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# NEWS FROM LIBERTARIAN SPAIN

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NOTE: Forthcoming issues of NEWS FROM LIBERTARIAN SPAIN will be expanded to include news and views from the international libertarian community. See last page for details.

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## REPERCUSSIONS OF THE C.N.T. CONGRESS

The 5th Congress of the CNT (Madrid, Dec. 8-16, 1979) marked the climax of the long simmering conflict between contending CNT factions. The conflict must not be dismissed as a relatively minor disagreement. It involved fundamental principles and tactics. The very survival of the CNT as a revolutionary anarcho-syndicalist organization was at stake.

The right wing reformists want to convert the CNT into a de facto appendage of the State. Like the socialist and Communist party-dominated unions (structured like the authoritarian "vertical" unions) they too, want the CNT to join the class-collaborationist machinery of the unions, employers and the State.

Like the Stalinists, Trotskyites, Maoites and other dissident marxist-leninist groups, the right wing CNT Oppositionists, also bent on capturing the CNT, launched a vicious campaign of outright lies and villification. Thus, the assertion that the rank-and-file of the CNT, in opposition to the alleged "CNT bureaucracy," endorsed the Opposition is false.

Out of 772 delegates representing 324 unions, only 51 delegates walked out of the Madrid congress. In Catalonia, only 12 out of 114 unions and in Andalusia four out of 96 unions adhered to the Opposition.

Only the Canary Island and Cantabria federations withdrew from the CNT, but a sizeable minority opposed withdrawal. The only industrial area in which Opposition factions constitute a relatively important minority is Valencia, where about 20% of the unions support the Opposition.

The accusation that the non-existent CNT bureaucracy, in league with the CNT-FAI exiles, dominated the congress is also false. In accordance with the procedures of the CNT, the decisions of the congress were ratified by The National Conference of CNT Syndicates in Barcelona, attended by 1500 delegates from almost all districts of Spain; by other ratification meetings and directly by the overwhelming majority of local unions.



Although the Opposition is by no means ideologically, numerically or organizationally qualified to represent the CNT, the usurpers brazenly staged a phony "Plenum of Regions" in Saragossa attended by only 60 delegates, fraudulently appropriated the seal and the name of CNT, elected a phony "General Secretary," and equally phony "National Committee of the CNT" and expelled anyone who questioned the legitimacy of the "Plenum."

Sam Dolgoff

(Sources: Report of the National Committee of the CNT to the International Workingmen's Association (AIT); Report of the 5th Congress of the CNT in Espoir-CNT, March 11-17, 1980; Interview with Jose Bondia, Secretary of the National Committee of the CNT, April 6, 1980.)

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Deliberate falsification about the 5th Congress of the CNT and of the CNT in general by the traditional enemies of our movement is to be expected. But we must deplore similar conduct by our own comrades in their own otherwise excellent journal, Bicicleta. In this connection we quote, in part, the open letter of the Anarchist Federation of France to Bicicleta:

"Esteemed Comrades: We have decided not to circulate the last issue of Bicicleta in our bookshop...the reason for this decision was provoked by the libelous, scandalous information...concerning the 5th Congress of the CNT convened in Madrid. Although our bookshop circulates different French and foreign periodicals containing articles with which we do not always agree, we consider it necessary to circulate different opinions within the libertarian movement. ...but we refuse to distribute material written in bad faith, systematic falsification of facts and personal insults and defamation of comrades... Our two delegates who attended all sessions of the Congress affirm that almost every page of your publication is replete with deliberate falsification of facts, outright lies and insults..."

(Letter published in the Mexican anarchist journal, Tierra y Libertad, April-May 1980.)

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The May 10th issue of the venerable and highly regarded anarchist review, FREEDOM, published an article titled, "Spain Today" by a self-styled "active anarcha-feminist in the United States" which displays her abysmal ignorance of even the most elementary facts about the CNT. For example:

--The CNT is NOT "collapsing." The membership did NOT "decline from 200,000 two years ago to only 20,000 (!)" but GREW to 300,000 today.

--Mujeres Libres, an independent, separate organization, is NOT "in the CNT" for the obvious reason that it never belonged to the CNT in the first place.



--Bicicleta could not possibly have been "expelled from the CNT" because it is not a labor paper and never belonged or was part of the CNT.

The complaint that the men of the CNT are fighting so valiantly for women's rights, devoting pages of the CNT periodicals to this problem, "dominate meetings and marches and sexist slogans fill the air at demonstrations" is an intolerable aspersion on the character of our comrades.

The writer has no right to impugn the honor and integrity of our valiant comrades of the Spanish CNT movement-in-exile, repeating the slanderous accusation that they are "sitting on a pile of money that they took out of Spain when the Republic fell..." Only an absolute stranger who knows nothing about our movement would say that the exiles have been "out of touch with their comrades in Spain for years..."

The writer is unmistakably biased in favor of the Opposition. She ignores unimpeachable, overwhelming evidence to the contrary. She obviously prefers to repeat the ridiculous accusations concocted by the discredited Opposition that the CNT is "...provoking the tensions and conflicts that threaten the very existence of the CNT..."; that the 50 Opposition delegates "...walked out of the 5th Congress protesting the progressive deterioration of free expression..."; that "...people were being expelled (from the CNT) right and left..."

Her confused article consisting of gross distortions and outright falsehoods reveals a lamentable inability to understand the vital issues which led to the split within the CNT.

Our comrades of FREEDOM would, in this case, have exercised better editorial judgement if they would have at least corrected these falsehoods and distortions in an appropriate editorial note.

Sam Dolgoff

#### CONCERNING RENOVATION OF THE CNT AND STANDING STILL

CLEAR, UNEQUIVOCAL DEFINITIONS ARE NEEDED

(The Fifth Congress of the National Confederation of Labor, CNT, held in Madrid December 8-16, 1979, provided the forum to hammer out disagreements that have been raging within the organization since it regained the legal right to function openly, organize and publish. The overwhelming majority of unions remained true to anarcho-syndicalist principles, goals, tactics and strategy. A minority, led by the previous National Committee, and supported by the well financed, attractively published magazine, Bicicleta, withdrew from the CNT and set up a dual organization with the same name and insignia.

The minority have called themselves "innovators" and "renovators." They have demanded the expulsion of the exiles from the CNT, those who carried the banner from abroad at great personal sacrifice during the 40 years of Franco's dictatorship.



The minority apparently hopes that the expulsion of the exiles would weaken the influence of traditional anarcho-syndicalist thinking and policy in the CNT, making way for "innovation" and "renovation" of the 70-year-old organization.

However, so far as can be determined from a careful reading of Bicicleta and the opposition organ, CNT, the minority led by the former National Committee have not issued a clear statement of what they want to replace the traditional philosophy and strategy of the CNT.

Federica Montseny, a leading voice of the CNT abroad, the "exiles," who is highly regarded by the majority of the CNT inside Spain, asks the minority to make a clear statement of what they propose as a substitute for the classical anarcho-syndicalist tactics and strategy. Her article follows.)

The same disc is being played over and over in the press: It is charged that the classicists, the historical traditionalists, are defending unchanging, "immobile" positions in the CNT rigidly, without compromise. Opposing them are the champions of "renovation," those who say they are opposed to "immobility," who propagate the need for a "renovated" CNT, with a strategy for the new times.

We have witnessed a number of such sporadic flowerings in our long life. Each epoch had its own theme.

After the Russian Revolution, a Russian anarchist faction advocated the adoption of an anarchist reformist platform. There were interminable polemics between those who maintained what was then also called the tenets of "classical" anarchism, and those who, on the basis of their experience in the Russian Revolution, wanted to create a more or less authoritarian type of organization. The debate passed to be replaced by similar proposals.

We had the epoch of libertarian "possibilism," practicalness. The organization must accept "practical" tactics, within the realm of possible achievement. The majority of militants opposed this position which was also known as "circumstantial." They held to the position that the good tactic was to create revolutionary possibilities and not adapt themselves to marginal and even contrary interests. The theory of practicalness also passed.

Anarchist revisionism then flowed, like one drop of water after another, into an apparent renovation. To overcome opposition to ideas that they judged suitable to the circumstances created by the proclamation of the Second Republic, they advocated the practicability of "revisionism."

This also passed. As did the advocacy of Esperanto, the proposed new universal language.



However, it must be acknowledged that the theoreticians of the past "renovations" defined themselves more clearly than the new "renovators." We knew what the "platformists" wanted. The "possibilists" told us on what they based their "possibilism," their step-by-step compromises, practicalness. The revisionists did not hold back their criticism of anarchist ideology which they judged dated by the passing of time. And if their ideas did not prosper it was because they were nothing more than shameful attempts at adaptation to systems of camouflaged reformism, which became evident quickly.

We became aware of what the famous "five pointers" wanted much later. Their inner motivations, their aspirations. They wanted to accept positions in Franco's National Union Confederation or organizations more or less directed by it.

What we want today is clear definition, unambiguous exposition of what they understand by "renovation." Let them tell us what must be modified in the strategy of union struggles and what do they propose as a solution of "immobility."

The disc about "immobility" has been overplayed, in the past and now.

Let them tell us what innovations, what renovations they want. What should be modified in our tactics and strategy. What in the tactics of direct action, anti-parliamentarianism and anti-politics, adopted by the CNT since 1919 and ratified once again today, is counter to the new struggle to win freedom from the State and capitalism.

Neither the existence of the multi-nationals nor the new forms of exploitation by capitalism are incompatible with the type of struggle and conflict between capital and labor used by the CNT in the past and now. Valid yesterday because they were ahead of their time. Valid today because we still see what lies ahead, what may be expected from unions of the reformist German or American style labor organizations.

If the privileged brains who see the defects of the CNT in the past now have something better to propose, let them tell us. Talking is not enough: that is old and useless. They must tell us: we propose to substitute this for that.

No movement was so open to debate and criticism as ours. But the debate and criticism is carried on in our own channels of communication, not using the outside press for an internal debate.

It is much easier to resort to demagoguery and insults, to dwell on past sins, than to offer honest solutions, and, finally, to have the courage to stand for our positions openly.

On the contrary, we can state that certain attitudes can be seen as a maneuver aiming for the division and discredit of the CNT which can only benefit the enemy. All other union and political forces, the government and international capitalism have joined to create an image which they expect will end the single discordant note in the general chorus of "consensus."



Clear, unequivocal definitions. We are not asking for much in view of the urgent need we all feel once and for all to understand where we are going.

Federica Montseny  
Solidaridad Obrera  
Barcelona, March 1980

(Translated by: Abe Bluestein)

#### MAY FIRST OBSERVED IN SPAIN

Although May First was born as Labor Day in the United States in the great struggle for the 8-hour-day, for which the Chicago anarchists paid with their lives and imprisonment, it is today observed abroad and almost forgotten in the land of its origin.



POLICE CHARGE AGAINST THE CNT. (Photo: CNT, Madrid, 6/80)

In Spain, the day is observed by all branches of the labor movement. The anarchists and the small left wing Marxist groups pay with martyrdom every year. The forces of "public order" attack with gunfire and clubs, killing, wounding and arresting demonstrators who criticize government policies in regional autonomy, control of education in all of Spain from Madrid, nuclear energy, among other issues.

May First demonstrations were held in all the large cities of Spain as well as many smaller towns and villages. In most places the Socialist UGT (General Union of Workers) and the communist CC.OO. (Workers' Commissions, a continuation from Franco's time) held united demonstrations. The CNT held independent demonstrations almost everywhere.



The public forces "protected" the followers of the two political trade union organizations to provide an appearance of consensus with the government. They attacked the demonstrations of the CNT and the unofficial political left movements.

In Madrid CNT demonstrators were wounded and arrested. The Madrid dailies carried a picture of a CNT demonstrator being carried away. The killing of Arturo Pajuelo was an even greater tragedy. He was participating in a demonstration of the Communist Movement, dissidents of the Communist Party who are challenging the Party leadership in the Workers Commissions in a number of places.



POLICE WAIT: PISTOLS AND GAS CANS IN THEIR HANDS (Photo: CNT, Madrid, 6/80)

CNT demonstrations were also attacked by the forces of "order" in many regional capitals throughout the country with resultant wounded and arrested.

In Andalusia, the CNT held May First mass meetings in Malaga and a neighboring city, La Linea de la Concepcion. Thousands of people attended each meeting. In addition to local and regional speakers, Federica Montseny and two active militants from Barcelona, Luis Andres Ido and Jose Luis Garcia Rua, addressed the meetings.

The major themes of the May First demonstrations were: 1) Reaffirmation of the decisions of the Fifth Congress; 2) Return of union properties seized by Franco; 3) Release of political prisoners, most of whom are CNT militants and libertarians; 4) Resistance against manipulation of the working class by the government and the political forces to create unions in the American or German style; 5) The special problems of Andalusia: reorganization of agriculture, high unemployment, nationalist autonomy and the political maneuvers connected with it.

Abe Bluestein

(Source: "Espoir/CNT," May 1980, France  
CNT, June 1980, Madrid)



## CNT "RENOVATORS" JOIN COMMUNIST MAY FIRST DEMONSTRATION IN BARCELONA

Leaders of the dual CNT, including former members of the CNT National Secretariat, Messers Marcos and Boldu (who tried to disrupt the CNT), were at the head of a small group carrying the CNT's red and black banner in the May first parade of communist Workers Commissions (CC.OO). They marched immediately behind the leaders of the communist unions.

The "renovators" of the CNT did not remain long in the demonstration because their presence created a sensation.

CNT, June 1980, Madrid

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## ANARCHISTS AMONG DISSIDENTS IN SOVIET UNION

The CNT paper published in France reports on some anarchist activity in Russia. Alexander Skobov, e.g., founded a commune in Leningrad in 1978, a discussion group that attracted a number of dissidents from other parts of Russia. Skobov published a paper which survived for three issues until the KGB pounced on it, arrested Skobov, his friend Andrei Resnikov and other members, handed out three- and six-year terms in prison and put Skobov into a psychiatric jail for an indefinite term.

In the totalitarian state any dissident publication from orthodox religious to socialist, or plain democratic, is of course non-governmental, hence, in the language of the ancient Greeks "anarchistic", and is denounced as such by the totalitarian establishment, as are also all demonstrations in public, no matter how peaceful. Where the state claims total domination over the whole tissue or web of human relationships, any non-governmental (anarchic) activity is anti-state and revolutionary.

Apparently, the dissidents of all shades of opinion are only a handful in number but, in spite of the KGB arrests, imprisonments in jails and concentration camps, and in psychiatric torture prisons, the state has failed to eradicate all opposition.

## MASSES OF ANTI-TOTALITARIANS ON ECONOMIC FRONT

In addition to a reservoir of anti-government activists and groups on the ideological front, there are uncounted masses of anti-totalitarians in the economic field. Few people are heroic enough to risk prison and concentration camps for writing anti-communist pamphlets, but virtually everyone fights for bread and butter in defiance of the government monopoly on production and distribution.

Pretending to be a monolithic state with total control over every branch of the national economy, the Russian state is in fact as great a failure in controlling the economic life of the nation as was prohibition in the USA. Where there is an attempt to stop people from drinking there inevitably arises a national bootlegging business which thrives on prohibition, transforming petty criminals into vast corporate organizations with immense resources operating with impunity.



And such is the case in the entire economy of the totalitarian state, not only in the production and distribution of moonshine but of all economic needs, food, clothing and shelter. All are obtainable in the black markets of the so-called Soviet Union, where the soviets (local, self-managing voluntary organizations) have long since been abolished with the suppression of the Kronstadt sailors and the Makhnovist peasantry.

In the unregulated market place of capitalist society it is the individual who determines what industry must produce if it wants to make a profit. Infinitely more valuable to the consumer than the vote is the economic demand he makes with the dollars he earns. And because we are in the market for food, clothing and shelter, the anarchic market place produces largely consumer goods to satisfy our demand. In the totalitarian state, however, the state and not the consumer determines what must be produced and in consequence consumer goods are scarce, while guns proliferate.

The totalitarian state seeks to devote all the resources of the country, material and human, to the production of armaments, its number one priority, leaving only the barest minimum to satisfy the material needs of the people it rules. The ruling class, the established bureaucracy, is of course provided with all it needs including luxuries available in special shops closed to the common man. The common man has to scrounge for himself and does so at the risk of prison, exile and slave labor.

#### POWER CORRUPTS - STATE CONTROLS FAIL

Under prohibition North Americans had no problem obtaining liquor (however expensive and poor in quality it often was) because the servants of the state failed to enforce its laws. Power tends to corrupt, said Lord Acton, and power was wielded by the bootlegger--the power to corrupt with the bribes he was able to distribute. The bootleggers thrived on corrupt police--in uniform or plain clothes--as well as district attorneys and judges. Though prohibition laws were repealed many decades ago, the ex-bootleggers remained powerful in so-called legitimate businesses, while the law enforcement officers remained corrupt.

This same corruption makes it possible for the black markets to thrive in Russia. Stalin's collectivization of the land led to a disastrous famine and filled the concentration camps with millions of peasants who resisted collectivization, literally to death. Some 20 million died in the process. In the end, Stalin had to yield about five per cent of the arable land to individual ownership by the peasants. This postage-sized acreage, which the peasant cultivates in spare time away from the collective, yields about fifty per cent of all the vegetables and fruits reaching the grey markets in Russia. They are called grey instead of black markets because they are legal enough. No need to bribe the police. One must note, however, that in all other ways the subjugation of the peasant is complete. As in the days of serfdom the peasant is bound to the land. Unlike the workers and city people in general, the peasant can obtain no internal passport to travel inside the state.

Individual market operations in the totalitarian industry are entirely illegal, anarchic and designated as such by the established bureaucracy. But they are also irrepressible. Vladimir Bukovsky, in his book To Build a Castle, describes the process seen at first hand when he and his fellow students were made to work in a factory producing engines for buses:



"Working in a bus factory in Moscow, my classmates and I saw for the first time what a Soviet enterprise is like--with all its deceptions, its hollow facade, and its coercion. Nobody in the bus factory was in a hurry to work; the workers preferred to sit in the smoking room until the foreman appeared, when they all dashed to their places. 'Why should we hurry for the money they pay us?' said the workmen. 'Work's not a wolf, it won't run into the forest.' In the mornings they were almost all drunk, hung over.... The turner to whom I was assigned for training, a young fellow barely older than myself, had a most original way of meeting the target. Once the foreman had told him the total, he only pretended to work. Then, when the foreman wasn't around, he would creep up to the big wooden shed where the finished parts were kept....He would quickly locate the boxes he needed in the dark and stuff his pockets with the necessary parts. Then he...spent most of the rest of the working day in the smoking room....

"Towards the end of the day...they kept slipping out of the building. They would come back holding loosely wrapped packets or cartons. They stole practically everything that could be sold on the black market or used at home. One day they stole a whole bus engine; another, a roll of material for upholstering the seats...."

#### UNIVERSAL CORRUPTION REACHES TOP CIRCLES IN SOVIET UNION

In the early days of communist rule Russia also had prohibition. It was more vicious than American (U.S.) prohibition. The production of alcohol by private citizens was punishable by death. It did no good. The peasants and other independent enterprises produced enough liquor to satisfy the needs of the public. In the end Moscow decided to monopolize the production of liquor as it had already done with all other goods. The factories and the land are now government monopolies, and corruption of the kind experienced in the USA only in the production and distribution of alcohol became universal in Russia, affecting all production, all trade and all distribution. Writes Bukovsky:

"You should have seen the fantastic cases that passed through Lefortovo (a notorious Soviet prison) in the 1960s....Whole enterprises would be beavered away--helped by Party committees and socialist competitions--while the profits were siphoned off into the private pockets of deputy ministers and management chiefs. And the opposite also occurred. Entire industrial complexes existed on paper, appeared in the plans, and were allocated funds by the state--even the Section for Preventing the Embezzlement of Socialist Property was on their payroll--in actual fact their sites were occupied by virgin Russian forests or an expanse of steppes.



"Kruschev wasn't very far from the truth when he said in one of his speeches: 'If people stopped stealing for even a single day, communism would have been built long ago.' But the thing he failed to understand was that without this stealing the Soviet economic system would not work at all. Without these rigged figures and manipulations hardly a single target would be met, and without this private, hence illegal, initiative nothing at all would be produced in our country."

Look back upon the 60-odd years of communist rule in Russia and you see government carried on with relentless hostility against the people governed, brutal in its suppression of the artist, the writer and the scientist, a coercive regime unprecedented in depth and duration; and in violence matched only by the hitlerite rage against the Jews.

Though covering one-sixth of the earth, with national resources, oil, coal, mineral wealth in abundance, totalitarian communism cannot provide sufficient food, clothing and shelter for the population of Russia in order to make rationing unnecessary. The population is made to live the life of austerity of a city under siege. The mismanagement is such that a country which was the granary of Europe under the Tsarist regime now has to import vast amounts of grain from the decadent West year after year, or let its workers starve.

And now compare this chaotic economy with Russia's next-door neighbor, Japan, which transformed itself from a feudal state into a modern industrial economy within one generation. It is now competing in the world markets successfully with all the industrialized countries of the world, in export and imports and in the stability of its currency. Japan has no natural resources: no oil, no coal, no mineral wealth and no forests. Its industrialization was achieved without years of famine, without forced expropriation of the peasantry, without slave labor and vast concentration camps, without psychiatric torture prisons, without public trials in which crimes never committed were confessed publicly, and without mass execution of former bureaucrats. Japan built its automobile and truck factories without help from Ford or Fiat. Its engineers and architects were never put on trial and made to confess unconscionable "wreckage", connivance with foreign powers and industrial espionage. At no time during this revolutionary transformation from feudalism to modernity were weary Japanese workers made to stand in line many hours for food and clothing. No Japanese has ever been forcibly evicted from his country for whatever reason nor has any Japanese ever been prevented from emigrating to try his luck elsewhere. The standard of living achieved without any natural resources far surpasses that in Russia with all its vast resources. And wherever or whenever the communist blight spreads to other countries--to Cuba, for instance--there appears the shortage of food and the long lines of tired, overworked people waiting to purchase some bread.

#### SHORTAGES OF FOOD, CLOTHING AND HOUSING AFTER 60 YEARS OF BOLSHEVIK DICTATORSHIP

More than six decades after the Russian revolution, long lines form daily in front of the food shops. Housing is obtainable only as slum dwellings where whole families have to share toilet, kitchen and bath facilities, if any. Clothing is scarce to the point where tourists are besieged by people in the street, begging to buy the shirts off their backs, even their pants and shoes, and at the same time offering cheap roubles for the tourists' dollars. Liquor is the sole luxury available to the working man without standing in line for



many hours. The state sells him this luxury while the government press chastises labor incessantly for laziness, absenteeism and drunkenness.

The scarcity of goods continue not only because the government of Russia is a military dictatorship devoted to the production of armaments alone (a war economy modeled by Lenin on the war economy of Germany in 1917, which he had seen develop from his observation post in Switzerland), but also because no totally centralized bureaucracy can, even with the best will in the world, organize an efficient and effective economy. The myriad of daily jobs that are part and parcel of industrial and agricultural production can be taken care of only locally and spontaneously. No central command has either the manpower or the time to accomplish this. Anarchism, which proposes a decentralized economy run by free and voluntary organizations of production and distribution, is denounced as a Utopian ideal but is in fact proven to be eminently practical by the demonstrated ability of the anarchic market place under capitalism to produce ample goods for the consumer. Where capitalism fails is precisely in that aspect of its structure which it has in common with the totalitarian state--the excessive power of the industrial lords, or the monopolistic corporations such as the seven sisters of the oil cartel.

Capitalism's productive ability is marred by the extreme injustice of its distribution system, but the totalitarian state has this defect to a far greater degree and, in addition, fails to produce anything that can be distributed. Under capitalism, the awards of management vs labor is about three-fold, whereas in a totalitarian state the manager receives 8-10 times the wages of a skilled worker. Nor is it possible to reform the totalitarian state, as was demonstrated when Dubcek attempted to give a human face to communist rule in Czechoslovakia. The attempt triggered the invasion by tanks of the Russian military establishment which could not tolerate the reduction of its absolutist powers.

What is called for is a world-wide movement for the abolition of slavery in Russia. Only such a movement, embracing the entire globe, can bring about the overthrow of this monstrous tyranny by reviving the original soviets, self-management groupings of workers and peasants in the days of the Russian Revolution, from March to November 1917. The Russian system of slavery, the "universe concentrinaire" created by Lenin, is the source of the plague that spread throughout the world. It makes our fight against the evils of capitalist society look like propaganda for the declared enemies of the open societies of the Western world. Only a world-wide movement for the abolition of slavery in Russia can stop the world-wide fascist-communist Russian propaganda for slavery everywhere.

Friedrich von Schiller said "We have nothing to fear from the slave who breaks his chain, nor from any man who is free." While the Western world could and did defeat fascism in war, there is no such option in meeting the menace of communist totalitarianism. A war with nuclear weapons can only destroy such civilization as we have. Our sole alternative is a relentless campaign around the clock with all the media at the disposal of the Western world for the abolition of slave labor in Russia. The attempt to abolish slavery in Hungary and Czechoslovakia failed because the font of communist slavery, the Russian militarist regime, remained intact. Only an uprising of the people of Russia, as in March 1917, can put an end to the militarist rule of their country. A Russia free of dictatorship would be no menace to the rest of the world. The liberated economy would produce butter instead of guns and a Russia freed of tyranny would inspire the oppressed people everywhere to shed their own yokes, though suffering milder forms of oppression than the monstrous totalitarianism of communist Russia.

Gabriel Javscas



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