a co-operative establishment and the co-operative over wages. These conflicts are regrettable and certainly avoidable if there were a better understanding between the two, and certainly if both were based consciously on the class struggle and revolutionary principles.

We have dealt with unions in our resolution on the unions.

The Consumer's Co-operative Movement of the U.S.A. under the leadership of Dr. J. P. Warbasse at present does not base itself upon the class struggle, although it has revolutionary principles and aims. Despite the fate of the co-operatives in Italy and Germany, in which countries the Co-operative Movements were wiped out ruthlessly with the other working-class organizations, the C.L.U.S.A. persists in its policies and tactics of peaceful growth financially within the capitalist scheme until, bit by bit, it takes over control of more and more of industry until all of the economic life of the country (and eventually, the world) will be slowly and peacefully into the Co-operative Commonwealth. This belief persists despite the fact that in Sweden where the movement is very powerful and where in many of its towns one cannot make a purchase but in a co-operative store, still there is no Co-operative Commonwealth or anything approaching it. This policy of no class struggle still persists despite the fact that in England where the movement is also very strong and where the British C.W.S. (Co-operative Wholesale Society) owns one of the largest tea concerns in the world, getting their tea from their own plantations in India where Hindu coolies work under the most pitiable conditions, and where the interests (financial of course) are protected by British Imperialism.

Our alternative is a co-operative movement based upon the class struggle; one that is a vital part of the worker's revolutionary movement, working harmoniously and side by side with its other vital parts, the trade union movement. Such a movement could be built if the more progressive and revolutionary elements were to place on their program the building of revolutionary, class conscious co-operatives apart from though working with the unions. Such an activity would unite harmoniously the interests of the worker, both as producer and consumer, and make him not only better equipped to take over and conduct his economic life under a new order of things based on Liberty and Well Being for all.

Producers Co-Operatives:

Often we find workers, and especially farmers, pooling their financial resources and producing commodities for sale and sharing in the profits of their own labor. Among workers this may be due to unemployment (temporary or permanent) or a desire to get out of the drudgery of working for a private boss or concern. For farmers it may be due to the fact that producing co-operatively these farmers can produce more efficiently being able to afford the use of machinery where the individual farmer could not, and being able to control a better market price for their commodities, having larger quantities for sale.

"socialist experimentation". Even the "socialist experimentation" is dubious. How much room can one have for such experimentation when his whole being becomes wrapped up in a group of people whose struggle (and they can only struggle) is only an attempt to save their own hides.

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THE REVOLUTIONARY UNITED FRONT

Although in the past the united front for revolutionary action among the communists, socialists, anarcho-syndicalists and anarchists has failed due especially to the sectarianism and the slanderous methods of the communists and socialists against each other and against the anarchists; although this unity had been made more difficult through the collaboration of socialists and communists with the bourgeoisie on one side and their tendency to try to monopolize the working class movement, yet the united action of the workers must be realized if we want to have any chance to triumph over our common enemy: capitalism.

The working class is facing a more and more concentrated and reactionary capitalist class.

Fascism, the most reactionary and brutal oppression of the toilers, has already suppressed in many countries all rights and freedom of the workers to organize, expound their ideals, etc. and is trying to destroy these liberties and the few countries where democracy still exists, threatening to reduce to complete slavery the workers of the world.

Only a united revolutionary working class can hope to be able to destroy this menace, and get rid of capitalism.

We therefore consider that this revolutionary united front should be realized, for example, on the following basis:

- a) This unity must be on the basis of direct action.
- b) Freedom of thought and propaganda must be guaranteed before, during, and after the revolution.
- c) Before the revolution, while each party will pursue its particular activity, a committee can be formed to study the coordination of the revolutionary action.
- d) At the outbreak of a revolutionary movement the united front shall see that the action is started simultaneously in all the territory in order to keep the forces of the enemy divided, so weakening his power of repression.
- e) The purpose of the revolution shall be to abolish this regime of slavery and exploitation, and to build up a commonwealth composed of free and federated communities, in which the will of the majority will decide on which basis the different communes shall function:
 - 1- Authoritarian communism
 - 2- Libertarian communism
 - 3- Collectivism
 - 4- Variations of individualism and mutualism
- f) The oppression and the exploitation of the workers, manual and intellectual, shall be abolished forever.

A difference of opinion exists within the Group on point "e". This actually an Anarchist position and its acceptance by the Marxist political parties would imply the renunciation of their programs. Whatever agreements and pacts may be made before the Revolution will have only that validity that the interested movements can make real through their actual strength. The realization of "a commonwealth composed of free and federated communities" will depend upon the strength of the Anarchist Movement and not upon the promises and the tolerance or the good will of the Marxists. Therefore it is both useless to try to include such a point in the agreement, and, if included, to depend upon the pledges of these parties.

We, who are in disagreement with this point, believe that a united front pact should include the provisions for direct action, defensive and aggressive, and for tolerance, but should not provide a program for the new society. Actual developments of the revolutionary struggle will lead to such continued united action, as the current situation in Catalonia is already proving so eloquently.

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of the producers in city and on farm closer together. This would lead to a better understanding between both groups and thereby aid both in their mutual struggle against the common enemy.

COLONIES.

And now we deal with the third and most dangerous phase of "socialist experimentation"---colonies. We say "dangerous" for very obvious reasons. Whereas in the cooperatives, a worker or a farmer may be a member and yet remain a fighting part of the class struggle, as we've already pointed out, a colonist, who is usually a city worker entering an agricultural experiment, becomes so tied up with the affairs of his community which takes up practically all of his leisure time that he finds himself far removed from the "outside" struggle. Because of the fact that no collective group of workers can accumulate sufficient funds with which they may purchase enough tools of production to make them able competitors at this stage of monopoly capitalism, the colonists find that most of their social problems become everyday economic problems---not the problems of their class, but of their particular community. And if one is a good colonist---and a colonist should be a good one---then he finds that he soon has lost sight of the class struggle in his attempt to pull himself and his isolated colony out of an economic dilemma by his boot straps.

There are many who actually believe that organizing colonies is the only method of bringing about the Utopia. That that is a childish illusion is well brought out by history. What happened to these enterprises in Italy and Germany when the fascists came to power? Were they allowed to exist? It is silly to believe that "revolutionary" colonies would meet with any more gentle fate should they actually begin to threaten the interests of organized capital. How simple it would be, for example, for the banks to refuse to loan money to such enterprises--and colonies always depend to large extent on loans. Or how much simpler it would be for the merchant class to refuse credit to colonies, and what economic unity, especially agricultural, can exist today without credit? When the merchant and banking and manufacturing class offers its services to a "radical" community it extracts from it more than the customary profits. It also wants concessions. And so we find the those colonies that have existed in recent years and that called themselves revolutionary, made these concessions by "sort of keeping our radicalism on the quiet--no need of shouting it from the roof tops,--after all, these people (bankers, merchants and manufacturers) may misunderstand us and think us violent fanatics-- and besides, damn it, aren't we forced to do it; they have us by our throats". That's just it, the bourgeoisie have them by the throats, because they (the bourgeoisie) control the means of production and distribution and why should a colony (especially if it's radical) be more exempt from their clutches than any other smaller business or agricultural enterprise.

Naturally, what would be the effect that all this would have upon the minds of those colonists who had left all behind in a bold venture to build socialism "here and now" in a little isolated way, impatient to fight for the revolution. Some may come to see the futility of such tactic realizing that socialism cannot be built for a small isolated group surrounded by a hostile capitalism. But the many become disillusioned with socialism altogether. Their "socialism" becomes that caricature of petty fights and squabbles that they experienced in their colony. Refusing to admit that they were unprepared for Socialism, that the world is yet psychologically unprepared for it, they put the fault with the ideal itself. These are lost to the struggle.

Many colonies had amongst their members a few tried and proven labor leaders. They left the class struggle for an illusion. Has it colonies succeeded (and then only for their own members and no one else) these men were lost for good to the real struggle. In this lies one of the basic harms of colonies. If colonies should succeed then it is not because of innate correctness of such tactics but merely because the leaders are able men. Therefore, to the extent that these colonies "succeed" they fail because these capable leaders belong where they could be most useful--in the revolutionary struggle--with all the workers and farmers and not with just a handful.

This is why we called this phase the most dangerous phase of

Therefore, greater effectiveness in the struggle for immediate needs demands the transformation of existing craft unions into industrial unions, and the organization of the unorganized workers into industrial unions.

In the light of this, while also taking into account the fact that the current industrial union movement within the A.F. of L. is being led by old-time bureaucrats, each in possession of a more or less shady past, we believe that we should participate in this movement as far as it goes while continuing to fight for still more at the same time. In other words, we believe that we can take advantage of the current conflict between the two sets of bureaucrats by participating actively in the struggle for industrial unions, and at the same time, offer the workers, who are being aroused to some degree of participation in the shaping of policies in their unions through this conflict, our criteria as to what a union should really be.

We can point out that labor unions must be not only industrial unions, but revolutionary industrial unions, based upon the class struggle, with an internationalist outlook, and organizational structure based upon principles of democracy and decentralization.

We believe that it is necessary for revolutionists to carry on their work wherever the workers concentrate. Therefore we say that we must work in the A.F. of L. where the greatest number of workers are organized today. Nor is our attitude one of carrying on a purely destructive work in these unions, for we know that that is not the proper method of approaching the great majority of the more backward workers. Such an approach can only render the workers suspicious of us and tighten the hold of the bureaucracy upon the rank and file. Our work must be conducted along constructive lines, considering ways and means of improving the union, such as conducting a fight for greater democracy in the union, its transformation into an industrial union, the conduct of more militant struggles for the immediate demands, etc., etc.. Such activities, conducted consistently and uncompromisingly, must draw the sympathies of the rank and file to us, since it is apparent that the bureaucracy is never very anxious to fight very much in the interests of the workers. Such a campaign may be long and not show much fruit quickly, but it is more likely to succeed in the long run in separating the broad masses of the workers from their officers and thus enable us to effect a more complete and thorough change when the larger crisis of the A.F. of L. finally comes. For, so far as we can see, it will probably be impossible to transform the very character of the unions in the A.F. of L. so long as they remain within the A.F. of L.. However, despite such a forecast, we cannot advocate precipitate splits or revolts from the A.F. of L. of small minorities that only succeed in divorcing the most militant elements from the backward workers, and create dissensions between one set of workers and another.

This policy of working among the workers already organized in the A.F. of L. does not signify that we advocate the organization of new unions into the A.F. of L.. Wherever possible we would organize new workers outside the A.F. of L. and keep them outside the federation. In this respect we would try to build up the I W W as by far the preferred national organization in this country.

Part 2

There are certain elements within the working class who believe that the immediate interests of the workers, as well as the cause of Socialism, can best be advanced through parliamentary activity, the creation of a Farmer-Labor Party fighting for reforms that would satisfy immediate demands, and advance the workers and farmers step-by-step along the path of Socialism. While we have outlined our position on parliamentary versus direct action for the working class in our resolution entitled "General Line of Tactics", we nevertheless regard it as imperative to formulate our position on the current situation with respect to the slogan of a Farmer-Labor Party.

This slogan is being pushed by the Socialist Party, the Communist Party and the Farmer-Labor, in the various labor and farmer organizations throughout the country. The fact that number of the A.F. of L. unions have abandoned their traditional position on the question of politics and have endorsed the proposal calling for a labor party must

RESOLUTION ON LABOR UNIONS.

Labor unions are the most important organizations of the working class in its struggles for immediate demands under Capitalism, in the larger struggle of the workers for the overthrow of Capitalism, and finally, in the efforts of the workers to reorganize society along new lines of well-being, liberty and justice for all--Libertarian Communism. Therefore the attitude of revolutionary groupings toward the labor unions is the key by which their plans and intentions for the future as well as the present can be determined.

As Libertarian Communists, regarding the labor unions as one of the most important instruments of the working class, we feel that the workers must, if they are to continue their struggle for immediate demands, strive for the following conditions;

1--The trade unions and the industrial unions must be converted into unions of class struggle, frankly recognizing that under capitalism there are, broadly speaking, two opposing classes, the exploiters and the exploited, and that, so long as these two opposing classes exist, there can be no harmony of interests between them.

2-- The trade unions, and the industrial unions, so re-orientated on the basis of the class struggle, must pursue militant tactics in their defense of the workers' interests. They must seek the objective of achieving independence from the interference of government arbitration commissions and labor courts. The interests of the workers will not and cannot be defended by any government under capitalism. Therefore the unions must refuse to deal with any but the employers or their representatives, which can only be done if the unions pursue fearless, militant and uncompromising tactics in its strikes and struggles. Any other course, which accustoms the union and the rank and file to depend upon the government for settlement of disputes, must lead inevitably to the complete disarming of the unions and render them incapable of defending even their elementary rights to exist in the face of a government assuming a fascist form of rule, in defense of the interests of the wealthy and powerful.

3-- In order to pursue such tactics, the unions must be highly democratic in order to draw the workers into the life of the union more fully, thereby making them feel that the decisions reached are a product of their efforts, and the very fate and fortune of their union depends on their support. Only such a relationship between the union and its members can develop the solidarity and devotion of the latter toward the union. Only such relationship can inspire the rank and file of the workers to the great effort required in all militant and uncompromising struggles.

Another condition for such militant unions is the elimination of bureaucracy which always acts as a brake upon the workers, if not actually in opposition to the interests of the workers.

And finally, fighting unions must be built on a decentralized basis, in order to develop greater freedom and initiative of action to the rank and file membership in meeting the varying conditions within each industry and each region.

4-- The trade unions must change their structure in order to be more effective in the struggle with the bosses. Crafts and skills have broken down before the steady advance of technology. Once relatively isolated and independent trades have been rendered powerless in the face of a constantly improving industry, that tends to embrace more and more such trades in one vastly complicated and interlocking industrial process, thereby reducing their strategic positions and making them incapable of defending even their own interests.

With labor losing its former skills, the source of former craft strength and solidarity, and being reduced to the level of the semi-skilled and unskilled, the new strength of labor does not reside within each separate and particular department in the industry, easily replaceable in itself, but in the solidaric unity of all the workers of an entire industry. Only the power to stop production throughout an entire industry, and stopped for a period of time, will ever compel the industrial magnates to recognize the unions and deal with the workers through independent organizations of their own.

isting reforms which organized labor has won. The situation need not necessarily be a revolutionary one to cause fascism to spring into being, but merely one that is intolerable to capitalism.

Fascism differs from all previous forms of capitalist domination in several respects. For the most part, the capitalist system is to be associated with parliamentary democracy in which there has been a certain degree of liberty and participation of the masses in the government which maintained the capitalist form of domination over the masses. On the other hand, there have been periods when capitalism functioned under absolute and limited monarchies, and even under military dictatorships. There is no contradiction in capitalist exploitation of the masses and dictatorship---but it may be inexpedient. No system can last long, from an historical point of view, without the support of the masses. and the support of the masses cannot be gained under harsh and intolerable military dictatorship.

Therefore fascism may be regarded as the ultimate form of capitalist domination, upon whose success or failure rests the very fate of capitalism itself. Fascism is a dictatorship with a mass basis, created by appealing to all the basest prejudices and emotions upon which a demoralized people can be aroused. The primary appeal is twofold in character: a demand for change from the existing unhappy conditions, framed in vague and contradictory terms aimed to appeal to the different classes in society, and a play upon nationalist pride. These two appeals combine in the most effective manner to produce a mass hysteria which supplies that basis upon which a capitalist dictatorship is set up.

How does fascism function? From the very beginning it expresses the greatest contempt for the parliamentary regime which has been quite satisfactory for the capitalist class until now. As a movement it bases itself upon direct action of the most vicious and brutal character, and undertakes to smash working class organizations, headquarters and centers, meetings and demonstrations, strikes, etc.. The source of its strength lies not so much in the use of direct action methods, but in the toleration of the capitalist state of the outrages of the fascist hordes. Continually, the state metes out one standard of punishment to the fascists and another to the workers, who, more often than not, are engaged in the action for self defense, while the fascists are the open aggressors. Not only does the state act in a benevolent manner toward the fascists, but in many cases actually cooperates actively with them in their work. The history of the rise of fascism in Italy, Germany and Austria furnish many examples of the aid of the police and the army in the struggle against the workers.

Thus, between their anti-capitalist demogogy, their rabid nationalism, and their direct action with the aid of the state, fascism has already succeeded in establishing itself in power in a number of European countries. Is their victory inevitable everywhere?

We believe most emphatically that fascism can be beaten despite financial support of monopoly capitalism, and the cooperation of the armed forces of the existing state. We insist that the workers never had such a chance for victory as at the present time, if only for one reason. Not until the rise of fascism has the class character of the capitalist state been so clearly demonstrated. Altho the Anarchists have been shouting this from the rooftops for more than fifty years, and pointing out the appropriate conclusions, the workers have been blind to the true character of the state, and have believed that the state could serve their interests if they could marshall a majority in the legislature. No amount of education could be so effective as the current fascist movements in teaching the workers that their only hope for self defense and ultimate emancipation from the capitalist yoke resides in their own strength and in their use of direct action. If the workers can once master this lesson, there is no force in society to stop them.

Fascism can be fought only by continually exposing its true character, its empty and anti-revolutionary demogogy, its dangerous and insane nationalism that leads inevitably to war, its threat of degrading subjugation of the workers in the worst servitude known to man; a condition of exacted labor without even a guarantee of security. Altho with the propaganda the workers must be prepared to resort to physical struggle, for the fascists recognize no rules in their class warfare.

be accepted as evidence of growing class consciousness on the part of the members of these unions. This cannot be a temporary development as in the past, because there is little if any, chance of American Capitalism scaling the "heights" of the prosperity enjoyed before the 1929 crash. Therefore this becomes one of those crucial periods in the history of a labor movement when its future course is vitally influenced by current trends.

In view of these considerations, we, as Libertarian Communists devoted to Anarcho-Syndicalist tactics, must recognize the importance of trying to impress our stamp upon the labor movement. Realizing that we are at present too small and too weak to conduct an independent campaign of propaganda along the lines of a revolutionary goal and far-reaching demands, we believe that we must limit ourselves to fighting for demands already widely current in the labor movement, with the object of drawing labor along the lines of struggle we deem absolutely imperative to raise the workers to the level of revolutionary consciousness, spirit, and will necessary for the achievement of the Social Revolution.

At the present stage of development of the labor movement in this country, the demands put forth as objectives of struggle must be of a limited character. Therefore, while there will undoubtedly be some variation in the slogans put forth by Parliamentarians as contrasted with those of Direct Actionists, the greatest contrast between the two currents will lie in the emphasis put on the various slogans and the method of struggle for the workers to pursue proposed by each. Therefore we must realize that the important consideration for us today is that of setting the labor movement along the lines of Direct Action, drawing them away from the dependence upon the government for aid, exposing the fraud of bourgeois democracy for them.

Upon the extent and success of our activities will depend not only the success of future revolutionary actions, but of far more vicious onslaughts of facism,

Therefore we propose that the Libertarian Communists initiate a campaign in the labor unions of this country in opposition to the campaign of the Labor Party. Since this campaign cannot be conducted successfully on a purely negative basis, we propose the alternative program of active union struggle for the 30 Hour Week, in the form of a slogan calling for a Nationwide General Strike for the 30 Hour Week on May First, 1938. The slogan should not be associated specifically with the Anarchist Movement, but should be sponsored and organized by the unions, with our comrades participating as militant and active unionists, rather than as politicians offering panaceas and programs to the unions. Nor should it be advanced as an alternative conceived as an opposition program to that of the Labor Party. It should be advanced as the only logical course for the unions to pursue and the best way of winning the 30 Hour Week.

The results of such a campaign, if successful, are obvious, independent, direct action tactics will have been stamped with an indelible ink upon the labor movement of this country and render it impossible to subordinate the labor unions to any political party that can arise.

The Libertarian Workers Group offer this for the immediate consideration of the Movement and urge them to act upon it as soon as possible. We must move quickly and energetically and persistently if we are to impress our philosophy and tactics upon the labor movement of America.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM.

The struggle against facism can only be conducted successfully if we understand the true character of facism, its aims and its methods.

Altho facism employs an anti-capitalist demogogy, and cloaks itself in revolutionary phraseology, facism is, and was conceived as the savior of capitalism. Its avowed object is the smashing of all labor organizations, and the further subjection of the workers to the exploitation of a declining capitalism. Facism arises as a serious movement at a time when capitalism can no longer yield reforms or maintain ex-

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ganization. There are those organizations that are built completely
on a voluntary basis, and those which rest upon a functional basis,
whose effectiveness is in direct proportion with the adherence of all
individuals in the field.

Those organizations which we include among the voluntary are political organizations, all kinds of cultural organizations, and certain types of mutual aid societies. All of these organizations are born out of certain ideas, and their membership is attracted by these ideas. No compulsion is required to draw them into the organization, so we can assume that they are sincerely concerned with furthering the life and the work of the organization they have joined. Under the circumstances we believe it is possible to work out broader forms of liberty and democracy in such organizations than in the other type.

First of all, we believe in absolute democracy on all questions before a decision has been made. This requires the most democratic type of organization possible; an organization built upon federalistic principles. All questions must be discussed by the membership in the most thorough manner possible. This can be done only in the groups which are the bond between the membership of the different localities. Decisions are, then, built from the bottom up, from the groups to the coordinating centers, the secretariats and national committees.

This democracy, of course, provides the individual member with the liberty of helping to frame the policies and program of the organization. However, we would go even further in the voluntary organization. Assuming the premise that the individual member who has joined such an organization is a sincere person with an individual conscience, we would accord him an even greater measure of liberty within the organization: We do not believe it necessary or desirable to compel the individual to submit to the will of the majority against his will. This freedom is limited to non-participation in a specific activity or activities. It does not include the freedom to work against the majority and still remain a member of the organization. This apparent sanctioning of the defiance of organizational discipline will be discussed later.

Thus, it is apparent that an Anarchist organization of the voluntary type grants far greater freedom to the individual member than any other type of organization. It grants almost as much freedom of action to the individual as he possesses without any organization. And in exchange for that limited freedom which he must sacrifice only on occasion, the power of the individual is enhanced many-fold through cooperation with his comrades in whatever field he happens to be interested. This can hardly be called a poor bargain.

It is understood of course that the basic principles or philosophy are not subject to the whim or the will of the individual member.

As to initiative, we also believe that that is also increased through organization, paradoxical as that may sound. The initiative of the individual who stands alone has its iron-bound limits in the capacities and resources of the individual. Insofar as cooperation with others increases the power of the individual to do those things in which he is interested, his initiative is also boosted. The danger that may come from organization may be minimized, if not completely overcome, through the application of the principles of federalism, which leaves a wide field of activity completely to the groups themselves, while coordinating their efforts on a national and international scale.

Thus, we believe that a federalistic organization, which grants the groups greater authority than the central coordinating committee, will grant that maximum of liberty, democracy, and individual initiative which we deem the pre-requisite of organization. It is obvious that such an organization cannot develop a bureaucracy which can become tyrannical and self-perpetuating, and that the dangers of such a bureaucracy can be fought more successfully in a libertarian organization than in any other.

Functional Organizations:

These organizations are built upon the broad social and economic functions, whose activities effect more or less everyone directly.

The main bulwark of the workers in the struggle against fascism rests in the unions, which must be prepared to answer fascist provocations and threats with the economic action of the entire working class, in strikes and general strikes. But, in addition to the economic struggle of the unions, the workers must be able to oppose to the storm troop of fascism its own fighting forces who can defend working class organizations, properties, meetings and demonstrations. This phase must not be overlooked if the workers want to avoid the demoralizing effects of continuous persecutions even before the fascists have made their bid for power. Above all, the workers must not suffer the illusions of the Social Democratic parties of Germany and Austria who sought protection of their rights through the legal processes of the capitalist state. Fascism expresses open contempt for those legal rules, and the state openly tolerates and encourages every violation of those rules on the part of fascism. Those rules are meant only for the workers, and applied only to the workers. And the surest road to defeat for the workers is continued respect for them.

Fascism brings into the open the inner workings of the existing system, and for the first time, permits even the backward workers to see the alternatives that face them in the different courses of action. Democracy and enlightenment, which have always been associated in the popular mind with the existence of democratic capitalism, is now threatened with extinction by those forces that are dedicated to the preservation of capitalism. All the liberal humanities of the 19th century have been worn thin and no one is satisfied with them. The conditions of life under the existing system has become so intolerable that it is practically impossible to rally the masses to its defense against the aggressiveness of the fascists. At such a time when discontent is widespread and dissatisfaction with the existing regime is unanimous, it is impossible to carry on a struggle under the slogan "preserve the status quo". Only a movement that offers some positive change, an alternative to both the existing system and the dictatorship of the fascists, can hope to gather enough strength to successfully ward off the danger of fascism. Such an alternative can be found only in the social revolution which promises liberty and well-being for all. The degeneration that faces humanity in the victory of fascism can only be avoided by the social revolution.

ANARCHIST PRINCIPLES OF ORGANIZATION.

The question of organization has plagued the Anarchist Movement for many years. The fear of losing a certain measure of liberty through organization, as well as the fear of losing valuable individual initiative caused many Anarchists to be suspicious of organization to this very day.

However, a sober examination of the question has brought the Libertarian Workers' group around to the following position on the question:

The existence of a common purpose as well as a common method of pursuing that purpose on the part of a number of individuals must cause these individuals to try to carry on their common activities in some organized manner. The division of forces along the necessary lines, the allotment of energies to different activities in accordance with some evaluation of their relative importance, the planning of the most effective kind of activities, provision for future work, all of these questions must be thought out carefully if individuals really wish to further the cause they have espoused, and not merely try with it as a pastime to be tossed away upon the discovery of some new diversion.

These, then, are the motivating forces that lead people to organization; The will to accomplish and the necessity to plan. Insofar as these motives are common to most people and most philosophies, there can be nothing distinctive between the desire of Anarchists for organization and that of rigid authoritarians and disciplinarians.

But the difference arises at the point of actual organization. Altho Anarchist-Communists recognize the necessity of organization, they also recognize its dangers. Therefore they try to minimize these dangers that are intimately tied up with organization by applying certain libertarian principles to the principles of organization. The preservation of liberty and individual initiative is the concern of all Anarchists who desire organization. Therefore Anarchist organizations must embody those principles that promise such preservation.

throw of such disciplinary authorities always leads to such excesses
again destroy every condition making for genuine discipline.

In order to determine the conditions that make for genuine discipline, we must first agree upon some definition of the term. In its broader sense, discipline should be taken as meaning orderly or coordinated cooperation. Coordinated in the sense of pooling the diverse elements, forces and energies within a given area for a common action for a common goal. How can this coordinated cooperation best be achieved?

Restricting the discussion to the current situation, we see the Marxist organizations each stressing the need for absolute authority. They base their position of iron discipline upon the belief that that is not only the most effective, but the only way of achieving that coordinated cooperation.

But what do we see in the history of the Marxist movements? There come certain periods when certain factions spring up differing with the dominant clique of these strongly centralized organizations. These factions are sincerely convinced that they are correct in their positions and the others are not. Without going into the merits of specific cases, it is evident to all that these minority factions are prepared to sacrifice everything for their ideas. And since there is no room in a centralized organization for more than one opinion these factions are ex-communicated. Is the discipline any greater after the excommunication than before? Has the dominating authority succeeded by this method in compelling the dissident faction to accept their point of view? Obviously not.

The result of this failure to tolerate the existence of a differing opinion within the organization, an opinion which has arisen in a given historic setting over solutions to be applied to specific problems, is to establish a rival organization. These two rival organizations then divert the broader struggle into the narrower field of fighting each other with a far greater intensity than they apply to the real enemy. The rival organization which sprang into being over differences in one specific field must then find reason for its continued separate existence even after the specific occasion for the split has passed. Thus, we find that this method of maintaining discipline strictly within the organization has succeeded in doing the exact opposite. Not only was there no greater discipline, or accord, in attacking the specific problem that raised the discord between the different factions, since one if the differing factions was finally kicked out of the organization, but it was made forever impossible for these two factions, which arose over a specific problem, to ever work together.

Instead of devoting their entire energies against the common class enemy, without being hampered by internal dissensions, these discipline parties are compelled to divert part of that energy combating the "counter revolutionists", i.e., those who differ from them, in the working class.

A libertarian organization, on the other hand, admitting the existence of more than one opinion within the organization, and permitting individuals or groups to refrain from some activity upon which the majority has embarked, faces no problem of diverting yet more energy from the majority to fight the dissenting minority. More than that, the majority can feel certain, that the minority, as a faction, will not try to capture the organization during a period of confusion and struggle, since there is no particular benefit to be gained from "capturing" it, finally, there is the certainty that after the specific occasion which has caused the difference of opinion to arise will have passed away, these differing factions will undoubtedly be working together again in the future. For these differing factions do not consider each other as counter-revolutionists but rather as comrades who have all-too-human differences.

Thus we see that only thru voluntary discipline will there ever be genuine cooperation, and that revolutionary organizations have more to gain from the mutual toleration of voluntary discipline than from the arbitrary compulsion of centralized authority.

The membership is not of a purely voluntary character, but depends either upon residence or economic pursuit. Such organizations are based upon a specific function, and the success of the organization depends upon the control it has over that function. Under the circumstances other principles of organization must be worked out.

First of all, we must recognize that such broad organizations, as labor unions and cooperatives or residential organizations for sanitation, schools, etc. cannot be as selective in their membership as the more voluntary organizations. It must include in its membership all persons who are directly connected with that specific function. Therefore the responsibility of the individual member of such an organization is of a different character than in the other type. Therefore individual initiative must be different in the one organization than in the other.

However, the problems of democracy and liberty and initiative still exist for the functional organization, though in a different form. We believe that absolute democracy must exist for all members in discussing a question on which the organization must make a decision. This will then grant maximum possible liberty to the individual member to help shape the life of the organization. The maximum of democracy can be found, in this organization as in the other, only in a federalistic organization. In other words, decisions must be built from the bottom up, from the local organizations to the regional and the national organizations, federations and confederations. Until a decision is reached there must be a maximum of opportunity and liberty for all to express their opinions and frame the decision. But once the decision has been reached the individual is not free to maintain an individual position as he is in the more voluntary organization. Were this the case the very effectiveness of the functional organization would be destroyed.

In such organizations, the individual must be subjected to the majority, or it would be absolutely impossible for the organization to function. However, even here, we would limit the subjection, not to a national majority, or even a regional majority, but to the majority of his local organization. Inasmuch as the organization is built upon federalistic principles, we would grant the ultimate autonomy to the local organization. Here again, as in the case of the individual in the voluntary organization, this autonomy is limited to non-participation in a specific activity or activities. In other words, whereas the individual is the ultimate unit in the voluntary organization, the local organization is the ultimate unit in a functional organization. It is apparent that the discipline of such libertarian organizations is in complete contrast with that of all authoritarian organizations and philosophies. This concept of voluntary discipline will be discussed a little later.

Because the local organization is the ultimate unit of the organization, it becomes obvious that the individual does not find himself hopelessly swamped under overwhelming and unattainably distant majorities. He is subject only to the immediate majority of his local and is therefore much more able to impress his will and opinion upon them than upon the membership of a large national organization, whom he may find it impossible to contact.

Such federalistic organization must also make it more difficult for bureaucracy to attach itself upon the organization. The fact that there is no strongly centralized power capable of dominating the local organizations make it so much more difficult for a bureaucratic apparatus to develop. Thus, we have a greater guarantee for continued democracy and fluidity of the organization in adapting itself to changing conditions.

Voluntary Discipline.

The concept of discipline as a social and organizational principle sets the Anarchist-Communist off from every other social movement. Every social movement but that of the libertarians proclaims the absolute necessity of some arbitrary authority to maintain discipline. They have been proclaiming and practicing this from the dawn of history but we have yet to see the establishment of discipline for more than a temporary period. On the contrary, every attempt to establish such an arbitrary discipline has always resulted in precisely the opposite. The bloody oppression required to establish and maintain this discipline is itself the greatest violation of a social discipline. And the inevitable over-

throw of such disciplinary authorities always leads to such excommunication against every effort in making for genuine discipline.

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YOUTH PROBLEM

The problem of youth has always been one of the most perplexing and most fascinating problems for social movements. The knowledge that the future of a movement depends upon its success in attracting youthful adherents has raised youth to a special category, posing its own unique problems, and requiring its own specific solutions. Today, more than ever before, social and political movements, with the single object of dominating entire nations, resort to the most fantastic, unscrupulous, and demagogic methods in order to attract youth. Their appeals vary from a call to protect and restore the ancient honor of nations by creating totalitarian states, with their all-pervasive militarism and despotism, to flagrant calls to self assertion and "demands" for independent livelihoods in addition to free and adequate education. The government is expected to grant these demands under sufficient "pressure" from youth.

The above schemes, plus the innumerable variations ranging between the two extremes, have one characteristic in common. They are all designed to attract youth to the Cause by means of subtle flattery. The effort to raise them to the front ranks within society by offering them the most important and decisive roles in the struggle to reshape the social order can only result in the creation of a demagogic movement separate and apart from the working class, which can only serve reactionary and fascist ends or at best end up as an impotent liberal grouping incapable of joining the decisive action of the working class.

To create a special class or section within the population embracing all of the youth of a nation is to perpetuate the myth of the "nation", "National unity", the "national front", the "fatherland" so carefully fostered by all patriots and social patriots who seek to obliterate class distinctions and class interests. The youth of a nation does not have a common origin, enjoy a similar daily existence and upbringing, or face the promise of an equal future. Therefore the youth of a nation have no homogeneous interests applicable to them as a class. Therefore there is no such category as the youth of a nation.

We have a working class youth, a lower middle class youth, upper middle class youth, and a few millionaire youths. The interest of these youths corresponds to their fortunes, namely, their daily existence, their opportunities for education and training, and their prospects of future careers and livelihoods. It must be our job to drive this fact home to youth.

Reared on the nationalistic ideologies of government schools from early childhood; fed by the sensational yellow press, cheap literature, movies and radio during the formative period; and deprived of suitable knowledge and standards with which to judge all the jingoistic claptrap, the average youth grows up with an arsenal of ideas totally unfit for his life as an adult worker. Prejudiced against unions as subversive institutions, opposed to the national welfare, and therefore his own individual welfare; suspecting all radicals as foreigners determined to destroy our enlightened national institutions; spurning all suggestions of a new social order or even modification of the existing one, our maturing youth is headed, not only for the hell of insecurity and want that awaits every individual without a source of income independent of his labor, but for a fanatical defense of that condition. Only many years of hard and bitter experience may finally complete his education and lead him to the correct conclusions. In many cases, however, it may fail completely and lead to a cynical and reactionary brutalization that transforms man into a bloodthirsty animal.

We therefore face the task of weaning youth away from his misleading nationalistic and jingoistic upbringing, of preparing him to meet the problems of life that we know await him, and of drawing him into the working-class movement where his true interests lie. We must make the working class youth conscious of the facts of his existence, aware of his interests as opposed to and in contrast with the interests of other sections of the youth and of the population as a whole. We must make the working class youth class conscious and draw to him as ally the youth of the lower middle classes, whose interests are on the whole similar.

To do this, our approach must help to solve the distinctive problems that face youth, such as education and educational facilities, technical training, military training, employment services. Through a proper approach to these problems, it should be possible to get favorable attention from young people.

We must raise the demands for free and adequate education and educational facilities for all, academic freedom for teachers and students for the fullest investigation of all problems, no military training, free placement services, and assured prospects for future jobs. Demands such as these must attract the attention of youth and draw it into that movement which fights most strenuously and presents its case most logically. The last demand, namely, assured prospects for future jobs, is the opening wedge for an analysis of the system under which we live, of what capitalism holds out for the workings of the profit motive, and the position of the working class under capitalism. Coupled with such an analysis goes a development of the creative and revolutionary role of the working class. Thus we would try to arouse interest in the struggles of the workers and make every effort to draw youth into manifestations of sympathy and actual support.

This is the method we should choose to draw the working class and lower middle class youth of the land into the revolutionary movement.

GROUP ACTIVITIES

Since the publication of the first issue of the "Bulletin" the Libertarian Workers' Group has continued its discussion meetings as well as its propaganda work. Outdoor propaganda meetings have been held by the Group in Manhattan. The Group has finished its discussion of the fundamental problems of Anarchism and of the chief current issues. We are beginning to hold discussions on the leading theoreticians of Anarchism from Godwin to the present day theoreticians. We plan to put out summaries of these discussions in forthcoming issues of the Bulletin.

The Group has cooperated with the Stelton Kropotkin Group in organizing and conducting in Stelton an Anarchist Institute for two weeks during the summer. We are also planning to organize, or cooperate with other Groups in organizing another institute this winter in New York.

Right now, we are cooperating with individual comrades from other Groups in Philadelphia, Boston, and New York. Beyond the limits of New York City, we have established a lecturers' bureau of six capable comrades and we plan, if we can secure the cooperation of comrades and groups between New York and Phila., and N.Y. and Boston to have lecturers go out on week-end trips. We urge all comrades interested in such lectures to communicate with us and we will make all the necessary arrangements.

We are cooperating with the United Libertarian Organization in the work it is doing on behalf of our comrades in Spain. The ULO is publishing a bulletin called the "Spanish Revolution". Comrades interested in distributing this Bulletin should write to the U.L.O., 45 West 17th Street, N.Y.C.

In addition, we have cooperated with the Ferrero-Sallitto Defense Committee, altho not as much as we should have liked to.

(We have listed in summary fashion the activities of our Group, in the hope that other Groups will do the same, thereby giving each other suggestions as to the work we can do even with our limited resources, and with the object that perhaps we can eventually all work together in one direction. We shall welcome for the Bulletin reports from the Groups as to what they are doing and suggestions as to what should be done.)

We deliberately omitted from this Bulletin, the two resolutions dealing with the Transition Period because the Bulletin had become too bulky. We will devote an issue to this alone. The two resolutions deal with the political aspects of the transition and the "dictatorship of the proletariat", and the economic problems of the transition period.

In a coming issue we will discuss more fully the forthcoming English Anarchist paper and how we propose to take the first steps toward organizing it as a Movement paper.)

For all communications, please write to:

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