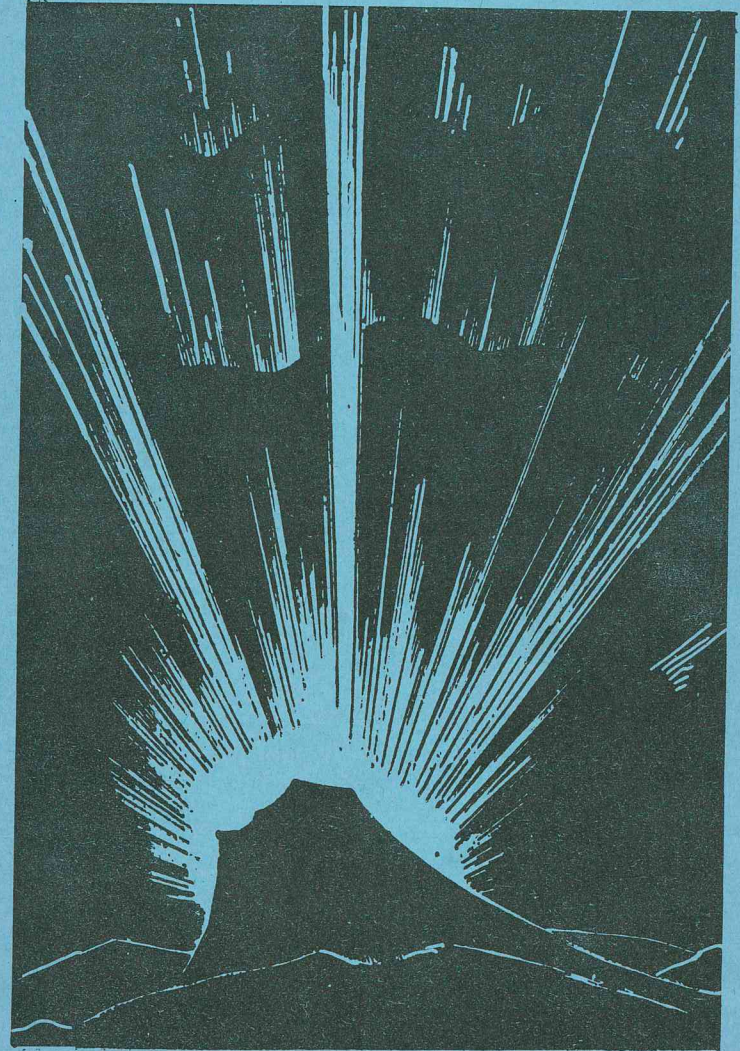


VIEWS AND

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COMMENTS

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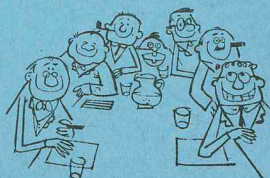
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SPAIN AGAIN

1

FOR A REVOLUTIONARY SOLUTION

Spain is seething with discontent. The collapse of the Franco regime is at least a distinct possibility. It has been weakened by the accumulated bitterness of the down-trodden workers that exploded in the numerous and widespread heroic strikes of the Asturian miners and tens of thousands of other workers as well as the militant student demonstrators.

Most of the clergy, the bankers, industrialists, and big landowners, important sections of the middle class and even some members of the Falange (the fascist party) are now convinced that the aging Caudillo and his regime are on the way out. These forces have been the basis of the Franco Government. But the bosses are afraid that the workers, far from being satisfied with minor concessions will chase them out and run the industries themselves. They cannot forget that the strikes of the Asturian workers in 1934 was the overture to the Spanish Revolution of 1936 and the expropriation of the industries and the land.

The ruling classes are faced with three problems: firstly, how to confine the revolutionary fervor of the workers to the simple ousting of Franco; secondly, how to neutralize the influence of the revolutionary labor movement over the masses by making minimum concessions to the "lower" classes, while still retaining their economic and political power; and thirdly, how to modernize Spanish capitalism and prepare Spain for entry into the European Common Market.

The purpose of the Munich Conference of June 1962 was to find acceptable solutions to these problems. It was attended by 45 representatives of the opposition inside Spain and 38 from Spanish organizations in exile. The Communists were excluded. The CNT (Anarcho-Syndicalist labor movement), the UGT (Socialist labor federation) and the STV (Basque labor unions), were not officially represented.

The conference reflected almost the whole spectrum of the opposition: Republicans, Liberals, Socialists of right, left and center, Basque Nationalists and several other Catholic tendencies and Monarchists as well as minor groups and unaffiliated individuals. Among the prominent delegates were Salvador Madariaga, former Republican Ambassador to the United States, Julian Gorkin (a former leader of the P.O.U.M. and veteran anti-Fascist, who helped organize the conference), Dionisio Ridruejo, ex-fascist and former propaganda chief of the Falange Party and, last but not least--GIL ROBLES. The latter was Minister of War when the Spanish Republic--which the conference is now trying to restore--crushed the Revolutionary strike of the Asturian miners in October 1934. Then, from the War Ministry, together with Franco, other army officers, the monarchists, the fascists of Falange and the Roman Catholic hierarchy, he helped to

prepare the military assault which precipitated the Spanish Civil War in 1936.

The sentiment of the Munich conference was best summarized by the ex-leftist Gorkin and the ex-fascist Ridruejo, who were the main speakers at a meeting and banquet in New York (Espana Libre, Spanish Republican paper reported their speeches in its issue of Nov. 2, 1962).

"Gorkin emphasized that the Munich gathering was a vital turning point in that it brought together Anti-Franco elements of the Right and Left which hitherto had gone their separate ways, but which are now working in unity for their common goal----"

Espana Libre quotes Ridruejo: "I do not believe that Franco can be overthrown by mobilizing (only) the Spanish Left. The bourgeoisie, the Church, and the Army have to be shown conclusively that nobody is trying to destroy them. When that is done, they will help to build a platform of freedom---"

Most of the intelligent active forces of the Spanish Right realize that the aging caudillo and his regime cannot last much longer. The masses are in motion and must be prevented from seeking their own solution to the impasse. Since a revolution could, and would "destroy them", these forces of the Right are hopeful of liquidating the revolutionary possibilities in advance and "build the platform of freedom" on the graves of the revolutionists. This is exactly what they did before, during and after the Civil War! This time, they count on the assistance of the politicians of the so-called Left.

At Munich a pact was signed containing the following provisions: 1. Civil War (by which they mean revolution) must be avoided. 2. The transition from Franco must be accomplished by establishing a temporary government without specific institutional form. 3. The form of the permanent government will be determined by the people when elections are held. 4. Spain must be integrated into the Western bloc and into the European Common Market.

This "transitional" regime is envisioned as a class-collaborationist coalition government of both the Right and the "Left" groups. It will include the workers and their employers, the landlords and the peasants, the Church and the atheists. The rulers and the ruled will live in the same house, with the government on top to keep peace in the family. The elements that control the "transitional" government will of course manage to dominate the "permanent" government. This is a device to snuff out the revolutionary labor movement BEFORE it re-organizes itself for the overthrow of capitalism. The new government will be composed of the same classes who dominated the Republic prior to the February elections of 1936. If allowed to slide into power, it will, like the former Republic, try to crush the Revolutionary movement and pave the way for a "Right" or "Left" totalitarian dictatorship. The Munich pact is the United Front of the counter-revolution.

There can be no effective unity between the exploited and the toilers because their basic class interests conflict. The Republic of 1936 was impotent. It could not satisfy the demand of the oppressed workers and peasants for economic and social justice. There is no reason to believe that the projected new Republic will be able to do so. The Munich program does not go much beyond the overthrow of Franco. At best, it would modernize and democratize Francoism.

The abyss that separates the social classes cannot be bridged by a few superficial reforms. In collaborating with the exploiting classes the workers would perpetuate their own slavery. In endorsing or joining the projected "transitional", or any other government, the labor movement would capitulate without a battle and voluntarily surrender its strongest revolutionary positions to the State and the capitalist class. This would guarantee its defeat.

It was this that happened when the opportunist leadership of the National Confederation of Labor (CNT) joined the Government during the Spanish Civil War. Today some of them are again toying with the same idea. Then as now, they failed to understand that the fight against Fascism must be also a struggle for the overthrow of the social classes that brought it to power. The fight against Fascism and the struggle for the social revolution cannot artificially be separated. Libertarians do not help governments to grab power! Anarchists do not postpone the social revolution to accommodate their own enemies!

This opportunistic class collaborationist faction of the CNT has learned nothing from the tragic mistakes of the past. Together with the social-democratic leaders of the General Union of Workers (UGT), some ex-anarchists of the CNT have agreed to help the establishment of the proposed "transitional" government. In October 1962 the "Labor Alliance of Spain" was established with UGT, CNT and Basque Catholic union participation. A statement was issued which says in part:

"The Labor Alliance of Spain will promote through this anti-Franco front, the plan to substitute the present regime by a provisional regime which will administer the affairs of the nation for a pre-determined period and will arrange a consultation with the Spanish people, within the maximum democratic guarantees so that they may select the future governmental institutions of the country."

This annoyed but did not surprise those who were acquainted with the internal history of the CNT. Collaborationism has plagued the organization ever since its inception. After the Civil War a split took place between the opportunistic minority and the authentic CNT embracing the overwhelming majority who stood by the principles of the organization as repeatedly expressed in its official declarations and policy statements.

A few years ago the collaborationist faction returned to the CNT on the understanding that they would abide by its

principles. In agreeing to collaborate with the capitalists and support a transitional government, they have again renounced these principles.

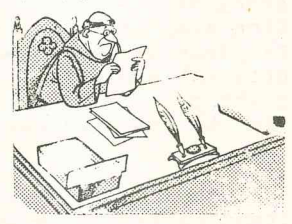
If the Spanish libertarians should accept the present position of the collaborationist faction, the Spanish workers would be left without a revolutionary movement representing their interests. A vacuum would exist which would favor the machinations of the Communists. The latter, who have already been rebuffed by all other political and social forces--of both "left" and "right"--would then be in an excellent position to pose as an independent and revolutionary force.

The CNT must clarify its own position, re-state its principles, and make clear to the workers that it has no connection whatever with these opportunists who pretend to speak in its name. It must tell the workers that the collaborationists have in effect joined a united front of counter-revolution by joining with the bourgeois republicans and socialists in a bloc with the Right.

The CNT has always been willing to cooperate with the rank and file workers of the UGT and other unions for specific, clearly understood objectives. A "united front in the streets" has always been in order. It cannot now enter into any pacts with the politicians or with any political party.

The Munich counter-revolutionists abetted by the UGT-socialists and the collaborationist elements in the CNT are prepared to take power when Franco falls. The Communist Party is preparing for this eventuality. It knows that the Munich program cannot satisfy the needs of the masses. It is trying to infiltrate the opposition to win over the workers. The vast resources of its powerful international apparatus are being used to fortify the party in Spain. Spanish language radio broadcasts from Prague bombard the people with C.P. propaganda. Castro is glorified and the people are urged to follow his example. This is not mere speculation. The sentiment for a Castro-type "revolution" in Latin America may very well be duplicated in Spain.

The new generation that has grown up under Franco did not live through the revolutionary experience of 1936 and the Civil War. It did not experience the communist counter-revolution in Republican Spain after 1936. It has had little direct contact with the libertarian movement. The Iberian Anarchist Federation (FAI) is not really known to most of today's Spanish youth. Nevertheless anarcho-syndicalism has deep roots in Spain and sentiment for the movement is still



strong in large sections of the population. If these masses mistake the collaborationists' policies for those of the real CNT, our movement will suffer irreparably.

Spanish libertarians are faced with two counter-revolutionary threats--the Communist Party, and the Munich bloc. To overcome these threats they must reorganize the revolutionary labor movement in accord with its original principles. The first step in this direction is to categorically disavow the collaborationists and to reconstitute the FAI as the active ideological vanguard of revolutionary Spain.

COMMENTS FROM THE SPANISH LIBERTARIAN PRESS

I

By Cayetano Zaplana in ESPoir, September 29, 1962

For some time now and especially since the recent strikes in Spain and the gathering in Munich, there has been an attempt to create a climate of "collaboration" for the "liberation" of our native land. We of the CNT cannot, nor should we ever forget what "collaborationism" has already cost us on two previous occasions. It is unthinkable that we should gratify our enemies by repeating the same stupidity for a third time.

During the tragic and glorious days of our war, the CNT first abandoned its basic principles. All that was best in our movement, nationally and internationally, spoke out against this policy. Those who took the anti-collaborationist position understood that the first capitulation would be followed by others, compromising all that had been won over so many years, both in Spain and abroad.

These protests against the collaboration went unheeded. The organization continued its policy with successive capitulations, humiliations and shame. Once on the downgrade nothing could halt our plunge into the abyss.

Everything was "justified." Our organization which had at first been the prime motor force of the struggle and master of the situation allowed itself to be transformed into a wailing wall. We wailed over the murder of our comrades by the traitors in the service of Moscow. We wailed over the lack of "consideration" shown to our armed forces, our collectives, our publications and our organization. Finally, amid further wails, we quaffed the hemlock of humiliation.....

As though the events of the past had taught us nothing we again in 1945 wanted to "save" our country through another attempt at collaboration. (Edit. Note: Brief participation in the Republican Govt. in exile). Seventeen years have passed since 1945 and fascism still rules in Spain....

Let us not heed those who now speak of the "necessity" of a

policy of collaboration because "circumstances" make it advisable. Our organization must not sacrifice principles to a dubious expediency. To justify its existence it must follow a straight and clear line of conduct....

We cannot afford to once again trip over the same stone, thereby losing the respect and confidence of the Spanish people and of the best elements of our movements abroad. We must not give up the future to which we have always aspired....

II

Editorial in LE COMBAT SYNDICALISTE, July 26, 1962

.....

We must not restore the Republic--We are not interested in building any government, however liberal it may appear.... The Republic will be erected by the politicians. They don't need our help, nor should we offer it, much less join them... We must concentrate our efforts on overthrowing Franco. This is the natural limit for any alliance. After that the Republicans will probably put us in jail, as they have done in the past....

III

Leaflet of the "Friends of Durruti," July 1962

....In the columns of EL AMIGO DEL PUEBLO we have stated that the Spanish reactionaries want to get rid of Franco lest the impending vertical collapse of his regime carry them all to destruction with it. This thesis of ours has been confirmed by the meeting in Munich where the participants all agreed to renounce violent solutions so that the new set-up may be reached gently and with silk gloves. Of course they said nothing of the fact that the firing squads will function against us--the revolutionary workers who will fight to the death against any counter-revolutionary attempt to frustrate the demands of the working class.

The Munich gathering was a conclave of counter-revolutionists. It gave Gil Robles the chance to say--in an interview published in LE MONDE of Paris--that the Munich conference favored an evolutionary process in Spain in order to prevent a revolution. The gentlemen of Munich adopted the current policies of Spanish reaction. They want to install another butcher in Franco's place who will be capable of keeping the people of Spain under control....

The two months of strikes by thousands of workers throughout Spain surprised all who had thought dead the proverbial spirit of rebellion of our people. The Spanish students have also been magnificent in their actions of solidarity with their brothers--the workers. Now is the opportune time to cement a Workers and Students Alliance for the specific purpose of carrying out a revolutionary general strike throughout the

country. This could sweep away not only the Franco regime but the whole of Spanish reaction over the heads of the counter-revolutionists of Munich....

The Spanish emigration and especially the men of the CNT and of the UGT in exile have the duty of joining unconditionally in the preparation of a new revolutionary movement. There can be no doubt that if we truly set ourselves to it, the workers and students can win their objectives, can bring liberty to the Spanish people.

IV

Report of the Intercontinental Conference of the Spanish Libertarian Movement in Exile, April, 1947

...Under no circumstances can the Libertarian Movement endorse or take part in any Government. Principles and tactics must coincide. It would be a disastrous error for the Anarchists to collaborate, even temporarily, with "transitional" governments, or lose their identity by immersing themselves in authoritarian organizations....

.....

LAUGHTER IN COURT

So, there are 25 or so of us CORE-type characters sitting around in Criminal Court. 19 defendants and a handful of pals. Very bored waiting for our names to be called--we've been waiting and adjourning and adjourning and waiting for days. Mostly there's no diversion; the court grinds out routine stuff, you can hardly hear it anyway, you just stretch and wiggle and wait.

But then a case comes up for trial, and for once everyone is audible up front. And as it goes on we all get interested and the whispers and mutters stop, and then even the back rows can hear everything.

It seems there was this slight young bearded cat in Harlem who went to the movies with his wife. And then they took a bus home, and got off opposite their apt. on Amsterdam Ave. And wife remembered they needed something from the corner drug-store. She went upstairs to send the baby-sitter home and change the baby and he went to buy the item. And she handed him a buck to get it with.

Now there were two big beefy plain-clothes fuzz hanging around, and they saw the bill change hands, and the guy go to the druggie, and they said aha, Numbers! So when the guy gets back to the sidewalk they drag him into a hallway, which happens to be his own hallway, and he resists plenty. They have to have help from a uniformed cop to get him handcuffed (and our boy has to go to the hospital to have his wrist fixed even before he shows up in Night Court).

(CONTINUED ON P. 25)

AMERICA'S "FREE LABOR MOVEMENT"

and the WELFARE STATE

In the propaganda war between the two great power blocs, the apologists for the democratic countries point out the greater freedom for the people on their side of the "Iron Curtain," where there are more civil liberties, greater freedom of movement and more freedom for voluntary organizations.

One of the favorite examples is the free American labor movement and its right to strike. We agree that those freedoms which do exist are important and should not be minimized. They are the result of many years of struggle and should be treasured and extended, defended and preserved. In the "Iron Curtain" countries, there are no labor unions, in any serious meaning of that term. There are no independent working class organizations, administered by their members, for the purpose of defending their interests through the use of their economic power.

Compared to the "labor unions" in the "Iron Curtain" countries, the American labor organizations still retain a relative measure of freedom. However, these remaining freedoms are being whittled away at an alarming rate. This concerns not only union members but all who believe that voluntary organizations free of government control are essential to freedom.

The process by which the modern union movement has lost its independence began with the Wagner Labor Relations Act in the thirties. Among other provisions, the Wagner Act gave the government the legal right to conduct and certify an election among workers as to which union, if any, should represent them. The government can compel both the union and the employer to abide by the results of the election. The workers shortsightedly hailed the act as a boon to labor. They did not realize that the Wagner Act was a preliminary step towards the control of the labor movement by the government.

Then came the infamous Taft-Hartley law which forced unions in strategic industries to postpone strikes for 90 days. This violated the right of the workers to strike when they thought it necessary. Effective strike action was curtailed by restrictions on such actions of solidarity as the "secondary boycott" and on picketing. The provision which called for the signing of the "Non-Communist Affidavit" established even wider governmental power over the labor organizations. The government now had the right to discriminate against any union, if it objected to its social views or ideology. A few labor unions, such as the Industrial Workers of the World, the International Typographical Union and the United Mineworkers of America saw the dangerous trend. They refused to sign the "Non-Communist Affidavit." They insisted that the labor movement could deal with its enemies and take care of its own affairs without outside interference. They regarded government regulation as a greater evil than the abuses it pretended to correct. In doing this, these unions were behaving in accordance with the better traditions of American Labor.

Although John L. Lewis ruled the United Mine Workers with an iron hand, was guilty of class-collaboration with the bosses, and committed other unethical acts against his own membership, we must give the devil his due. At the 1947 convention of the A.F. of L. in San Francisco he urged the unions to defy the law by refusing to sign the affidavit. He regarded the Taft-Hartley law as an instrument by which the government would finally strangle the labor movement. When the convention refused to meet the challenge, Lewis thundered:

"Is it true that the leaders of our movement are to be the first of our mighty host of eight million members to put their tails between their legs and run like ravens before the threat of the Taft-Hartley bill? I am reminded of the biblical parable, 'Lions led by Asses.'"

The Landrum-Griffin Act carried the practice of Government regulation of the unions even further. It regulates every activity from the smallest local to the highest national level. An army of Government inspectors look into finances, insurance, election of officials, hiring halls and the grievances of members. To illustrate, the secretary of a small local union complained:

"Before I used to worry about keeping the books for the local and the report to the National Office of the union. Now, I have to keep records to show the inspector when he comes around. It used to be that a member who could keep books was elected secretary. Now he has to be a bookkeeper, accountant and labor lawyer all at the same time. I'm working for the government without pay. It's getting so that we spend more money on lawyers and other pie-card artists than on real union business."

The election of Kennedy as President, with the help of the brain-washed workers, gave the State confidence that it could even further extend its control over the labor organizations. The Administration bases its labor policy on its cold war strategy. It knows that war may break out at any time. The country must be prepared by placing itself on a war-time footing NOW. The government must regulate, "temporarily" of course, the main economic relations in society. No friction between opposing interests can be allowed to develop. Wages and prices must be regulated. The Administration has already declared that shorter hours are not "in the public interest," that wages and prices must not exceed the levels set by the government. In effect, the workers are told, "This much may you ask for and no more." This policy was put into effect in the steel contract agreement of 1962. The wage increase was within the limit set by the Government. It ordered the steel corporations not to raise the price of steel. When the U.S. Steel Co. violated the agreement it was threatened with economic penalties by the government. If the Steelworkers union had likewise shown defiance, it too would have been disciplined. The provisions of the contract, and the drawing up of the agreement were, in the main, the work of the then Secretary of Labor, Arthur Goldberg.

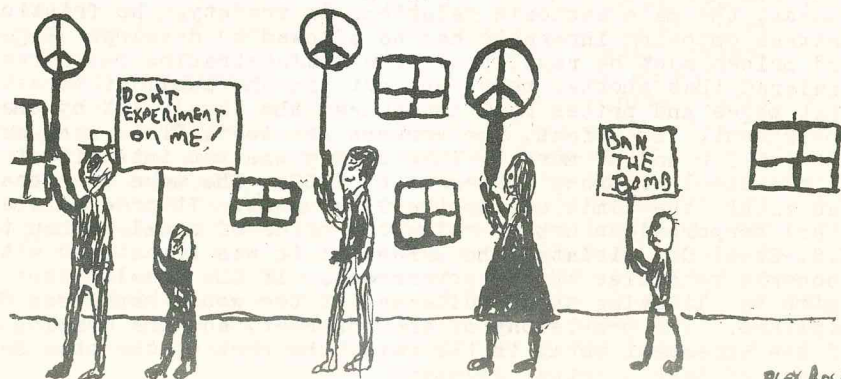
The government can now legally postpone and limit strikes. In addition to legal restraints it indirectly influences settlements by unofficially exerting immense pressure on both labor and management. The present aim of the Administration is to enact drastic laws which would in practice abolish the right to strike. The agencies for carrying out these policies have already been established. Through the "President's Council of Economic Advisers" or similar permanent bodies constantly in session, strikes would be prevented because disputes would be adjusted beforehand in accordance with the "public interest." What the "public interest" is would depend on the opinion of the policy makers. If agreements between bosses and workers are satisfactory to the government, they would be allowed to stand. If not, the government would dictate its own settlement. This could lead to a situation where any strike would be impossible, as in all totalitarian states.

A labor movement which can no longer defend past gains and conquer new ones, that has practically surrendered its most powerful economic weapon, the right to strike, which has permitted the State to usurp the functions of its own organizations has already committed suicide. It is no longer entitled to the support of the workers and should be repudiated by them. The worker, upon whose back this enormous burden rests, is the victim. He is now forced to battle on three fronts--the union bureaucracy, the employer and the State.

Throughout the militant history of American Unionism the workers have repeatedly, by their own efforts, reorganized and rejuvenated their organizations. When they could not reform existing unions, they created new organizations which fulfilled their needs and aspirations.

The labor movement is now faced with the greatest crisis in its history. As the "Welfare State" lays the political and economic bases for totalitarianism in our country, it strives to convert the labor unions in effect, into State agencies. The workers may still be able to reverse this trend. The survival of liberty in this country depends on their ability to live up to the glorious revolutionary fighting traditions of their past.

S.W.



The crisis of October 1962 over Russian nuclear missiles in Cuba almost engulfed mankind in a nuclear war that might well have meant the destruction of civilization. James Reston, chief Washington political analyst of the N.Y. Times in a dispatch (Oct. 26, 1962) tells how the important decisions were made in Washington:

"The President did not assemble the National Security or the Cabinet into formal session to debate the selective blockade of Cuba. He discussed it personally with some members of his Cabinet and staff, made up his mind, and then called them into formal session to tell them what he had decided to do....He let the Soviet Foreign Minister leave the White House without a hint of what was coming and announced the blockade on the television....Similarly, he called in the Congressional Leaders two hours before the announcement and told them what he was going to do....When he asked for their opinions, Senator Richard Russell--Chairman of the Armed Services Committee spoke up (disagreeing with Kennedy). The President answered...'you didn't have the responsibility of acting'...Also the President didn't really consult the Latin American or the North American allies....The decision preceded the consultation....many diplomats within the alliance think it was wrong to confront Khrushchev publicly with the choice of fighting or withdrawing, since the security of other unconsulted nations was involved.... Misinformation given to the press about the Soviet buildup carried over into the present, left doubt.... about what is or is not true."

All this supports Reston's extremely significant observation that:

"This, of course, is normal under...any kind of diplomacy. The first casualty of every international (and we may add domestic) crisis is truth. It becomes patriotic to mislead the enemy (and, it would seem, the American people) by evasion, distortion and outright falsehood...." (emphasis and remarks in parentheses are ours).

The storm of controversy, as to who precipitated the near catastrophe will continue indefinitely. Some blame President Kennedy, others Premier Khrushchev, and still others blame both. This way of assessing the situation is too superficial. The matter goes deeper than the question of Cuba whose people are the victims of Cold War strategy. It goes deeper than even the Cold War or war itself.

Many a thinking, sensitive person must have asked himself, "How does it come about that two people, Khrushchev and Kennedy, should have the power to decide the fate of mankind?" It is generally understood that the greatest evil of totali-

tarian systems (whatever mask they may wear) is that decisions affecting the welfare and the life of all the people are made by a few men at the top. Granting that there are more freedoms in a democracy, the fact that this basic evil of dictatorship can be re-enacted here, where the State is supposed to be the servant and not the master of the people, indicates an essential similarity between the systems.

Temporary dictatorship, it is argued, is necessary during an emergency. Normal democratic government will be restored when the crisis is over. But how democratic is a 'normal' democratic government? Is the will of the people adequately represented? At specified intervals the voters give the President and a few hundred Congressmen the legal power to impose their decisions on 190 million people. In effect the voters are saying: "Neither we, the voters, nor you our lawmakers, can possibly know what will happen in the future. During your term of office do what you think best, we hope that your decisions are good ones, and that you will keep your promises. If we are not satisfied with your performance we will replace you next Election Day."

But who will undo the damage done by the unsatisfactory legislators? During their term of office the lawmakers and the law enforcers exert almost absolute power. They can commit every legalized crime: squander the people's money, deplete natural resources, practice favoritism, censor the press, punish men for their affiliations, conscript labor, break strikes and even declare war. Yet the people have virtually no control over them, nor can they legally be held accountable for their mistakes or misdeeds.

Political Parties take turns in ruling the country. But at no time do the people themselves really take a hand in public affairs. There is no means of their doing so. Nor, with their conditioning would it be easy for them to do so. Democratic government is, in practice, the periodic renewal of perpetual dictatorship. "Emergency" dictatorial rule only accents the basic defects of the Democratic structure. De facto dictatorship is only the product of the "normal" procedures of democratic government. The power relationship between rulers and ruled, is not changed. It remains the same, irrespective of "emergencies" or of the particular parties and individuals who temporarily exercise power. Under any State system, the top officials are compelled to become dictators. There is no other way by which they can reach and enforce decisions. Any other alternative would involve the dissolution of the State itself.

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Paperback	2.00	
The I.W.W., A Study in American Syndicalism ...		
.... Brissenden	7.50	
Ethics and American Unionism	Weiner10
The Labor Party Illusion	Weiner .....	.10
What is wrong with the Unions ? .	Brown .....	.10
The Social General Strike	Brown .....	.10
Nationalization & the New Boss Class ...	Brown ...	.10
How Labour Governed	Direct Action ...	.15
The General Strike for Industrial Freedom ..	IWW ..	.20
The I.W.W. in Theory and Practice	IWW .....	.25
One Big Union of All Workers	IWW .....	.35
Unemployment and the Machine	IWW .....	.20
The Little Red Song Book	IWW .....	.35
Battle Hymns of Toil	Hall	1.00

GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

The World Scene from a Libertarian Point of View		
(an anthology) Chicago Free Society....	.25	
Neither East nor West	M.L. Berneri	
Hard Cover	2.00	
Paperback	1.50	
Bulgaria, A New Spain	Berkman Fund .....	.15
The Sit-Ins	Congress of Racial Equality ....	.25
Youth for Freedom	Gibson .....	.35
Ill Health, Poverty and the State ...	Hewetson ...	.50
Homes orhovels	Woodcock ...	.15
New Life to the Land	Woodcock ...	.15
Railways and Society	Woodcock ...	.15
Vote ?..What for ?	Malatesta ..	.05
The Power Elite	C. Wright Mills	1.95
False Witness	Matusow	1.00
Pioneers of American Freedom	Rocker	2.00
The Six (Characters from World Literature)		
Rocker	2.00	

THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

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

THE SPANISH LABYRINTH, an Account of the Social and Political Background of the Spanish Civil War (Gerald Brenan)	384 pp.	\$1.95
THE GRAND CAMOUFLAGE, the Communist Conspiracy in the Spanish Civil War (Burnett Bolloten)	A new book - 1961	350 pp. \$5.00
HOMAGE TO CATALONIA (George Orwell) ...	232 pp. .	\$1.25
LESSONS OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION (V. RICHARDS)	A criticism of the Anarchist Role ...	154 pp. ... \$1.00
SPAIN, THE REVOLUTION OF 1936 (Anarchy No.5 - July 1961)	32 pp.	\$.25
THE TRUTH ABOUT SPAIN (Rudolph Rocker) ...	16 pp.	\$.15
THE TRAGEDY OF SPAIN (Rudolph Rocker)	48 pp.	\$.10
REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN SPAIN (Dasher)	24 pp..	\$.10
SPAIN (Agustin Souchy)		\$.15
THE TRAGIC WEEK IN MAY (Agustin Souchy) ..	48 pp	\$.15

CUBA

13

FOR AN END TO MUDDLED THINKING

It was to be expected that the Cuban revolution, like all social upheavals, should generate controversy and confusion. No one is, or can be, entirely free from emotional bias, but it is still necessary to separate wishful thinking from objective facts, and incidental occurrences from fundamental trends. The conflicting opinions concerning Cuba fall into three main categories:

1. Those who oppose Castro's "Marxism-Leninism" and--with or without reservations--support the policies of American Capitalism.
2. Those who--with or without reservations--support the Castro regime and its policies.
3. Those who take an independent position and reject both in favor of a non-totalitarian revolutionary solution.

In the first category, attitudes concerning Cuba range from ultra-reactionary to liberal. The various tendencies in American Capitalist society are reflected in the varied policies towards Cuba. The reactionary capitalists demand an invasion of Cuba. Generally speaking, they favor the installation of a puppet government a la Batista, which would restore American properties, protect American investments and re-establish open U.S. political domination over the Cuban people.

The liberals referred to, favor reforms to ameliorate some of the worst abuses of the Batista period and of unrestrained U.S. economic imperialism. While opposed to outright invasion they hope to achieve the same result by measures short of war, such as economic blockade, encouragement of internal opposition and U.S. support of a liberal-democratic Government in Exile. By these measures they hope to win the support of liberal Cubans and Latin Americans.

The many differences in emphasis and approach between these liberals and the reactionaries are, in the final analysis, tactical. On questions of principle they are united. Their object is to save capitalism, in one way or another. Those who for any reason support American capitalist policy in Cuba are in effect supporting a counter-revolution. Although a government may under some circumstances be more or less liberal, when threatened by a social revolution it is always counter-revolutionary.

Most of the pro-Castroites would agree with our observations about the counter-revolutionary nature of American imperialism, but they do not concede that Castro himself is the chief gravedigger of the Cuban revolution. The tendencies in category 2 range from those who are pro-Communist and pro-Castro to those who profess not to approve of Communist totalitarianism but nevertheless still support Castro.

Marxist-Leninists in general regard the Cuban Revolution as the Latin American version of the Russian Revolution. They contend that the Russian, Chinese and associated governments

are revolutionary, that Cuba belongs in the Communist bloc of nations, and is therefore entitled to protection. They do not consider Castro to be a prisoner of the Communists or a Communist puppet, but a partner in the communist family of nations. They envision Cuba as the spearhead of the coming Latin-American revolution. Given their basic premise, that Marxism-Leninism is revolutionary, their position is completely consistent. As anarchists, we do not accept this premise.

Totally illogical is the viewpoint of those who argue that Communist-totalitarianism is counter-revolutionary, or otherwise undesirable, but who still support Castro--with or without reservations. They usually contend that U.S. policy forced a reluctant Castro into the Communist bloc. Nevertheless, they say, Castro must still be supported. In other words, Castro was forced to become a counter-revolutionist!! Forced to choose between two types of counter-revolution he picked the "Communist" variety.

Still others, like many early supporters of Mao Tse Tung's Chinese "agrarian reformers," assert that the Castro Revolution is not a communist revolution. They say that it is essentially democratic and uniquely Cuban. Castro is still accepted as the chief of the revolution. Although he must temporarily make compromises with the Eastern power bloc, and perhaps play one Communist country against another, when the right time comes, Castro will follow his revolutionary and democratic course. For these reasons he must be helped.

Those who hold this viewpoint cannot prove that the Castro regime with its one party-state capitalist structure, differs fundamentally from the usual Bolshevik pattern. Castro has openly declared that he is a "Marxist-Leninist." He has incorporated Cuba in the Totalitarian Communist bloc. To be consistent all who support him should acknowledge their position to be essentially Marxist-Leninist.

There is a great difference between the motivations of those who champion the American Imperialists and those who feel that Castro's revolution is a social revolution. The former are frankly counter-revolutionary; the latter are inspired by revolutionary sentiments. But unfortunately, noble feelings are no substitute for bitter realities. Despite good intentions, these pro-Castroites are in effect supporting counter-revolution.

The traditional anarchist concept, that NO state or statist form can ever play a social-revolutionary role places the Libertarian League, together with the Libertarian Movement of Cuba and the International Libertarian Movement in general, in the third category. We take an independent position for the liberating social revolution of the Cuban people against the imperialisms of both East and West.

Cuba has, under Castro and his friends, become in effect an outpost of Communist imperialism in this hemisphere. Internal disputes among the Cuban leaders for more influence in the government in no way alters the fact that the Cuban Revolution has been betrayed by the Castro-Communist dictatorship.

Even if Castro had no connection with the communist movement, his dictatorship over the 26th of July movement, his mania for personal rule, would lead inevitably to the establishment of an independent totalitarian regime which might at best be in the tradition of "benevolent" dictatorship such as Bismarck, Peron, Nkrumah, and Nasser. Castro was well on his way to the establishment of a totalitarian government even before he allowed the communists to help him exercise power.

C. Wright Mills, a strong admirer of Castro, admitted that Fidel wielded "virtually absolute power in Cuba." Whether he is a prisoner of the Communists or a willing collaborator, or an independent dictator is relatively unimportant. What is decisive is the fact that the Cuban revolution has followed the economic and political pattern of the "Communist" counter-revolutions of the State, first established when the Bolsheviks strangled the Russian Revolution of 1917.

Both the Eastern and Western power blocs are carrying on the cold war at the expense of the unfortunate people of Cuba. In addition to international interference, there exists a perpetual INTERNAL conflict between the Cuban people and their rulers. The rulers came to power with the aid of the people, promising political freedom and economic justice. Now they have imposed a ferocious dictatorship more absolute than Batista's. In the conflict between rulers and ruled, oppressors and oppressed, we, as libertarians, are with the people in their fight for freedom against internal and external governments. Those who rightfully denounce any invasion of Cuba by American Imperialism are honor bound to condemn with equal vehemence the "Communist" invasion which is already an accomplished fact.

We are against the totalitarian dictatorship that is strangling the revolutionary aspirations of the Cuban people. We oppose all types of military, political, or economic invasion of Cuba by either power bloc.

The overwhelming majority of the Cuban people desire and strive for a new revolution. They want to establish a social order where liberty and respect for individual and collective rights will prevail. But the workers and peasants of Cuba can achieve their social revolution only when the workers in both blocs prevent their governments from intervening.

We are convinced that the line of total revolutionary action is the only viable way for the Cuban people to re-conquer their lost freedom and liquidate the present dictatorship. They must learn the methods of struggle of the Irish Republicans, the Jewish secret army of Israel, the Cypriot patriots and the Algerian Resistance movement. These methods must be adapted to Cuban conditions. There must be a guerrilla war of attrition to wear down, exhaust and, finally, overthrow the dictatorship.

Our Cuban comrades feel that the main task is to agree to a plan of united action which will bring about the destruction of the Castro-Communist dictatorship. While they are prepared to fight with all sincere lovers of freedom for common

objectives, they intend to maintain their own identity as libertarians and will not collaborate with the power-hungry politicians who continually plan the creation of "Governments in Exile" or "Governments in the Underground."

FIGHTERS AGAINST BATISTA IN CASTRO'S PRISONS

As befits proletarian revolutionists, the Libertarians of Cuba were among the first to raise the banner of opposition to the totalitarian take-over by the Communists and the conversion into counter-revolution of the Castro regime. They are today in the forefront of the struggle to overthrow what has become the worst police state in this hemisphere.

Just as under the Batista regime, many of those known to the police have had to flee their homeland. Some have suffered death and imprisonment while others continue the underground struggle along with the best elements of the old 26th of July Movement and the Revolutionary Directorate, whose original cadres are now largely in the opposition.

Among the thousands at present in Castro's prisons are the following Libertarian comrades:

PLACIDO MENDEZ is a bus driver. Was several times imprisoned and tortured under Batista and was finally forced into exile to escape further persecution. He returned secretly to Cuba in 1958, joined the Rebel Army and fought in the Sierra del Escambray. After the tyrant's fall, he returned to civilian life and resumed active work in his union. For years previously he had fought the communists in the union, and now with official help his old opponents took over the organization. As an anti-communist he was arrested and sentenced to 12 years at hard labor in the Isle of Pines penitentiary.

ALBERTO GARCIA like many other militants of our movement fought against Batista and joined the 26th of July Movement. He was elected General Secretary of the Industrial Department of the Medical Workers Federation. For opposing communist domination of his union he was seized and sentenced to 30 years imprisonment.

JOSE ACENA was a worker at La Polar Brewery. He is a veteran anarchist with 30 years of activity behind him. He joined the 26th of July Movement when it was founded and became treasurer of its Habana provincial organization. When he complained personally to Fidel Castro about the growing influence of the communists the secret police started dogging his footsteps. He is now imprisoned on the Isle of Pines with a sentence of twenty years.

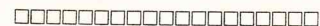
LUIS MIGUEL LINSUAIN fought against Batista in the Sierra Cristal under the command of Fidel's brother Raul. He won a

lieutenancy in the Rebel Army. After the revolution he was elected Secretary of the Foodworkers Union of Oriente Province and had a violent argument with Raul Castro about the communist take-over of the unions. At first charged with plotting to kill Raul, he was later held without known charges and so far as is known no trial has been held.

ANTONIO DAGAS is a worker in the moving picture industry. He is an anarchist veteran of the Spanish Revolution who went to Cuba in the early 1940's. Fought in the Cuban Revolution, after having been long active in the anti-Batista underground. For opposing the counter-revolution of the communists, he was arrested and has been held many months without trial in La Cabana Prison.

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

SANDALIO TORRES is a construction worker of peasant origin. He fought in the underground against Batista. For speaking against the communists he was imprisoned in 1961. Now held in Pinar del Rio. Four times he has faced a firing squad to force a "confession" implicating others.



COLLABORATORS OF BATISTA IN CASTRO'S GOVERNMENT



During the first period of Fulgencio Batista's rule, Wall Street's Cuban stooge was aided by the Communists whom he helped get control of the Confederation of Labor. The funds for establishing the communist newspaper "Hoy" were supplied by Bully Boy Batista and its columns contained flowery panegyrics dedicated to him.

Today, while thousands of Batista's old enemies languish in Cuban jails, many of the old tyrant's erstwhile collaborators are prominent in his successor's so-called Revolutionary government. Among those who have served both dictators are the following:



BLAS ROCA has been General Secretary of the Popular Socialist (Communist) Party since 1938. He was a close associate and political ally of Batista and it was he who worked out the original coalition. In 1944 he was elected Deputy to the Cuban Congress under Batista. He is now a member of the Executive Committee of the ORI (Integrated Revolutionary Organization) headed by Fidel Castro. Roca is considered by many as the real head of the Cuban government. At the very least, he shares joint control with Fidel, and makes frequent journeys to Moscow, where he represented Castro's Cuba at the XXII Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

CARLOS RAFAEL RODRIGUEZ--Theoretician of the P.S.P. Up to a few years ago a faithful friend of Batista, by whom he was named a cabinet minister in 1942. Appointed by Castro as Director of the National Institute of Agrarian Reform (INRA).

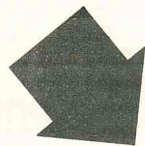
JUAN MARINELLO--President of the Popular Socialist Party. Is another old friend of Batista, in whose government he served. He ran for mayor of Habana on the Batista-Communist ticket. Appointed by Castro as Rector of the University of Habana.

LAZARO PEÑA--Veteran P.S.P. member, appointed by Batista in 1939 to head the Cuban Confederation of Labor (CTC). Peña is again the strong man of the CTC.

JOAQUIN ORDOQUI--High-ranking communist official, close collaborator of Batista, appointed by Castro to command the so-called "Revolutionary Militias."

EDUARDO SANTOS RIOS--Member of the P.S.P. executive in Oriente Province. Was under Batista sub-director of the Agricultural and Industrial Bank. He is now technical director of the National Institute of Agrarian Reform (INRA).

OSCAR PINO SANTOS--Director of Public Relations of Batista's Central Economic Board until the fall of Batista. Today he is Castro's Ambassador to Red China.



BOOK REVIEWS

THE KRONSTADT REBELLION, by Emanuel Pollack. New York, Philosophical Library, c.1959. \$3. Order directly from the publishers - 15 East 40th St., New York City

This short work deals with the decision of the soldiers, sailors, and workers of the fortress-city of Kronstadt to elect a free Soviet and declare for freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and the end of the dictatorship of the Communist Party. It documents the angry response of the Lenin-Trotsky bureaucracy--first the Machiavellian lies, then the successful attack, culminating in the brutal slaughter of 18,000.

The Kronstadders asked, "All power to the Soviets and not to the parties." Though remaining pro-communist and pro-Soviet, they were immediately denounced by the power-grasping Bolsheviks as "tools of former tsarist generals who together with Socialist-Revolutionary traitors staged a counter-revolutionary conspiracy against the proletarian Republic." "The work of Entente interventionists and French spies;" "resolutions



breathing the spirit of the Black Hundreds;" "made in Paris and organized by the French Secret Service;" etc., etc.

After the suppression of the Kronstadders, Lenin, at the Tenth All-Russian Congress of the Communist Party, belatedly let the cat out of the bag: "The Kronstadt men did not really want the counter-revolutionists. BUT NEITHER DID THEY WANT US."

This book, while perhaps adequate as a popular, short introduction to the Kronstadt events, has several weaknesses. Firstly, there are a number of historical errors that would not be expected of a member of the faculty of the New School. Makhno's anarchist force in the Ukraine was not "A counter-revolutionary movement of middle-income peasants (kulaks)" (p. 89); the Russian anarchists were not organized in a political party (p. viii); most of the rebels did not belong to the Communist Party (p. viii). Pollack also confuses the nature of the NEP, calling it the fulfillment of Kronstadt's economic demands.

The work is also marred by a childish, stereotyped anti-communism.

A much fuller understanding of the meaning of Kronstadt may be had in examining Chapter V ("Kronstadt") of D. Fedotoff White's "The Growth of the Red Army" and the first half of the anarchist Voline's "The Unknown Revolution" (available from the Libertarian League at \$3.50).

Fully placing the revolt in its historical context (which Pollack only begins to do), these far better than Pollack answer the Bolshevik lies and convey the inspiring enthusiasm and the libertarian sentiments of the Kronstadt revolutionists.

D. S.



THE WORKERS OPPOSITION by Alexandra Kollontai (a SOLIDARITY pamphlet. 70 pages including notes--published in England and available from the Libertarian League at 35 cents)

This pamphlet, written by one of the leaders of the Workers Opposition, draws attention to the forces which caused the degeneration of the Russian Revolution. It gives the lie to the Trotskyite contention that this degeneration began shortly before Lenin died. It proves that Lenin, Trotsky and Co. engineered the usurpation of power by the Communist Party and established the Communist State controlled by them.

The Workers Opposition, a faction within the Communist Party, fought for collective rather than one-man management of industry. A sample of the Bolshevik bureaucracy's response is this by Trotsky, the butcher of Kronstadt:

"They have come out with dangerous slogans. They have made a fetish of democratic principles. They have placed the workers' right to elect representatives above the Party. As if the Party were not entitled to

assert its dictatorship even if that dictatorship temporarily clashed with the passing moods of the workers' democracy!"

This and other opposition movements were active between 1919 and 1921 when the dictatorship had not yet fully consolidated itself and there was still a chance for the opposition to exert pressure. These movements tried to rescue the revolution from its self-appointed saviours. The opposition was crushed. The triumphant counter-revolution set the pattern for all the "rightist" totalitarian counter-revolutions in Italy, Germany and Spain as well as the "leftist" totalitarian counter-revolutions in Eastern Europe, China, Africa, and now in Cuba.

This basic document, issued more than forty years ago and long out of print, is still timely. The publisher has performed a great service in making it available.



THE CHINESE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT, by Robert A. Scalapino and George T. Yu. (Center for Chinese Studies. University of California, Berkeley, Calif., 1961. Paperback--81 pages. Price, \$1. Order direct from the publisher)

The authors point out that no adequate understanding of the social movements that helped break down the narrow traditionalism which prevented China from stepping into the modern age is possible without an understanding of the part played by the Anarchist movement. The intellectual vanguard which pioneered radical western ideas in China were Anarchists or were influenced by Anarchist ideas. Scalapino and Yu say,

"Anarchism preceeded Marxism in Northeast Asia as the predominant radical expression of the westernized intellectual. Between 1905 and 1920 anarchist thought was a vital part of the intellectual protest movement in both Japan and China. Indeed, in many respects, it possessed the coveted symbol among intellectuals of being the most scientific, the most progressive, the most futuristic of all political creeds."

For example, Sun Yat-sen, and even Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung read the works of Western anarchists in Chinese translation. After the Boxer Rebellion of 1899-1900 the decaying Manchu government was forced to make contact with Western culture and therefore subsidized students for study abroad. At the same time the government hoped thereby to get rid of the dissidents. Most of the students went to Tokyo and Paris where there were large and vigorous anarchist movements. The intellectuals were attracted to Anarchism because they had unconsciously absorbed the libertarian ideas of the classical Chinese philosophers. When the Manchu government cut off the subsidies to students, the Chinese Anarchists organized an intricate network of mutual aid societies. It was the Chinese Anarchist movement that pioneered the Work Study and other movements, established cooperative schools and spread Western culture all over China. The Chinese Anar-

chist organizations inside of China cooperated with their exiled comrades in this vast and often dangerous activity.

The authors of this valuable work ascribe the decline of the Chinese Anarchist movement not only to external circumstances, but also to tactical and doctrinal errors. Some of their criticisms are valid while others do not appear well founded, to this reviewer.

E.W.



SHELDON DERETCHIN 1933-1962

Members and sympathizers of the Libertarian League, the I.W.W. and the Committee for a General Strike for Peace have been saddened to learn of the death of Shel Deretchin.

Though many of his friends did not know it, nor did he want them to know, he was a victim of diabetes, and did not have long to live. He had suffered from this illness since a small child, and the disease had run its course, in its recent years threatening to take away all of his sight.

He knew that he was doomed, and yet it did not keep him from having a little fun and facing life with a bit of dash. This may even have explained his abruptness with people, which we feel was an expression of his dignity and self-reliance. Often I would see him set out into the crowd with those boy-like eyes, that uplifted chin with a cigarette rakishly set in the corner of his mouth, as he walked on with an almost military stride.

Near the end, his eyes failed him, and he could not distinguish colors or read street signs. It became virtually impossible for him to work. To these were added other trials. Then he began to have long periods when an air of melancholy hung about him. His attitude became more gentle.

Surely, he could not eat his prescribed diet out of the kind of relief wages the state meted out to him, and when he tried to turn himself into the hospital for treatment, it was several times denied him, because he had walked in.

Shel had been a faithful attendant at meetings and forums. He had also handled most of the technical factors in getting "Views and Comments" printed. His death leaves many gaps.

B.B.

The Kremlin and its apologists abroad boast that Russia's "progressing" social system is superior to decadent capitalism. It is claimed that the crime and corruption which infect capitalist society and produce ruthless individuals (who gratify their sick egos by committing violence against their fellow men) are practically nonexistent in the Soviet Union. In the USSR achievements in the field of science are supposedly being duplicated in the field of "human engineering." In addition to Sputniks, the planners also claim to be developing "Homo Sovieticus," the new and better "Soviet Man."

However, an impressive amount of evidence taken from Soviet sources proves that there is at least as much social and individual corruption under Russian State "Socialism" as there is under private capitalism or the Welfare State.

E. Delimars, in a remarkable article that appeared in ESTE & OESTE (Paris, November 20, 1962), describes a typical case of the type of corruption and crime to be found in the "Workers Fatherland." His sources are: IZVESTIA, June 10, 21, and 23, 1961; and KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA (Communist Party youth organ), May 5, 30, and June 23, 1961.

Gangs of hooligans known as "Black Blouses" are currently a major problem in the USSR. Public drunkenness, nocturnal disorder, muggings, etc. are daily occurrences. Since the police were unable to cope with the spreading violence, the authorities felt forced to create in 1958 a nationwide network of voluntary detachments consisting mainly of Komsomols (young communists) to help the police maintain order. The duties of these junior cops is to seize and take law breakers to the police station and "to rehabilitate potential delinquents by example and education."

The numerical strength of these detachments indicates the extent of the problem. To illustrate: as of 1960 there were in Leningrad and suburbs 1,327 detachments with 90,000 volunteers, in the Ukraine 23,000 detachments, and in Kazakhstan 4,000 detachments.

Unfortunately, the volunteers are in many instances as bad as the hooligans and create additional oppression and persecution for the populace. For example: the city of Nikolaev (population 226,000) in the Ukraine has had such volunteer detachments since 1958. The volunteers terrorized the city's people. Repeated protests to the authorities and letters to KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA were at first ignored. Finally, in the autumn of 1960, D. Novopliansky, one of the editors of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, went to Nikolaev and made an investigation which led to the trial of some of the guilty parties.

This trial revealed the following situation: That the Nikolaev city authorities had deliberately shielded the defendants, delaying the trial for 7 months, October 1960 to May 1961.

The engineer Zassoukhine had been preparing to televise a football game. A number of volunteers, wearing red armbands, interfered with his work. When Zassoukhine questioned their right to do so, he was seized and taken to the commander of the detachment, Mednik. While the latter's assistants held the engineer, Mednik rained blows on his face and head. A youth of 18, who protested when Mednik molested him, was severely beaten. Dirt was rubbed over his clothes, to make the doctor think that the youth had fallen accidentally while running. An elderly carpenter was unjustly detained and beaten by Mednik. When he protested to the local authorities Mednik was cleared by them. His superior, Yachtchenko, secretary of the Urban City Bureau of the Party, defended his subordinate.

Mednik and his second in command, Chapochnikov, were not satisfied to hunt alleged hooligans. They appointed themselves guardians of public morality. These volunteer cops made midnight raids on private homes, looking for "wayward girls." If a girl went to a restaurant with her boy friend, they were admitted only when they showed a permit signed by Mednik.

Mednik compiled a private dossier, with photographs and personal histories of girls and women and the volunteers took pleasure in adding to the collection. The women and girls in the dossier were honest workers who had incurred Mednik's displeasure. He and his volunteers forced girls to submit to them sexually, by threats and intimidation.

The young engineer Doudarev, arrested by the volunteers for "disturbing the peace" while boarding a taxi was beaten to death by Mednik and consorts. To conceal their crime, the volunteers, in cahoots with the authorities, destroyed the records of Doudarev's arrest, his passport and all other incriminating documents. The defendants then declared in court that they had never seen or heard of Doudarev.

A gang of twenty volunteers commanded by Chapochnikov assaulted the mechanic Magarev. An emergency operation was necessary to save his life. Many other workers were beaten by this gang of legal hooligans. Often the victims were then forced to sign statements absolving the volunteers of all responsibility.

These crimes could not have been committed without the complicity of the highest Party, police, and administrative officials of Nikolaev. Both the President of the Municipal Executive Committee and the President of the Party's city committee shielded the criminals. They made Mednik an official guardian of Public Order, a species of super-detective. Mednik was on two payrolls. Under a false name he was getting wages from the Nossenko Shipyard, and from the city as "Director of Beaches." In addition he collected a cash subsidy for the support of his "sick" mother, who had been dead for 18 years!

The Supreme Tribunal of the Ukraine sentenced Mednik to 15 years imprisonment; his assistant Chapochnikov got five

years. In effect, those found guilty were agents of the highest local authority. But just as in the nasty capitalist West, influence counts, and the real big shots were not even jailed. Despite their crimes they were allowed to retain their party membership with gentle slaps on the wrist. Such are the people who--46 years after the October Revolution--are supposed to incorporate all the sterling virtues of the new "Soviet Man."

G. Hu



NICHOLAS STOINOFF

December 19, 1862 -
- February 4, 1963



The grand old man of the Bulgarian anarchist movement has died. Nicholas Stoinoff had turned the century mark a few weeks before his death. He had been the first conscientious objector and the first revolutionary syndicalist in his country.

He was born in the city of Shumen of a peasant and artisan family. At the age of 17 he became a school teacher and later formed the General Teachers Union through which he organized a general strike of teachers against the monopolization of education by the State.

Comrade Stoinoff was active in the creation of a "Peoples University" to bring culture and knowledge to the darkest corners of his native land with night courses for adults as well as other activities.

From his earliest youth, he had been hounded by the police of each successive government, being often incarcerated and also forced to work in the underground for long periods. He was one of the most active militants of the Bulgarian Anarcho-Communist movement. With equal intransigence he opposed the fascist government established in 1923 and the Stalinist regime imposed by Russian bayonets in 1944.

Our comrade Stoinoff has left us the kind of noble example which gives us the courage to live and persist in the struggle for the new world of which he, through his integrity, already formed a part.

R.B.

LAUGHTER IN COURT (from Page 7)

So, natch, here he is charged with Disorderly Conduct for not cooperating with the fuzz. Big chief headbeater claims he showed badge, said was policeman. Our Hero, of course, maintains that when suddenly dragged off the street by two guys out of uniform, nobody told him nuttin' and he had no idea they were fuzz till Mr. Uniform turned up.

Our Hero tells story to his lawyer. Then the little-boy D.A. is trying to cross him up. Lad sticks to story that they never bothered to say they wuz cops. D.A.: "And you are claiming you had no idea they were policemen until the uniformed man came to help?" Our Hero (truth will out, even if it doesn't help his case): "Well, while I was fighting them, I began to think they might be." D.A.: "Why?" Our Hero: "Well, who else jumps you on the street, and beats you up?"

Everybody laughs like crazy. CORE-types, habitual shoplifters, dope-pushers, all fuzz present to give evidence, lawyers, everybody. RAP, RAP, RAP. Head Judge very mad, shuts us up, asks defendant if he is really claiming that cops only people who hit people in N.Y. I forget what he said back, but he could have said that they're the only ones quite so blatant about it. Judge (with great distaste): "You don't like policemen, do you?" Our Hero: "No."

He was acquitted.

BETSY WYCKOFF

RECOMMENDED NEW LITERATURE

MARXISM, FREEDOM AND THE STATE by Michael Bakunin
Edited by K.J.Kenafick, Freedom Press, London
63 pages. \$ 1.00

THE BOMB, DIRECT ACTION AND THE STATE, Syndicalist
Workers Federation, London 1962, 18 pp... 25 ¢

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WILL BE REVIEWED IN OUR NEXT ISSUE OF V. & C.



JOSE MARTI

"TO CHANGE THE
MASTER IS NOT
TO BE FREE"
- JOSE MARTI



What We Stand For

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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