

**VIEWS &**

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**COMMENTS**

C.I.R.A.

**of the libertarian league**

we remember

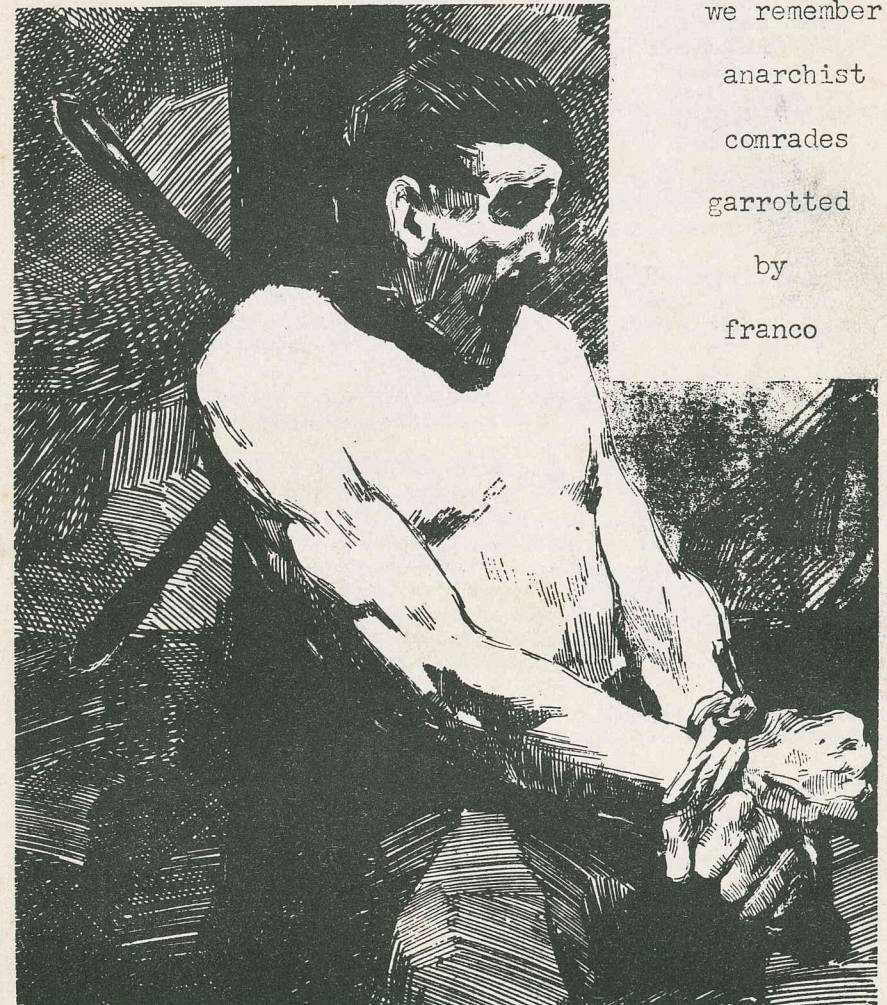
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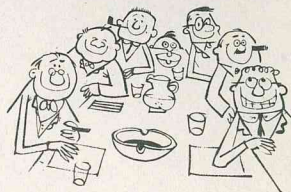
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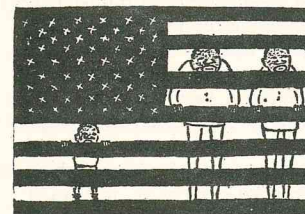
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editorial

1

## Leaders and Led in the Negro Revolt



THE NEGRO REVOLT OF THE SIXTIES leaves little doubt as to future tactics of the desegregation forces. Uncle Tom is dead, and the human rights movement is moving away from black bourgeois domination. The desegregation organizations are abandoning gradualism and legal mechanisms for the direct action of the masses.

Since the Montgomery bus boycott of 1955-56, Negroes have learned that the most significant victories are won by the people in the streets, not the lawyers in the courts.

However, the great successes and greater hopes of the human rights movement should not preclude unbiased analysis and constructive criticism. Too often have movements been left uncriticized by the "left" merely because they were mass movements.

While it is important to note that the desegregation effort is not controlled by the state, it is likewise important to examine the degree in which the movement is controlled from below. Throughout history, the common sense of the masses has too often been betrayed by leaders beyond their control.

As with all other mass movements, the integration movement presents an internal conflict between control-from-above and control-from-below.

The organizational structure of the NAACP, for example, has remained undemocratic and hierarchical; but pressure from below recently won the youth branches a greater voice in the NAACP's affairs. This year's NAACP convention showed a significant conflict between leaders and led, between elders and youth, between gradualists and militants. On July 4, the militants prevented Chicago Mayor Richard Daley and a leading Negro Baptist minister, both selected by the leadership but both rejected as gradualists by the delegates, from speaking. Much as we may condemn their tactics, which tended to limit discussion and deny the adherents of the gradualist position the free expression of their ideas, a struggle is indicated between the leaders and the rank-in-file.

There isn't much information available concerning the precise extent of this conflict in the movement nationally. We cite the following examples to indicate that the problem does exist and is important.

FEW OF THE 200,000 PARTICIPANTS in the August 28 March on Washington had even the most insignificant part in planning the demonstration. Though the March received much advance publicity, where were the local March on Washington committees, composed of marchers-to-be, organized on a federated basis to plan the action? Clearly, the demonstration was tightly controlled from above. How many of the 200,000 participants had anything to do with Organizational Leaflet No. 2, which designated "We Shall Overcome" as the March's only official song?

Once in Washington, the demonstrators could not be bossed. They sang unofficial songs, and carried unofficial signs. Their own splendid self-discipline accomplished what instructions from above had attempted. And, anxious to get the March underway, they began it at 11:20, ten minutes early, forcing the leadership to race to the head of the line.

THE JULY 10, 1963 DEMONSTRATION at Gwynn Oak Amusement Park in Baltimore County differed greatly from the much publicized July 4 demonstration there. It was completely planned from the top down. Demonstrators were given concise instructions as to what would happen. No discussion was allowed to follow. The demonstration seemed to have been planned by basically conservative clergymen and, amazingly, by the chairman of the Committee on Human Relations for Baltimore County. Thus a member of the state apparatus was one of the main planners of a demonstration the participants of which were to be arrested, carried limp, and jailed by the same state apparatus. Instead of establishing that creative social disorder which causes demonstrations to provoke responses, instead of logically carrying out the idea of going limp and refusing to cooperate with the state apparatus which arrests you, the good chairman had decided to ease the burden of his co-workers by submitting to them in advance a list of persons to be arrested! Which side was he on?

And, during the same protest, when one demonstrator decided to continue his non-cooperation to the point of having to be carried into the jail, one paid CORE official, while repeating that he believed in acts of conscience, reminded the demonstrator that this was not an action which the group had decided upon - as if the group had decided anything!

ABOUT SIX MONTHS AGO in Cambridge, Maryland, after a handful of demonstrators had been arrested, the highly undemocratically-organized Baltimore desegregation group sponsoring the day's action herded the approximately 150 remaining demonstrators into a local church. There, instead of encouraging the demonstrators to plan future actions or even to protest the arrest of their comrades, the leaders of the group proceeded to show a mediocre half-hour film on the progress of racial understanding in Baltimore. The film had been produced by a television station - it did not counsel demonstrations; it did not inspire militancy. It had nothing to do with Cambridge, Maryland, and it definitely was not worth a half-hour, especially then. But the rank-and-file showed its common sense. Mumbling began, whispers spread through the room. In minutes there was a general demand for some kind of protest action now. Fill the jail! The leadership became aware of this, and counselled against it. No more bail money could be raised for a week possibly, and any more demonstrators arrested would have to remain in jail that long. But voices from the audience began to make themselves heard. Several minutes later 100 demonstrators, black and white, were on the streets, marching - and not two abreast - toward the jail. One hundred proud, singing, militant demonstrators had bucked the leadership to support their comrades and strengthen the movement's position in Cambridge.

Blocks later, policemen ordered the advancing column to a halt. Other cops closed in from the rear. But the marchers marched around the cops.

Eventually about 50 demonstrators went to jail. Bail money was raised in less than two days.

The church, which has been for years the Negro's major social gathering place, naturally was to become, with the changing times, a lever for social change. As much as we may wish its replacement in this role by the union hall, it must be considered an important factor in today's civil rights outlook.

Unfortunately, while the old gospels of the millenium, like "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot," have so many times been replaced by "We Shall Overcome," the civil rights ministers, despite their long fiery speeches favoring direct action, too often have carried the preacher-preached relationship into the human rights movement. Too often the ministers, too, command direct action by decree.

Today, the leaders of the nation's human rights movements are, by and large, dedicated, capable individuals, many of whom daily risk their lives in the struggle. Nonetheless, we must remember and point out that as long as the intra-organizational tendencies toward control-from-above are not persistently counter-balanced by libertarian tendencies, there is great potential danger of bureaucratic ossification and the sell-outs and stagnation this implies.

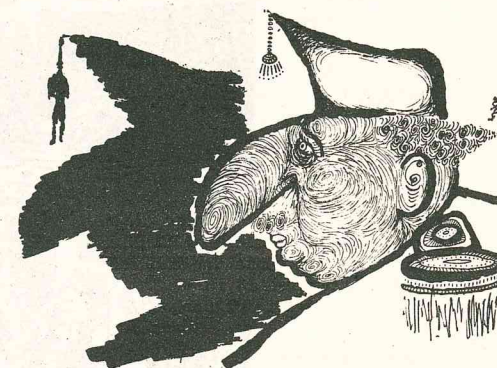
Actions for human rights are most meaningful when planned by the participants. The will of each activist can only be expressed through internal discussion of issues and direct control from below.

To prevent the tendency toward oligarchy from becoming an iron law, individuals within the human rights movement must open free discussion on the nature of leadership in general and the nature of each leadership in particular. They must foster the spread of complete, unhindered discussion on all questions of organizational policy.

Such a degree of discussion may, in cases, necessitate the subdivision of existing groups. So much the better! A large, unwieldy organization should be replaced by smaller, freely federated bodies. It is much harder to bureaucratically dominate a small group than a large one - including the misused mass meeting.

If we desire freedom and Freedom Now, we must today, within our organizations, work for the greatest possible freedom of discussion and freedom to plan and coordinate our own actions. We must build the tendency for control-from-below.

## spanish chronicle



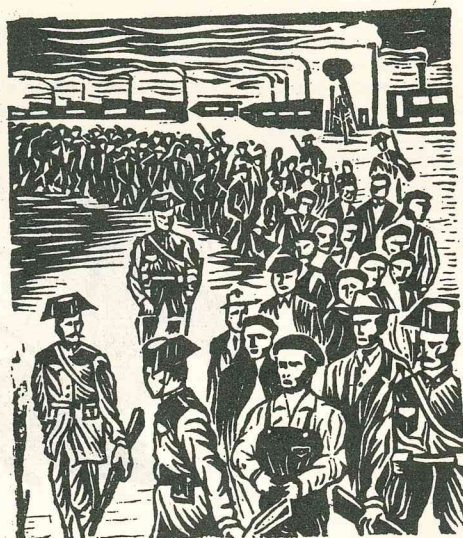
THERE ARE MANY SURFACE INDICATIONS of the increasing weakness of Franco's regime. Chief among these has been the latest miners' strike in Asturias, involving some 30,000 workers and lasting most of the summer. The ability of the coal-diggers to sustain such lengthy strikes is largely due to the fact that most of them have their own kitchen gardens and a few chickens. The inability of the totalitarian regime to prevent the stoppages is undeniable proof of its weakness. The miners refuse to recognize the delegates of the official vertical syndicates and respect only their own elected representatives.

Labor unrest is general in other areas and there have been strikes recently in the Basque provinces, in Leon, in Ciudad Real, and in Barcelona. There have been mass demonstrations of social protest in La Coruña and Bilbao. The Government has been unable to repress or control these massive demonstrations which have thus won some concessions. These include the freeing of some political prisoners and the return of some of the deportees sent to Spanish Sahara for participating in last year's strikes.

"Saboteurs" arrested are usually suspected revolutionaries without too much regard as to whether they actually committed the specific acts charged. Trials are legal farces, from which the press is usually barred. Prison sentences range from six months to sixty years, with an occasional death penalty.

Two members of the Libertarian Youth - Joaquin Delgado and Francisco Granados were thus found guilty of bombings. Having been denied an appeal or stay of execution, they were hurriedly garroted. Garroting combines torture and death: a manually-operated iron collar is gradually tightened until the neck is broken. Thus our comrades died on August 17th in Carabanchel Prison, Madrid, after 20 minutes of torture. Three young French libertarians are awaiting trial in Madrid, charged with complicity in the same case.

Although it has not been their main form of anti-fascist activity, the revolutionary underground in Spain still maintains some guerrilla activity in the mountains; especially in the Pyrenees, which form the border with France. One of the most active of these guerrilla fighters has been Ramon Capdevila. His armed revolt against Franco was a continuation of his activity with the Maquis in France during the Nazi occupation. Now he is dead, having fallen in a battle with the Civil Guards at Berga early in August. His comrades now carry on the struggle.



As the struggle against the dictators is intensified, anarchist activities in Spain and Portugal are coordinated by the Iberian Liberation Council. A half dozen illegal papers are published irregularly in as many cities. The Socialists have also participated in the strike movement in the north, where many of their more militant working class elements are concentrated. The basis of the regime itself becomes narrower as considerable opposition develops among the Catholics and Falangists.

\* \* \*

IN THE DIFFICULT DAYS of 1944 and early 1945 the underground Maquis of the French people carried on a valiant struggle against the Nazi forces of occupation in France. The many thousands of Spanish refugees who had been living in France since the victory of Franco participated actively in this struggle, and the Nazi power in the southern half of the country was broken thanks in very large part to the underground struggle of these people. Charles De Gaulle with his vague shadowy movement in exile was in the position of a general coordinator of the French underground, but the real work of making the Nazi positions untenable was in the hands of the fighting underground groups.

Following the "liberation" of France, hopes of French toleration towards the mounting of a movement among the exiles to invade Spain and overthrow Franco were frustrated. Once again the Spanish refugees became pariahs in their places of exile. General Franco, who had been an ally of Hitler and Mussolini, was forgiven by the new French government.

Some months ago at the behest of dictator Franco, measures were taken by De Gaulle's government to hinder the publication of the Spanish exile press. On September 11th last, the French Government, on tips from Franco's police, which has numerous agents in France, carried out a series of raids during which a large number of Spanish libertarians were imprisoned. They are charged with "criminal association," which of course means conspiring to overthrow the fascist dictatorship in their homeland. The offices in Paris of the Spanish National Confederation of Labor (CNT) were raided and a number of documents seized. It may be that supplies destined for the underground movement in Spain were also seized.

De Gaulle's government is preparing to bring these fighters for liberty to trial for trying to do for their own country what they already did years before for France - overthrow the fascist tyranny. An international campaign of protest is being mounted to defend our comrades.

Franco's Spain is once again at one of those junctures where its fate hangs by a very slim thread. It could have been overthrown with relative ease in 1945 when Nazi Germany collapsed. On several occasions in the succeeding years internal unrest was such that it bordered on open revolt, and then as now, the financial assistance of the United States and the more than tolerant attitude of the other Western democracies have enabled it to survive.

The fall of Franco might well open up a new political era in Europe, as Spain is the only country where an anti-totalitarian revolutionary tradition exists, and where there could develop, in the foreseeable future, a libertarian type revolution, opposed to both the totalitarian imperialism of the "east" and the capitalist chicanery of the "west".

\* \* \*

THE ESSENTIAL SIMILARITY OF ALL STATES and statist organizations is one of the inescapable lessons of history. In the last analysis, any State, being a parasitic growth on the social body, inevitably shows greater solidarity with other States than it does towards the people over which it rules.

Thus the Franco-De Gaulle affinities are well illustrated in our previous item. Here follow three other examples:

- \* Spain is seeking to increase air and sea links with Cuba, rather than reducing them as the U.S. is demanding (London Times, July 18).
- \* Spain is to receive crude oil from Russia in reimbursement of the \$800 million in gold stored there by the Republican Government during the civil war (Le Figaro, August 13).
- \* Eight Russian "trade unionists" are to visit Spain to study the "syndicalist" system there. In return, eight Spanish "syndicalists" may pay the Russians a visit (Le Figaro, August 29).

These developments are so grotesque, so fundamentally disgusting, that they need no further comment. They only serve to remind us of two similar items. The first was told us by Seymour Melman, the Columbia University industrial engineer. An American businessman visiting Russia told him that he envied their trade union system - no question of strikes or other disturbances on the part of the workers. The second item concerns another businessman - a Mr. Mein, Vice President of the Bank of America. He commented to a visiting South African businessman: "How lucky you are to live in a country not dominated by trade unions, where you have sound people in control, as reflected in your banks and institutions, your judiciary system, parliament and free elections" (South African Digest, September 26).

Need we say more?

R.B.

## buggering the worker from both ends

THOSE CONCERNED WITH THE QUESTION OF FREEDOM in general and the labor movement in particular are alarmed at the introduction of the principle of compulsory arbitration by the government in the case of the railway unions. If this precedent is applied to the whole field of labor relations, strikes will be outlawed and workers will be forced to accept settlements dictated to them. When a union is robbed of its greatest weapon, the right to strike, it is no longer an independent agency defending the interests of the workers. The worker becomes the slave of the State and the "unions" become the "labor front," as in the totalitarian societies of Russia, Spain or Cuba.

The government is not the only guilty party and the right to strike is being curtailed by more devious but no less effective devices. The labor union leaders are helping the Government by participating, as representatives of labor, in the Compulsory Arbitration Boards, by conniving with the employers and the Government to prevent strikes, and above all, by punishing local unions for going on "illegal" wildcat strikes.

The right of workers on the job to strike has been violated by the union dictators in hundreds and thousands of cases. It has become the rule and not the exception. This outrageous practice has now been sanctioned by the Law. In June 1963, Baltimore Local 28 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBE) went on strike for a 35 cent hourly wage increase. The President of the IBE, Gordon Freeman, ordered the local to give up the strike. According to the Constitution of the IBE, no local of the union is allowed to go on strike without the permission of the union President. He decides for the workers whether they shall or shall not strike.

For disobeying his orders the charter of the local was revoked. The local sued the union on the grounds that the union has no right to tell the local not to strike and for the return of the charter. These workers, however, had yet another illusion to be shattered: they imagined that the courts would protect their interests. They fought the case before the bar, and it eventually reached the Supreme Court of the United States. The court upheld the union and denied that workers can strike against the will of their top officers who are enforcing the Constitution of the union. The Supreme Court declared that:

"Parent unions have played a useful role in bringing a measure of order and stability to the labor market. Perhaps their best contribution has been in restraining their component bodies from reckless resort to work stoppages and strikes - the courts should not - establish a rule that locals may, with impunity, defy their parent unions and strike at will."

The resemblance between this pronouncement and the government's labor policy is obvious. The unions cannot with "impunity defy" the government and "strike at will" against the "public interest," and the government decides what the "public interest" is. Now, the workers cannot defy the Union Government and strike against "the interests of the workers," and the Union Government decides what the "workers interest" is. The right to strike is attacked on two fronts. The government fights the workers from the outside and the union dictators act as the government's fifth column from the inside.

Outside of a few honorable exceptions there is no genuine labor movement today. What we have is a modernized version of old-fashioned "business unionism," which is committed to "partnership between Labor, management and Government." Such unions are an indispensable part of the machinery of emerging State Capitalism. A state-regulated economy needs a State-regulated labor movement. Under such a setup, the function of the labor leaders, who control the unions, is to assure the cooperation of the labor force; to make

sure that the workers do not upset the delicate balance of the State Capitalist machine by widespread strikes and work stoppages.

The modern labor movement is a vast brokerage corporation, which by virtue of its control of the unions, exchanges labor peace for well-paid positions in the "establishment." The directors of the labor corporation enjoy "status" - "title, knee and approbation, with Senators on the bench." The labor corporation needs a vast bureaucratic apparatus to perform its complicated functions. The people who make up the apparatus have the same general ideas, the same tastes, belong to the same clubs, as their fellow bureaucrats who administer the tremendous governmental and business empires.

By reason of their ideological, social-economic, and psychological identification with the "establishment," the labor brokers are congenitally incapable of acting as true champions of labor. They act as they do because they sincerely believe in the status quo. Their misdirected zeal makes them even more dangerous to the cause of freedom.

No labor movement is worth a damn if it is not inspired by an ideal worth fighting for. Unions devoid of high ethical and social principles become just as vile and depraved as the business organizations with whom they "bargain." The best elements in the labor movement once strove to organize the economic power of the united working class for the abolition of exploitative society and the establishment of the Cooperative Commonwealth of free men. Let us return to those ideals.

--Spartacus

## ghana

### nationalists in the golden bed

An acquaintance of ours - one of those whom we used to call Stalinoids - recently returned from a summer's stay in Ghana.

"Is it really the first African Peoples Republic, as Senator Dodd says?" we asked.

He smiled and murmured something about the wonderful spirit of the people.

"What about the guys at the top? Are they also 'working together'?"

"Boy, you should see the start of one of those mass education campaigns," he said, rather irrelevantly, "the chiefs come out for miles around; bands, thousands of people, food piled high, singing, dancing and everyone excited about village sanitation. Great."

So we unfolded a letter from Ghana we had recently received. "What about this estate that Kwame has at Aburi... is it really worth \$720,000? And that office building he owns in Sekondi Bakanu - did he really pay \$108,000 for it and is it really rented to the Commissioner of the Western Region for \$900 a month? And by the way, does he really own the Ossagyefo Shipping Company and a castle worth \$120,000 in Egypt?"

Our friend shook his head sadly: "You know how these things are; they learned from the colonialists. Now take that estate at Aburi; Nkrumah started it on a small scale. Then the Party took it over, flew in swimming pools from England and all that sort of thing. Know why they did it? Because they need a strong leader, a real man at the top, a symbol of unity. After all, it's a small price for central planning."

"It says here," we said, nose back in the letter, "that Krobo Edusei - the gold bed man - built himself a marble palace worth \$189,000; and that Ghana Ambassador to Japan Baidoo Ansah once milked a Ceylonese merchant of almost a quarter of a million dollars before having him deported from Ghana; and everyone knows that Ako-Adjei, who was Foreign Minister until not long ago, stole \$150,000 from the public treasury; even he admits it. Are they also symbols of unity?"

Our friend looked very melancholic indeed. "My one hope is that the CPP really gets strong enough to do away with these parasites. Ako-Adjei and Krobo Edusei, they aren't real Party men. They're just imitating the colonialists. Now you read the Party press; they know what socialism is all about....You should see the state farms. Up north, we ran into one...."

"The Party!" we interrupted; "Isn't John Tettegah, the head of the Ghana Trade Union Congress, a big Party man?"

"Right."

"And doesn't he collect a salary of \$12,000 a year for this?"

"Maybe."

"And isn't the TUC's main job, these days, to keep workers from striking? After all, the railroad workers' and dockers' strike was broken, wasn't it, without Tettegah moving a muscle?"

"You've got to understand, in a socialist country, it's a contradiction to strike against yourself. There's a lot of other jobs for the unions...."

"You mean you don't think that this bastard, who helps himself to 12 grand a year while most of his members are lucky to get \$150, isn't a parasite?"

Our explosion seemed to have had some effect. "Maybe they'll have another revolution," said our friend rather lamely.

"And Ali Baba and his forty thieves - where will they go when that time comes? To Peking or Moscow?"

Our friend looked relieved for the first time: "No chance of that. You should see that million and a half dollar maximum security prison they just built at Nsawim. Solid, man. Solid."

#### LEGISLATIVE NOTE

Senator Snum was a merry old chum,  
Without excess bulk in his cranium.  
Said he, "Why wait to negotiate?  
Let's try a pinch of uranium."  
Then the bombs were hurled which blasted the world  
To the middle of Kingdom Come;  
And the man most surprised to be vaporized  
Was dear old Senator Snum.

--from SURVIVAL

## the church and the radicals

So much has been said about the April, 1963 encyclical, *Pacem In Terris*, that further comment appears superfluous. However, there is one fundamental disturbing point that has not received the attention it deserves. Why did wide sections of the Socialist, Labor, Liberal and Pacifist movements not detect, or choose to ignore, the reactionary doctrine so cleverly interwoven with the liberal verbiage, particularly the following excerpt:

"It is the divine wisdom and not mere chance that has ordained that there shall be government, that some should command and others should obey - this authority (government) - has God for its author - when in fact, men obey their rulers - their obedience - is (to) God." (our brackets)

The will of God is transmitted to humanity through his representative the Pope and the Church, which he commands. The Church and the State rule by divine right. It is the will of God that the few should rule over the many. Thus the indissoluble bond between the institutions of the State and the Church and the exploitation of man by man is sanctified and reaffirmed by the Church.



Throughout the ages heretics suffered martyrdom for revolting against this pernicious doctrine. The Radicals irrespective of their differences concerning theory and practice were united in repudiating this dogma. One of the great achievements of the Socialist and Labor movements was the enormous and widespread anti-clerical education carried on among the workers. The Socialists were not alone in this campaign. The Atheist, Agnostic and Freethought movements also did a great amount of educational work among the "faithful." Millions of workers were influenced to leave the Church. The Socialist movement challenged the hegemony of the Church and proclaimed that Socialism and Churchianity could not co-exist. The Church declared open war on the Socialist and Labor movements.

The Church has been able to survive through the centuries, because it is adept at changing its tactics without giving up its basic authoritarian dogmas. The tactic of outspoken hostility to the Socialist movement failed to stem its growing influence among the workers. The Church was losing members and revenue. The high command decided to attain the destruction of the Socialist movement by subtle infiltration and competition instead of frontal assault.

Backed by its tremendous financial and organizational resources, assisted by the State and the employers, who also wanted to wreck the Socialist movement, the Church established rival organizations which duplicated the workers' organizations at every level. It built Catholic-Socialist propaganda units, Catholic-Socialist political parties, an International network of Catholic trade unions, sent "worker-Priests", dressed in civilian clothes into working class districts and factories and recruited converts from within the Socialist and Labor movements. The Church "bored from within and hammered from without." The line that the Church peddled was that its brand of "Socialism" was compatible with Catholicism.

Instead of counter-attacking, the reformist wing of the Socialist movement retreated. The infiltration of the Church met with little resistance because the reformists had gradually abandoned their principles, had accepted collaboration with the employing class, the State, and finally with the Church. The class lines had been gradually blurred and the reformists could no longer clearly distinguish between friend or foe.

The reformists and Church meet on common ground. Neither one nor the other threaten the existence of the State and the wage system. The social, political and economic measures advocated in the encyclical coincide in every important respect with the program of the reformist Socialist and Labor movements. Co-existence between the Church and the reformists was further facilitated when the latter ceased attacking the Anti-Socialist, Anti-Humanist dogma of the Church.

The fact that even non-religious socialists, pacifists and progressives join the democratic and totalitarian statesmen in universal praise of the encyclical, that they ignore its ultra-reactionary doctrine, indicates how deeply degeneration has permeated the socialist, liberal and labor movements, and how deeply the authoritarian spirit has penetrated our society. It is time to take heed and work for the renaissance of the libertarian traditions in world culture.



## BIG JOE

It is ten years since Big Joe died. Some people think his pals did him in; others that his big heart just bust. We may never know the truth. But history has recorded his cherished last words: "Don't cry for me; go out and terrorize!"

I dreamed I saw Big Joe last night  
Alive as you and me.  
Says I, 'But Joe, you're ten years dead.'  
'I never died,' says he. (twice)

'In Moscow, Joe, by God,' says I,  
'They killed you in your bed.  
'They framed you at that Congress, Joe,'  
Says Joe, 'But I ain't dead.' (twice)

'Big Joe ain't dead,' he says to me,  
'Big Joe ain't never died.  
'Where bureaucrats drive Cadillacs,  
'Big Joe is at their side.' (twice)

And standing there as big as life  
And smiling with his eyes,  
Joe says, 'What I forgot to kill  
'Went on to terrorize.' (twice)

'From Brest-Litovsk to Vladivostok  
'In every mine and mill,  
'Big Joe's old buddies run the show,  
'So I'm the Leader still.' (twice)

(SOLIDARITY, England)

## from the libertarian press

## ARGENTINA

THE LIBERTARIAN FEDERATION OF ARGENTINA consists of a nationwide network of local and regional organizations participating in—and actively spreading libertarian ideas and methods in—every sphere of social life. The militants are active in the labor movement, student, educational and cultural organizations, consumers' and producers' cooperatives, neighborhood associations concerned with better housing and public services, etc. In addition to these activities the local organizations operate their own libertarian centers. Here, they conduct lectures and discussions; have their own libraries & meeting places for youth groups; conduct socials, art and literary clubs and similar enterprises. The Federation also publishes two excellent journals, ACCION LIBERTARIA and RECONSTRUIR as well as numerous pamphlets and books.

The reasons for all these activities are clearly presented in the resolutions of the 3-day Special Congress of the Federation, held in Buenos Aires in August 1963. The libertarian movement of Argentina is faced with a two-fold task. Firstly, to defend whatever liberty still remains from the assaults of the State and the other authoritarian economic, religious and social organizations, and secondly, to encourage the formation of popular, grassroots movements, independent of the State, which will compete with the authoritarian organizations. In so doing, the independent structures erect a counter-society of their own. They build "the new society within the shell of the old." When the old order decays and is overthrown it will be these free people's associations that will constitute the new society.

The congress stressed the importance of adapting our general principles to the immediate problems involving the daily life of the people. To implement the resolutions, the congress indicated specific practical measures which can be taken now by the libertarians within the existing economic and social organizations. Militants within the labor movement should ceaselessly discourage reliance of the workers upon the State and should stimulate the formation through the unions of self-governing cooperative mutual aid societies, technical education, hospitals and clinics, vacation centers, cooperative stores and cultural activities. This sort of thing is designed to stimulate self-reliance and the confidence of the workers to run their own affairs. The militants within the labor movement must constitute a permanent opposition against the corrupt, dictatorial union dictatorships that are allied to the State.

Libertarians within technical and scientific organizations should try to arouse the members of these associations to their social responsibilities to use their knowledge for constructive purposes, not for war or for the support of the exploitative social system. They must become more than social clubs and should cooperate with the other organizations in devising ways and means of dealing with both urgent social problems and long-range libertarian methods of social reconstruction. This alliance between scientific-technical and peoples' movements will break down the iron curtain that separates the scientific-technical world from the people and make possible fruitful cooperation in the interests of all.

We have not the space to list the constructive suggestions made in the fields of education, neighborhood associations, cooperatives and other bodies, but these sketchy examples should illustrate what the Federation is trying to do.

The congress also took definite steps to insure better internal coordination between the groups and with the International Libertarian Movement. It also re-affirmed its solidarity with the Cuban Libertarian Movement in Exile and the struggles of our Spanish and Portuguese comrades against the dictatorships of Franco and Salazar. Fraternal delegates and observers from other Latin American

countries attended the Congress and contributed valuable assistance in the deliberations. The spirit that animated the Congress is expressed in the last paragraph of its Declaration of Principles:

"With the profound conviction that Socialism is not possible without freedom and that true liberty is impossible without socialism; that the obstacles which impede humanity from attaining peace, freedom and well-being must finally be overcome; that the choice is between the present world of injustice, misery and war and a future in which peoples will live in dignity and freedom; the LIBERTARIAN FEDERATION OF ARGENTINA, its affiliated groups and all its militants will bend all its efforts to reach its high ideals and forge a better world which will insure liberty and justice for all time."

The Libertarian League shares these sentiments. We congratulate our comrades of the LIBERTARIAN FEDERATION OF ARGENTINA and hope that the resolutions of the Congress will be speedily implemented.

### *from the libertarian press*

## BRAZIL



A letter from our veteran Brazilian comrade, Edgar Rodriguez, to the Anarchist magazine, TIERRA Y LIBERTAD of Mexico, plus other reports culled from the libertarian press provide valuable information about the economic situation and competing movements seeking power by using the discontent of the Brazilian masses to their own advantage.

These few statistics dating to 1960 go a long way toward explaining why the people are in a rebellious mood. The population of Brazil is 67 million. 45 million live in rural areas and 22 million live in urban areas. 70,000 landowners (3.3 per cent of the total population) own 62 per cent of the total area of Brazil; 1.8 million landowners own 16.6 per cent of the cultivated land; 25 million peasants (76.6 per cent of the total population) do not own even a square foot of land. 1.5 million peasants are either tenant farmers or owners of not more than 50 hectares of land. Some 70 to 80 per cent of the rural population are illiterate, undernourished, lack adequate clothing and medical attention. Almost 40 million people suffer from diseases that have long since been wiped out in countries where reasonable public health standards prevail.

The giant landowners deliberately withhold land from cultivation and dump food to keep up prices. In Rio de Janeiro long lines of poor people wait for hours on line to get a kilo of rice or beans, while enormous quantities of these staples rot in warehouses under police protection. (It cost 466 million cruzeiros to store "surplus" beans in the Rio de Janeiro area.) In 1961-62 rice was shipped to Czechoslovakia, Poland, Russia and Indonesia. The price was 20 to 30 cruzeiros per kilo, while the hungry Brazilians waiting in line had to pay 135 cruzeiros per kilo. Thousands of tons of dried milk and other U.S. foreign aid shipments are not distributed to the poor.

Two main factions are struggling for control of the Brazilian State. Feudal landlords and old patrician families, immune to any form of social amelioration and unable to see that the mass of discontent of the peasants must ultimately lead to their downfall; the other faction consists of the bankers, capitalists and industrialists who are trying to transform Brazil into a modern capitalist-industrial State. They favor the "Alliance for Progress" and are willing to

make minimum concessions and ameliorate glaring abuses, thereby safeguarding their economic and political power. Allied to them are the emerging middle classes, liberals and the vast governmental bureaucracy. The government coalition is made up of these elements and it is among them that the political parties and their satraps in the labor movement are conniving for power.

The government, in order to exist, must have some degree of mass support. This support comes from the labor movement, which is strongly influenced by the Communists. In exchange for certain concessions, the Communists support the coalition in the hope that they will climb to power, eventually dumping the enlightened capitalists, leaving them free to establish a dictatorship a la Castro.

The labor movement is controlled by an officialdom entrenched in political parties and the Ministry of Labor. The labor leaders are the link between the workers and the officialdom. The labor movement is in effect a governmental agency. Thus, the series of strikes initiated in August and September 1962 had purely political goals. They were called to force the National Congress to grant full and unlimited power to the Ministers and the President. In other words, the workers went on strike to establish a virtual dictatorship over themselves!

Deputy Francisco Juliao is the leader of the Peasant Leagues of Pernambuco, in Northeast Brazil. The peasant leagues were not founded by Juliao, but rather by the peasants themselves in 1955. Juliao was a small-time lawyer, a power-mad opportunist and a demagogue who was raised to fame by the publicity given him in the foreign and then Brazilian press. This Brazilian Castro is strongly supported by the pro-Chinese faction of the Communist Party and the Trotskyites. He severely criticized the CP for compromising with the Brazilian capitalists and advocates the Chinese policy of guerrilla war and peasant uprisings. It remains to be seen if the Communist Party of Brazil will be able to discipline him.

The revolutionary Libertarian movements that flourished in the early nineteen-twenties were seriously crippled by the successive dictatorships which ruled Brazil from 1922 to 1945. Thousands of Anarchists, revolutionary syndicalists and socialists were deported and thrown into concentration camps of OYAPOCK, where hundreds perished. Whole generations of workers grew up with little or no contact with the spirit, principles or tactics of the revolutionary movement; so they came to accept dictatorship as the normal way of life.

The Brazilian Libertarian movement has never been completely suppressed and there are indications that not all workers are swallowing the totalitarian bait. In Sao Paulo, Brazil's great industrial city, which is still the hotbed of Brazil's non-conformists, a number of important unions issued a manifesto calling for the establishment of a union movement that will be completely independent of the State and political parties. The manifesto calls on the workers to fight for individual freedom, defense and extension of the right to strike against governmental corruption, and equal economic and social rights to the agricultural workers. It would be interesting to know how this courageous attempt was received, but the fact that it was made is extremely significant.



### ON LIBERTY

"Liberty, morality, and the human dignity of man consist precisely in this, that he does good, not because it is commanded, but because he conceives it, wills it and loves it."

Bakunin

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## Anarchist Organization & Individual Freedom

LUIGI FABBRI

LUIGI FABBRI, 1877-1935, outstanding Italian Anarchist thinker, writer, associate of Errico Malatesta, active revolutionist, suffered imprisonment and exile before and after Mussolini came to power. The following is a free translation and summation of some of his ideas about the relationship of Anarchism to Individualism and organization which are still pertinent for our time.

\* \* \*

Many misguided people, including Anarchists, have the most absurd ideas about the question of Organization and Anarchism. This leads to confusion about our fundamental ideas, making impossible effective and consistent activity for our ideals. Extreme individualists deny the necessity of organization in daily life and in the social struggle and maintain that there is some kind of contradiction between liberty and association.

The principal argument of our adversaries against organization is that the sovereignty of the individual will be limited, if not abolished, by organization. This is an error. Association augments individual sovereignty, precisely because it provides the individual with the united collective power to overcome obstacles and insure a standard of life which he could never hope to attain by his own isolated efforts. The advantages and practice of association for common aims develop the feeling of solidarity and mutual love of associated individuals whose highest expression is known as Altruism.

But our opponents contradict us and say: "We are not altruists; there is no altruism. Man is an egoist and from his "I" he derives all his actions and thoughts, even when these actions and thoughts appear altruistic." The man who shares his last crust of bread with his hungry neighbor is, strictly speaking, also an "egoist" because he derives greater pleasure in sacrificing his bread than he would if he ate it all himself. From this narrow standpoint, even the most sublime self-sacrifice, life itself, is an "egoistic" act. But, the exploiter who would rather let his slaves die of hunger than give up a single luxury is also an egoist...Both are egoists, but no one can deny that there is a vast difference between these two diametrically opposed types of egoism. The term Altruism distinguishes noble, humane "egoism" from unadulterated swinishness. Altruism does not in any way signify the negation of the "I." It is, on the contrary, the highest moral fulfillment of the personality. In denying Altruism, many extreme Anarchist individualists, followers of Stirner and Nietzsche, end up by denying organization. Such individualists isolate themselves from society, exercise no influence on events and condemn our movement to remain perpetually in a state of utopia.

The idea that only the "superman" is important, that only the gifted egoist is responsible for human progress, makes impossible any form of mass action. It is true that a single genius or a hero can make more propaganda and accomplish more than a hundred "average" men. But the world is full of average people, not of heroes and geniuses. Without for a moment underestimating the importance of gifted individuals in our movement, we must, if we are to realize our ideal, depend above all on the continual and tireless action of the masses of "average" men. And we must never forget that even geniuses and heroes can also make catastrophic mistakes and do more harm than the rank and file. In denying the creative power of the people, many individualist anarchists, unconsciously reinforce the Stateists who do not believe that any form of organization is possible without open or camouflaged dictatorship.

To deny organization is to deny, in effect, the possibility of social life even in an anarchistic society. To deny organization because it is subject to

abuse is like telling a child not to walk because it is liable to stumble and hurt itself. Many individualists make no distinction between authoritarian and libertarian forms of organization. To them, all organization is evil. From rightfully condemning Statist organization they go on to denying the values of libertarian social structures. Like those who deny the necessity for the organization of labor, the extreme individualists, because of their distorted viewpoint, cannot even imagine the possibility of freely federated communal organizations in the future society.

Many individualists who are not extremists identify themselves with the philosophy of Nietzsche and Stirner. They repudiate organization but admit the necessity for solidarity. But the solidarity of men for the common purpose of overthrowing the old society and building the new can be effective only if it is organized. Anarchist organization is the application of solidarity.

We must rebel against a bad organization of Society, but not against society itself. Society is not a myth, nor an idea. It is not a preordained, artificially created device which we can refuse to recognize or abolish. Nor is it, as the Stirnerites accuse us of saying, something superior to the individual, to which everyone must sacrifice his "I" and worship as a fetish. Society is the sum total of all the individuals and will exist as long as human beings exist. It is a natural fact, like the cosmos. To repudiate human society is to rebel against life itself--to die. The material, moral and intellectual existence and development of every individual is derived from union with all the other individuals who comprise society.

The maximum satisfaction of man's individuality, his maximum material and moral well-being as well as his maximum liberty is possible only when he is attached to his fellow man by the pact of mutual cooperation. A man in harmonious relationship with society is always much freer than one who is anti-social. The socialist-anarchists combat the present social organization precisely because it impedes the enfoldment of a social system which will further the greater development of every individual. To accomplish our aims, we must prepare ourselves and build revolutionary organizations which will not only be united on questions of principle, but also structurally sound and permanent, not chaotic, haphazard, parochial and confused conglomerations of people who don't know what they want or how to get it if they do.

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"The most terrible utopias are the scientific utopias of the marxian socialist and the monopoly capitalist. With the same rational instruments of thought that have perfected science and technology, they now advance on the spontaneous sources of life itself. They presume to plan what can only germinate, to legislate for the forms of growth and to mould into intangible dogmas the sensitive graces of the mind."

Herbert Read

### ON GOVERNMENTS

"The plain fact is that government is always an imposition. It represents in the last analysis a conquest, and when that conquest is made with ballots they are no more than surrogates for bullets, for as someone has truly said, voting is simply a way of determining which side is the stronger without putting it to the test of fighting."

H.L. Mencken

## george woodcock

### a muddled history of anarchism

A SERIOUS HISTORY OF ANARCHISM in English is most timely, for there is a revival of interest in our ideas everywhere, and our English movement is growing. The author was once an active Anarchist and has written extensively on the subject. This book, therefore, is regarded as authoritative and is widely used in academic circles.

The author has made available for the first time in English historical data from French, Italian, German and Spanish sources. He gives biographical sketches of Godwin, Proudhon, Bakunin, Kropotkin, Stirner, Tolstoy and others. Woodcock discusses their ideas - correcting popular misconceptions of Anarchism which confuse Anarchism with Nihilism, bomb throwing and general chaos. He points out that Anarchism claims to be a constructive theory for the regeneration of society and that it is destructive only insofar as it aims to remove the parasitic institutions which block progress.

A historical work reveals as much about the author's state of mind as it does about the facts which he records. A careful reading of his book indicates that Woodcock is confused. He rejects Anarchism as a practical alternative to Stateism. At the same time he has not given up his objections to the State. Unable to work out a consistent viewpoint of his own, he becomes enmeshed in his own contradictions.

For example, Woodcock criticises the Anarchists for "the weakness of their practical proposals for the society that would follow their hypothetical revolution." Two pages later he contradicts himself: "the Anarchist movement showed a concrete aspect of libertarianism that at least sketched out an alternative to the totalitarian way." (pages 472, 474)

Woodcock devotes five pages (393-398) to the constructive achievements of the Anarchists in reorganizing economic and social life during the Spanish Revolution. He even admits that "the Anarchist methods of organizing economic and social relations turned out to be at least as practical as authoritarian methods." All competent observers, including non-Anarchists, are agreed that Anarchist reconstruction was more efficient than under the authoritarian nightmare and had the supreme virtue of combining good administration with freedom and equality. Woodcock also identifies Anarchist tendencies in various popular communal movements in different parts of the world.

If one wanted to demonstrate the practicability of Anarchism he would find plenty of examples in Woodcock's book - anyone - except Woodcock. He says, "Such scattered examples of constructive Anarchist efforts do not prove that a complete Anarchist society, such as Kropotkin, for example, envisaged can come into existence or that it would work if it did." (see pages 472-74-75)

Woodcock is referring to Kropotkin's "Conquest of Bread," a work not intended to be the final blueprint of a final Anarchist society. He only wanted to demonstrate how Anarchist

"Anarchism; A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements." George Woodcock. World Publishing Co., New York & Cleveland, 1962. 476 pp. plus bibliography & index. \$1.95 (paperback).

principles could be applied to practical problems. Nowhere does Woodcock tell why Kropotkin was wrong. Yet, a host of modern thinkers, including Erich Fromm, Martin Buber, Ashley Montague, Lewis Mumford, Daniel Guérin in their re-examination of socialist thought find practical alternatives to Stateism in the Anarchist classics and libertarian social structures.

Woodcock again contradicts himself on the matter of anarchist participation in the Loyalist Government during the Spanish Civil War. On page 391 he correctly denounces the anarchist leaders for joining the governments of Madrid and Barcelona. This violation of basic anarchist principles led to the defeat of the revolution. Yet in the section dealing with events leading up to the Civil War, Woodcock shows strong sympathy for the advocates of governmental collaboration as against such "extremists" as Durruti, Ascaso and other comrades of the F.A.I. (Iberian Anarchist Federation). He even slanders the consistent anarchists as "extremists who (in 1933) engineered with an almost totalitarian intolerance" the expulsion of the collaborationist faction from the C.N.T. (see page 385).

Primo De Rivera became dictator of Spain in 1923. Woodcock says that the dictator "had no prejudices against the working class as such" and then tells how De Rivera made a united front with the reformist UGT section of the working class to crush the revolutionary CNT working class movement (pages 379-80).

Woodcock stresses the point that the Aragon Front remained static primarily because the Anarchist Columns "lacked the necessary discipline and authority needed for a long war" and in the same paragraph contradicts himself by saying that the Anarchist units were "starved for arms owing to the policy of the Republican government" (pages 390-91).

"1939 marks the real death in Spain of the Anarchist movement," says Woodcock, his reason being that the Anarchists did not defend Barcelona, the citadel of Spanish Anarchism. All participants and historians without exception agree that a last-ditch defense of Barcelona would have meant suicide not only for the Anarchists but for the civilian population. The revolution was lost and the Civil War was almost over. The people were exhausted and dispirited and could fight no longer against imminent air bombardment by the international fascist air armada. No Anarchist has the right to purchase glory by condemning unwilling people to unwilling martyrdom. Throughout his book Woodcock condemns violence and needless slaughter. Why does he reverse himself in the case of the Spanish Anarchists?

The Spanish Anarchists made many mistakes, as they themselves admit, but they cannot be charged with lack of valor. Our Spanish comrades do not need the hopeless defense of Barcelona to establish their reputation for bravery and self-sacrifice. For three years they and their comrades-in-arms withstood the might of German, Italian and Franco armies. The socialist and communist parties, who controlled the strongest sections of the European labor movement, gave no effective help from the outside and sabotaged the revolution from the inside. What died was not the Anarchist movement but the conscience of the world. With the defeat of the Spanish Revolution came World War II, the counter-revolution of the State, the threat of nuclear war III, and what we hope will be only the temporary eclipse of the entire socialist and humanist movements. No responsible historian has the right to ignore or underestimate this all-important phase of the situation. For Woodcock to do so indicates an almost unpardonable lack of perspective.

Woodcock makes the surprising statement that "the Anarchists who followed Bakunin and Kropotkin were political and social absolutists, and they displayed an infinite contempt for piecemeal reform or the kind of improvements in living conditions and wages which trade unions sought and benevolent employers offered" (page 472).

Woodcock devastatingly refutes himself in the chapters dealing with both the Anarcho-Syndicalist and Anarchist movements of France, Spain, Italy, England and the United States. The Declaration of Principles of the Anarcho-Syndicalist International lays the greatest stress on the importance of immediate demands. Article 3 reads: "The double

task of revolutionary Syndicalism - on the one hand it pursues the daily revolutionary struggle for the economic, social and intellectual improvement of the working class within the framework of existing society...." This quote comes from the appendix to Woodcock's pamphlet "Anarchy Or Chaos" (page 122), published when he was a convinced follower of Bakunin and Kropotkin.

Woodcock's insinuations in characterizing certain people and interpreting some events borders on vilification and outright distortion. For example:

The act of hungry workers who illegally entered bakeries and took bread for their starving families is called "pillaging and plundering" (page 304). Among the "pillagers and plunderers" were Louise Michel and Emile Pouget.

"The fascination that Nechayev wielded over Bakunin seems to be due to a submerged touch of homosexuality" (page 172). Skillfully phrased slander.

"But it (the Haymarket bomb) would never have been thrown and Parsons and Spies would never have been hanged, if it had not been for the exhortations to violence that poured forth from Most's Die Freiheit during the critical years 1883 and 1886" (page 464). Bullshit!

"The Spanish Anarchist tended easily to assassination" (page 375). This is a lie!

"In Barcelona - there arose a whole class of 'pistoleros' (hired murderers) who shifted from side to side, sometimes fighting for the Anarchists, sometimes for the employers and even the police" (page 376). This is a vicious falsehood! The Anarchists formed volunteer squads to protect their comrades from the assassins. These and other remarks scattered throughout the book display a bias unworthy of any historian.

The chapter on Bakunin is entitled "The Destructive Urge." Woodcock's caricature of Bakunin rivals E.H. Carr's, who also did a hatchet job on Alexander Herzen and his circle. Bakunin emerges as an impractical, irresponsible eccentric, a romantic conniver, a revolutionary adventurer, bent on bloodshed and destruction. It is impossible to square this caricature with Woodcock's statement that "Bakunin was the Builder of the Anarchist movement" (our emphasis). While Woodcock discusses the major works of Godwin, Proudhon, Kropotkin, Stirner and Tolstoy, he does not even list Bakunin's principal writings! Bakunin's pre-eminent place in the history of the revolutionary movement does not rest on his personal eccentricities nor even on his revolutionary exploits. His permanent contributions to socialist thought are contained in such great theoretical, philosophic and tactical works as, "Stateism and Anarchy," "The Knouto-Germanic Empire and The Social Revolution," "The Policy of the International," and in his polemical debates with the foremost social thinkers of his time.

Bakunin's ideas about the libertarian reconstruction of society are barely mentioned. Woodcock says very little about Bakunin's devastating critique of the Marxist theories of the State and the dynamics of social change, that he was one of the pioneers of the Anarcho-Syndicalist tendency in the international labor movement, his realistic approach to the problems of agrarian revolution, his realization that Anarchists must emerge from their ivory tower and become a movement of the people fighting with them and spreading the seeds of Anarchism among the oppressed.

There is nothing in Bakunin's works or in his career to back up Woodcock's preposterous charge that Bakunin was an apostle of destruction. As in most of his book, Woodcock's own evidence clashes with his unwarranted conclusions. He says that "Bakunin extolled the bloodthirstiness of peasant uprisings." Woodcock has no quote to prove this accusation, but on the same page (15) he does quote contrary evidence from Bakunin:

"Bloody revolutions are often necessary, thanks to human stupidity; yet, they are always evil, a monstrous evil and a great disaster, not only in regard to

the victims but also for the sake of the purity and perfection of the purpose in whose name they take place."

There is now a great revival of interest in the constructive ideas of Bakunin, but Woodcock's chapter on Bakunin does not even provide a basis for fruitful discussion. Even Marxist historians like Franz Mehring and the reactionary jurist Paul Elzbacher gave a far better presentation of Bakunin's ideas than Woodcock does.

Woodcock's indictment of the Anarchist movement is drawn up as if the Anarchists could do almost anything they pleased in any situation. But they could not create the circumstances in which they had to act. Woodcock may not like peasant rebellions, violent revolutions, the General Strike or other forms of mass action. These weapons were forged not by the Anarchists, or other minorities, but by the oppressed in the heat of struggles, as were non-violent and milder measures. The Anarchists could abstain and isolate themselves from life or they could participate and try to give a libertarian direction to the protest movements. He criticizes the Anarchists for using tactics they did not invent in situations they did not create.

To condemn rebels then for making mistakes is like condemning scientists because some of their experiments failed. There can be no progress without revolt. Rejecting, as Woodcock does, almost every method of mass protest, without offering any satisfactory alternative, leads to sterility and makes impossible any kind of social advance.

Woodcock thinks that the Anarchists failed to achieve even the limited objective of weakening the state anywhere because they could not "compete" with the Marxists who were more opportunistic and knew how to win the people over to their side. What Woodcock ignores is the all-important fact that the Marxists did not achieve their objective either. In the process of becoming top-level statesmen, the Marxists had to give up their socialist principles and became the greatest obstacle to its achievement. The Marxist parties deserted the socialist movement and made common cause with its greatest enemy, the State. The Anarchists and associated libertarian movements had to carry on the fight alone against the reinforced might of the State capitalist counter-revolution. Woodcock has no right to blame the Anarchist movement for refusing to purchase power at the expense of principle.

Woodcock makes an artificial distinction between what he calls "pure anarchism" and Anarcho-Syndicalism. "Pure" Anarchism is defined as "the loose and flexible affinity group" which needs no formal organization and carries on anarchist propaganda "through an invisible network of personal contacts and intellectual influences." Anarcho-Syndicalism, on the other hand, is not Anarchistic because it needs "relatively stable organizations - because the world is only partly governed by Anarchist ideals and must make compromises with the day to day situations - has to maintain the allegiance of the mass of workers who are only remotely conscious of the final aim of Anarchism (therefore) the relative success of Anarcho-Syndicalism is no Anarchist triumph" (pages 273-274).

If these statements are true, then "pure" Anarchism is a pipe dream. Firstly because there will never be a time when everybody will be a "pure" Anarchist and humanity will forever have to "make compromises with the day to day situation." Secondly, because the intricate economic and social functions of an interdependent world cannot be carried on without stable organizations. Even if every inhabitant were a convinced Anarchist, "pure" Anarchism would be impossible for technical and functional reasons alone.

Woodcock's argumentation reveals a misconception of Anarchist theory. An Anarchist society would be a flexible, pluralistic society where all the myriad needs of mankind would be supplied through the infinite varieties of human association. The world is full of "affinity" groups from propaganda clubs to dog fanciers. Such groups can be loosely or informally organized; they are dissolved and reformed according to the fluctuating whims and fancies of the individual members. They reflect Individual Preferences.

The making of goods, food, clothing, housing etc. and the rendering of indispensable pub-

lic services such as transportation are ever-present necessities which must be rendered at all times without fail. These functions require stable intricate organizations. The personnel may change and the enterprises may be reorganized to meet new technological improvements and expanding social needs. A person, for example, may belong at one and the same time to a number of informal associations and a highly organized federation of post office syndicates. This is not a contradiction. It merely expresses man's many sided preferences and physical necessities.

The form of organization is determined by need. There is room for all forms of organization and everyone must be free to choose his own. The Anarchist thinkers were concerned with finding the structural basis for social, individual and collective freedom. The Anarchists favor a decentralized, federative type of organization which will provide the necessary coordination with the greatest possible amount of freedom. Libertarian organization is not a deviation. It is the very essence of Anarchism as a viable social system. There is no "pure" Anarchism. There is only the application of anarchist principles to the realities of social life.

The erroneous idea that stable organizations and federations on a wide scale are incompatible with Anarchism could not appeal to the workers who need precisely this type of libertarian organization to effect their emancipation from wage slavery and the State. The tenor of Woodcock's book is that Anarchism is suitable only for a relatively simple society, requiring comparatively rudimentary forms of social organization. He no longer thinks that Anarchism is applicable to modern complex industrial society which requires intricate organization. Self-imprisoned in the "ivory tower" of fictitious "pure" Anarchism, Woodcock consoles himself with a semi-religious mystique of personal salvation.

Woodcock's book is the political testament of a disillusioned man.

--Sam Wiener

Space limitations have made it impossible to go into Woodcock's misinterpretations and distortions of the thought of Kropotkin and Proudhon.

"The Bomb, Direct Action And The State." Syndicalist Workers Federation, London, 1962. 18 pages, available from Libertarian League at 25 cents.

This is the seventh pamphlet dealing with crucial social problems to be issued by our English fellow workers. It differs from the general run of literature on what is to be done about the threat of nuclear war. While emphasizing the necessity for active participation in the existing peace movements, the pamphlet insists that to be effective, they must simultaneously carry on the battle against the State and our exploitative society. The following points are stressed in the pamphlet: that the bomb is a symbol of our rotten society; that "The Bomb can be permanently abandoned only if we take from the State the power to remake it. And this can be done only by winning a society of brotherhood, with neither rulers nor ruled." Also, "if (the peace movement) is to achieve its ends, it must give rise to large-scale industrial action... when the movement becomes a mass one (it) will then be necessary to find an organizational form..."

That form is Revolutionary Syndicalism, the principles of which and its tactic of Direct Action are clearly summarized in the text.

The chicanery and hypocrisy of the British Labour Party and its pro-bomb record are well documented. The conniving of the politicians, from the Liberals to the various varieties of Socialists and Bolsheviks who seek to use the peace movement for their own purposes is exposed. The peace movement is warned to avoid involvement with them. Although this pamphlet deals specifically with the problems of the British peace movement, its conclusions are equally applicable elsewhere.

MARXISM, FREEDOM AND THE STATE. Michael Bakunin (Translated and edited with a biographical sketch by K.J. Kenafick). Freedom Press, London. 63 pages. \$1.00. Available from Libertarian League.

NO HISTORY OF MODERN TIMES that does not include the great part played by socialist ideas and movements in shaping modern society is worth serious consideration. The general impression is that Marxism is but another name for Socialism. This is false. Marxism is only one of the main currents in Socialism. The opposing current is Anarchist-Socialism as expounded by Marx's contemporary, Michael Bakunin.

In this work, Kenafick has skillfully assembled extracts from the writings of Bakunin which deal with his criticism of Marx's ideas on the State, human freedom and their many other points of disagreement. The controversy between Marx and Bakunin, as this quote from the inside jacket of this book shows, concerns everyone of us:

"In the ninety or so years since these passages were written, the worship of the State has become a religion over a very large part of the globe, and we have seen in practice the fulfillment of Bakunin's gloomy forebodings on the destination of Marxism. History itself has given point and piquancy to his neglected but prophetic polemics."

W-S

MARX, PROUDHON AND EUROPEAN SOCIALISM. J. Hampden Jackson. Collier Books, New York, 1962. Paperback. 150 pages. 95 cents. Available from Libertarian League.

IN THIS LITTLE BOOK, the author, a Cambridge University researcher in 19th century European history, deals with the history of the two main tendencies in the Socialist movement. The two opposing currents are identified by Jackson as "Authoritarian or State Socialism" as expounded by Karl Marx, and Libertarian or "Stateless-Anarchist Socialism," as formulated by Pierre Joseph Proudhon. Jackson sketches their lives and evaluates the personalities of both men, compares their contrasting conceptions, and tells how their conflicting ideologies affect today's Socialism.

The author explodes the myth that Marxism is the only real Socialism, or even that it is relevant to our times. While not agreeing with some of his opinions, this reviewer feels that Jackson has in the main succeeded in setting the record straight. He writes:

"Looked at from the point of view of the mid-twentieth century, it may well seem that Socialism has been moving always in the same direction, always toward the centralization of power and the increasing power of the State. -- All schools of Social Democracy, from the Germans to the Fabians, have preached centralization, and all schools of Communist Socialists from the Russians to the Yugoslavs and the Chinese have practiced totalitarianism. Looking at the world today, socialists may well wonder if their creed offers any alternative to the course towards the omnipotent State. If they look back at the history of their own movements, they will find one (which does not). They will find a tradition known variously as libertarianism,

mutualism, federalism, syndicalism: a tradition usually described as anarchism, which fought its first battle with the Marxists for the soul of socialism a century ago, and its latest, but surely not its last, in 1936, behind the lines in Republican Spain.

Not only is there an anarchist, mutualist, anti-State tradition which is the opposite of Marxism, but there is also in the essence of socialist creed a moral doctrine with which Marx, who professed a hearty contempt for moral preaching, had nothing to do. Socialism is an ethos as well as a policy, an attitude towards social life and an interpretation of one's duty towards one's neighbor, as well as a body of economic and political doctrine. And of this ethos Proudhon, though not the originator, was the major prophet."

W-S

## Libertarian Notebook

EDMUND WILSON HAS PUBLISHED A THIN BOOK (physically that is, for it is only 118 pages) on "The Cold War and the Income Tax." He has discovered, to his horror, that out of every \$1 he pays in income tax, 79 cents goes to paying for past, present and future wars. The other fifth is earmarked for more socially useful needs.

Wilson was, without a doubt, our best literary critic for the first half of the century. But as a social analyst, he was decidedly second-rate. His need for intellectual clarity and arguments with graceful ends drove him, during the Depression, to the CP (though never as a card-carrier) in search of "scientific socialism." His portrait of Bakunin in "To the Finland Station" was certainly not one of his proud achievements. It was, in fact, a shameful distortion and falsification for which he has never apologized. He and E.H. Carr must partly share the blame for Bakunin's bad reputation in this country.

Wilson eventually abandoned his Marxist position to retreat into a sort of Yankee isolation in which distrust of all ideological systems seems to play an important role. His cartesian gift for simplifying and paraphrasing has been harnessed to largely "safe" causes - Indians, the Essene manuscripts, etc.

I must admit that I am surprised to find Wilson, now in his eighties, making a discovery about income tax which appears axiomatic to a good many bright teen-agers. It's all so pathetic...and so hopeless; for if he could have been blind for so long (and I presume the book wouldn't have been written without a precipitous discovery), how much chance has the ordinary bourgeois to ever see through his blindfolds?

Of course, Wilson's brilliance was, in a sense, a major contribution to his blindness. To follow and master the dialectic thoroughly, to its

bitter end, is to be engaged in an experience of almost religious intensity. Certainly one of the major difficulties we face as anarchists is the simplicity of our proposals. We have no Hegelian metaphysics to transpose into historical materialism, no strange paradoxes to intone, no need to build fairy-castle syntheses out of imaginary opposites, and most of all, no tortured theology to explain why black is white if it happens to suit the national interests of Moscow or Peking.

Our beliefs can be grasped by any person with a certain measure of common sense, tolerance and trust. These beliefs have two premises: The first says that men ought to live according to their wishes, tempered by their communal needs, in an environment marked by the absence of private property and of hierarchical organization. The second premise holds that a human being, having been nurtured under relatively happy conditions, is capable of meeting our first premise.

Anarchists do recognize that some societies are more likely to distort personality than others; but by and large, most "normal" human beings need neither the police nor the church to maintain social cohesion. The question of social deviation is something else, and we'll face it when we come to it. We merely say that a society should not be run for the benefit of its aberrations, but rather for the benefit of its normal people. We happen to think that this is more "realistic" than the belief that nationalization of basic industries will turn the State into a servant of the workers. That's utopianism if it ever existed!

The central question before all revolutionaries is that of power: how it shall be used, who shall use it, and to what end. As anarchists, we maintain that power can never be monopolized by any institution or person without injustice. We therefore propose to parcel out power among many institutions and many people. Beyond that we have no blueprint. But we do have suggestions. In the fields of industrial and agricultural production, for example, we have reasoned that the principal decision-making powers should reside directly in the hands of those who produce. Worker control, as Seymour Melman has shown in his study of a large British automobile factory, can lead to greater productivity and far greater satisfaction, even though such control is greatly limited by profit-oriented management. Thorough-going worker control is anarchism in action.

All this is rather far from Edmund Wilson. But it does illustrate the fact that socio-economic analysis can be deduced rationally with perfectly simple tools. The labyrinthine arguments which generations of Marxists have developed to justify their own desires for or possession and extension of power cannot be more "scientific" than ours. It is a general rule in science that, when two hypotheses lead to the same conclusion, the simpler one is adopted. Unfortunately politics is not science, or we would have won long ago!

As for Wilson, I am only sorry that he will probably die, his Marxist illusions broken but not replaced by another social creed save that of lofty isolation and small discoveries.

\* \* \*

AUTOMATION IS ELIMINATING SOME 200,000 factory workers' jobs annually. To make matters worse, what capitalist economists call the "labor force" will have grown by 12.5 million (17 percent) in the decade between 1960 and 1970.

Technological improvements have increased productivity by about 3 percent annually for the last 3 years. So though we have fewer jobs, hence less individual purchasing power, we have greater productivity.

The full implication of this trend does not seem to be felt by anyone who speaks for the Power Elite. A Mr. Greenberg, for example, described by the Times as the Bureau of Statistics' "top productivity ex-

pert," feels only that the situation "points up the problem of job opportunities for blue-collar workers."

Another "expert," Dr. James C. Charlesworth, a political scientist with the University of Pennsylvania, concentrates on the problem of boredom coming in the wake of automation. "Leisure activities," he says, "mental and physical, should be compulsory....softball leagues, city play centers and the like are doing well enough. They represent the elementary level of recreational thinking..."

Trade union officials (the new Uncle Toms of our economy) are placing their trust in contracts protecting working members. As for the rest of the working class - it can go hang.

The employers could, after all, hardly be expected to worry, being as they are the principal beneficiaries of the squeeze.

And the various orders of public bureaucracies are busy producing the molehill of occupational retraining.

Yet what we are facing is the virtual exclusion of all classes of our society from the basic production of wealth. Production equals power, so that he who produces, controls. It is conceivable that most Americans will eventually be absorbed into the service sector of our economy, but this will in no way change the fact that all powers will be lodged in the hands of entrepreneurs.

Could such a clear state of imbalance remain static very long? Surely no majority could long endure so clear, so dangerous and so threatening a position. Surely the basic convention of our system - that work can be exchanged for money and money for goods - would be seriously questioned by quite ordinary people. After all, the connection between work and goods would be short-circuited by the fact that so few people were actually producing.

A society engaged in consumption and the performance of services is conceivable...but only as a free, egalitarian and open one. It could not exist under conditions of dictatorship or slavery. I do believe that automation may be the key to the relocation of power in America.

\* \* \*

I HAD THE OPPORTUNITY, recently, of lunching with one of the lawyers who prepared the brief for the Supreme Court dealing with the school prayer case. He was happy with the results but most gloomy about the popular reaction to his victory. "I never knew people could be quite so mean," he said.

I've just glanced through the Congressional Record and I see what he means.

A Representative Ashmore has introduced a bill to have the words "In God We Trust" inscribed above the bench of the Supreme Court in gold letters "of sufficient size to make the words legible throughout the courtroom." Earl Warren reacted with a letter in which he said that "ornamentation other than that provided in the original plans would detract from the total concept of the building." Ashmore replied that the Supreme Court should be aware that there exists an authority even higher than itself. A Representative Smith of Virginia seconded him, pointing out that the Supreme Court building belongs to the people, not the Court or its architects.

And this is how the grown men who are supposed to "govern" us spend their time. I propose we have "In God We Trust," in gold letters sufficiently large to be seen at twenty paces, engraved on their backsides.

--Gee

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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