

# *Towards Anarchism*

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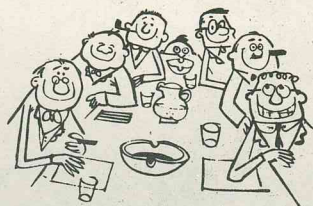
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## WE ACCUSE:

### *johnson, his pentagon & CIA*

Of conducting in the Dominican Republic, a policy contrary to the hopes and aspirations of the people of that country, who prior to the recent U.S. military intervention were engaged in a struggle to achieve greater freedom for a land that had suffered too long under the bloody tyranny of Trujillo who had ruled for decades with the blessing of Washington.

Of conducting in Viet Nam, a policy contrary to the hopes and aspirations of the people of that country, who since the early forties have waged heroic struggles against the Japanese military, the French colonialists and now the U.S. interventionists and their stooges in hopes of a better, freer life.

Of waging pitiless warfare against the civilian populations of Viet Nam and of the Dominican Republic, in attempts to solve by force of arms, problems that can only really be solved by the social revolution.

Of playing the game—in the long view—of the totalitarian forces represented by Peking and Moscow, by actions which can only serve to drive the oppressed and hungry masses of Latin America, Asia and Africa, further into the hands of the totalitarians. The positions of the anti-communist revolutionary forces are consistently weakened by the blundering policies emanating from Washington.

Of betraying the confidence of the American People. The Johnson administration was elected by perhaps the largest majority in American political history. In doing so, the voters decisively repudiated the sabre rattling imperialist policies voiced by his opponent Barry Goldwater. Supposedly, one of Johnson's most telling points in the campaign was the charge that Goldwater spoke for a rightist pro-war military bloc. Now, Johnson's policies in Viet Nam and the Dominican Republic have been enthusiastically applauded by Goldwater and Co.

But the question goes much deeper than whether Johnson should have followed this or that policy. The whole question of power in an allegedly democratic society is involved. The "democratic" process can and has been manipulated so as to invest elected officials with de facto dictatorial powers.



## THE FALLACY OF RELYING ON

# "DEMOCRACY"

IN HIS COURAGEOUS SPEECH at the Viet-Nam teach-in on the Berkeley campus of the University of California, Yale University Professor Staughton Lynd touched upon a fundamental aspect of the current political situation. In his smashing indictment of the Johnson foreign policy, he charged that:

"The Government no longer represents us...the country is not only in a foreign policy crisis, it is in a constitutional crisis...a style of executive decision making, hitherto employed only in emergencies has now become almost a way of life. The Johnson doctrine means not only that we refuse to give people in other countries the opportunity to determine their own destinies, but also that in this country the Government will do what it likes, without permitting the creation of an informed public opinion or debate in Congress."

While Lynd is to be commended for advocating mass civil disobedience against the Government's foreign policy, his remarks illustrate the typical liberal's misconceptions of the nature of the State in general and of the democratic State in particular.

In the first place there is no "constitutional crisis." Everything that Johnson and his advisers have done has been 100% "legal." According to the Constitution, the President is Commander in Chief of the armed forces. As such, he can order them into action anywhere, if he decides that an emergency exists. With or without consulting Congress, military forces have been sent to enforce foreign policy by many U.S. presidents.

Woodrow Wilson sent the army to Mexico and to Russia. Truman waged undeclared war in Korea. Eisenhower sent American military "advisors" to Viet-Nam and Kennedy ordered the Bay of Pigs "invasion" of Cuba. All these and many other undeclared wars have been justified on the pretext that an "emergency" existed.

Johnson is too astute a politician to leave himself open to the charge of dictatorship. He asked Congress to give him almost unlimited power to

(continued to page 22)

# AUTONOMY AND FEDERALISM

THE REVIVAL OF INTEREST in anarchist ideas has produced recently several books on the history, ideology and outstanding personalities of the libertarian movement. Woodcock's Anarchism and the two books by Horowitz and Joll—both entitled The Anarchists, while approaching the subject from different angles come to similar general conclusions.

They believe that since modern society is becoming increasingly complex and interdependent, individual freedom and local autonomy on the scale envisioned by the anarchists, would fracture society by breaking it down into small, isolated, loosely related groups. In the ensuing chaos, each group would be free to do anything it pleased without regard for the rights of its neighbors or for the general welfare. Since social life is impossible without large-scale organization and such organization involves authority which the anarchists reject, therefore anarchism as a practical theory of social reconstruction, is a pipe dream.

While anarchism might have worked in a relatively primitive society, they contend, its only useful role today is the negative one of curbing the excessive encroachments of the State on individual and social freedom. While recognizing that some of the anarchist criticisms of the State are correct, the fact remains, they assert, that supreme authority, intelligently exercised, must continue to be vested in the State. They consider





that the State is indissolubly linked to society and that society cannot function without the State. It is at best a blessing and at worst a necessary evil.

With notable exceptions such as Martin Buber, Lewis Mumford, G.D.H. Cole and Jacques Maritain, most modern writers confirm the popular misconceptions about how the anarchists view the relationships of society to the State; of individual freedom and local autonomy to social order; and of organization to authority. It is hoped that the following brief remarks will help clarify some aspects of these problems.

To the anarchist, society is the association of all the people cooperating in an infinite variety of organizations for the performance and satisfaction of all mankind's myriad individual and social needs. The sociologist McIver says, "Wherever living things enter into, or maintain, willed relations with one another, there society exists." (Community, page 5) The political scientist Barker declares, "The area of (society) is voluntary cooperation. Its energy is that of good will, its method that of elasticity; while the other (the State) is rather mechanical action, its energy force, its method rigidity." (Political Thought from Spencer to the Present Day, page 67.)

These ideas are in general accord with the anarchist conception of society expressed by Peter Kropotkin, as, "... the fullest development of free association in all its aspects, in all possible degrees and for all conceivable purposes: an ever changing association bearing in itself the elements of its own duration and taking on the forms which at any moment best correspond to the manifold endeavors of all ... we conceive the structure of society to be something that is never finally constituted."

From these libertarian concepts it follows that there is no basic conflict between individual freedom and society. On the contrary, it is in this social environment that the personality and the freedom of the individual expand, thereby enriching social life.

The State on the other hand is a parasitic institution living off of the collective efforts of its subjects, by virtue of its monopoly of military and civil power. Its function is to dominate men and not to administer things. In attempting to take over the functions of society it robs the voluntary organizations of their autonomy and its citizens of their freedom.

The conservative political scientist James Garner illustrates the contrast between voluntary associations and the State. A member of a voluntary association "... is free to withdraw whenever he elects to do so, whereas membership in the state is compulsory and the citizen can throw off his membership only by expatriation ... (In which case he will fall under the domination of another State--S.W.) ... a man may

belong to as many voluntary associations as he wishes ... but he cannot be a member of more than one state ... the state is confined within the limits of a particular territory, whereas other (voluntary) associations may extend over the entire world." (If the State permits them to do so --S.W.) Garner further points out that voluntary organizations are limited to particular functions. When these functions are performed they disband. (But the State is immortal--S.W.) "... Men may and many do live without belonging to any of the numerous voluntary associations, but they cannot live outside the state."

Garner agrees with McIver that, "... the peculiar function of the state—that which distinguishes it from other associations—is that it was created to establish and maintain order, a function, which is neither claimed nor exercised by other associations ..." In other words, the voluntary associations mind their own business and cooperate for common purposes, but the State minds everybody's business and rules by decree.

The fundamental difference between society and the State is formulated by Garner in these terms: "... voluntary associations lack the legal power of coercion—the supreme power to command and enforce obedience.... They cannot command and enforce obedience ... at best they can only employ the pressure of social disapprobation or expulsion. They cannot arrest, fine or imprison, whereas the State can do all this and more in case its commands are disobeyed or its authority defied." (Political Science and Government, pages 63-64.)

The difference between society and the State is the difference between freedom and slavery. This is why the libertarian advocates the abolition of the State and the eradication of the statist principle which permeates those voluntary organizations that accept the State as their model.

The greatest threat to the freedom and happiness of man is the growing concentration of power in the State and its satellite institutions. Although this fact is generally acknowledged by more and more thoughtful people, it is maintained that the State is necessary to keep order in society. We libertarians maintain that society is inconceivable without order, but the organization of order is not the exclusive right of the State. Order is not incompatible with liberty and happiness. If the State is the sole guardian of order, then, who watches the watchman?

Proudhon considered that absolute liberty cannot exist in an organized society but held that society must organize itself in a manner that the limits of liberty are broad enough to include the maximum amount of liberty commensurate with social order. Proudhon anticipated a century ago what many modern sociologists, jurists and philosophers—faced by



the growing power of the State—now advocate: the dispersion of power to the decentralized functional units of society to ensure the direct participation of everyone in matters affecting their lives.

Complete individual freedom and absolute local autonomy can be achieved only in isolation, which is neither possible nor desirable. Libertarian organization must reflect the infinite complexity of social relationships and promote human solidarity on the widest possible scale. This cannot be achieved through an artificial unity imposed from above. It must be attained through the practice of federalism, by which we mean coordination through free agreement locally, regionally, nationally and internationally. Such federalism is the organization of freedom.

In his autobiography, Kropotkin gives his concept of how a society organized on libertarian federalist principles would work:

"... this society will be composed of a number of societies banded together for everything that demands a common effort: federations of producers for all kinds of production, of societies for consumption; federations for such societies alone and federations of societies and production groups, finally more extensive groups embracing a whole country or even several countries and composed of persons who will work in common for satisfaction of those economic, spiritual and artistic needs which are not limited to a definite territory. All these groups will unite their efforts through mutual agreement ... personal initiative will be encouraged and every tendency to uniformity and centralization combatted. Moreover, this society will not ossify into fixed and immovable forms, it will transform itself incessantly for it will be a living organism continually in development.

This of course is the ideal and we do not claim that the millenium is around the corner, but if human society is to survive it must be headed in this general direction. Nor do we claim that all will be sweetness and light, that there will not be inevitable friction, abuses, violations of agreements and even serious rifts. No form or organization is immune to these things and there is no guarantee that everything will work out as anticipated. The greatest attribute of a free society is that it is self-regulating and self-correcting.

The autonomous associations will be free to adjust their differences, to correct and learn from their mistakes, to experiment with new forms of social life and achieve harmony on a higher plane. Errors made by voluntary associations may do limited damage, they do not permanently maim society. But miscalculations made by the State can be catastrophic; they can annihilate humanity.

# AUTONOMY AND RESPONSIBILITY

LIBERTARIANS THE WORLD OVER have always striven for a freer, more rational, more just, happier and more humane social order. At first this seemed highly desirable; today it appears indispensable if mankind is to long survive. This can only be achieved if blind strivings and pious wishes are implemented by an understanding of the problems that will be encountered along the Road to Freedom. No good road map is available, unfortunately, but serious consideration of the problems likely to be encountered is always useful.

In a strictly authoritarian or totalitarian society, little thought, initiative or responsibility on the part of the individual, is required—or indeed, tolerated. Everything is planned and organized from above and submissive labor and taxes all that is expected or permitted from the mass of the people.

Welfarism such as that developing so rapidly in most of the political democracies is a training ground for life under totalitarianism. The governing bureaucracies determine the circumstances under which we live, condition our thoughts and attitudes. Initiative is limited, the in-born sense of human solidarity inhibited. Since the police are supposed to care for people's safety, there even develops a reluctance or fear by people to help each other in elementary emergency situations. The individual fears getting involved and when the streets present dangers, the unimaginative solution offered is for more police!

The fact that it is possible for human nature to be so twisted away from the natural instinct to mutual aid, should in itself be reason enough to question the validity of present society. The individual person has no sense of responsible participation in the things that matter most. Without realizing it he is in a very real sense unhappy and alienated from social life.

A State dominated society operates with almost no active, conscious participation of the individuals and groups that perform its labor. Human freedom and human solidarity are exchanged for so-called economic security.



Any society develops its own forms and its own ethics, which are always related to its economic structure. Most people living in the exploitative societies of today would probably feel quite lost if transplanted overnight into a free non-exploitative situation. They fear freedom since this entails responsibility, and perhaps, loss of security. They have been conditioned to feel the need to have someone tell them what to do, how to do it and when. Psychologically they need a boss, they need Big Brother, they need an authoritarian god to tell them right from wrong and up from down.

They have been educated to accept a situation in which the State has usurped many social functions such as the settlement of labor disputes, the determination of school curriculums, the location of super highways (and who must be relocated to make way for them), the general social welfare and the responsibility for the lives and safety of all. With its control of international relations in the nuclear age, the State has gone beyond the simple usurpation of social functions. It has established its own monopoly of anti-social functions as well; it has arrogated to itself the right of life and death over us all.

In the field of necessary social functions, the State, with its laws, its courts and its police, does a singularly imperfect job and its results are often counter-productive. A Robert Moses (and these come in various types and sizes) can make decisions and impose his super-bureaucratic will over the protests of the people most directly affected. It is the contention of libertarians that a stateless society could do a much better job.

Since a libertarian society would operate with prior consultation of the people whose interests are directly concerned it would of course bring many new problems. Some things might take longer to accomplish but this would be due to time needed for consultation rather than to bureaucratic stupidity. Thus a libertarian society would have to be better organized than an authoritarian one. For this, improved forms must be evolved, and above all a more humanitarian ethic must replace the miserable ethics of the State.

Before such a profound social change can take place, the basic attitudes of millions of people must be reoriented. While such a reorientation cannot be ordered like a ham sandwich, this is not as impossible as it may seem. Today's trend towards ever greater centralization is already encountering resistance on the part of many people not a few of whom may have foolishly given Goldwater their "protest votes."

Any serious social upheaval brings to the fore large numbers of potential socially responsible individuals and groups. If not smothered by the authoritarian elements that are always present in the situation, prog-

ress can be made in a revolutionary direction. Such possibilities have existed in the past, but have so far gone down in defeat before the counter-revolution of the State, operating oftener than not under the banner of Marxism.

In a revolutionary situation there are always a number of possible alternatives. To defeat the authoritarians the anarchists must be well organized. The libertarian forces must be willing to work together as a team with the greatest social responsibility, otherwise the tighter, harder, centralized and more rigid forces of Bolshevism will steal the day. Any revolution, to win, requires organization and either a high degree of self-discipline or else an authoritarian discipline imposed from above by an "elite." Since the old order is seldom "overthrown" but collapses of its own weight in the crisis, this organization and this self-discipline must be directed towards building the new society.

Any society to function requires order, and the libertarians must see that this order is imposed from below in response to the popular will, and not institutionalized along dictatorial lines. No State forms must be allowed to coalesce, no regular police force must be permitted since every State with its police and armed forces is in essence dictatorial and therefore counter-revolutionary. Control of the revolution must be in the hands of the autonomous groups in the social base. As the conquests of the revolution become solidified, the danger of authoritarian influence will for a time increase. This can only be combatted by constant vigilance, and above all by actively involving ever more people in roles of social responsibility. The preservation of maximum autonomy is of the essence for without it the fundamental revolutionary values are lost.

Anarchists are at all times on the side of autonomy and freedom. This does not however mean that we would permit any individual or group to use what he, or it, consider their autonomy and freedom in order to suppress the autonomy and freedom of those they may try to control. In the present civil rights struggle in the South, the southern politicians, on the pretext that the central U. S. Government violates their autonomy, demand "states rights" so that they can exercise their provincial dictatorships to violate human rights and continue racial persecution.

True autonomy is only possible with genuine federalism and responsibility. Without federalism the various social entities work at cross purposes with each other, there is wasteful duplication, and projects of general benefit to the larger society are not possible. Federalism permits coordination and the development of greater efficiency.

The social responsibility of the members in a social unit is based on mutual esteem and comradeship, and leads to smooth orderly functioning. This social group in turn must have social responsibility to-



wards the larger society of which it is a federated part. In order to function well, a libertarian society consisting of federated autonomous groups, will require the full participation of each individual - participation in work and participation in the making of decisions. Responsibility cannot be permanently delegated by individuals or by groups without a corresponding loss of freedom by those who have done the delegating.

Some degree of conformity (pardon the dirty word) is required and justly so by any society, but the degree varies, and will in a Libertarian society be minimal. Anti-social acts will be frowned upon and if they endanger others will be prevented. Firearms enthusiasts cannot be permitted to use their neighbors as moving targets, nor will the raping of defenseless grandmothers be considered socially acceptable. The responsible individuals of society will freely exercise their responsibility to prevent the mentally deranged from so misinterpreting the meaning of freedom.

But, apart from those who might need to be physically restrained (and in a healthy society, these would be few indeed) gentler forms of social pressure will suffice. It is human for everyone to wish to be well thought of by his fellows and this would cut to a minimum the number of social misfits. Those unwilling to cooperate loyally with their comrades will find that in turn, few will cooperate with them.

There may still be those who chafe at any form of control, social or otherwise. Their egos will not permit them to live in the company of others unless it is they who give the orders. Such types are largely the product of the authoritarian society in which they have grown up. This is not a general human characteristic, it cannot be considered natural to society, and in a sane world they would be viewed as freaks. No libertarian would deny them the right to feel and act as they do, so long as their attitudes and activities harmed no one else. Certainly no one would work for them, and they would live on the margin of society as hermits or recluses. They would definitely not be permitted to impose their will on others.

Autonomy and responsibility are both necessary ingredients of the better society that libertarians hope may yet bring order out of the chaos of today's world.

--Russell Blackwell



## AUTONOMY & SOCIAL MOUVEMENTS

ANARCHISTS COMMONLY ATTACK centralization within mass movements by pointing out its long-term effects on the quality and effectiveness of these movements. The main points of argument concern the general tendency to decay on the part of the leadership created by that centralization and a resulting restriction of the activity of the rank and file. In the opinion of this writer this approach gives too much credit to the apologists for centralization. The purpose of this article is to show that even before the "decay" of the leadership of a movement and in fact the moment this leadership is created, that movement is no longer functioning in a responsible manner.

What the responsibilities of individuals are is generally clear: the struggle for a better material existence for one's family and more generally for the entire species, the struggle to develop the faculties within one's self and one's fellow-man to the limit of their potential, the struggle to win for one's self and one's fellowman the respect to which he is entitled, and finally the struggle against those forces which tend to frustrate each of these goals.

Against all these things stands the State, which functions by restricting the right to take responsibility to a small group of officials and law enforcement officers, and which survives by exploiting the very thing which undermines the willingness of the individual to take responsibility upon himself—the fear of violence.

This fear is the basic source of the power of the State, which always enforces its will through threats—of direct violence, of imprisonment to which the individual must submit or suffer violence, or of fines which the individual must pay or suffer imprisonment.

Because every participant in a revolutionary movement takes responsibility upon himself and therefore away from those who govern society, he must expect to face the unleashed violence of the State. This is especially difficult when the individual is told again and again that in taking revolutionary action he is being the very opposite of responsible. In many cases participants find the contradiction between responsibility and individual security too great to face and find themselves passing decisions on to the most conspicuous members of their group, who thereby become "leaders." As soon as this is done the revolution is already lost—for the victory of a movement consisting of leaders and led can only result in another version of the old situation whereby society is divided into rulers and ruled.



The tracing of responsibility to each individual by no means contradicts a struggle for social change on the basis of mass movements. The struggle is difficult and every one who takes part in it needs all the support he can get. It does, however, rule out the reliance on leaders either as decision-makers or as spokesmen.

Each individual must function in his own immediate situation using the material his own genes make available to him. If responsibility cannot be taken on this level then it cannot be taken on any level.

Anarchists are accustomed to attacking the draft, under which the individual is offered the choice of jail or the battlefield. It is we, however, who are in a position to know better than anyone else that this is the choice that is always offered to each of us.

—Walter Coy

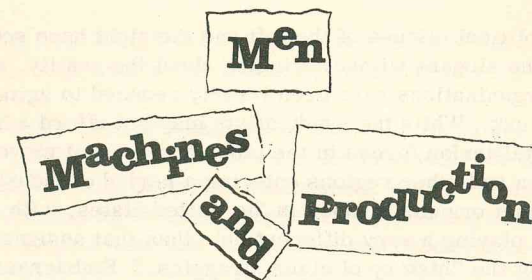
## an APPEAL

OUR COMRADE BORIS YELENSKY has written a book in Yiddish based on his personal experiences in the Russian anarchist movement during the Russian Revolution both before and after the Bolshevik takeover. Extracts have appeared in the Argentine Jewish monthly Freie Wort. Those of us who have been able to read them feel they are of considerable historic importance for the documentation they contain, exploding the myth that Lenin, Trotsky and the Bolshevik party made the revolution.

Yelensky's work also sheds light on the practicality of anarchist organizational concepts, the constructive role played in those early days by the small anarchist groups and above all the tremendous creative capacities of the people when they are inspired by the ideals of freedom and when they assume responsibility for their own affairs.

This book is full of hitherto unpublished accounts of how the volunteer Red Militia defeated the White Guards, the humane treatment accorded prisoners of war, the manner in which the peasants, without compulsion—as years later in the Hungarian Revolution of 1956—supplied food for the city population, the virtual disappearance of crime, and finally the Bolshevik betrayal of the best values of revolution itself.

All interested in seeing this book published in English should communicate with B. Yelensky, 1403 N.W. 7th St. (Apt. 609), Miami, Florida 33135. A capable translator, and funds for publication are both needed.



WORKERS' CONTROL OF INDUSTRY is the traditional anarchist approach to the relationship between man and his productive resources. Just as in agricultural regions, where the anarchists demanded that the fields should be in the hands of those who worked on them, so, in regions in which man related to machinery and industry, the demand was: the workshops for the workers. In allying themselves with the syndicalists, and in the development of the idea of "anarcho-syndicalism", the anarchists looked towards the voluntary associations, or unions of workers, as the social units which would manage production in a libertarian society. As the workers in industry banded together in self-organizations for their common struggle against the exploitation and oppression of the conditions in which they were forced to labor, so, the syndicalist theory claimed, they were "forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."

However, this dual role which anarcho-syndicalism attached to the unions was not achieved in any meaningful sense, either in European countries, or in the United States, both of which saw the emergence of syndicalist and/or highly class-conscious radical labor movements. While the Wobbly and syndicalist traditions have enriched the labor and other movements with the concepts and the practice of solidarity, direct action (job action) and the development of the strike as the class-war tactic, the organizations themselves which brought these ideas to the fore (in the United States, the IWW, in France, Italy, Spain, the national federations of labor, etc.) declined under the pressures of global wars, the strengthening of the State, and the rise of mass totalitarian movements.

The last actual instance of workers control on a regional basis (and also of mass anarchist influence) was in Spain, where the desperate struggle of libertarian forces was betrayed and sacrificed by the machinations of fascist, communist, and democratic politicians. Since the thirties, syndicalism as an influence in highly industrialized regions has seen a steady decline.



Ruling political cliques of the left and the right have seen fit to incorporate the slogans without bringing about the reality, and the syndicalist organizations have been largely reduced to agitational and propaganda work. While the syndicalists may yet afford a healthy opposition to totalitarian forces in the labor and peasant movements in South America and other regions entering a period of industrialization, it is evident that organized labor in the United States, with few notable exceptions is playing a very different role than that assigned to it by the theories of the "history of class struggles." Embarrassed by the overtly conservative posture of labor, American radicals have become involved in various searches for other forces for revolutionary social change.

Workers' control of industry was seen by the syndicalists as a means of achieving autonomy in the field of production. Although in European countries, the libertarians gave some attention to the distributive function, in the various attempts to organize cooperatives and establish a free economy within the framework of capitalism, the American movement concentrated on the drive for the seizure of the forces of production. Either private ownership or State bureaucratic management was rejected in favor of a highly ethical relationship of mutual aid, and voluntary work, through a system of autonomous federations, labor councils, and shop committees. In a libertarian society, work as an obligatory function was to be abolished with the building of strictly voluntary social units in every area of social activity.

The United States, and to a certain extent, the other industrialized regions of the world, are undergoing a new revolution in technology. The radicals of yesterday could not have dreamed of the extent to which machines may be able to replace men, not only in the field of production, but also, with the advent of cybernation, possibly every other function today performed by human labor.

New energy sources, materials, and the combinations of automated machinery and computers are rapidly making way for the possible society of abundance and freedom from toil within a couple of decades. Machines may run themselves, and in a technological sense, autonomy may be achieved on the field of production, but for what ends? Without a correlative revolution in terms of the institutions which wield control over production, and distribution, the automation-cybernation revolution is under way today at the cost of human suffering and want. The income-through-work relationship continues to exist, and unemployment is fast becoming the primary social ill.

In the United States particularly, a large proportion of human toil is being expended on behalf of a totally artificial economy. People work,

but what are they doing? An estimated one third of the economy, possibly more, is geared to the production of materials for war.

Other significant percentages of the labor force are involved in work of various artificially created needs, the production of obsolescence, items which serve no purpose, which break down and must be replaced, and an accompanying army of people simply pushing about tons of paper. It is in these areas also that automation and cybernation is making headway. As soon as one industry automates, the others must follow suit, or go under, and the competition becomes more fierce. Computers the size of a television set will soon be replacing battallions of office workers, the white and blue collar categories, the bureaucrats themselves.

It is meaningless for anarchists to demand that workers control industries in which they are no longer needed as workers. It is no less than insane that we should try and foster a sentiment of syndicalism in those areas of production and distribution which are totally destructive (the war industry) or useless (the waste industry). In a libertarian society, these functions would not be managed on an autonomous basis: they would not exist. Why then all the fuss?

It is time that we re-evaluate and redefine our goal of autonomy in production. If there are to be no workers, there will be no workers' control, but rather a more comprehensive social control of production and distribution. With a revolution in the relationship between man and work, it is reactionary and elitist to say that even a specialized group of technicians should have a determining relationship to the machines. (We will all be technicians because none of us will have to be in order to live.) The concept of work as a creative human potential signals the end of any division between mental and manual labor.

Social control and participation in the functions of production and distribution is directly related to the struggle which has begun to be waged today by the mass of persons at whose cost the technology is being developed. The unemployed, the young people who have "dropped-out" of the system, the lumpenproletariat as Marx derisively called them, have manifested a desire, not for socialism, but something beyond it.

As these people develop, in their fight for "jobs or income," for a share in the abundance, the voluntary associations, community unions, tenants' councils, etc. we see again, the "building of the structure of the new society within the shell of the old." People are re-affirming community and mutual aid, and laying the basis for the management of the incredible resources being put before all of us by the technological revolution. The young people particularly, as they reject more and more the values and "choices" of the collapsing system of



profit and competition, are developing the organisms, the sense of group, necessary to secede and survive.

What role are the unions and the workers to play in this development, which is rapidly making them obsolete? Attempts must be made to develop independence from the institutions which the unions are shackled to, which prevent them from realizing their situation. The real danger lies where the anarchists have always pointed to: the political State. As long as the State further encroaches on private ownership of industry, and as long as it is able to draw upon the fear of change among those who still cling to their jobs, it may be able to further develop the economics of war and waste.

New and even more insane artificial needs may be created to discipline the masses in useless labor. Agencies are already being created, with the coaxing of liberals and other authoritarians, to get people to dig ditches and fill them up again. (Significantly, these are being aimed primarily at the youth.) We have long underestimated the capacity of bureaucracy, agencies of uselessness, to develop and further methods of controlling and subjugating the human spirit. And of course, those out of work may be put into uniforms and stirred up to be sent over to wage war on the peoples of other countries. Look in the headlines.

We see the mass labor organizations in the United States already going through changes as even the minimal needs and desires of their members are not considered by a totally reactionary union leadership. While healthy tendencies have been shown in a number of rank-and-file revolts, wildcats, and the breakaway of entire bodies from sell-out internationals and fakers, the radicals, in mouthing the slogans of yesterday, are partly to blame for the lack of an essential self-consciousness of his own situation, on the part of the American worker.

The anarchist ideas of direct action, and the continuous self-conscious activity of men and women to understand and control their lives are more relevant today than they have ever been. The wobblies, in their drives to unite the underprivileged and dispossessed elements of the masses are also more relevant than they have ever been, for it is now this growing lumpenproletariat that is achieving the necessary self-consciousness to project their struggles today on a level where the present system will no longer be able to contain or suppress them. The principle of autonomy will be realized as the new social organisms which will be the new society are born in our common struggle for freedom and human dignity.

--Jonathan Leake

# For Workers' Control

THE LABOR MOVEMENT IS STILL PERTINENT

THERE ARE SOME who think that Workers Control is no longer pertinent due to the age of automation that we are entering, an age when machines will increasingly displace men and when there will "no longer be a mass working class." This is too narrow an interpretation of what is meant by Workers Control, which must be understood as the administration of production and distribution of goods, and the performance of public services directly by the people engaged in these economic functions. While we Libertarians are unalterably opposed to the government over men, we propose the administration of things as an alternative to the State. This principle will not be invalidated by changes in the work force or in the nature of work itself.

With or without automation, the economics of a free society must be based on the principle of the administration of things by the workers. Under automation, millions of highly trained engineers, mathematicians, physicists, theoretical scientists and other technicians, will organize themselves into regional, national and international federations, freely exchanging information, constantly improving both the quality and availability of goods and services, and developing new products for the new needs that arise.

In such a society, the needs of the consumers will—as Kropotkin pointed out—be paramount. The consumers will make their needs known and there will be a continual flow of communication between producers and consumers through a closely integrated network of cooperative associations. It is not the function of consumers—as consumers—who are unfamiliar with the intricate problems of production, to ruin the economy by interfering with the workers who do possess this necessary training and experience. The workers must be free to exercise their creative capacities to supply the needs of the whole people. Workers Control is therefore indispensable in a free society such as we envision.

(continued to page 25)



## SPAIN

### THE RISING TIDE OF REVOLT

ON MARCH 21st, two months after the first demonstrations, the students marched through the Plaza Cibeles of Madrid to the slogans "Democracy!", "Syndical Freedom!", and "Down with Dictatorship!" Two days later, 250 students of the College of Medicine declared a hunger strike to force the authorities to free those of their fellow-students who had been arrested in earlier demonstrations. Within a few hours the prisoners were released.

There was also student agitation in Barcelona; the Colleges of Economic Science and Law were closed. As a reprisal the authorities suppressed the right of registration of the students. In the Universities of Salamanca and Navarre (Opus Dei) there were demonstrations of solidarity and of rejection of the SEU (falangist students syndicate).

All of the Spanish universities are in a state of effervescence. Most of the faculty members are on the side of the students, and frequently spark or lead the demonstrations.

Parallel with the student movement the labor agitation continues. This had commenced in 1962 with the strikes of the Asturian miners. Since then there has been an uninterrupted series of sporadic strikes throughout the peninsula. Strikes and demonstrations have occurred in Barcelona and Madrid, in industrial centers of the North and in Sagunto, as well as in some rural areas, particularly in Andalucia. In Asturias there have been two violent demonstrations; the first in Mieres where the workers invaded a Civil Guards' barracks and the second in Langreo where the headquarters of the Falangist syndicate was attacked.

Paralyzed for 25 years by Franco's terror, Spain commences to reawaken and this has stirred to "consciousness" the more "liberal" elements within the regime itself. These latter realize that the Spanish people beaten down, bled white and paralyzed by three years of civil war and 25 years of oppression, is reviving little by little. It is announcing its presence and showing signs of its innate rebelliousness. The acts of open and active resistance, the strikes of 1962 and the Basque movements of 1963 were but a modest beginning. The present student and labor agitation, and the regime's maneuvers aimed at neutralizing the spontaneous movements of the people, are a confirmation of the seriousness of recent developments. But the rising tide is such that it cannot be held back. It will increase as the self-confidence of the masses grows.

-Information Bulletin of the  
Iberian Libertarian Youth

some

thoughts on

### MORAL PERSUASION

The following are extracts from a study entitled "Moral Coercion" written by Ricardo Mella, who was one of the outstanding theoreticians of the Spanish Anarchist movement.

WE AFFIRM that in a free stateless society based on economic equality, moral coercion alone will suffice to preserve harmony and peace among men.

By moral coercion we mean the influence or pressures that the feelings and attitudes of our fellowmen have upon us, effects that are reciprocal and by no means pre-calculated. It rests exclusively on the voluntary acceptance by individuals of all that is recognized objectively and known to be the accepted norm among one's fellows.

There can be no doubt but that the opinions and sentiments of others influences each one of us and that at the same time, each of us influences the sentiments and opinions of the whole community. These reciprocal influences are sometimes of an affirmative and at others of a modifying nature; so that, with greater or less rapidity the individual and collective sentiments, the personal and public attitudes, are established or are modified.

The argument may be made that what we here refer to as moral coercion is really social coercion. However this latter term has come to mean the hegemony or pre-eminence of an organic whole over its integral parts. We prefer the former term in its true sense of a free exchange of reciprocal influences.

\* \* \*

If one does not lose sight of the ultimate end of moral coercion it will be clearly seen that that which started as an element of fear, later implies a certain degree of voluntary subordination finally becoming auto-coercion. This is to say, that the individual, identifying himself consciously and unconsciously with the environmental influences and with his own feelings, winds up by acting in agreement with his innermost feelings, without any other guide than that which he considers his duty.

\* \* \*



The judgement that our fellows and our friends may form of any action of ours, the censure or praise that our conduct may elicit, the respect that we may merit from those who live with us or even from those who may survive us, together constitute a healthy coercion that affects us morally, and determines, along with our own sentiments and ideas, our conduct throughout life, making allowance naturally, for any physical or mental upset that may remove us from said influence.

\* \* \*

The power of public opinion exerts greater pressure over each of us than does that of any physically coercive institution. It is not so much the police or the threat of prison or the hangman's noose as it is the influence of the social milieu that inhibits violent impulses, crime or other anti-social acts. Unfortunately, personal esteem and a sense of honor is not yet fully developed excepting in a few people. In the others it is a simple reflection of social coercion.

\* \* \*

In addition to the influence of one's personal conscience, one's education and normal feelings of human kindness, this factor is the public attitude, the collective sentiment, which according to the expression of Bakunin, those most inclined to crime, do not dare defy or face openly. Bakunin said:

"There is no man, no matter how powerful he may be, who has sufficient courage to face the unanimous contempt of society; there is no one who can live without feeling himself supported by the consent and esteem of at least a part of society. In order for a man to speak and act against the opinion of all, he would have to be moved by great conviction and sincerity. A cowardly, narrow, depraved person can never have such courage."

\* \* \*

One final objection can be made, and this is so well formulated in a few words of Bakunin, that we shall limit ourselves to reproducing here his remarks:

"But if this social power exists, why has it not been sufficient to moralize the world? Simply because this power has not yet been humanized; because social life of which it is always a faithful reflection, is as we know based on the cult of Divinity, and not on human respect. Because it is based on authority and

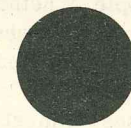
not on liberty; on privilege and not on equality; on exploitation and not on the brotherhood of man; on iniquity and falsehood and not on truth and justice. Therefore, its real effect—always contrary to the humanitarian ideas it professes—has ever had a depraving and disastrous influence. It does not inhibit vice and crime but foments them. Its authority is therefore divine and anti-human; its influence is in general harmful and deadly.

"Do you wish to make this authority and this influence beneficial for humanity? Well then, make the social revolution. Make all necessities matters of common concern, so that the social and material interests of each correspond completely with the duties of each. There is only one way to do this, destroy those institutions that are based on inequality and establish economic and social equality. On such foundations will then arise liberty, morality and human solidarity."

\* \* \*

Moral sentiment is the final expression of the sense of solidarity evidenced by humanity over the centuries in spite of all circumstantial obstacles. . . . . And in the name of this moral sentiment we proclaim the need to sweep away all of today's barriers, all of the punishments and laws imposed on man, so that moral coercion, the reciprocal and spontaneous exchange of all the individual and social influences, can continue the never ending task of continual improvement of the human condition.

--Ricardo Mella



THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD are once again organizing agricultural workers, particularly in lower Michigan and in the Yakima, Washington area. Organizers and others who wish to help are very much needed. Whether or not you are at present a member of the I.W.W., if you would like to participate in this campaign, please contact :

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS ORGANIZING COMMITTEE  
c/o Chicago Branch I.W.W.  
713 Armitage, Chicago, ILL. 60614

or George Underwood, I.W.W.  
102 South Third Avenue, Yakima, WASH.



(continued from page 2)

do what he wanted in Viet-Nam. By an overwhelming majority, Congress granted his request and appropriated the necessary funds. It follows that Congress is just as guilty as Johnson and just as arbitrary as he. Neither Johnson nor Congress represents the people; neither consulted the people. The Government does not represent—it decides and decrees—presenting the people with accomplished facts not of their making.

National television debates are staged, mass petitions are signed, mass “teach-ins” are held severely castigating the Government. Protests, demonstrations and sit-ins have been held across the country and even at the Pentagon and in the White House. But these protests and discussions followed the Government’s intervention. The Government still does anything it pleases.

Lynd declared that “an unelected Board of Regents runs this country.” He identifies the members of this board as Rusk—Secretary of State, McNamara—Secretary of Defense, and Bundy—advisor to the President. But these unelected rulers are executive agents of the State. This “unelected Board of Regents” is appointed with the consent of the elected Congress, as provided for in the Constitution and are paid fixed salaries by the Government. They are therefore theoretically and legally carrying out the will of the people as formulated by Congress. They are just as much a part of the State machinery as are the elected officials.

Professor Lynd is mistaken when he says that “the Government has ceased to represent us.” The nature of the State is such that it never did and can not represent the people. Whether its officials are elected or not, the State is a power arrangement whereby the few rule the many. A democracy is in practice an elected dictatorship, periodically renewed. During their terms of office, the legislators and the President and their appointed officials possess almost unlimited power. A change in the Administration simply means that another set of officials will perpetuate the “democratic” dictatorship. The “Johnson Doctrine” is a logical consequence of the principle of the State.

The emerging radical movement in the course of its struggle against war, economic and social inequality, and for academic and individual freedom, will increasingly run up against the determined resistance of the State. Much serious thinking about the nature of the State will have to be done before the new movement can establish itself on a sound, effective theoretical base.

--W.S.

## RESOLUTION

## CUBA

### OF THE ITALIAN

### ANARCHIST FEDERATION

REITERATING the continuity of the positions of the Italian Anarchist Movement concerning the early totalitarian implications in the Cuban popular revolution, it is resolved:

CONSIDERING, that the revolution that triumphed in Cuba in January 1959, was the result of the will and the action of the majority of the Cuban people, as expressed through various revolutionary movements aspiring to a regime of greater political freedom and economic justice;

CONSIDERING, that the Cuban revolution was hailed by the peoples of the world as an immediate hope for liberation of all the oppressed and frustrated;

CONSIDERING, that the anarchist militants of the whole world, of all tendencies and ideological interpretations, gave their support to the Cuban revolution offering it their complete solidarity;

CONSIDERING, that the aspirations for liberty and justice of the Cuban people and the hopes aroused among all peoples by the Cuban revolution, have been frustrated by the leaders who have imposed a Marxist-Leninist counter-revolution which has usurped all power in the country, creating an ultra-authoritarian regime and giving rise to a super-State that denies the most elementary rights of the Cuban people;

CONSIDERING, that the strongest and most heroic opposition to the Castro regime is coming today from the workers and peasants;

CONSIDERING, that the International Anarchist Movement, represented by its recognized organizations—the Argentine Libertarian Federation, the Mexican Anarchist Federation, the Libertarian League of the U.S., the S.A.C. of Sweden, the Spanish Libertarian Movement, the London Anarchist Federation, as well as many other groups, associations, newspapers, magazines and individuals—has expressed its energetic repudiation of the dictatorial and terrorist regime in power in Cuba;

The Italian Anarchist Movement, represented by the Italian Anarchist Federation, gathered in this National Plenum in Bologna on May 27th, 28th and 29th, 1965,

RESOLVES:

1) To condemn the Castro-Communist dictatorship, it being proved



that the authoritarian orientation of its leaders has stabilized a reign of terror and oppression that has strangled the revolution and created a counter-revolutionary statist system that suffocates and denies the aspirations towards freedom of the Cuban people.

2) To offer the most complete solidarity to the Cuban Libertarian Movement in Exile, vigorously supporting its struggle against the Castro-Communist regime.

3) To support through all its means of publicity and action, the efforts of our Cuban comrades to stop the executions, secure a less inhumane prison regime, and ultimately the freedom of the political and social prisoners now wasting away in the Castro-Communist prisons.

4) To oppose vigorously, the establishment in Cuba of any new dictatorial or repressive regime, when the Castro-Communist dictatorship shall have been destroyed, as well as the substitution of the present vassalage to the Chinese and Russians by vassalage to the United States or any other foreign power.

5) To recommend to "Umanita Nova," "L'Agitazione del Sud," "Seme Anarchico," "Bolletino Interno della F.A.I.," "Volonta," and other publications of the Italian movement, the publication and diffusion of all decisions, articles, informative notes and communications, aimed at the fulfillment of the decisions recorded in this resolution.

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At its National Congress held in Toulouse June 5th to 7th, the French Anarchist Federation approved a resolution couched in similar terms to the above resolution of our Italian comrades.



(continued from page 17)

It is not correct to imply that a minority of technical-scientific workers would constitute an elite and eventually set up a dictatorship over the rest of society. The technical-scientific workers are not today responsible for the colossal waste, inefficiency and despotism of the "free enterprise" capitalists and the State planners. Rather, it is the State, the profiteers and the politicians, who corrupt and force both the skilled and unskilled workers in all categories to obey their orders. Knowing little, really, about the problems and processes of society and of production, the politicians and fast-buck boys exploit the natural and human resources of society for their own benefit. Similar abuses could develop in a free society if people who knew nothing about the social and industrial processes were to act as unofficial "community commissars."

Not only the scientific-technological workers, but all groups and individuals must be free to make their special contribution to the free society. While we must constantly guard against abuse of power we must never forget that in the common effort to build a better world, we must also learn to trust each other. If we do not, then this better world will forever remain a utopia. We have nothing to fear so long as no group in society is given political power to rule over others; no one, and no group must have coercive, police, power. This is why anarchists are AT ALL TIMES, for the abolition of the State and centralized control. This is why Workers Control is really possible only in a Stateless society. Anarchists are against nationalization of industry in a "welfare state" or "workers state." State capitalism is for us no better than private capitalism.

Basing himself on the fallacious assumption that Workers Control will be useless in the future because of automation, comrade Leake practically concludes that the labor movement has no important part to play now. There are 70 million wage workers in the United States who are threatened with the loss of their incomes and their jobs. The union leaderships do not adequately meet the problems created by automation and the threat of ever-greater automation. They are immersed in policies supporting the status quo and "patching up the system" through endorsement of "welfare" schemes of the political administration. But the confidence of the workers in their leaders is fast evaporating and they are already exerting pressure from below.

Today's workers demand not only higher wages, but also shorter hours, earlier retirement at full pay and an increasing share in the benefits of automation. The printers for example, are asking that a major part of the savings from automation be passed on to them. Demands are also made for guaranteed annual wages and that the settlement of grievances, the right to determine the speed of production and many other improvements in their condition, be subjects for the consideration of the men on the job.



Increasingly the needs of the workers involve deeper social changes and some elementary forms of Workers Control and they rightfully refuse to wait for the millenium. It is true that mass human labor will be displaced by automation and cybernation in years to come. But it does not follow from this that the struggle for partial demands today is useless. Actually these struggles are of a vital importance that must not be underestimated.

How automated society will look, will depend not upon abstract speculations but upon what the workers do now to establish their control over both the pace and the benefits of automation. The pattern of the future may well be shaped in the course of these struggles. To win their demands the workers have already staged thousands of wild-cat strikes and have at times refused to accept contracts made for them by the class-collaborationist leaders of their unions. There have been mass rank and file revolts in the auto, teamsters, dock workers and other unions. The most corrupt and reactionary outfits may soon be faced with the choice of completely changing their character or be swept aside and replaced by organizations of different structure and ideology.

These workers have not rebelled because they are revolutionists, but because the war threats and the effects of automation have shaken them deeply. Their lethargy is not what it was; they are disturbed and they are resisting. They are becoming receptive to radical ideas if these ideas are intelligently presented. Much the same can be said for the student, peace and civil rights movements. There is fruitful work to be done by the revolutionary minority in all these fields. If the revolutionary voice appears for the moment more articulate in the other movements, this does not mean that the labor movement can be discounted. It is only the latter that can in the last analysis exert the type of pressure needed for social change. Otherwise, what is the alternative?

Comrade Leake thinks that the "lumpen proletariat" is destined to play a major role, that it has a desire for "something beyond socialism." What is that "something"? Where is the evidence for this absurd assertion? Without in the least underestimating the importance of other forms of mass direct action, we must still ask why a number of rent strikes and demonstrations (even if all led by the "lumpens," which they are not), are more important than great strikes in the auto, steel and other basic industries.

Any mass movement for social change must ally itself with the militant actions of the labor movement. The student, civil rights and anti-war movements cannot go it alone. They can succeed only in solidarity with the emerging rank and file union movements. All of these must be radi-

calized ideologically but to deny the revolutionary capacity of an aroused working class can lead only to sterility. If revolutionists were to follow such an approach, the field would then be left wide open for the demagogues of the "right" and of the pseudo-"left," to drive for power and establish a nationalized poorhouse for the technologically unemployed.

--Sam Weiner

## REVOLUTION...

REVOLUTION is the creation of new living institutions, new groupings, new social relationships, it is the destruction of privileges and monopolies; it is the new spirit of justice, of brotherhood, of freedom which must renew the whole of social life, the moral level and the material conditions of the masses by calling on them to provide, through their direct and conscious action, for their own future.

REVOLUTION is the organisation of all public services by those who work in them in their own interest as well as the public's:

REVOLUTION is the destruction of all coercive ties; it is the autonomy of groups, of communes, of regions;

REVOLUTION is the free federation brought about by a desire for brotherhood, by individual and collective interests, by needs of production and defence;

REVOLUTION is the constitution of innumerable free groupings based on ideas, wishes, and tastes of all kinds that exist among the people;

REVOLUTION is the forming and disbanding of thousands of representative, district, communal, regional, national bodies which, without having any legislative power, serve to make known and to coordinate the desires and interests of people near and far and which act through information, advice and example.

REVOLUTION is freedom proved in the crucible of facts—and lasts so long as freedom lasts, that is until others, taking advantage of the weariness that overtakes the masses, of the inevitable disappointments that follow exaggerated hopes, of the probable errors and human faults, succeed in constituting a power, which supported by an army of conscripts or mercenaries, lays down the law, arrests the movement at the point it has reached, and then begins the reaction.

--Errico Malatesta



## ARGENTINA

ARGENTINE NEWSPAPERS carried a declaration of the General Confederation of Workers of Argentina (CGT-largest labor organization controlled by the followers of the exiled ex-dictator Peron now a guest of the Spanish state, and their communist allies) The CGT declaration denounced the Branco government of Brazil which came to power by a military coup in March 1964, and unseated the pro-communist government of Goulart. It protested the repression of various leftist labor organizations in Brazil on the grounds that it violated the principles of democracy and the freedom of the labor movement. The CGT exposed its hypocrisy when it denounced only the military government of Brazil, without denouncing all dictatorships everywhere. Instead of condemning the fascist dictatorship of Franco, the CGT sent a delegation to the third congress of the Spanish fascist, Falange labor front. . . . It is notorious that the Falange unions are an instrument for the enslavement of the Spanish workers and a bulwark supporting one of the bloodiest regimes of our time. The CGT delegation participated in the Congress and proclaimed, in the name of the Argentine workers, their solidarity with the assassins of the Spanish workers. Thus the CGT sanctioned a regime which mocks all civil liberties and tries to repress every attempt to establish a free and independent labor movement in Spain.

At a time, when the Spanish people are expanding their struggle for liberty, as shown by the great strikes of the last few years, by the heroic demonstration in front of the Falange headquarters where the Congress was being held and the rebellious spirit of the students and intellectuals all over Spain: the CGT insults the Spanish people by attending the fascist congress.

The underground anti-Franco labor movement in Spain and in exile and the free labor movement everywhere call upon the Argentine workers to publicly repudiate the CGT leaders and the delegation, and proclaim, without reservation, their solidarity with the Spanish workers against the Franco- Falangist tyranny.

**"TO CHANGE THE MASTER IS NOT TO BE FREE"**

**— JOSE MARTI**

## the libertarian bookshelf



### ADDITIONS TO OUR BOOK LIST

The two volumes of Voline's monumental history of the Russian Revolution in hard cover:

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Ferrer (paperback) . . . . . \$1.00

### WE HAVE RECEIVED A NEW SUPPLY OF:

Toward a Free Society, Charles Martin

(paperback) . . . . . \$ .75

Very few of the Spanish Anarchist souvenir pins are left. These are of the flag type only. \$1.50 each.



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**Stop the Escalator  
-I want to get off!**



## What We Stand For

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

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

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

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

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

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

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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.