VIEWS AND COMMENTS

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From the Editors:

As you may have noted, we're experimenting again with a new layout which enables us to get more material in per issue and use less paper. It should also result in better readability and will enable us to use occasional illustrations and photographs.

That long promised union pamphlet is now in production and will be available within a month.

Next issue we will provide a 1957 summary of Views and Comments finances. Thanks meanwhile to the comrades in San Francisco for the contribution from the proceeds of their Dec. 17th affair.
THEORY & TACTICS

Editorial note: This is a free translation of an article by Luigi Fabbri, internationally prominent Italian anarchist militant and writer. Although it was written years ago, its message is still timely. The validity of its ideas have been confirmed by events. It deals with one of the most crucial problems of our times and deserves the careful consideration of every thinking person. Does the end justify the means? Can great aims be accomplished by ignoble and unethical methods? The article appeared in SOLIDARIDAD OBRERA (Paris, France, Jan. 2, 1928), organ of the exiledCNT of Spain (Anarchosyndicalist labor union).

Introduction by the editors of SOLIDARIDAD OBRERA:
The outstanding characteristic of anarchism, without which the idea of Anarchism is inconceivable, is the re-conquest of real freedom for all. This presupposes the establishment of a social organization in which this liberty will become a fact and will be practiced. It follows from this that a free man or woman will fight for universal freedom, for all the people are not free; when there are exploiters and exploited, learners and taught. This principle must be practiced now, in the pre-revolutionary transition period, in the revolution and until the establishment of an anarchist society. There must be no contradiction between our words and our acts. Anarchism would betray itself if it abandons the tactics of liberty while struggling so steadfastly.

In the methods of struggle before and during the revolution, the task of the Anarchists is to combat authority in all its forms. They must assert their own freedom to propaganda, associate and experiment, conceding the right of others to do likewise. The Anarchists will not impose by force their own ideas and tactics upon those who are not willing to accept them. They will not, however, tolerate the imposition of others and they will defend and rebel against anyone who tries to do so. On these principles there should not and cannot be any compromise. Absolute and unswerving firmness is indispensable. Lack of this in a slogan itself an "Anarchist" will degenerate into authoritarianism and will sooner or later be accepted by the very system it is trying to overcome.

Anarchism in the social, and not solely in the political sense of the word, is possible only to the extent that it harmonizes the rights and liberties of all, so that it does not violate the liberties of others and vice-versa. At this stage, the task of Anarchism becomes the organization of the freedom of all the people by the people.

Under Anarchism, social life and all human relations will be built on the principle of voluntary agreement. In past and present societies these relations were regimented, imposed by force. In all the existing human relations, State and authoritarianism organization will be replaced by Anarchist or Libertarian organization.

Is this possible? Yes, if as Anarchists we believe that Anarchism can become a reality. One may ask whether it should exist always the necessity to impose the good by force, but it is by a majority or a minority, that we use force to receive ourselves and others. Anarchism would be impossible. At best it would be a reduced "liberty" unworthy of the name, restraining some without the restraint of the Elite, while the great masses of the people would remain slaves. If we were to champion this perversion of a 'liberty' which is based on force, we would be called by any name you wish; Social-democrats, Communists, Liberals, Republicans, anarchists or Fascists — but certainly not Anarchists.

Many revolutionaries, by that irresistible power of suggestion which 'success' has over those whose Anarchism is skin deep, were enchanted by the 'victory' of the Bolsheviks over the Russian Revolution. They forgot that the main task of every revolution is to give and assure the rights of the masses and not to free themselves from the old bondage, complete and lasting freedom. Instead, they became partisans of the centralized and dictatorial State and separate themselves from the comrades who remained faithful to the idea of liberty. But some of them recognized their mistake. We know the one who was with the dictatorial communists, stood with them for some time, then, disillusioned, they left the party. One of them, very well-known, wrote me from a European capital about the imprisonment in Russia of the Italian Anarchist, Francisco Ferrer. "All of us anarchists are the same." The same thing occurred in respect to some Syndicalists and Anarchosyndicalists. One of the important fractions of the communist opposition was formed in France by a group whose organ is LA REVOLUTION PROLETARIENNE, edited by Pierre Monteil, one of the active in the Anarchist camp.

All this is understandable — the contact with facts and the experience of Bolshevism in the Russian revolution confirmed again what the Proudhonists, the Bakunins, the Recluses and others have observed in the European revolutions of the first half of the nineteenth century: that the lack of liberty seems to facilitate in the eyes of the masses the destruction of the revolution, the task of destroying the old order. But this is an illusion, the fact is that without liberty, the revolution is soon choked to death. What is left upstairs the name of revolution. It is, in reality, nothing more than reaction and counter-revolution. Nevertheless, not all revolutionaries understand this because they lack the passion for liberty. Sincere and ardent, they attach themselves to the cadaver and thus foment discord between the workers, thereby preparing for themselves and for the others, terrible disillusionments.

The Anarchists, with the exception of some poor dry leaves who fell from the tree of the libertarian movement and with...
A Canadian News Letter

VANCOUVER, B.C. A considerable flare up was raised in Canada by a recent press conference of John Foster Dulles, in which he advocated the death of his country's claimant for manhood" outbursts. Dulles stated that the "U.S. had nuclear warheads stored in Canada."

The panic was on at once, and wheels began to turn. The U.S. State Department issued a statement, insisting that Dulles had been quoted. The U.S. State Department, which obviously regards its chief as being totally irresponsible whenever he opens his mouth, re-writes his faux pas for public consumption, and contributes its bit to the general confusion. The workings of this procedure have been apparent for some time - Dulles says one thing, while his department editors, armed with the weight of Pentagon authority, declare that he said something else. In this case some quick work was needed to quiet the alarm felt in Canada over such "storage."

Tory Prime Minister Diefenbaker rushed to the rescue to help the official version along, by stating in Ottawa that "Mr. Dulles must have been misinterpreted or misquoted...because to bring atomic weapons into Canada would require the permission of the Canadian government."

"Foot-in-mouth" Dulles of course, is indifferent to what the Canadian people or anyone else thinks, but the need for force makes the Conservative administration in Ottawa slightly more responsive to public opinion. Which accounts for Diefenbaker's haste to assume the role of apologist.

Always vigilant in the defense of Russian imperialism's interests in the cold war, the Labor Progressive Party, the Canadian appendage of the Soviet Foreign Office, helped the hubbub along with a hypertistical diatribe of provocation, denials, etc., part of what they call, with semantic curiosity, their "Peace Campaign." A great shot-choked scream arose from the local Stalinist paper, the "Pacific Tribune," that "Canada was being turned into the "poor little Belgium" of the atomic war."

The latest incident in the government's policy of harassment against the Sons of Freedom, the radical Doukhobor religious sect, is being aired in a case now being heard before the Supreme Court of British Columbia. A suit has been brought against seven Royal Canadian Mounted Police Officers, who are charged with damaging a Doukhobor home, in the course of tunneling underneath a house to effect the home's capture of a ten-year-old "Freedom" child, in order to compel his attendance at the barracks school. The government maintains at New Denver, B.C., where the children of the Sons Of Freedom are being forcibly indoctrinated with that complexity of dubious values and attitudes that is supposed to convert them into good Canadian citizens.

The Sons of Freedom, whose Christian pacifist beliefs forbid the attendance of their children at school, on the grounds that the schools glorify war, are no strangers to governmental persecution. Their latest incident, connected with the government's brainwashing operation at the New Denver school, which a University of Chicago anthropologist has called the Buchon zal of Canada, is part of a long series of persecutions that date back to the time of the Doukhobors' arrival in Canada in Queen Victoria's day. The pressure has never abated to force the Doukhobors to conform with what cannot, without irony, be called the general pattern of Canadian culture.

Libertarians can find much to admire in the Doukhobors' ideas of peaceful, communal life, and their tenacious defense of their ideals.

Meanwhile, widespread unemployment in Canada is creating more hardship that anyone since since the hungry thirties. The latest data for which government statistics on unemployment are available is November 14th, at which time 350,000 persons were registered for work at National Employment Service Offices, an increase of 75,000 from a month earlier, and of 150,000 from the year before. (continued on p. 6.)

37 years ago, on March 17th, 1921, the Communist executioners...drowned in blood the Kronstadt sailors, workers and peasants, whose only "crime" was an attempt to carry out the true purposes of the Russian Revolution. The assassins were led by the man who once called the Kronstadt sailors "the flower of the Russian Revolution," and who, ironically, was assassinated by the regime he had helped to establish. His name was Leon Trotsky.

"On March the 10th, the Bolshevik government and the Communist Party of Russia publicly commemorated the Paris Commune of 1871, drowned in the blood of the French workers by Gallifet and Thiers. At the same time they celebrated the "victory" over Kronstadt." In this grotesque perversion lies the tragedy of the Russian Revolution. The quotes are from a pamphlet by Alexander Berkman, "The Kronstadt Rebellion," published in English by D.R. Syndicalist in Berlin, Germany, 1922.

The Document:

Resolution of the general meeting of the crews of the First and Second Squadrons of the Baltic Fleet. Held March 1, 1921.

Having heard the report of the representatives sent by the general meeting of the ship's crews to Petrograd to investigate the situation there, resolved:

(1) In view of the fact that the present soviets do not express the will of the workers and peasants, immediately to hold new elections by secret ballot, the pre-revolution campaign to have full freedom of agitation among the workers and peasants;
(2) To establish freedom of speech and press for all workers and peasants, for Anarchists and Left Socialist parties;
(3) To secure freedom of assembly for labor unions and peasant organizations;
(4) Call a non-partisan conference of the workers, Red Army soldiers and sailors of Petrograd, Kronstadt and of Petrograd province no later than March 10th, 1931;
(5) To liberate all political prisoners, workers of socialist parties, as well as all workers, peasants, sailors, soldiers, immigrants, and those imprisoned for reason of their labors in the defense of the revolution."

(9) To abolish all political bureaus.

No party should be given special privileges in the propagation of its ideas or receive financial support from the government for such purposes. Instead there should be established educational and cultural commmissions, locally elected and financed by the government;

(8) To abolish immediately all "zagradyadzie" (armed units organized by the Bolsheviks for the purpose of suppressing traffic and confiscating foodstuffs and other products. The irresponsible violence of their methods were proverbial throughout the country. The Government abolished them in the Petrograd province on the eve of the attack against Kronstadt, but did not subscribe to the Petrograd proletariat - A.B.);

(9) To equalize the rations of all who work with the exception of those employed in trade detrimental to health;

(10) To abolish the ski in the people's defense...
Let us hope, may bring to long suffering Russia lasting freedom and peace.

Those who will take the ‘trouble’ to ponder deeply the pronouncement and the remarks of Berkman will detect the seeds of degeneration which flowed into the mighty Russian Totalitarian Empire. The pattern of Kronstadt was repeated in the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 and in the revolts in Poland, East Germany and in Russia itself. They will see in these and other acts of defiance and rebellion the indomitable spirit of the Communist and Kronstadt is alive and vital. There is evidence that the third revolution of which Berkman speaks, though long delayed, will yet bring to life the great ideals which the people fought to attain. The new and free world will be a fitting monument to their Memory.

Excerpt from the concluding remarks by Alexander Berkman:

Kronstadt fell. The Kronstadt movement for freedom, set off in blood and while at the same time the Bolshevik government was making compromises with European capitalists, giving the Riga peace according to which a population of 12 millions was turned over to the mercy of Poland, and helping Turkish imperialism to suppress the republic of the Caucasus.

Kronstadt is of great historic significance. It exploded the Bolshevik myth of the Communist State being the Workers’ and Peasants’ Government. It proved that the Communist Party Dictatorship is opposite and mutually exclusive. It demonstrated that the Bolshevik regime is an unmitigated tyranny, that the Communist State is the most potent and dangerous counter-revolution.

Kronstadt was the first popular and entirely independent attack on the power of the yoke of State Socialism—an attack made directly by the people, by the workers, peasants and sailors themselves. It was the first step toward the third revolution which is inevitable and which, without a solid foundation, a harmony of thought and practice we build will crumble at the first storm, the first gust of wind...

—Luigi Fabbri

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RESOLUTION ON CLERICALISM

From the Montevideo continental conference of Libertarian organizations.

It is absolutely necessary that the Anarchist movement carefully study and expose the objectives of the Roman Catholic Church, which has launched a massive offensive in all of the countries of the continent in an effort to rebuild its former spiritual influence, undermined by revolutionary propaganda and by the scientific and philosophic spirit which has reigned since the end of the last century.

But it is necessary that the study be carried to the core of the problem, avoiding the temptation of making the false condemnations characteristic of a superficial atheism, now outdated. This study must be all the more profound since the Church has already come to the deep changes which our society is undergoing, to camouflage its true character of eternal ally of power and exploitation especially in those countries where more or less liberal traditions have frustrated its final goal of absolute domination.

As early as 1891 the papal encyclical De Rerum Novararum indicated an effort on the part of the Church to shake off the dust of the Middle Ages and interpret social events with reactionary but realistic eyes. Forty years later plus XI completed the circle with the encyclical Quadragesimo Anno. The Catholic Church then began an active campaign to reconquer the terrain it had lost, to bring up to date its political and economic concepts and to win over new militants, especially among the intellectuals.

For this task it mobilized all of its forces and attacked on all fronts: its ecclesiastical Orders dedicated themselves to attracting the youth by means of sporting events, theatrical and movie productions, hikes, semi-militarized organizations like the Catholic Boy and Girl Scout movements. Without abandoning its pretensions to spiritual power, the Church invaded the sphere of temporal power by constituting political parties and, from the opposition and in power, propagating Catholic social doctrine. It entered the labor movement, creating unions and the innovation of worker priests; it penetrated professional societies by forming nuclei of Catholic economists, lawyers, doctors, engineers, professors and historians; it achieved compulsory religious instruction in the educational institutions of various nations; and the activist groups of Catholic Action intervened forcibly in popular meetings and movements. The militant Church is successful in attracting to its ranks well-known thinkers, philosophers, technicians, artists, novelists and actors.

Does this overwhelming offensive by the Church indicate a significant change in its traditional policies of aiding power and exploitation? Has it become more tolerant? Has its rigid hierarchical framework become more flexible? Has it at least comprehended and championed the peoples' desire for liberty and justice? No! The Church is merely applying to the utmost degree demagogic techniques of modern man to offer him in exchange for his freedom the promise of a refuge and the false security of its protection. In our opinion, this is not a matter of a resurgence of religious feeling, it is only another symptom of social divisiveness, of the fear and insecurity of the masses and of disdain for human dignity.

In reality the Church itself is an institution organized in a dictatorial fashion and its complicity with despotism and exploitation, far from being fortuitous, is implicit in and is advocated in its social doctrine. The Church has come out openly in favor of capitalism and the State, no matter what the form of government.

We proclaim that the Church, in spite of its claims of liberal peace, is essentially parasitical, authoritarian and warlike. To illustrate these statements we reproduce some extracts from the Malinas Code (an outline of Catholic social doctrine, revised in 1946):

Authority, like society, has its origin in nature and, therefore, in God himself; one consequence of this principle is to resist authority is to resist the order established by God. (Article 55)

Men have received from nature and consequently from their Creator the right of private property. (Article 102)

The regime of private capitalism, in which all men contribute to the economy, some with their capital and others with their labor, cannot be condemned in itself. (Article 178)

War is only just when it is declared for the purpose of sustaining right by means of force... It should be conducted with moderation. (Article 192)

The final bit of advice would be comical if it were not so cynical. In the midst of the amoment race, under the threat of total extermination through the horrible effects of atomic or hydrogen bombs, to tell the men 'in war is to reveal neither incurable blindness nor unqualified hypocrisy.

All beliefs should be respected when they are sincere and when they do not try to impose themselves by force or authority, and they are socially useful when they propagate justice, liberty and fraternity, and are contemptible and harmful, when they become dogmas imposed by force, intolerance, hierarchical organization, the teaching of conformity, despotic authoritarianism, complicity with tyrants and exploiters, persecution of ideas, hypocrisy in social relations, the deformation of minds and all that which contributes to diminish the dignity of man. These vices are shared by the churches and even by various political, economical and philosophic movements which call themselves atheistic. We must intensify our propaganda against all of them, pointing out their anti-libertarian tendencies.

Anarchist atheism can coexist in an atmosphere of reciprocal tolerance, with all sincere beliefs which do not lower the dignity of man. But it cannot coexist with power, exploitation, hate or egotism.

We must unmask the Church before the true believers without trying to attack another man's convictions, except for respectful comparison of ideals. If to love men they must believe in the promise of another world, paradise, then let them believe! The important thing is that they react against injustice and fight for freedom.

ARCHIST ORGANIZATION

by GASTON LEVAL

What is the objective of anarchism, considered as a living force in history? Is it that two or three dozen individuals should speak and write - publish articles and orate at meetings, carrying out a propaganda that does not coalesce in general, but in the final results? If this is so - and it has been too much so in many countries - then we are condemning ourselves to impotence and anarchy to everlasting failure.

And by so doing we also falsify it, twist it and adulterate it completely. From the very beginning with Proudhon, Bakunin, the men of the First International, with Anselmo Lorenzo, Rafael Faro, Pellicer, James Guillaume and others, anarchism has always been: first, a social doctrine working to create a new society, and secondly, as a logical corollary, a movement, the activities of which are directed towards the accomplishment of this great objective.

It has been in Spain that the anarchist movement has had the greatest strength and the greatest potential. And it is precisely in Spain where, from the very beginning, it has had the greatest organizational orientation, so much so that the Congress of St. Imier in 1872 was able to cite the Spanish section of the First International as an example to all of the other sections. In three years our Spanish comrades had organized trade feder-
When only five percent, as in Italy, or one percent, as in France, of those who call themselves anarchists are truly active, even though they publish newspapers and magazines, to call this organization a movement to defend individualist or neo-individualist positions.

To transform society implies more than such presence of activity. Society is composed of tens of millions of men, women and children in each country. These men work in all kinds of ways and productive activities; these men, women and children eat, clothes themselves, are housed. They use furniture, clothing, heat, means of transportation. These children go to school. The whole population needs a number of public services — water, gas, electricity, hospitals, clinics, etc. as well as recreational facilities and a thousand other things.

A revolutionary movement that ignores these realities and that does not prepare to organize them in a new form in accord with these needs, condemns itself to failure. In reality, such a movement is revolutionary in name only. For such a preparation millions of people are needed to work diligently, specializing harmoniously, subdividing the tasks and working out plans that omit none of the problems and their solutions.

Such is our task if we are truly to be the successors of Bakunin, Mella and Kropotkin.

If there have been so many desertions in the French and Italian anarchist movements, these must be attributed primarily to the lack of concrete objectives and effective work for a real revolution. The same thing will happen to us in Spain if the anarchist movement is not organized to agree and to work together in the movement with ideas, objectives, and proposals that are contrary to the purposes of our movement — all it has done and is doing, to all it was and is — to undermine its foundations. Everyone has the right to think and to have his own opinion. But what has cost such great struggle, pain and sacrifice.

It is no less for a reason as for a man to struggle towards excellence with its own natural force and vitality, however blindly and vainly, than to live in irreproachable decency under expert guidance from without.

R.W. Nevinson (The Growth Of Freedom)

Makhno and Lenin
- a Conversation

This article, which appeared in Vanguard, a libertarian communist magazine of Dec. 1936, tells of an interview between Nestor Makhno, an anarchist revolutionary military leader chosen by Ukrainian peasants and workers, Lenin, like all politicians, accuses the anarchists of being impractical, of having no understanding of immediate, everyday problems, of believing their heads in the clouds. This article was published in the VANGUARD at the time of the Spanish Revolution when the communists were forced to praise Buenaventura Durruti, another anarchist peoples' military leader who, like Makhno, fought to defend and extend the revolution. When politicians talk about being "practical" they mean the process by which the revolution is the pretext for the seizure of power by a party, which then proceeds to liquidate both the revolution and the revolutionists.

Sverdlov, the first secretary of the communist party, who took part in the final preparations for the underground work in the Ukraine, undertaken by Nestor Makhno, arranged this interview between Lenin and Makhno in the summer of 1918. Lenin, who was not given to personal flattery, praised Makhno, who was at that time almost unknown, very highly. Seven or eight months later, the party changed its line. Leon Trotsky harped villification and false accusations upon Makhno, because he would not accept the dictatorship of the communist party, the usurpers of the Russian Revolution.

The anarchists can point with pride to the achievements of the Makhno movement in social reconstruction during the Russian Revolution. In Germany and Hungary in 1919 and in the Spanish Revolution of 1936, the anarchists not only fought the fascists but also developed the libertarian tendencies in the organs of social reconstruction — communes, workers' councils, cooperatives and other people's organizations.

In the Hungarian and Polish revolts of 1956, the armies of the communist party suppressed the workers' councils just as they did the soviets in the Russian Revolution. In 1956 they called the Hungarian and Polish militants counter-revolutionists, as they slandered Makhno in 1918.

In the light of all these events, Makhno's conversation with Lenin shows that the reactionary nature of the communist party has been traced to its founder. This position of the interview is taken from Makhno's book, REVOLUTION AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION (Volume I, published in Russian and several other languages, but not in English).

...Turning to Sverdlov, Lenin said, "Anarchists have something of the self-denying heroism about them. They are always ready for sacrifices; but with all they are impotic fanatics, they ignore the present for the far-away future."

But then, asking me not to take it as
a personal reflection upon myself, he added, "You, comrade, I hold to be a nation belonging to real life, responding to the actualities of the day-to-day struggles. Here even one-third of the Russian Anarchists like you, we would be ready to go in for certain agreements with you and work together for the benefit of the free organization of producers."

"I shot back at him, "Anarchist-Communists hold the interests of revolution near to their hearts, and that shows that in this respect they are all the same."

"Well," said Lenin, smiling thereby, "We know the Anarchists no less than you do. Most of them think very little about the present. But for a revolutionist not to think of it, not to define his attitude, is more than shameful. Most of the anarchists think and write about the future without understanding the present. This is what separates us communists from them."

Having spoken this last phrase, Lenin rose from his chair, and pacing up and down the studio room, he added, "Yes, yes, the Anarchists are strong in their thoughts of the future, but in the present they are uprooted, pithful, and that is so because their empty romanticism prevents them from establishing any links with that future."

Sverdlov turned in my direction, saying, "You can hardly deny that the remarks of Vladimir Ilyitch are quite correct."

"...Did the Anarchists ever realize their lack of roots in the life of the present? They never even think of it," said Lenin, taking up the thread of the same conversation.

I answered them both, saying that I own a semi-literate peasant, hardly capable of taking up Lenin on this involved idea about Anarchism, which he just expressed to me. But I said, "Your statement, comrade Lenin, that Anarchists do not understand the 'present' and are not linked with it in a real sense is basically wrong. The Anarchist-Communists of Ukraine were too many prisoners of their close ties with this 'present.' The struggle of the revolutionary peasantry against the Ukrainian bourgeoisie, chauvinistic government of Ukraine during the first period of the German occupation was, taking place under the ideological leadership of the Anarchist-Communists and partly of the Russian Social-Revolutionaries."

"You Bolsheviks were conscious by your absence as far as the villages were concerned."

"Almost all the agricultural communes and cooperatives were created by the initiative of the anarchist communists. The armed struggle of the working population of the Ukraine against the counter-revolution as a whole and the executive armies of Germany and Austria-Hungary in particular - wasn't all that started by the Anarchist-Communists? True, party interests dictate to you the policy of ignoring all that, but those are facts which you yourself cannot refute."

"You, I suppose, know well the number and the fighting ability of the revolutionary columns of Ukraine. Well, a good half fought under Anarchist banners. All the commanders of these columns, the very men of whom would take away so much of our time, all of them are Anarchists."

"All that tells convincingly, comrade Lenin, how much you erred in stating that we Anarchist-Communists are helpless, pitiful, in the present - and although we like to think about the future, that I have told you points to the conclusion opposite to the one you have arrived at. It's that we Anarchist-Communists are deeply immersed in the present, that we work in it, and seek to find through it a road to the future of which we keep on thinking in a very serious manner."

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**Science and the State**

It is significant that with the encroachment of the State in social and individual life, more and more people of importance are taking to themselves the task of pointing out the disastrous results that must follow the increasing growth of this parasitic organism. This is refreshing, a welcome contrast to those elements who are clamoring for more and more government funds, subsidies and controls over every sphere of activity. In the race to "catch up" and "surpass" Russia in some fields of science, in fighting the "cold war" and preparing for the "hot one," the western "democracies" are initiating the Russian totalitarian system. If this continues, we will lose whatever remains of freedom and initiative and spontaneity we still possess.

Henry Steele Commager, professor of American history at Amherst college, wrote an article which appeared in The New York Times Magazine, Nov. 24, 1957. He is concerned about the growing control of ideas which characterizes the "most precious of all interests, our intellectual and spiritual integrity." He upholds the principle that no government has the right to exercise authority in the "realm of ideas and communication - religion, speech, press, assembly, association and so forth."

Commager then gives examples where the government violates or nullifies these rights. The "security" program under Presidents Truman and Eisenhower, the Attorney General's list of "subversive" organizations, "...puts control over political and social ideas in the hands of the government, and the example of the federal government is followed by the states. Then there is the "...ret and fifth amendments to the constitution against self-incrimination. The control over foreign travel who shall and shall not be issued a passport in another violation of basic rights."

If the right to travel abroad is dependent on the subjective judgment of some subordinate in the Justice Department as to whose travel "is in the interests of the United States" there is an end, in theory, at least, to freedom of travel.

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Commager discusses government domination of education which is introduced in the form of federal aid, school building, lunch programs, scholarships and similar devices. This effects not only teachers, who must prove their "loyalty," but also students, in what or organizations they join, or even what books they read - if they expect to qualify for civil service positions.

In the field of religion and opinion he also gives examples of increasing state interference. "...the spectacle of the Velde committee attacking Bishop O'Mara because he disapproved a pamphlet sent out by the Methodist Church to its missionaries, or of the customs office holding up literature advocating pacifism, or the attempt of a congressional committee to dictate policy to The Society of Friends - the Quakers."

Professor Commager gives much space to government control of science and research. It is so cogent that it is worthwhile quoting him at length:

A third area of Federal control is science. We know from our own experience, and from the experience of Germany and Italy, how important it is to national security and progress that science be free. But we know, too, that the pressures on science and scientists to be "instruments of national policy" is heavy, and growing. The concern of the Government with the whole area of nuclear physics, for example, is too obvious to elaborate, and it is too accurate to overlook. The Government must maintain security regulations in such areas of scientific investigation. This in itself assures extensive Federal control over important realms of science.

Another factor making for government control of science is, of course, the desire to secure the power of the purse. It is in the interest of the Government to subsidize research in universities and private laboratories; such subsidy almost inevitably carries with it some measure of direction and supervision.
But that means is that in large and important areas, scientists are no longer free agents, but subject to governmental pressure. They are committed to projects not always of their own choosing, and the neglect of pure research in favor of the greatest value. Universities that accept Federal subsidies find themselves accepting too, Federal supervision over their faculty members, their research assistants, even over the uses to which their findings may be put. This is not only the neglect of the function of the university, it is an enormous accretion to Federal authority. Those who oppose Federal aid to school construction but accept Federal supervision of scientific research are indeed starving at a banquet and swallowing a camel.

Professor Connamore's remarks are back up by an important aricle which appeared in the February, 1958 issue of SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN.

ACADEMIC DISORDER

What U.S. universities need most is "some peace and quiet and order," according to J.C. Warner, president of Carnegie Institute of Technology. In his article, published last month, he said that Government emphasis on applied research has disorganized university work only that many scientists "labor in a life of intellectual chaos." Their energies have been channeled away from teaching and creative research and often are dissipated in administrative work.

Writing in CHEMICAL AND ENGINEERING NEWS, Warner observed that Government money, which has multiplied research work in universities about 10-fold during the past 15 years, is seldom usable at the Mellon Institute and its scientists. Most of it is given for contract research which must restrict itself to a fairly circumscribed area. "If we do not believe," he said, "that any board, committee, agency, administrator, or the school itself can predict ahead of time the most fruitful direction a scholarly study will take...I would rather have $10,000 in unrestricted funds...than $30,000 a year in Government contracts."

Warner asserted that Government support of research has had undesirable effects on scientists. "There have been temptations of building research empires...there cease being scientists and become administrators and promoters of team research." Team research, he said, does not produce the new generalizations, ideas and comprehensive theories which "constitute the essence of new science."

Many scientists, he added, have become restless, as if they were losing the soil of pure research for leaves of absence "to spend a semester or a year abroad, or in another institution...or on a glamorous missile or satellite project." The tide, from committee meeting and symposium to committee meeting and symposium," Warner concluded that the way of the future will be a "new age of leadership by scientists and engineers than formerly "have a real interest in good teaching, especially at the undergraduate level."

It is regrettable that these fine educators and the sincere liberals in general, who see the dangers of the Leviathan State are unable to follow through to the logic of their analyses, which would lead them to the inescapable conclusion that the institution of the State itself is the greatest evil, which the main causes of all the injustices and abuses which they condemn. The title of Connamore's article, "WIDEN GOVERNMENT MAY NOT TRESPASS, illustrates this inconsistency. It implies that there are areas in social life where Government must and might stop, and Connamore throughout his article admits the necessity for Government intervention in some fields:

"...The danger is not - as the President and many state Governors argue - that the Federal Government has taken on new responsibilities in the realms of social security or hydroelectric power, public health or housing. These developments we can take in our stride. If they prove to be mistaken or misguided, they can be reversed."

How State interference and regulation of economic functions can be "reversed" is not stated. Connamore concludes his article by saying: "Once we give a government strong enough to control men's minds, we will have a government strong enough to control everything."

This true enough but it is incontestable that State control of men's minds is the consequence of control of their brains and bodies. The only way to stop Government interference in science is to fight State control in all spheres. Paching up the system will not do. It is a malignant growth that must be completely eradicated.

When people in all walks of life will realize this, they will work for a new society in which the freely federated economic and cultural activities of the people will replace the government over men by the administration of things in a stateless society.

Scandalous as the whole affair of the Teamster's Union was, it is now more even more so. The exposures of the Senate Investigating Committee concerning corruption and racketeering in labor unions, the expulsion of the Teamsters and other unions from the AFL-CIO, and the election of Hoffa as president of the Teamsters is no longer before pages news. As far as the labor politicians of the AFL-CIO are concerned, the purge of its undesirable elements is now free to go ahead with its work. For the one million, four hundred thousand workers in the Teamsters' Union in particular and the American laboring class in general, nothing has been settled. A union that is expelled for racketeering continues to function and to grow. Its leader, who is under indictment for wiretapping, is elected president of one of the most powerful unions in the country at a salary of fifty thousand dollars a year. A three member rank-and-file group of teamsters goes to the federal court and charges that the delegates to the convention that elected Hoffa were fraudulently chosen in violation of the constitution of the Teamsters' Union. It is expected Hoffa will restore democracy to the union and correct all the abuses of the corrupt leaders.

How was democracy safeguarded? Were Hoffa and his fellow conspirators kicked out of office? Was new, truly democratic convention called for? No! Instead, Hoffa was reinstated and a three-man board of monitors installed to run the union. The three-man board of monitors is composed of one representative chosen by the Hoffa machine, one by the rank and file group and the other by the federal judge Leetts. The powers of this board are even greater than that of the executive board of the union. This board in turn is responsible to one man - federal judge Leetts, who, in effect, is the absolute ruler of the union! The monitors and Judge Leetts rule the union without the consent of the members.

Murray Kempton, columnist for the New York Post, in the issue of Feb. 4, 1958, makes these pertinent remarks:

In reality, all three of these men are only agents for Federal Judge Dickinson Letts, whose orders have previously held up Hoffa's accession to office. The monitors are to report back to the judge every six months; they are subject to removal at his will; and Hoffa can suspend them at any time the judge finds his conduct in conduct which violates a breach of good faith on his part.

We have heard a lot about company unions; under this agreement, Jimmy Hoffa is plainly nothing more than business manager of a court union.

This represents a tendency as frightening as it is distressing. It is sad that organized labor as a group has so succumbed the normal healthy fear which free citizens have shown after the war that so far not one of its leaders has entered the slightest protest against this arrangement. It is a piece of outrageous government interference with private institution.

It is a universal and distressing tendency among labor leaders. Experience teaches too that it very seldom works. The other day, David Dubinsky, a labor leader of an entirely different sort, announced himself in favor of having some government supervision of unions to weed out the criminals among them. Unions don't have subpoena powers, Dubinsky argued. It was a sad confession of inadequacy.

This tendency creeps on while every-
one talks about the need to give unions back to their members. The only way anyone suggests to do this is to turn over the affairs of unions to outsiders, who, however earnest, are only strangers dealing with paper.

The tendency that Keppel speaks of is unfortunately not confined to the labor movement. Government regimentation applies to every aspect of social and individual life. If left unchecked it will paralyze every creative and constructive force in human life and freedom will become a thing of the past. Such is the nature of the State.

"FREEDOM" IN ARGENTINA

Once again it has been demonstrated that when the workers rely on the courts or other government agencies to correct abuses, the medicine is worse than the disease. We have pointed out in previous articles on the labor movement that only a new type of labor movement based on militant direct action tactics and animated by libertarian and revolutionary ethical and social principles can achieve the emancipation of the workers from all forms of oppression and build the new and free world of the future. To instill and cultivate these principles and to encourage all efforts and tendencies in this direction is the task of all of us.

The strike movement of 1957 swept the entire country. Telephone, shipyard, railroad and other workers struck against the low wages and high prices. The strikes were declared "illegal" and were dealt with accordingly. The port workers, affiliated to the F.O.R.A. (Anarcho-syndicalist labor federation of Argentina) have been pulling sporadic 24 and 48 hour strikes to get a minimum of 120 pesos take home pay per day.

Even when the employers in some cases were willing to negotiate with the union directly, the government, through its minister of labor, a left-over from Peron's time, is now used by the present government against the workers. Article 9 of the law demands that when a strike is declared illegal the workers must return to their jobs and accept whatever settlement the authorities decree. If the workers disobey all work contracts, gains and conditions previously won, are cancelled. Even compulsory arbitration does not apply to illegal strikes. Strikes effecting "public services, interfering with the security or health of the population, or tending to deprive the country of an essential article or service" is interpreted by the authorities to suit themselves. Any strike can be declared illegal, not in the "public interest." All strikes are bound to affect the public in some way, but the strike is the only real effective defense of the workers against the tyranny of the rulers and the only means for bettering conditions of employment. The existence of the labor movement depends upon the right to strike and the workers are defying the rulers and disobeying their unjust anti-labor laws.
What We Stand For

Two great power blocs struggle for world domination. Neither of these represents the true interests and welfare of humanity. Their conflict threatens mankind with atomic destruction. Underlying both of these blocs are institutions that breed exploitation, inequality and oppression.

Without trying to legislate for the future we feel that we can indicate the general lines along which a solution to these problems can be found.

The exploitative societies of today must be replaced by a new libertarian world which will proclaim - Equal freedom for all in a free socialist society. "Freedom without socialism leads to privilege and injustice; 'Socialism without freedom is totalitarian.

The monopoly of power which is the state must be replaced by a world-wide federation of free communities, labor councils and/or co-operatives operating according to the principles of free agreement. The government of men must be replaced by a functional society based on the administration of things.

Centralism, which means regimentation from the top down, must be replaced by federalism, which means co-operation from the bottom up.

THE LIBERTARIAN LEAGUE will not accept the old socio-political cliches, but will boldly explore new roads while examining anew the old movements, drawing from them all that which time and experience has proven to be valid.

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