

VIEWS AND COMMENTS

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Published by The LIBERTARIAN LEAGUE



No. 41

MAY - JUNE 1961

ANARCHISM

According to the Encyclopaedia Britannica, Anarchism is "the name given to a principle or theory of life and conduct under which society is conceived without government." The word is derived from the Greek: an - not; archē - government.

Contrary to the popular concept of terrorism and bomb-throwing, Anarchism is the most exalted ideal of a stateless classless society, wherein each receives according to his needs and contributes according to his ability. Indeed it is really governments who are the terrorists and bomb-throwers, as the merest reflection on Auschwitz and Hiroshima will attest.

The Libertarian League strives for such a society in which harmony would be obtained "not by submission to law or by obedience to any authority, but by free agreements concluded between the various groups, territorial and professional, freely constituted for the sake of production and consumption, as also for the satisfaction of the infinite variety of needs and aspirations of a civilized being." (Encyclopaedia Britannica.)

If those ideals makes us sound like dreamers let us emphasize that the real dreamers are those who think that the human race can survive much longer in the face of the present nuclear arms race. In fact, the end very nearly came on October 5, 1960, when World War II was almost touched off by radar error. (N.Y. Times, Dec. 8, 1960, page 71.)

For the only sane alternative we urge everyone to read the complete article on Anarchism in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, which is available in most public libraries. Written by Peter Kropotkin, it provides an excellent concise presentation of the philosophy and goals of Anarchism. We will provide single copies free on request.

The Libertarian League and its publication Views & Comments attempt to apply the anarchist philosophy to the situation of today's world. Our ideas along these lines are summarized in the Provisional Statement of Principles of the L.L., copies of which will be sent free on request.

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FOR THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

As we close this issue of Views and Comments, the story of the tragic Cuban "invasion" fiasco is beginning to take shape. A full analysis cannot yet be made from the information available, but some facts stand out, particularly those relating to the sinister role played by the United States Central Intelligence Agency.

The Cuban political exile movement was composed of various groups that agreed only insofar as they were all opposed to the Castro regime. They were against it for varying reasons. And they disagreed on the kind of program that could win the support of the Cuban masses.

A correct understanding and a realistic approach to the fundamental problems of the revolution was needed. By its very nature the Cuban Revolutionary Council was incapable of this. Some elements hoped to save the revolution from the totalitarian dictatorship by creating a revolutionary democracy that would preserve its gains and increase the strength of the people's organizations. These latter were sabotaged by the C.I.A. The very people who were most closely identified with the underground revolutionary and labor movement and who might have been capable of arousing the Cuban masses for deepening the revolution, were brutally pushed aside.

On the other hand those who wanted to nullify the positive gains of the revolution and restore private capitalism with all its degradation--the very ones most hated by the Cuban people--received the support of the U.S. Government. By entering into a bloc with the counter-revolutionary elements of the emigration, the left-of-center forces also identified themselves in the eyes of the Cuban people and of the World with the interests and agencies of Yankee imperialism and the U.S. Government.

This combination of U.S. and Cuban capitalist interests dominated the Miro Cardona coalition. The C.I.A. was permitted control of the whole affair. A purely military solution was chosen to the exclusion of social and political actions involving the people of Cuba. This had disastrous results.

North American interests feared and still fear the social implications of the Cuban revolution, with or without Fidel Castro and/or the Communists. The C.I.A. could not by its nature work with the underground inside Cuba, but had no scruples against exposing it to the wrath of the dictatorship. (Remember Warsaw, 1944.)

The Cuban underground was not even informed of the timing for the projected "invasion." No last-minute coordination between the exiles and the underground was possible, especially after the virtual kidnapping and confinement of the members of the Revolutionary Council by the gangster-like C.I.A. agents. The whole matter was handled by this U.S. governmental agency in such a way as to practically assure the fail-

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 21)

AGAINST TOTALITARIANISM
AGAINST BOTH IMPERIALISMS
FOR FREEDOM IN CUBA

Policy Statement of
the Libertarian League

The real revolution in Cuba is yet to come. It will be the social revolution against both Fidel Castro's totalitarianism and American imperialism. Both these pernicious forces must be overthrown. The Libertarian League calls upon all independent radicals to demand that the Cuban people be allowed to make their own revolution, free from outside interference from either side.

We honor all freedom fighters who stand for greater liberty and social justice and not for turning the hands of the clock back. They must be free from dependence on American imperial interests.

The Cuban revolution has been betrayed by Castro. It will be doubly betrayed by U.S. interference. Cuba must not become a Korea or a Laos. Neither the American State Department nor the Soviet Union have any right to intervene in the Cuban revolution. Castro's mistake was that in reaction to American pressure he took Cuba into the Soviet orbit and introduced Stalinist forms and methods detrimental to liberty. Castro's revolution moved in the reactionary direction of totalitarian nationalization rather than forward to a truly revolutionary solution through workers' control.

Let the Cuban people understand Castro and deal with him. Let Cuba if necessary stand a while longer as an example to the rest of Latin America of what a totalitarian regime is like. In good time the Cubans themselves will see through it and will overthrow it themselves. This issue cannot be forced without opening the door either to a long and bloody civil war or to a revival of the North American imperialist exploitation which has already been repudiated.

To Latin Americans of all social classes, U.S. imperialism is the hereditary enemy. They have had very little experience with Stalinist imperialism and its methods. Castro's defiance of U.S. imperialism struck a responsive chord. Many non-Stalinists have been carried away by enthusiasm for a "social revolution" on their doorstep.

Some of the changes initiated after the fall of Batista have appeared to benefit the common man. The North American sugar interests were pushed aside and many long-overdue social reforms were inaugurated. Most of those who are now fighting Castro were participants in these social changes.

But, as happened in Russia over 40 years ago, the genuine social revolution has been usurped by the statist counter-revolution of the totalitarian "communists." The revolution of the people became a revolution of the State which replaced private capitalism by state capitalism.

Batista was overthrown by a combination of forces and circumstances. It was not the work of Fidel Castro personally. Students, workers and intellectuals had died by the thousands in the struggle. Batista had been weakened and his army was practically useless. Even so it is doubtful if victory could have been assured without the material aid of the Betancourt Government of Venezuela, and the last minute withdrawal of the U.S. props under the tyranny.

In the 28 months since the overthrow of the tyrant Batista the Cuban state has developed along definite totalitarian lines. Most industries and the major sectors of Cuban agriculture have been nationalized under rigid state control. The unions have been converted into a servile "labor front" of the State. The autonomy of the University has been wiped out. Freedom of the press and communication in general, freedom of association and assembly have all virtually ceased to exist. The tentacles of the totalitarian State have penetrated into every aspect of Cuban life.

The only legal political party in Cuba today is the Popular Socialist Party (Stalinist). Anti-communism is equated by Castro with counter-revolution. The 26th of July movement has in essence dissolved, leaving Fidel Castro and a few of his intimates as collaborators of the Stalinist organization. The latter has a stranglehold on the national and provincial committees of all the labor unions, all of which it controls. But this is a simple formality anyway since the Ministry of Labor can remove union committees and functionaries at will. The Minister of Labor, Augusto Martinez Sanchez, is an old Stalinist militant according to our Cuban comrades.

Stalinism succeeded in imposing a much more repressive and tighter dictatorship than Batista's ever was. The masses are controlled by a combination of demagogy and terror. They have thus had less opportunity to develop their struggle. The present fight against Castro called for political and social actions leading up to a general strike, which could then perhaps be clinched by an armed struggle. But the political coalition of the opposition chose a military solution instead. This has been unfortunate but it follows in the Latin American tradition. It follows the same general pattern as in the case of the anti-Batista revolt.

The "invaders" of Cuba were sincere, dedicated Cubans ready to die to save their country from an odious dictatorship. They are the same kind of people that fought with Castro three years ago. Many if not most of them are the very same people. This was not an invasion in the commonly accepted sense. As previously in the case of Castro's 26th of July Movement, the Cuban Revolutionary Council reflects the internal struggle within Cuba itself. The assaults on Cuba's beaches from abroad were designed to support the anti-dictatorship forces in the island, of which they are but a reflection.

Lovers of freedom throughout the world cannot but support the efforts to oust Castro, however long it may take.

In the last analysis, only the Cuban people themselves can solve the political and social problems of their country. This they must do against both North American and Russian imperial interests. To the extent that the U.S. is known to aid the opposition forces, the Cuban masses will hesitate to support them. We know, and the Cuban workers know that the U.S. State Department is incapable of opposing Stalinist tyranny on the only basis on which it can be effectively fought.

In Hungary in 1956 it was the anti-Stalinist radicals who led the struggle. For reasons of their own, reactionary and even totalitarian elements participated in the revolution. In Cuba the non-radical elements play a bigger part. These consist of two main categories: the American imperialists and their Cuban lackeys who want to restore a Batista-like dictatorship and the anti-totalitarian coalition represented in the Cuban Revolutionary Council. We are 100% against the former and we will fight them with every means that we can.

On the other hand, our sympathies are whole-heartedly with every real opponent of totalitarianism. Libertarians, socialists, anti-Stalinist radicals of all kinds, "democratic conservatives" and liberals of every shade are currently making common cause against the Stalino-Castrist dictatorship in Cuba. Insofar as they fight for political freedom we support them. To the extent that some of them want to re-establish private or "welfare" capitalism we oppose them. The victory of the anti-totalitarians could create a fluid situation and open the way for the extension and libertarian development of the revolution aborted and usurped by Castro.

The struggle against both Castro and American economic interests trying to re-establish themselves in Cuba will go on. People raised in the tradition of Simon Bolivar and Jose Marti will never supinely submit to the slavery of statism. Nor will they allow foreign capitalists to again exploit the Cuban people.

Those American radicals who shut their eyes to the monstrous growth of state power under Castro, betray the cause of human liberty. Power and the fruits of their labor must belong to the whole people. No one should tell them what to do. They should themselves make all the decisions.

This goal is no longer utopian; it is the only goal to which true revolutionaries can whole-heartedly subscribe.

YANKES NO!
CASTRO NO!
FREEDOM YES!

REVIEW: LISTEN YANKEE

LISTEN, YANKEE by C. Wright Mills, Ballantine Books, Inc., 101 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C., Price: 50¢.

There are not enough books which reveal America's terrible exploitation of the Cuban people, and it is good to have these facts brought out. In this regard Mills does a good job of documenting that role. But he has not documented sufficiently the role of Castro's movement. Instead he has used the technique of letting the "Fidelistas" speak for themselves. This is not a scholarly book and he does not deny this.

Mills speaks of the people who have been put back to work, of how corruption and prostitution have been removed, of the building of homes for citizens, all of them good. But in his enthusiasm for the first stages of the revolution he does not see that the Thermidor is already in progress. He says nothing of the removal of union militants, of the high production demanded of the worker and the frequent tithing of his income "for the revolution." He says nothing of the growing power of the Stalinists over the trade unions. The facts are that the only political bodies with freedom of the press are the 26 of July and the Communists. Some Cubans seem to take great pride in stating that Time magazine is not suppressed. But Castro has scrupulously attempted to show there are only two points of view--the capitalist and the Fidelista. Cuban groups that are critical of the regime do not have the same freedom. Mills' book adds up to the same argument--either you are for Castro or you are against Cuba.

Mills believes that the progress of bureaucratization is not likely to occur in Cuba because the agrarians have power rather than the urban centers, and that the peasants made the revolution rather than resisting it as they did in Russia. But there is no such thing as a worker's council. As in Russian and the U.S. the orders of labor and management come from the top down. This being the case there can be no continuation of the revolution. Instead we have something like the Argentine Peronist situation, with the workers loyal to a powerful state, and not, therefore, free.

Nor did Mills foresee the extent of the economic boycott of Cuba, which may in the end be more devastating than the blockade of Russia in 1917. At this moment Cuba is cut off from most of the goods she used to receive, because of the dollar shortage as well as the boycott. It is unfortunate that America's role is driving her further into the Soviet orbit and into Stalinist-type bureaucratization.

Nor can one overlook another factor that makes Fidelismo a mockery of humanism. This is the arming, the military drilling of children. A friend protested to me, "But would not the Spanish children be asked to fight against Franco?" In the Spanish Civil War you probably could not have stopped them. For freedom fighters who seek to rid Cuba of its

become stronger and more intimate every day. We believe that with the development of the revolution and its advance, with the even tighter coordination and cooperation of the revolutionary forces, we can and should, at the right time, arrive at complete union, at fusion of all these forces in a single movement."

This can mean only one thing to anybody who has followed the history of the last few decades.

--R. Blackwell

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WE EXTEND OUR APOLOGIES FOR AN OVERSIGHT IN THE LAST ISSUE OF V. & C. IN NOT GIVING CREDIT FOR THE COVER DRAWING. IT WAS TAKEN FROM THE EXCELLENT SPANISH EXILE MAGAZINE "UMBRAL" PUBLISHED IN MONTREAL.

MR. GOLDBERG TAKES OVER FOR LABOR

9

OR DOES HE ?

President Kennedy was elected by one of the closest margins of any President in American history. The unions had campaigned for him and the labor vote put him in the White House. Kennedy, appreciating this, felt the need to reward labor not only for past favors, but also for services yet to be rendered. He needs Labor's support to counteract the conniving of the Democratic and Republican politicians who oppose or want to modify some of his legislative proposals.

The national economy is limping badly. There are almost six million officially unemployed, not counting the millions who are working part time. If the recession continues at the same rate, unemployment should reach eight million by the end of 1961. The Administration is faced with two problems: to stop the inevitable rising discontent and militancy of the workers by inducing them to accept a lower standard of living and to swallow the few morsels of "relief" which their masters give to keep them quiet, and to convince the capitalists that the few indispensable concessions are a good "investment" which will pay off in the end.

The "New Frontier," like the "New Deal," of the Roosevelt era, is a program to save capitalism by added doses of governmental welfare. The main principle of the "New Frontier" like that of the "New Deal" is that Government, Labor and Management must collaborate to preserve the system of capitalism. This is also the official policy of the labor bureaucracy of the AFL-CIO. The alliance of the Kennedy Administration with the AFL-CIO is based on this concept.

Arthur J. Goldberg was appointed Secretary of Labor because he has all of the necessary qualifications to work along these lines. Goldberg told the National Association of Manufacturers that:

"The challenge of the sixties is to end the cold war which exists between labor and management in America today. The challenge of the new age is to get these two powerful groups to bury the hatchet."

On another occasion he declared:

"My view is that our society is not a class society and the Department of Labor is not and should not be a class department."

In other words, Goldberg's job will be to enforce all the anti-labor laws which both he and the AFL-CIO have always said that they opposed! The Judas Iscariots of the labor movement agree to bind the workers in a legal strait-jacket and deliver them to their enemies. Senator Barry Goldwater, the rabid union hater, enthusiastically agreed that Goldberg would make an excellent Secretary of Labor!

Secretary Goldberg supposedly enjoys the confidence of the labor misleaders. He was the general counsel for the AFL-CIO. He played a key part in engineering the unification of that organization and in forming its now half-forgotten "Code of Ethics." He was also counsel for the Steelworkers and other unions. He played a big part in settling the steel strike. In 1950 the Steelworkers Union granted Goldberg a life pension of \$25,000 a year to begin when he reached the age of sixty. His income from legal services to various unions was approximately \$100,000 a year. Goldberg's influence in labor circles makes him the ideal man to sell the Kennedy hokum to the workers. Truly a marvelous appointment. Here is a man who has the respect of the Government, the Capitalists and "Labor"!

Goldberg is a product of the "New Deal." He represents the new type of labor leader that was formed by the post-Roosevelt labor movement. A movement dedicated to class cooperation needs a negotiator, not a fighter for labor's rights. Such a movement needs the bargaining table, not the picket line.

The men who built the American labor movement came from the shops. They learned about unionism the hard way, by battling on the picket lines and practicing solidarity on the job. Today's labor fakers have largely come from outside. The lawyers and professional "pie-cards" have taken over. Every student of the labor movement should understand this. A. H. Raskin, labor expert of the New York Times, knowledgeably sums up the situation as follows:

"--unions had become big business, with sizable treasuries and welfare funds, legal privileges and restraints of baffling complexity and contracts so intricate that armies of technicians were required to write and administer them. What was needed on the union side was a managerial elite with different yardsticks but the same basic functions that already existed among their counterparts in giant corporations. Goldberg is the fullest flower of this development."

The career of Arthur J. Goldberg symbolizes the continuing integration of the American labor movement into the machinery of the State. His appointment shows the alarming extent to which the labor movement has degenerated into the Labor Front of emerging American State Capitalism.

Such a "labor" movement can no longer be reformed. It does not fulfill the needs of the workers in these troubled times. New revolutionary unions, dedicated to the class struggle and inspired by the ideal of a new free world, must be built. This is indispensable if the current of creeping totalitarianism is to be reversed.

--Sam Weiner

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IN MAO TSE TUNG'S "CELESTIAL" HELL (11)

COMMENTARY ON AN EYEWITNESS WHO DID NOT SEE

Herbert Read, the noted Anarchist writer and art critic, discussed the Chinese "communes" in an article especially written for the May 1960 issue of the Mexican Anarchist paper "Tierra y Libertad." We had discussed these "People's Communes" in the May 1959 Views and Comments and return to it now, not only because of Read's factual errors, but primarily because his false interpretation of the "Commune" movement contradicts the basic principles of Anarchism. Furthermore, recent catastrophic developments in the "Communes" and Read's astonishing conclusions, which are now being debated in the international Anarchist press, make it all the more necessary to restate our position. Read's article, although written in English, was translated into Spanish for publication; subsequent discussions have appeared in Spanish and French, but until now there has been no mention of this controversy in any English language periodical. We feel it essential, therefore, to make this debate known to our readers.

Although we quote extensively to give a fair idea of Read's concepts, we can deal with only a few of his distortions. He says, "My observations were made in China during the tenth anniversary of its liberation ... a great historic event for the Chinese people ... it is truly a social miracle that such a vast transformation involving 500 million people has been carried out in the period of one year."

Read further asserts, "They (the Chinese communes) have two essential characteristics that distinguish them from the Communist organizations of other countries: the spontaneity of their origin and the autonomy of their proceedings. The Communist Party of China did not create the communes. They emerged out of the general chaos, and the party at once recognized them as the correct solution to China's congenital problems. As realists and non-doctrinaire Marxists the leaders of the Communist Party immediately adapted its policies to the economic facts ... Mao-Tse-Tung himself ... was convinced that the peasants had found the correct solution to the agrarian problem." (Read's emphasis.)

Read goes into raptures about the communal dining halls, the dormitories, the children's nurseries which free the women to work in the fields, the old age homes and all the other blessings. In the communal paradise, the people are well fed and well clothed, he reports. Everything is produced for the benefit of the community; in addition to economic autonomy the people's communities enjoy complete political autonomy. The community, he states, is limited not only to agricultural production but includes all small industries connected with commerce, education, health, cultural benefits and military defense.

"This form of life is referred to as Communism. Anarchism is a word of insult in the Marxist doctrinary language, but it appears to me that the social revolution taking place in China is much closer to the ideal of Kro-

potkin than to those of Marx, Lenin and Stalin. This revolution has struggled against the interference of a centralized and all powerful bureaucracy, and has won out. It is true that there are many immense, new buildings for governmental ministries in Peking, but their principle object appears to be educational..."

Superficially, this portrait of the communes resembles the one painted by Kropotkin in his Fields, Factories and Workshops, which was the reason Read gave this title to his article. Actually, the situation in China is totally opposite to the one which Read depicts and has nothing in common with Kropotkin's Anarchist ideas. Like many another tourist, Read accepted everything he was told; he saw the puppet show but not the operators who pulled the strings. The article itself is inconsistent: in the first part he reports that when the unauthorized and spontaneous communes began, the party at once recognized them and immediately adapted its policies to the economic facts. Later, he declares that the Chinese social revolution has struggled against the interference of an all powerful bureaucracy and won out (our emphasis). Both these statements cannot be true; it must be one or the other ... or perhaps neither. In any case, Read implies that the government exists but no longer exercises real power, having transferred its power to the People's Communes. No social revolution is possible without a transfer of power and the elimination of the old power apparatus. Since the Communist Party's totalitarian state was intact when Read helped celebrate its tenth anniversary and has since grown even more tyrannical, it follows that the "social revolution" of the "spontaneous communes" never took place.

It is obvious that Herbert Read and the Communists are in substantial agreement. He asserts that they and their state are responsive to the will of the people; that they, together with China's millions, are laying the groundwork for Anarchism by creating Read's "spontaneous and autonomous communes." Whether he realizes it or not, Read is saying that the state and an Anarchist commune movement can and do co-exist!! If the references to Anarchism were deleted, Read's article would make an excellent Communist Party propaganda tract. If Read is right, dear comrades, we have been wasting our time all these many years. We should liquidate our movement and help the Communists establish Anarchism!

The speed of the transformation to the "commune" system has given many people the impression that the movement was spontaneous. A closer examination of the power structure of the Chinese state, which controls all administrative levels, would show that it is thus able to engineer what Read calls a "social miracle." Even Edgar Snow, an old friend of Mao-Tse-Tung and Chou-En-Lai, who recently returned from China, noted (LOOK, Jan. 31, 1961): "China is a nation as disciplined and conformist as any on earth. In spite of the size of the country, discipline is enforced rigidly by the 50 million Party members, youth leaguers, soldiers, police,

bureaucrats plus hordes of sychophants. In addition the Party absolutely controls the schools and all mass media." How, under such a set-up, any non-conformist, spontaneous movement could originate and develop, Read does not explain.

The "People's Communes" were not a spontaneous movement. Careful planning preceeded their inauguration. The ideological justification for the change was formulated in July 1958 in an article by Tschen-Po-Ta, alternate on the Politburo of the Party, which appeared in Red Flag, the Party's theoretical organ. He claimed that the establishment of the communes would put into effect points nine and ten of Marx's "Communist Manifesto," and that China, under the direction of Mao-Tse-Tung, had already entered the period of transition from Socialism to Communism. The Communist Party established the first experimental commune in Hsiu-Yang county of Honan Province as early as April 10, 1958. The commune, named Sputnik, included 43 thousand peasants. A conference held there between July 20 and August 5, 1958, to evaluate the results of the experiment, went on to announce the guiding principles for all future communes. A resolution stated that the organizations of the Party must exercise control over the commune members under all circumstances, that the communes must become "belligerent fortresses" of the Party, that party organizations in the communes must meet separately and decide policy, and that the designation of functionaries and all matters of personnel are the responsibility of the Party. In all communes, "red technical schools" and centers to inculcate "love for the Party" must be established. Special prizes and bonuses are to be awarded to commune members who "obey the leaders with fervor and work with enthusiasm."

In mid-August of the same year, Mao-Tse-Tung visited Hsu-shui county, Hopeh Province, where Sputnik type communes were also established. The Party staged a good show, complete with parades, noisemakers and banners. With the proclamations of August 29 and September 10, 1958, officially opening the "Big Leap Forward" movement, the campaign reached its hysterical climax. All over China mobilized masses marched with banners bearing such slogans as: "Concentrate 20 Years in One Day," and "Work Hard for 3 Years and Be Happy for a Thousand Years," "Organize Yourself in a Military Manner," and "Perform Your Tasks as You Would Orders in Time of War." All over China the massed columns chanted:

"The Eastern sky reddens;
The sun rises, and in China
Mao-Tse-Tung has come.
He stands for the welfare of the people;
He is the great savior of the people."



H. F. Schurmann, an expert on China, wrote in "Le Contrat Social" (Paris, November, 1959):

"It is almost inconceivable that it (the communes) is a truly popular movement spontaneously created by the enthus-

iasm of the peasants. The peasants are above all conservatives and distrust changes. But the Mao regime has succeeded, in the last few years, in creating a new corps of party militants--mostly young communist peasants. It was this hard, puritanical elite corps who were the driving force of the campaign."

To assess the nature of the Chinese Commune movement, we must sketch the dynamics of the State dictatorship. The authoritarian socialist State is guided by a definite economic and political philosophy based on the proposition that the State must consciously remold society in accordance with its preconceived plans. Real Socialism is not allowed to grow naturally out of the progressive development of society.

In imposing its dictatorship the State automatically provokes the resistance of its victims, buries Socialism and creates a more vicious form of slavery. The permanent war between the State and the people is not pursued solely by naked force, but is enforced by mass indoctrination and by a system of graduated and extremely unequal rewards so arranged as to insure the loyalty of the privileged upper strata against the great masses at the bottom of the absolutist pyramid. The Chinese dictatorship must overcome internal opposition, not only to stay in power, but also to satisfy its imperialist ambitions abroad. It aims to become the dominant power in Asia, and to challenge the hegemony of Russia in the Communist world. To do this, it must become a great industrial and military power. The industrialization of China is being pushed through by converting the whole country into a vast concentration camp of millions of regimented, under-nourished slaves. Human life is nothing--the Plan is everything.

In 1952 Liu-Shao-Chi, Number 2 man in the hierarchy, expressed the policy of the State:

"Some comrades are of the impression that we began the collectivization the raise the living standards of the peasant. This impression is false. We will deal with that question only later. The collectivization must first of all provide for the necessary resources for the development of heavy industry."

The people's communes did not "emerge out of the general chaos." Since four-fifths of the Chinese people are peasants, whose greatest demand was for land, the Communist Party could gain their support only by redistribution of the land. Having done that, the Party proceeded to Phase Two, the pre-empting of the land by the State. The original land distribution had been followed by the setting up of "Mutual Aid Teams" and their consolidation into elementary cooperatives. Then came the "advanced cooperatives" or "agricultural collectives," the Chinese version of Stalin's Kolkhoses. The "People's Communes" were erected on the foundation of the agricultural collectives. All these steps were part of the long-range program to initiate measures leading to the complete domination of the peasantry by the dictatorship.

With increased domination by the State came heightened resistance by peasants, workers, intellectuals and even party members serious enough to cause Mao-Tse-Tung to adopt the "Hundred Flowers Policy" in February 1957. Mao's famous speech was replete with references to the widespread discontent. He admitted that:

"Certain people in our community were delighted when the Hungarian events took place ... they felt there was too little freedom under our people's democracy. ... Certain contradictions exist between the interests of the State, collective interest and individual interest, between democracy and centralism, between those in a position of leadership and the led, and contradictions arising from the bureaucratic practices of certain State functionaries in their relations with the masses."

Because of the unexpectedly great discontent, the Party decided to crack down by abandoning the relatively milder Hundred Flowers Movement in favor of the All Nation Rectification Campaign. At the eighth meeting of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Hsiaw-Ping revealed:

"Many peasants who were compelled to join cooperatives led other families in demanding withdrawal. Bad elements tried to disrupt the operations of the cooperatives by creating reactionary opinions, spreading rumors, demanding redress of alleged injustices, creating disturbances. Some even tried to form reactionary organizations and create riots." (Our emphasis.)

The cooperatives system had provided too many opportunities for the peasant to organize protests by such means as withholding grain shipments or even deserting the farms for the cities. Farm production was insufficient to provide for the projected gigantic expansion of heavy industry. The launching of the People's Communes meant that the dictatorship had opened an all out offensive to stamp out permanently all opposition to its program. Millions of peasants were taken off the farms and put to work in factories and massive construction projects. The grandiose plans of the commissars created an artificial labor shortage which was filled by taking women out of their homes and forcing them to work in agriculture and industry. Their children were taken away from them to be put into communal nurseries where they were indoctrinated by the party Jesuits. The Peking Review (November 18, 1958) explains:

"The individual way of life did not fit with the collective way of farming, with the pressing needs of the ever expanding industrial and agriculture production. The contradiction had to be solved to assure the Big Leap Forward in the national economy... The collective way of doing farm work calls for a corresponding transformation of the individual way of life into the collective way of life."

This is the tyrant's way of saying that individual and social freedom must be obliterated by State slavery.

Herbert Read thinks that the People's Communes are closer to Kropotkin's ideas because they are decentralized and possess political and economic autonomy. This notion is utterly false. There was relatively more freedom in the agricultural cooperatives than in the communes, which is precisely why the change was made. Centralizing the 700 thousand agricultural collectives into 26 thousand concentration camps, disguised as People's Communes, enabled the State to conscript the people of China into an industrial army. Village councils were dissolved, and administrative functions were concentrated into a single common council directly controlled by the higher State organs. Collectivized farm land, equipment and all other property of which the peasants were deprived became the property of the commune. The peasants in each commune--varying from ten to fifty thousand--were organized into semi-military labor units, marched to work, and paid partly in money and partly in the barest minimum of food.

Reports about the horrible exploitation of the communal serfs have leaked out in dispatches of foreign visitors and the testimony of refugees. Fortunately, we do not have to rely solely on these reports, since a careful study of official Chinese publications available in English proves that many of them are true. The following extracts from the "Peking Review" (Nov. 18, 1958) tell the story:

"...Communist labor is voluntary labor, without set quotas, done without expectation of remuneration... Last winter, over 100 million peasants worked hard, day after day, building water conservancy projects. Bringing their own tools and food, thinking nothing about the pay, working beyond the boundaries of their own cooperatives, townships, counties or even provinces... 50 million people in China are working hard...in steel, mining and construction...they too bring their own food, don't bother to think about being paid for the job and don't limit themselves to the 8 hour day... The vast masses of the people contribute their wisdom and strength with joyful hearts when they realize that the Communist Party is working for them... It is necessary to work in accordance with the directives given by the Communist Party Central Committee and Mao-Tse-Tung...

"The enemies of communism slander communist labor...it is in capitalist countries that workers are compelled to work slaves of hunger. It is only in our socialist countries that the workers have freed themselves from slavery." (From the article, "The Communist Working Spirit," by Wang-Li.)

There is not a human being anywhere who would not revolt against this kind of "socialist freedom." This has been amply demonstrated in "socialist" countries like Hungary, Poland, East Germany and Russia itself. The Chinese people do not accept slavery willingly.

As early as December 10, 1958, for example, barely four months after the Great Leap Forward swindle, the Wuhan Conference of the Central Committee of the Communist Party was

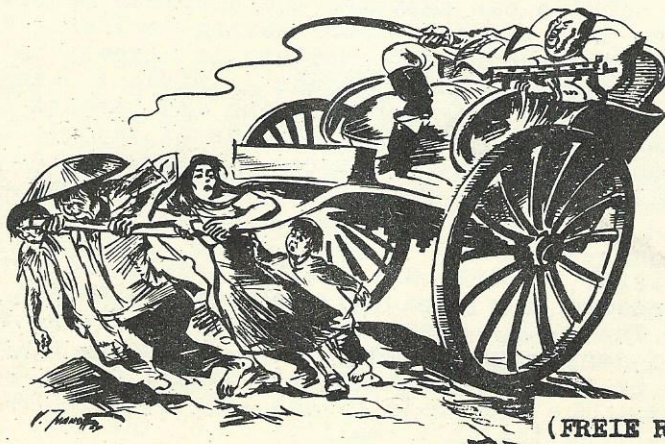
forced to make important concessions in order to stem the growing resistance of the peasants. A relaxation of the harsh discipline was ordered, by such means as allowing the peasants eight hours' sleep (!), repossession of their tools and a few farm animals and resumption to some extent of family life. Later pronouncements permitted peasants to cultivate their little plots of ground and sell their crops in the "free market." The hunger and misery that now plague the enslaved people of China are not due solely to the drought. The crop failures only aggravated the evils inherent in the very nature of the dictatorship.

The latest reports from China reveal that the Commune system has collapsed. The party has ordered a retreat to the cooperative plan, which is an acknowledgement that the People's Communes have failed. Other Party statements revealed the inefficiency of the communes, and worse, flagrant corruption and demoralization within the Party itself. Another purge and rectification campaign have begun. This Chinese version of the Russian state capitalism existed while Read was there. If he had seriously examined the facts of the situation and pondered deeply the writings of Kropotkin and other Anarchist writers, he might rather have reported: "The counter-revolution now taking place in China is close to the ideas of Marx, Lenin and Stalin, and has nothing in common with the ideals of Kropotkin or the principles of Anarchism."

We beg to suggest that Herbert Read study this extract from Kropotkin's pamphlet, *The State*:

"Either the State will be destroyed and a new life will begin in thousands of centers on the principle of an energetic initiative of the individual, of groups and of free argument, or else the State must crush the individual and local life. It must become the master of all domains of human activity, must bring with it wars and international struggles for the possession of power, its surface revolutions which only change one tyrant for another, and inevitably, at the end of this evolution--Death."

--S.W.



(FREIE RUNDSCHAU)

18 THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

There has never been any real revolution in the United States. The conservative writers and signers of the Constitution negated the revolutionary implications of the Declaration of Independence, maintaining political power for a select group of wealthy citizens and centralizing economic power in this same element. The implicit revolt in the heart and hands of every frontier farmer striving for a society of free and equal men was stifled by the law and the formal structure of the settled rich. It was stifled by the eastern merchants and manufacturers and the southern planters, by the brutal climate created by those who sought to get rich out of the fertile west, by robbing Indians, selling shoddy goods, ruining good land, like speculators and mercenary adventurers.

The growth of industry brought no social revolution; it was too easy for the dissatisfaction to overflow westward. The repressed aspirations which might have led to attempts at a revolutionary reconstruction of society were drained off. The dissatisfied were drawn by the promise of free land and opportunity in the west. Utopias were imagined on the mid-western plains and the rich coasts of California. Even the most radical thinkers of the day thought no basic social change necessary. Revolution was conceived in individual rather than social terms.

The frontier reached the limits drawn by the Pacific Ocean and the lands were filled; technological advance took the place of rapid land expansion. Revolution was to be mechanical--instead of the land liberating individuals, the machine would liberate society. Today, however, in 1961, technology has advanced, yet the capitalist system in both its forms, private and state, is still a system in which people find their lives unfulfilled. In the modern bureaucratic state, efficiency (defined in terms of the ruling element and its desires), both mechanical and social, has become the imperative. People find their hopes frustrated, their lives wasted and their destinies beyond their own control.

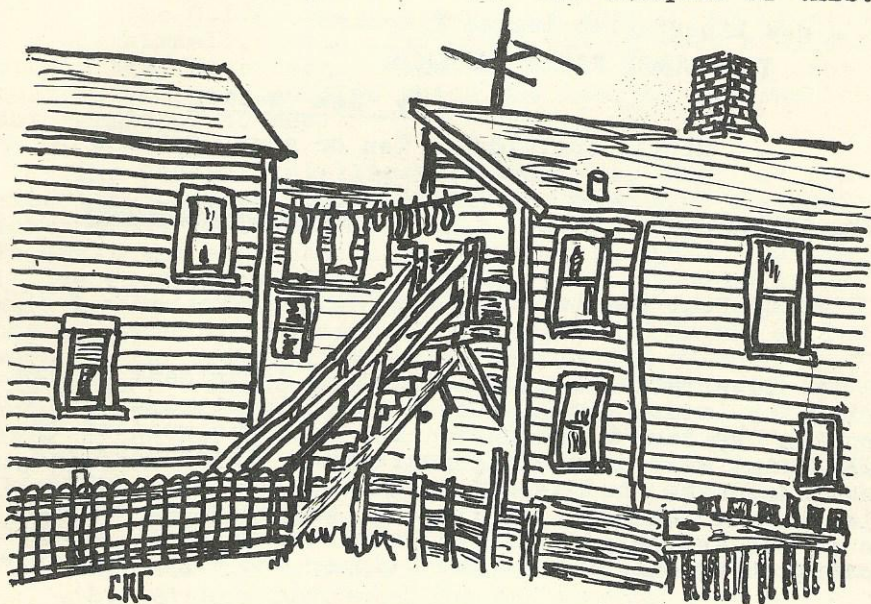
The machine has supplied the American people with all the gadgets they can use--labor saving devices. What are they saving the labor for? Society is already rationalized to a point beyond which it cannot go without changing itself fundamentally. If many more strains are imposed on the average American by the rigid demands of the clock, the machine, and the social pressures of his boss and brain-washed fellow workers, he will simply crack--and on a mass scale.

Societal tensions are driving overloaded psyches into a world of escape away from the world of capitalist and statist reality. The victim escapes in one of two ways: by building a world of temporary fantasies--TV, gadgets, drink, tranquilizers or socially unacceptable drugs, crime and/or finally insanity, the desperate flight into the unconscious, where fantasy becomes the only reality; or by the more realistic

and responsible (though more difficult and demanding) attempt to change the outer world so that it is not destructive to him.

In the latter case he works to change the conditions of life, disrupting the status quo and challenging the continued existence of economic competition, the hen-peck order of social and political hierarchies, the peer group compulsion to conformity in dress, opinions, arts and aspirations.

In the first case, the society simply breaks down and political fantasies replace realities, supermen and utopias become the parallels to the social fantasies of the population. Fascism and the machine man are the results. Egos, twisted by so much strain and unable to react constructively in a manner that counters their destructive forces, take flight, with the Leader and a social Valhalla as their goal--the sterile anti-utopias of the Nazis and the other Fascist and Communist neo-spartan worlds are examples of this.



In the second case a genuine social revolution takes place, either on a large or an individual scale. This may take the form of a new art form, the development of co-operatives, the taking over of industries by their workers, redistribution of land among agricultural workers supervised by themselves, or the development of new techniques in education. These are constructive ways of changing reality in a manner healthy for the individual and society as a whole.

It is to the interest of all that the second development take place. The change from our present social and economic impasse should be toward the goal of freedom with every individual's right to develop and express himself in a manner not destructive to or in violation of the freedom

of others. This is far better than the transference of power from one elite to another under the illusion that the new elite will transform the destructive institutions into beautiful ones.

The "American Revolution"--which implies world revolution, since no nation exists in a vacuum--will only have taken place when the people realize that only they, by their own action, can secure cultural freedom and economic institutions for their own benefit. They must accept responsibility for their own acts, carrying them out on their own level. They must not allow an elite, a "vanguard" or "chosen leaders" to direct and control their action for them.

--Betty Blanck

ANNOUNCING

a new Libertarian League Pamphlet

THE LABOR PARTY ILLUSION

By Sam Weiner

Single copy 10¢ Ten or more copies @ 5¢

REVIEW: ANARCHISM

ANARCHISM by Paul Eltzbacher, Libertarian Book Club, Price: \$6.00.

The Libertarian League literature department is now stocking the latest book issued by the Libertarian Book Club: "Anarchism" by Paul Eltzbacher. The book was written by the German jurist more than sixty years ago. Eltzbacher was against Anarchism, but he tried to be objective. Peter Kropotkin praised the book for its fair presentation of the ideas of the Anarchist writers, Proudhon, Tolstoi, Bakunin, Kropotkin, Benjamin Tucker, Max Stirner and William Godwin.

He summarizes their leading ideas about the State, the Law, Property and methods of realizing Anarchism. There are numerous quotations from their works which are for the first time available in English. (The English translation by Stephen Byington has long been out of print.) Eltzbacher's style is very heavy and involved. For this reason the book has been edited by Dr. Martin, whose work, "Men Against the State," another Libertarian Book Club publication, is also available from our literature department.

To bring the contents up to date, the book includes a masterful essay about modern Anarcho-Syndicalism by the great Anarchist writer Rudolph Rocker. Eltzbacher's "Anarchism" belongs on the bookshelf of every serious student of social movements. It is heartily recommended for all who want to get a fair, undistorted presentation of the fundamental principles of Anarchism.

--X.Y.Z.

ure of the venture and play into the hands of the Stalinist propaganda machine. The C.I.A. could not have served communist interests any better if it were paid by Moscow instead of by the U.S. taxpayers.

Fidel Castro, his allies and supporters have gained a great deal of prestige both inside and outside of Cuba. The regime has been given yet another pretext to tighten its dictatorship and to intensify the persecution of its opponents and critics.

We cannot at this point unravel the tangled maneuvers of the American bureaucrats who master-minded this idiotic policy. The machiavellian hypocrisy and disregard for the rights and interests of others puts this action on a par with such acts of political treachery as the Stalin-Hitler Pact, and the Anglo-French sell-out of Czechoslovakia at Munich.

It is inconceivable that the U.S. policy makers, including the C.I.A. and Pentagon big wheels and President Kennedy himself, could have acted out of mere stupidity. Stupid they have been. Criminal they have been. But there must be some explanation which the lack of information does not permit us to see.

The Central Intelligence Agency may have had reason to expect a top-level split or defection within the Castro Government. Possibly the C.I.A. was itself double-crossed. We await the explanation of a number of mysterious factors: If Che Guevara was shot, who shot him? To what extent, if any, was he involved in an internal power struggle? What has happened to the several thousand additional exiles that were in the training camps and who failed to show up in the "invasion"? Which elements--if any--of the Cuban underground actually went into action and to what extent have they been able to escape arrest? Is the Castro Government now granting the demand voiced by the Cuban Stalinists in their Congress of last August for the liquidation of anarchists, Trotskyists, "Titoists" and other radical dissenters?

Whatever the answers to these and other questions may be, Libertarians must work for and demand:

The cessation of persecution against revolutionary elements in Cuba and the restoration of personal and social liberties.

The abolition of internal and international political spy agencies.

Support for the liberation movement in Cuba by all independent radicals and liberals everywhere.

Development of the Cuban liberation movement, free of all entanglements with either Russian or U. S. imperialism.

In whatever future coalition or united front may be established against the totalitarian dictatorship, the revolutionary wing must not compromise its program or lose its identity.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE
Views and Comments

Pith & Vinegar



The U.S. government publishes a booklet entitled, "Your Federal Income Tax," which it sells for 40¢. First they grind you into the ground with taxes most of which are spent in poisoning the air you breathe and the milk you drink. Not content with that, however, they have the monumental gall to charge you 40¢ for a rule book telling you what angle to hold your pockets at while they're emptied to pay for a rat-race to universal suicide.



"Bureaucracy is a giant mechanism operated by pygmies." (Honore de Balzac)



"Powerful states can maintain themselves only by crime; little states are virtuous only by weakness." (Bakunin)



"If there is a State, then there is domination, and turn there is slavery." (Bakunin)



"There are but three ways for the population to escape its wretched lot: The first two are by way of the wine-shop or the church; the third is by way of the social revolution." (Bakunin)



"Nationalism is an infantile disease. It is the measles of mankind." (Einstein)



Can't Win Department: When an employer works harder and better, he himself gets richer and stronger; but when an employee works harder and better, the employer gets richer and stronger still. On the other hand, if you state that there's a conflict of interests there, the government calls you a subversive.



"One thing, nearly all the organizations on the (Attorney General's) list have in common: they make suggestions, wise or otherwise, which they believe will improve the conditions of labor." (Industrial Worker, 12-14-61)



"It isn't what a politician says, but what he whispers that gives a slight clue to what he is thinking." (James Michael Curley, in his autobiography, I'D DO IT AGAIN. Prentice-Hall, 1957.)

In the Benighted States of Ameriocrity the mother who brags that her little darling is "very smart in school" is only admitting that he offers less resistance to brainwashing.

* * *

The American Way is to cut costs, screw labor, and chisel buyers.



"Into the cultural and technological system of the modern world, the patriotic spirit fits like dust in the eyes and sand in the bearings." (Veblen)

* * *

"The American system of ours, call it Americanism, call it capitalism, call it what you like, gives each and every one of us a great opportunity if we only seize it with both hands and make the most of it. (Al Capone, quoted in THE GREAT QUOTATIONS, by George Seldes. Lyle Stuart, 1960)



Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel but the first haven of a profiteer.

* * *

Parliamentary socialists are against every capitalist except the biggest and strongest one of all--the State.

* * *

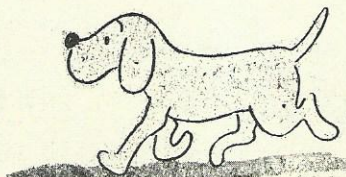
According to the London Observer, 11-30-60, The Mayor of Aromas, near Dijon, France, complained to his prefect that the inmates of the local lunatic asylum, who outnumbered the sane villagers, were voting as a block for the opposition. He didn't object to their voting, of course, because that's democracy. He challenged their right right to vote, not because they were insane, but because they came from all parts of France.



Starting off on the right foot: at one of the local public libraries a civil service examination book got stolen. It was the examination book for police officers.



Shopping Service: for the convenience of our working readers (with their "highest standard of living in the world") Brock and Co., 515 West Seventh Street, Los Angeles, offers just the thing for the missus: the "Diamond Master-piece....a fabulous necklace that divides at will into two beautiful bracelets." Yours for just \$27,500. (Adv. in The New Yorker, Nov. 26, 1960)



COULD THIS APPLY TO CUBA?

I am unalterably opposed to all revolution by decree. This is but the practical application of the idea of the "revolutionary" State, that is to say it is reaction hidden behind the mask of revolution. As against the method of revolutionary decrees, I support the policy of developing the revolutionary factors, which is the only really logical and efficacious method.

The authoritarian method which attempts to impose liberty and equality on people from above only succeeds in strangling liberty and equality. The libertarian course of action develops the revolutionary factors and awakens in the masses the need to act without the intervention of any official or authoritarian violence.

The first course, that of the "revolutionary" State, necessarily leads to the victory of open reaction. The latter course bases the revolution on the natural and direct action of the people themselves.

--Michael Bakunin

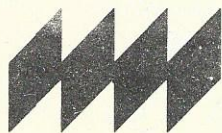
There are those who accept the truth of our ideas and yet prefer to stay at home without feeling the need to tell others of what they believe to be right. We cannot deny that such people are not ideologically socialist or anarchist since they think as we do; but they must surely set a very low value on their own ideas. When such people see the terrible evils that surround us all and believe that they know the remedy for these evils, how can they have so little heart as to remain silent?

--Errico Malatesta

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What We Stand For

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

LIBERTARIAN LEAGUE

P.O. Box 261, Cooper Station,
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