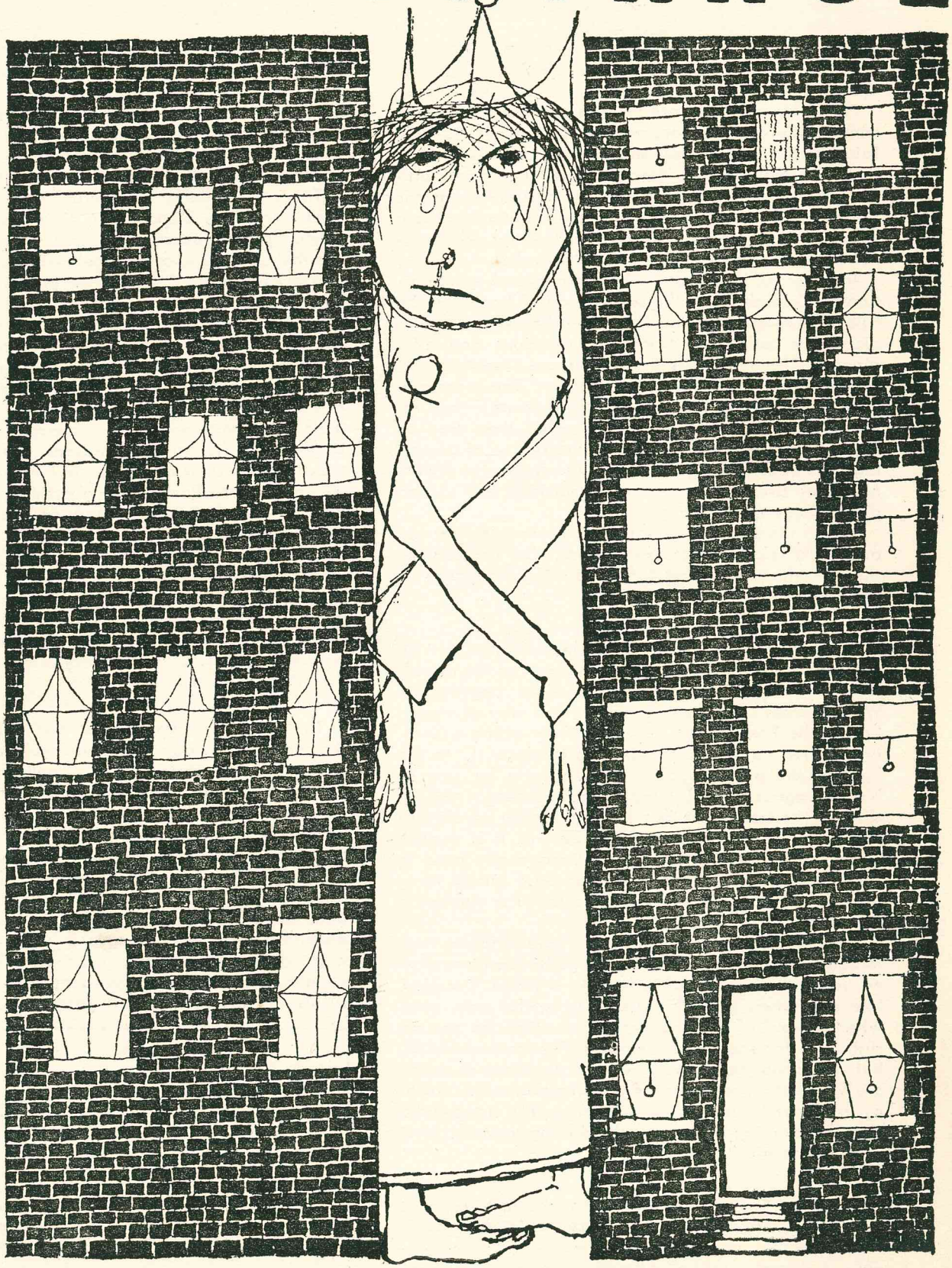
RESISTANCE



AUGUST 1953 VOL. 11 No. 1

METHODS OF RESISTANCE

Faced by a brutal foreign tyranny, as are the citizens of Central Europe, people of liberal political faiths know where they stand, they know how they feel, and they are not slow to rebel when opportunities present themselves. Faced by a subtle domestic tyranny, the same kind of people are not sure where they stand, they dare not trust their feelings, they cannot see any opportunities to resist or rebel.

In America, how many who are opposed to Inquisition by Committee, to the persecution of books, to the rule of Demagogues and Mob, find themselves torn to pieces by conflicting traditions, emotions and allegiances! The Wechslers think they are "resisting" by cooperating critically and "reluctantly." The great majority dread being branded as Communists if they resist boldly. It is hard to fathom what they may be hoping for. Their policy of patient retreat — of accepting tests of loyalty and orthodoxy in field after field— has given great courage to the Inquisition and spread dismay among its victims.

Yet in the midst of confusion, certain excellent examples of right action do appear. Let us consider three of them, standing for three different modes of resistance.

* * *

The first case is the least spectacular. Yet the instantaneous furious reaction on the part of the guardians of Americanism is a token of its importance. When Justice Douglas granted the last stay of execution to the Rosenbergs, he was merely acting according to law, as he felt required to interpret it. In the light of the position taken subsequently by two of his colleagues, Douglas would have been wrong to dismiss the issue and bar it from further consideration. Yet, as the grip of fear tightens, it is exactly actions like this that men find increasingly hard to take. Douglas is not the only man who would have done it — but it is easy to surmise that the number is dwindling.

"Due process of law" has sent many innocent men to death and prison, along with a multitude of wretched victims of our social order. As a judge, Douglas, like any other, gives his assent to **lawful** acts, even when devoid of the color of justice. We can see no right fate for such a system except its total abolition. But we cannot scorn the limits that centuries of struggle have set to the power of government, to the tyranny of hysteria and demagoguery. The man who stands firm against the blood-hungry mob, that man prizes his liberty.

* * *

A second fine instance of resistance to tyranny is the stand of the American Library Association. Their stand was fine, because they did not see only the symbol of "book-burning," indelibly associated with Nazism. They saw the totality of the threat to free access to information. They saw that they are being asked to destroy their profession, to surrender their liberty and the liberty of the public they serve.

There is nothing "unlawful" about censorship of books in State Department libraries, or about so-called "public pressure" to force librarians to weed out their libraries, or to label and restrict the circulation of "dangerous" books. Librarians are "servants," they are employed by governmental or municipal agencies, and they could easily evade their responsibility by bowing to the self-styled voices of the public, or to the demands of their trustees and employers.

On the contrary, the librarians have deliberately acknowledged their responsibility. By warning of their intention to withdraw cooperation from the State Department libraries if present practices continue, they indicate their obligation to boycott other libraries which do not allow them to provide the books that people — including despised political minorities — need and want.

Librarians being only moderately superhuman, it may be too much to hope that many will stand firm, should the pressure for censorship on the local level become heavier. But they have pointed the way for themselves — as they have pointed the way for each person who is ordered to carry out the commands of the "Americanists."

* * *

The librarians can say No, without grave risk; at the worst, they may find it difficult to work in their profession. The person who is called upon to make his "mea culpa" and offer proofs of loyalty before the Committees, has a harder way to go: blacklist if he gives the wrong answers or none, prison if he resists too heartily and with too much dignity.

No one likes to go to jail, or to be blacklisted. But the alternative is to cooperate in spreading the damnable cloud of Accusation, this vast horror of jam-packed dossiers, of "A says B is . . ." Every time a man cooperates in this procedure he adds to its weight and rarely does he escape being coerced into furnishing at least a few more names for the lists.

RESISTANCE
Vol. 11, No. 1 August, 1953
Editors: Resistance Group
Secretary: D. Wieck

Resistance, an anarchist review, is supported solely by voluntary contributions. Subscriptions are free on request. Articles are invited from our readers; the opinions expressed in signed articles are not necessarily those of the editors.
IMPORTANT: Make all money orders and checks payable to **Resistance Magazine**, Box 208, Cooper Station, New York 3, N. Y.

This great crowd of Accused People, the omnipresent threat that one's name will one day turn up on someone else's tongue, this is the essence of our modern inquisition. The Committees are indifferent to the witnesses' opinion of the system — they want the names.

Dr. Einstein's statement of the duty of the intellectual — which we may define to include that whole category abhorred by the Committees, namely "thinking persons" — to be ready to go to prison and suffer persecution, rather than foreswear themselves and contribute to the suffocation of thought, points the way. It is a hard way. But there will be liberty, as Chaplin said, only so long as men are willing to die for it.

* * *

So long as men are willing to die for it! But how easy it is, not to see that **in this particular case** liberty is at stake! How easy not to see that **this small compromise** is destroying the morale of the man who concedes it — and multiplied by thousands is the fabric of the new constriction. How hard to see that the liberty men die for in grand gestures and on barricades, was already lost by the thousand acts of surrender.

—R.

On Stalin's Death

And time has done what none could do;
Or few perhaps would dare to do.

"Yes Brothers, the tyrant is dead."
A different age might have refrained;
Yet even now we can rejoice,
In part we feel the loosening of the chains.

History may reflect our schemes,
Flatter us, accept any design;
There are some moments grand beyond
A free man's will; the supple line
Of history like a tender lover waits
Patiently, unwilling to retire;
Will submit not to an idle passion
But to a deep desire.

So Russia in nineteen seventeen;
Sympathy moved men to violence;
Life springing to new rhythms
Ended every act of indifference.
Not simple people, or selfless martyrs;
Infinite subtlety and sophistication,
Harsh hands and bitter wills
Combined to keep the thing in motion.

Lenin, bald-bearded man with Khan like eyes
Lawyer, who argued almost a lifetime
To persuade the desperate and fearful
That changing history was not a crime.

Why did he have to show
The people where to go?
What do we think we see
In a man such as he?

After Lenin's death, the serpent struggle
Began; virtue and power were blind,
And Trotsky would not take a chance;
Fastidious heart ruined passionate mind.

That cobbler's son contemned by every peer
With clopping intellect's authority;
Through cunning plan and spite
Became "A most eminent mediocrity"
A hulking bear how gracelessly he smashed
Every source of strength;
And now we fear how far those claws
Extend their vicious length.

That vast and artist's land
So late in turning to the west
Submitted to his scowling will,
Now joyless as the rest.

We stare at those twenty nine years
Recorded in the daily paper's print,
And forget that such as he are timeless;
In each of us there is his hint.

We cry of Godhead's death
Of our uncertain time, so powerless
There is no tragic king;
But see how tough God's first caress:
Do not we always turn
Toward some one who will burn?

And time has done what none could do;
Or few perhaps would dare do.

—A. Geller

ESSENTIALS OF ANARCHISM

Anarchy, as a political ideal, means simply "no government." There are, therefore, a number of theories about anarchy, all accurately labeled "anarchism." This leads on the one hand to confusion, but on the other hand to a free and presumably valuable conflict of ideas. So we shall not worry over it here. We shall confine ourselves to the essentials of what the writer considers the best in anarchist thought, and arbitrarily call it "anarchism." The intention is to lay the groundwork for dealing, in a second article, with "Objections to Anarchism."

I. The Life We Live

Anarchism begins by evaluating the society we live in — our "way of life." In this life we find too much misery and unhappiness, too much destruction, too little fulfilment of the potentialities of human beings.

First, there are the gross evils that everyone perceives: the waste, the destruction, the restrictions. Our nation is involved in endless wars, the government conscripts our young men, wealth is destroyed. Our natural riches, our scientific genius, are not shared with the impoverished nations of the world, but are the means of control and exploitation. Now, in the climate of permanent war, a great cloud of prohibition and fear is darkening the face of our people, and citizens fearful of being silenced, are beginning to learn the dismal art of silence.

Thinking people are aware, too, that after a dozen years of high prosperity, millions still live on the borderline of poverty. They know a little of what it means in America to belong to a dark-skinned race. It is easy to see that only a minority of Americans can "succeed," while the greater number are condemned to lifelong, futile pursuit of the goals of wealth and social status they have been educated to aspire to.

The truth is that the wealth, the position, the standard of living, we have learned to strive for, do not yield deep satisfaction — they are joyless and even boring. The successful man feels a dissatisfaction he tries to resolve by renewed struggle to achieve greater heights. In our emphasis on wealth and status, we squeeze out everything irrelevant to these goals, everything that could possibly be worthy of our effort, and rewarding.

We all know that work is dominated by motives of profit — but this is not the worst. It is absolutely dominated by motives of **consumption:** as profits, or wages, or (in "welfare" theories) quantity of social production. To this aim all our scientific endeavor, all our ingenuity of organization, is attuned. But man is not — need it be said? — merely a **consumer,** he is a worker. As a worker he is now only a machine-tender, a passive instrument of industries geared to production of quantity. The deterioration of the quality of goods is a painful, if minor, consequence of this one-sided economy; the debasement of work in a society dedicated to economic progress is an irony and a disaster.

(To be sure, the mechanized industrial worker is still chiefly a symbol, and a shadow-before, not yet an omnipresent fact. But when we consider the plight of the white-collar worker, lacking even the producer's claim to dignity, we see how pervasive the debasement of work is already.)

In our society, too, we take it for granted that we should be strangers to each other — strangers who work together, and "deal" with each other, by the media of authority and money-exchange. We miss, hardly aware of our loss, the qualities of social warmth, of fraternal rivalry and cooperation — we miss these satisfactions and the strength they would give us.

We take it for granted that a small number of people, more or less talented, shall make — one would hardly say "create" — under the usual consumption-oriented conditions of the market, our "works of art," our "entertainment," while the rest of us are spectators.

And we are also a people who, in grave conflict within ourselves, have created all manner of crippling make-shifts to reconcile, with the life-goals our society teaches us, with the demands for conformity made upon us, our half-perceived but real yearnings for love, for self-respect, for friendships, for creative activities. Or rather, not reconciled the two forces, but reconciled ourselves to heavy deprivations.

Now, we must praise our country for its marvelous productive techniques, its medical miracles, the high development of scientific knowledge. We have, as few societies have ever had, the basis for living. But there is still — except for a very few — nothing but existence, an unworthy survival.

It is the purpose of anarchism to look beyond survival — to look at what must be done if we are to achieve a worthy and noble life.

II. The Limits and Failures of Reform

How can these problems be met? The obvious way, the one continually tried by good-intentioned people, is to attack each problem separately. We are plagued by war — so we look for ways to achieve peace. Poverty and gross inequality are unjust and destructive — the treatment of law-breakers is a scandal to a civilized country — our educational systems make the many literate, but educate very few — and so, on these and many other fronts, men and women are working to undo the evils.

A right beginning! But it does not turn out well, and failure to pay frank attention to the results, and the reasons for the results, leaves many good-hearted people fixed in dead-ends.

In certain cases, like war, the evil stubbornly resists every effort to abolish it, or even limit it.

In other cases the evil can be modified, but its most destructive features persist. Thus, prison reform can eliminate certain brutalities, but imprisonment, no matter how modified, destroys the best qualities in a man. Or, the conditions of labor in industry are improved — the worker is protected against injury, discharge and humiliation — but the work does not, by becoming less inhumane, become human. Or, the living standards of workers are raised — but still the worker must sell his labor-power, still he is only an instrument, a hand, whose mind and inventiveness are not wanted. Nor does "economic security" transform a lonely, frightened citizen into a human being.

Or a third thing occurs: the reform can be achieved, but only by adding to the bureaucratic structure of society. Such has been the destiny of the labor movement. And bureaucracy is the deliberate—and only possible—method of government to cope with economic destitution in old age, with the reckless exploitation of natural resources, with the economic piracy of monopolists — and most of the targets of the New **Deal.**

(To illustrate the meaning of bureaucracy, consider the coal mine safety problem. In the youth of the union, state mine-inspection, plus the militant pressure of local miner-leaders, worked adequately wherever local vitality existed. Centralization of the union destroyed this vitality. To counter-balance the mine-owner-dominated safety bureaus, a **federal** system of inspection has been created. The gain is unequivocal; but multiplication of authority cannot meet the need. The persons who can and should guard their safety, and make it primary rather than an afterthought, are the miners. But they have abdicated their power.)

Undeniably, these many efforts respond to real needs, and their achievements are not negligible. But still the quality of life does not improve. Almost invariably, the evil is beyond reach; or it can be touched only at the edges; or it can be modified only by increasing the evil of bureaucracy. Meanwhile, the influence of war, the influence of habituation to our way of life, are giving our society an increasingly ugly tone.

III. Why the Anarchist Proposals are so Extreme

If we look at the history of each reform-effort, we can see that neither lack of good-will, nor ignorance, has defeated or limited them. Reform has failed because each of these evils fulfills an essential function in our society (or is bound up with an essential function), and none can be arbitrarily ripped out of the total pattern. In the best cases, the evils can be mitigated only by the pyramiding of bureaucracy. In the worst cases, not even this much relief is possible.

How could the unequal property system be upheld without police and prisons? How can capitalist exploitation be mitigated, if not by the superimposition of bureaucracy? How could there be community when people are competing desperately with each other, when we are frightened of each other, hostile toward each other? How can our lives as workers become different, while consumption and war remain the dominant motives? How can there be war, and no centralized government? How centralized government, and no war? The list could be extended almost indefinitely. These are the dilemmas of reform.

Our society does change constantly, of course — but always it turns on the poles of power, war, the State. It becomes more bureaucratic or less, more war-like or less, more restricting or less — there can be all the stages from Capitalism to State Communism, from limited democracy to totalitarianism. These variations can mean the difference between tolerable and intolerable existence. But they do not allow, in the best of them, for the growth and development of Man. For the great majority of people, there is no life, merely laborious survival.

In order to give a new tone to our society, a new quality to our life, we must change the central principles of our society — we must learn how to live socially, and work together, without the profit-and-power motive; without a monopoly property-system; without centralized political authority; without war. This is why the anarchist proposals are so extreme, so sweeping; and why anything short of them brings disappointment, only superficial change.

(We do not contend, of course, that reforms are worthless, when they relieve suffering, or increase liberty. When these ends can be achieved only by bureaucratic methods, however, they do indirect damage which their positive value may not balance. How these specific choices are to be made, in terms of our values, is too complicated to consider here.)

IV. The Hypothesis of Freedom

Anarchists, anarchists alone, propose to reorganize our common life without the crippling destructive principles of power, monopoly-property, and war.

The principle which anarchists propose to substitute is Freedom — but freedom in a sense quite different from its debasement in the wars of propaganda. We contend that men need to be free of restriction in order to grow to the limit of their powers — and that when these powers are released from inhibition, entirely new solutions to our economic, political and social problems will be possible.

Our anarchist philosophers have emphasized different facets of our un-utilized "human resources":

(1) Man tends to be rational, to be able to recognize his problems and solve them. A false education, from infancy to adulthood, and the "positive institutions" by which society has tried to preserve order and morality among a bewildered population, have crippled these powers. Let men be free, from the first, encouraged to discover their own abilities and own interests, let them be ungoverned, and they will tend to have "right opinions."

(In the false education of today, the suppression and distortion of sensual pleasure certainly plays a dynamic role. I think it remains moot whether it plays a decisive **initiating** role — and will therefore be a special problem in achieving freedom — or is a reflex of social unhappiness, inhibition of sociality, and other factors. In either case, its crippling influences make the sexual mores, both here and now and in respect to a free society, a natural major concern of anarchists.)

(2) The self-interests of people clash, but we need not dread this clash. It is destructive now because people submit to others, because they acknowledge Power and Authority. It can be productive, it will lead men beyond anything the isolated individual could possibly conceive of — and Authority is just such an isolated individual — but only if men are unashamedly themselves, not possessed by Ideas, Gods, Authorities, or Neuroses.

(3) Men posses a natural tendency to solidarity, to cooperation. This tendency, our social institutions check and even suppress. Let men rid themselves of these constraints, and we will come into our biological heritage of mutual aid.

(These are the major lessons to be drawn from Godwin, Stirner, and Kropotkin.)

Reason, fraternal conflict, mutual aid — these powers of men, stifled in our lives today, can be the principles, the heart of a new society. Men must be free of the control and restrictions of economic and legal authorities, free of coercion to conformity: but these constraints exist because men **accept** them, so they must be **willing** to be free. This is the hypothesis of freedom.

Let men be free, and then the problems of economics and politics can find good solutions. No longer need our industries be owned monopolistically by corporations or government — the practice of voluntary cooperation, the principle of equality, will allow new kinds of organization. Released from cramping monopoly ownership, our engineering and managerial ingenuity will find ways to balance our interests as consumers and as workers. Our political life will no more be centralized in national government, and men and women will gain sovereignty over their destinies. The individual can be liberated from demands for conformity — we will need no more prisons — and so on through a host of "social problems" which remain unsolvable so long as the fundamental principles of the society are unchanged.

(Oh, yes! the solutions will tax our ingenuity. But at last they will be, in principle, possible, and the freedom of communities and groups to try even the most extreme experiments should accelerate the discovery of the best solutions.)

V. "Man is Perfectible"

Nothing less than Paradise! — so it must seem to those afraid of bold dreams. Certainly we cannot fail to confirm the charge that anarchists are visionaries who solve all imaginable problems — in the imagination. For no society like we suggest has ever existed.

No! On the contrary! The vision is modest; it is only because we are habituated to a meager life, only because we have timidly accepted the traditions of capitalist-militarist society, that freedom appears fantastic. Once achieved, it will doubtless seem like no more than a stage in human progress.

Nevertheless, facts are facts, and freedom is only a hypothesis. Not that anarchists have not, whenever possible, grasped opportunities to make the hypothesis real — but then, as in Russia and Spain, this dangerous idea has been crushed before it could show its merits (or, if we are wrong, its demerits).

We believe it conforms to the best knowledge about men and society; we believe each of us can feel in ourselves the needs, the desires, the potentialities to which it answers. "Man is perfectible" — which means "in our societies we have not begun to explore the potentialities of man."

History is not, as man used to hope, marching us toward our freedom. We claim only this: we see in man the potentiality of living in freedom; we know there are times, now and then, when social conflicts create the demand for liberty, for equality, for justice, and moments when the grip of the past is loosened and choice becomes possible. At such times, can the desire for freedom, the love of freedom, be evoked in people by anarchists? This is our hope.

The present is not a time when men feel an excess of power, or ideals seem possible of realization. Our time is permeated by despair and deadness of spirit. To submit to this spirit, is simply to confirm it. Those who are able to perceive that this is a time of degradation, and not an inevitable expression of man's nature, have a responsibility to hold before their countrymen an image of what men **may** be, if we gain our freedom and humanity.

VI. The Necessary Vagueness of our Conception of Freedom

A true description of freedom, of a free society, is unfortunately very indefinite, and does not at all compare with the utopian blueprints it is so easy to whip up. If someone outlines a scheme of social organization and says, "This is freedom," he is not speaking of freedom. Men can be free if they **choose**, by their own actions, the social organization they will live within; and unless, of course, the organizations they choose permit them to retain their freedom. (Man is not born free — even in a free society; it is a quality he must earn.)

We can, as particular schools of anarchism have, work out in detail our vision of a free society. If we never forget that these Utopias are not "the only practical freedom," they provide a way to test imaginatively the hypothesis of freedom. When opportunities finally arise, then we shall have to think through the first acts of freedom; but first people must gain the will to be free. What marvelous arrangements they will invent **then**, it is hardly worth the trouble to try to guess.

VII. Why Freedom Must Be Earned

Freedom, we have said, cannot be won by gradual reform, for the evils are interdependent, the system is a whole. Freedom must be achieved integrally; but how?

"This life will not be thrust upon us, we shall have to earn it."

Because our idea of Freedom is so radical, most persons slightly acquainted with anarchism never grasp it. They persist in the illusion that we, like the political parties, have a **plan** which we seek the power to **impose**. We do not have a plan, nor anything to impose. We have an Idea, which can be realized only when, and if, people desire it and will it.

When we say, people can become free only by will, only by acts of freedom, we are not juggling words. We mean that freedom is not merely the absence of restrictions — it is responsibility, choice, and the free assumption of social obligations.

(Herbert Read has suggested reasons for using "liberty" to denote the absence of restrictions, and "freedom" to denote the positive qualities of responsible sociality, etc. Following these definitions, the hypothesis here is that, without Freedom, liberty can endure only at the price of social rigidity, as in the less authoritarian primitive societies. For Western Man, with his vast stores of knowledge and traditions of "curiosity," such a choice, were it desirable, is hardly possible.)

In the achievement of freedom, the conscious will to freedom is obviously not the only factor — but it is the essential factor. When people begin to lose faith in the old order and a revolution occurs, communalistic, democratic institutions invariably spring up to perform the functions of the fallen institutions. As at all times, the work of anarchists is to show people how they can extend their freedom — because if they do not, authority speedily reconstitutes itself.

Again and again, revolutionary thinkers have made the mistake of believing that a revolution can be saved if they gain power, and impose the "right" institutions. But no institutions can complete the revolution, unless freely chosen by the people. The tragic alternative is the tyrannical revolutionary bureaucracy.

Progress toward freedom consists of the awakening of desire for freedom in the apathetic masses. It consists in **resisting and undermining even the revolutionary institutions**, when they do not yet represent the free actions of the people. Even theoretically, this idea is difficult; but by it, we can understand why revolutions have all turned out so badly, **why a revolution is desirable only if it can lead toward freedom.** People who are deprived of masters, but do not desire to be free, have never had difficulty in finding new masters.

VIII. The Slow Progress of Anarchism

We have certainly left "reality" far behind — and though it is not fashionable, it is not a bad thing. But we can act only in the present. To achieve freedom, "people" must desire and will it; but we know perfectly that people have not the slightest inclination to do so, yet. That people are human, or proletarians,

continued on page 18

A Sunset

Led by its noises to the noisy shore
where the three stripes are, the tawny bar
the blue-black water and the pale sky,
(I am loyal to that undulating flag)
and astonished by the sun, and interested
in the cross-waves, and wet by the spray,
I gave me to that, so I gave me that
unreservedly within the bounds of the permitted.
What's that mean? as I used when I was little
to play in the sand, happily enough,
as I had a mandate, as if I had a mandate.
Meant now: to notice the objective thing
and calculate her qualities and times;
and how thereby it was with me, and **thereby**
to manufacture poems unreservedly.
But as I breathed in that far free flung beach
that hypnotizes us into awaking
from our illusions of servility
— for the space is open and the sea is wild
and the daylight is indiscriminate,
and these work as they can not as they may —
suddenly the long dragon that lay coiled
around the horizon, oh, unbit his tail
and was no longer captive.
I was trembling
— he swam inshore — it was whistling shrilly
from every quarter his voluminous
restlessness revived in every mirror
familiar pictures and his mouth spit fire,
the water burned in his majestic wake.
I'd shriek but this was my blood-relative
terrible, but he was not eerie.
So he drew near and clambered on the shore
thru the living breakers. I was cowering
in the dune-grass.
He said in a sober voice:
"The permitted making of your honest poems,
you obedient and industrious little boy,
has taken you beyond the boundaries of
permission
despite yourself. Now it is evening,
you must begin."
I shook with non-attachment,
my interior sun was drowning in the tide
(I pray will sometimes ebb), and my face
dartingly reflected the conjunction
moment by moment of the influences.

Paul Goodman
Ocean Beach, July 1952

THE NAZI COMPLEX

by John Dickinson

The Germans lived for 12 years under the National Socialist Government. Seven years after that regime came to its catastrophic close, my family and I lived for ten months in Germany. Twelve years of subjection to such a regime was enough to leave lasting traces among the German people. Ten months of living among these people was enough to enable us to observe some of these traces.

The effects of this regime have been thickly overlaid and often modified by postwar events. Among the most significant of these events has been the way in which the Germans were subjected to the judgments about themselves which developed in the conquering countries during the war years. These judgments included the following assertions: the Germans supinely accepted the advent of Hitler; they gladly submitted themselves to a totalitarian regime; they knew of the excesses of this regime, and failed to protest against them; they supported Der Fuhrer in his megalomanic lust for world domination. In addition, certain older stereotypes were incorporated into these war-developed judgments: the Germans' love of order and obedience; their innate militarism; and their submissiveness towards authority. Finally these judgments were rounded out with elaborate and poker-faced theories about the perverse "psychology of the Germans."

On the basis of extensive and penetrating discussions with a great many Germans, as well as on the basis of general historical considerations, I believe that the main features of these judgments were either untrue, or were distortions the purpose of which, during the war, was to promote the war effort, and before the war, to absolve the people who held these views from any sense of their own responsibility for what was happening in Germany. This is a large belief to state without proof. I do so, partly because I am convinced it can be adequately proved, partly because, even if unprovable, it is the one assumption which best accounts for many of the personal phenomena observable in Germany today in relation to the Nazi complex.

I talked with only one unreconstructed and unashamed Nazi. This was Herr Klopfer. He was proud of the minor honors he had won in the party, true to his Fuhrer, and convinced that the Nazis had been the redemption of Germany. He was and is anti-semitic, though it must be pointed out that he is probably sincere in his belief that all "those stories" about the extermination camps are just propaganda. I would like to be able to say that the widespread dislike for Herr Klopfer by his fellow townsmen is a result of his Nazism, but this would be a somewhat misleading part truth. It is true that many of them told me with great distaste about the manner in which he used to strut around in his SA uniform, bullying not only people who weren't in the party, but often enough his party comrades as well. In the main, however, the dislike for Herr Klopfer can be attributed to the fact that he is, and apparently always has been, an unpleasant, disagreeable person. Ten years ago many people objected to him without objecting to his politics. There is also resentment of the fact that Herr Klopfer, arrogant Nazi that he was, and faithful Nazi that he is, has acquired a very minor, but comfortable position as public servant.

In some ways, though, Herr Klopfer is an excellent example of what has happened to the thinking of a good many Germans, most of whom are neither as unintelligent nor as unpleasant as he is. He, of course, felt that the views of the people who judged him after the war, and sent him through a rather severe process of denazification, dispossession, and disqualification were wrong-headed and unjust. They failed to appreciate the sacrifices which Germany had made in the effort to save the world from Bolshevism. He now sees the present situation as completely justifying this point of view. Herr Klopfer is stupid.

Nevertheless, there are many Germans, neither stupid nor neo-Nazi, who share essentially the same view, though they formulate it somewhat differently.

It may safely be said of old Herr Boehm that, while he was a faithful civil servant and a patriotic German, he was never a convinced Nazi. He joined the party several years after it took over because his superior had told him to do so or take the consequences. The consequences as he saw them were loss of the profession he had occupied for 25 years with consequent loss of his pension, the practical impossibility of getting another job, both because of party disfavor and because you just don't change professions in Germany. He joined. Blame him if you will, but ask yourself the question: in the milder climate of America, how often does a rising young executive refuse to join a country-club which his boss has recommended and has so refused in protest against the club's policy of excluding Negroes and/or Jews? It happens, of course. It happened in Germany too. In 1933 Herr Stock was a socialist and an employee of the Reichsbahn, or railroads. He refused to "come around" and was dismissed. He was never sent to a concentration camp, but his life from then until 1945 was a miserable succession of unemployed periods, jobs for which he had no training, and major and minor harassments by the Nazis.

It is probably true that Herr Stock was statistically exceptional, that it was a relatively small minority who refused to join the party when they were confronted with the choice of doing that or losing their jobs and worse. Nor do I hesitate to say that in similar circumstances, most Americans would have done the same. How many people, anywhere, will give up their source of livelihood for a principle? All honor, of course, to those who did and do, but those who wouldn't have little right to criticise and calumniate those who didn't.

Herr Gunthersheim was an anti-Nazi; his understanding of and humane tolerance for those of his fellow Germans who went into the Nazi party because they had to, was very good to see. Margerete, a young executive, was never a member of the Nazi party, but she was honest. She said, "I was never faced with the alternative: join the party or lose your job. If I had been, I probably would have joined." Actually, she had lost a good job because she had opposed the order of her superiors who, though not Nazis, were acting under a Nazi directive.

It seemed clear, on the other hand, that in such cases of forced membership, the situation was seldom an open and shut case of a strongly convinced anti-Nazi being forced to knuckle under to the dictates of the party. Probably most Germans who did not want to join, were not active anti-Nazis, or even convinced anti-Nazis. They didn't like certain aspects of the party, they thought Hitler was a ridiculous upstart, they just weren't "joiners." Moreover — and I'm convinced that this is true — they did not know about or appreciate the depths to which the party had sunk. I talked with Herr Weinberg, a Jew who, after spending three months in Buchenwald in 1938, was released and allowed to return to his own community where he has remained ever since. I asked him about the release procedures, and he told me, in considerable detail. He was explicitly warned against speaking of his experiences; he was under constant surveillance in his community. "If anyone asks you how it was in Buchenwald," he said, quoting the SS officer who lectured the prisoners about to be released, "you just tell him to get himself sent up here; he'll find out. But if you say one word more than that, you'll be back here immediately, and you'll never get out."

Of course, Herr Weinberg did say more than that: to his wife, at night, in bed. And perhaps to a few other friends whom he trusted implicitly. But it was dangerous. These friends dared not quote him to other friends. They might say, they had heard such and such, but this too was dangerous. It was through such channels as these that rumors, fragmentary reports did get around. But consider what Ingrid said to me: "Sure, I heard several rumors about the conditions in the camps. I was on the fence at the time, not a Nazi, not an anti-Nazi. One day I met a man who had been in a KZ. I asked him how it had been. He told me absolutely nothing." Naturally, Ingrid now knows why he told her nothing. He didn't trust her, and from his point of view, with reason. Yet one can surely remark, how different it might have been for Ingrid, and for thousands like her, had such men been able to speak. How many people in America, when they read a newspaper report about alleged brutality in the backrooms of police stations, feel a personal concern strong enough to move them to try to find out for themselves?

Needless to say, another element entered into the situation too. Unless a German were a strong and principled anti-Nazi, it is unlikely that he would **want** to believe a report which cast his regime and his fellow Germans in a contemptible light. And, vice versa, he was far from being irrational if he dismissed such reports and rumors as the results of efforts by anti-Nazis to bring discredit upon the regime . . . and often this meant dismissing them as "Communist propaganda." In short, then as now, the German was in the grip of a set of circumstances against which it required superhuman efforts to assert oneself. One of the most tragic aspects of the situation can be seen in the way every slight evasion of personal responsibility contributed to the next. Every Hitler salute, every oath of loyalty to the system, every ignoring of an anti-semitic measure not only made the next one easier, but undermined the individual's self-respect with a destructive sense of guilt. One girl told me that the most terrible feeling she ever experienced was when, in November 1938, she walked several blocks out of her way in order to avoid an anti-semitic demonstration in Berlin. Her self-justification was the universal one: "what could I have done to help?" It was true — she could have done practically nothing — except maintain her sense of being a responsible human being. Later on this possibility was removed, when guilt by association became the prevailing principle of rule. It is one thing for an individual to say, I will oppose this thing if I have to die for it. It is something else again for him to say: I will oppose this thing, knowing that not only may I die for it, but my relatives and friends will come under suspicion, or be sent to a concentration camp, or even be shot because of what I have done. I think it was in Germany that I first learned in all its utter horror the physical and moral catastrophe which is implicit in the acceptance of guilt by association.

It is true, when all is said and done, that the Germans did support Hitler. To say, however, that they supported him in a megalomanic lust for world domination is something else again, and is not true. There may have been a tiny minority who saw Hitler's action as the attempt to gain world hegemony for Germany, and some of this minority undoubtedly supported Hitler with this end in mind. By far the larger number, however, looked upon Hitler as the man who pulled Germany out of the economic and spiritual abyss into which she had fallen. And this group included people who were by no means enthusiastic or even luke-warm supporters of Hitler's policies. They saw him as the leader who could give Germany military and economic security; as the man who had promised "Arbeit und Brot" and had fulfilled that promise to a degree which convinced many of the sceptics; nor can it be denied: they saw Hitler as the man who saved them from a Bolshevist ogre which he and his party had built up.

That nationalistic pride, a tradition of authoritarianism and militarism entered this picture is unquestionably true. On top of the German's underlying feeling for his "Heimat" or homeland (usually in the sense of the locality in which he was born and raised) it was not difficult to erect the belief that Germany was the greatest country in the world. On top of a tradition of order and authority in the family, it was not difficult to erect a system of order and authority in government. And on top of a tradition of the soldierly virtues of discipline and obedience, it was not hard to erect a system in which no one protested when every soldier was referred to as a hero. Admitting that the result was tragic, can the underlying elements be used to condemn the German?

What American will dare get up in public and say he thinks his country isn't the greatest country in the world? Who will come out against order and authority in the government or family? How far does a buck private — or a general, for that matter — get by saying he doesn't think an order is reasonable and he won't obey it? And how many Americans do lift their eyebrows when any soldier who has been sent to Korea is referred to as a hero?

The point is that at the end of the war the Germans were explicitly and implicitly condemned for all these things. Herr Kloster had been unemployed for four years when the state employment service sent him to apply for an accounting job. It turned out to be accountant for the local Nazi party headquarters. He got the job in spite of the fact that he wasn't a Nazi. But this was an oversight which was corrected a few months later when his superiors told him that he'd better get into the party, and they thought they could arrange it for him in spite of the fact that at that time the party's rolls were closed. Four years of unemployment is a strong incentive for complying with the boss's wish on the new job. He joined, though he certainly was not an enthusiastic Nazi. He was competent in his work and was promoted — which meant being given a higher rank in the party as well as more responsibility and pay in his job. Yet there was universal agreement among his fellow townsmen that he was not a Nazi at heart, that, in fact, he was "contra," and many cases were cited where he had effectively helped people who had gotten in trouble with the party. Nevertheless, when the occupation came, he was thrown into an internment camp, was compelled to pay a heavy fine, and was stripped of his civil rights.

There were many similar cases. To have been in the Nazi party was a crime, to have been a German was to have been a Menschenfresser, or cannibal, as Herr Schroeder said to me. Herr Mittelsdoerfer's complacent belief that the Jews he saw being put on a train were "being sent to the East in order to do agricultural work" may certainly be condemned; perhaps for ignorance and gullibility, certainly for accepting the idea that human beings who had done no wrong (though, of course, so many important people had said they had done wrong, or would do wrong) could be forced to leave their homes and families; but the belief was in all probability sincere, and it's no wonder that Herr Mittelsdoerfer rejected the judgment that equated him with the SS officer at Ausschwitz. Frau Heidt realizes now that terrible things were done in her name, in the name of the German people. Yet try as she might, she can't remember her experiences in the BDM (Union of German Girls) as anything but pleasant.

So it is that many Germans **feel** they have been treated unjustly, even though they recognize that there were terrible crimes committed which must somehow be atoned for. On top of this, this feeling of injustice was as completely misunderstood by the conquerors as were the deeds and the responsibility for these deeds themselves. So that this feeling gave rise to the additional stereotype that the Germans were petulant, and unrepentant, and whining.

The results? As the years have gone by and the power situation has changed, the German who in 1945 was terribly disillusioned, terribly perplexed, often deeply conscious that somehow he had been involved in something terribly wrong, has changed. He sees clearly that whatever has been done for him, east or west of the iron curtain, has been done in order to gain his support. His disillusionment has hardened into a pervading cynicism. He may vote, and he may have a party, but he has very little faith. Opportunistic Nazis have become more opportunistic non-Nazis, and idealistic Nazis — there were such — have, in many cases, begun to feel that the only reasonable way of life is to look out for No. 1. They have seen the German soldier scorned, condemned, tried before a world tribunal; and in the course of a few years they have seen the Russians recruiting their 60,000 People's Police and the Western powers their 70,000 Labor Service Troops with both sides beckoning to the Germans with the offer of a "real" army. He has seen almost every day new anti-communist propaganda posters whose virulence reminds him of Goebbels' Anti-Cominform campaigns. In general, he may support the West, but he sees it as the lesser of two evils, and views most Western propaganda about freedom and democracy as rank hypocrisy. Moreover, the dynamics of the situation are such that, if he were an ardent anti-semite before, he probably is still, or once again, an ardent anti-semite. If he believed in rigid authority and order before, the chances are he believes in them more strongly now. It takes more than victory to make defeat.

Agnes Inglis:

Recollections & Impressions

by James J. Martin

The death of Agnes A. Inglis on January 29, 1952, in Ann Arbor, Michigan removed from the scene another of the few remaining free-swinging independent radicals of the pre-World War One era in this country. A resume of her career in conventional obituary form is unnecessary for the considerable number of radicals and libertarians all over the world who came to know her in one way or other. Her passing, in her eighty-second year, deprived many of these people of their only common contact, an irreparable loss to them. But more than that, it finished the work of the most indefatigable collector of the printed and documentary materials of the radical movement anywhere in the world. In the process of a score of working years she developed the core library of the old Detroit worker-anarchist Joseph A. Labadie into the best known and probably the most comprehensive collection of printed and written propaganda of the radical movement anywhere.

To a few of the thousands of students incessantly crossing the campus diagonal of the University of Michigan she was a slightly-built, stooped old lady with deeply lined face and kind brown eyes who dressed in long-out-of-style clothing, quaint hats and shapeless shoes, employed in some obscure capacity in the huge general library. But with the exception of a handful of graduate students working on themes dealing with labor or social history, hardly anyone knew her as curator of the Labadie Collection, hidden away in the top of the bookstack area. The materials in the Collection do not circulate and access to the area itself was not generally available, factors which tended to favor its obscurity and that of the principal person connected with it. Nor did she feel that it should have been otherwise. It is an occasion when one encounters a person who enjoyed the quiet of anonymity as much, or who thrived at a labor so little noticed, commended or rewarded.

As an acquaintance of hers for ten years and a close associate for the last six years of her life, it was my good fortune to be in almost daily contact with her for months at a time. The impressions gathered over this period of time make a complex picture of a person who contradicted the usual stereotype of the social process of aging: as Agnes Inglis grew older, she grew more radical. In fact, her extreme stands on economics, politics and religion narrowed down her circle of social acquaintances among the apprehensively conventional, with whom she was placed by circumstances, to the point of elimination.

In scores of long conversations I never found her interested in talking freely about the early years. She seemed willing to write off the first forty years of her life as a fantasy existence, spent within the environmental limitations of private school education, comfortable means, Presbyterianism, and the futile stop-gap social work endeavors associated with them. She often remarked whimsically that the time spent in humanitarian activities in the Franklin Settlement House in Detroit and Hull House in Chicago was dismissed as "do-goodism" by completely unreconstructed radical friends, but she was inclined to laugh a bit about the matter and let it pass. Although reminiscing occasionally of the loneliness and desolation as a young girl, regret and remorse were luxuries I never knew her to indulge in.

Agnes Inglis' position in the field of unconventional thought and behavior was bound at both ends by the English suffragette Sylvia Pankhurst. In 1910 they met at a sorority luncheon in Ann Arbor which preceded a speaking engagement for the latter in town. Agnes remarked to me that "the girls didn't appreciate her, but it was quite an event for me." Her gradual estrangement from middle class gentility began at this point. It is a coincidence that in the summer of 1951, during the ebb tide of her energies, one of the last persons whom she was able to help out with information was Mrs. Pankhurst's son Richard, who was engaged in a study of the nineteenth century English radical William Thompson. It is probably because of this impressive initiation that the "woman movement" enrolled her as a permanent participant. She gave up at an early date the notion that acquiring the vote meant the end of sexual discrimination, but feminine equality was a matter she took up as a lifetime concern.

Of far greater significance in determining the direction of her later intellectual journey was a pre-war meeting with Emma Goldman, which she often said was her first contact with the radical movement. A testimony to the lasting impression of this meeting is a sheaf of a hundred or more letters from Emma which were placed in the Collection long ago. It is because of this and many similar deposits that the correspondence files of Agnes Inglis are part of the most valuable materials assembled there. Included in it are letters from almost all the radicals of note the world around whose careers are spanned by the two world wars. They discuss the technical aspects and the ideological content of radical literature and publication in half the countries of the world, as well as a wealth of personalities of the most comprehensive order. No one to my mind who has ever used the Collection for research has failed to leave it impressed at least in this respect.

As a resident of Detroit and Ann Arbor, her active participation in socio-political controversy during and after the first World War attracted much attention from friends and family members. Ultimately it led to a substantial departure from both. Her efforts on

behalf of political prisoners, members of the IWW, stray aliens and friendless radicals and others, unfortunate and unlucky enough to run head on into the reaction released by the conformity drives attending the plunge of the U.S.A. into the fighting, are well known. They need little comment here. The persons she helped are her best memorial. But it did earn her the repute of a radical among the police, and she remained one the rest of her life. She often described the stormy days of 1917-1921, recalling the activities of the radical "auxiliary" with high elation and without a particle of regret. She never understood the second war, with its different and much more unobtrusive and efficient programs for absorbing and anaesthetizing radicals and deviates from accepted avenues of expression. She spent the second war period in an uneasy waiting, convinced that we were becoming more and more like the enemy we were fighting, and took heart only from the occasional peep of news which managed to slip out concerning the scattering of war objectors the world around. Of post-war politics she tired rapidly, and would lapse into prolonged silence frequently after an ironic remark or two about the "post-war planning" and the "golden post-war future" of the professional publicists. Her outlook on the immediate future became more and more Orwellian, talking from time to time of our "Russianization" in our efforts toward impeding the Soviet Union. Like her occasional correspondent Steven T. Byington, a contemporary, and former close associate of the American anarchist Benjamin R. Tucker, she believed the whole Western world was about to crawl under a blanket of totalitarianism and enjoy its illusionary warmth for an indefinite period of time to come.

The era of Harding-Coolidge normalcy was anticlimactic in that it provided none of the heady excitement of participating in the incidents growing out of the wartime tensions. There were no flights from raids, such as when the student radicals in Ann Arbor invited the anarchist architect John Beverley Robinson to speak under private auspices, or the memorable occasions which featured appearances of personalities such as Emma Goldman. The exigencies of war scattered the group, and the twenties were spent in gathering up the frayed ends. This was the time her numerous contacts with working people and radical intellectuals blossomed into permanent friendships. The freedom and camaraderie experienced at proletarian picnics and gatherings during this time permanently sealed her off from pre-war days. She often told me that from this time on she never again seemed to "enjoy the company of the bourgeois." Early in the decade she first got to know Joe Labadie and became a frequent visitor at his home. This led to her introduction to his famous labor and radical library, a substantial accumulation of material which had been in the possession of the University of Michigan since 1911. From the late '20's on, it became practically her major interest in life. She gradually identified herself with it to such a degree that its care and needs engrossed her energies almost all the time, and an appreciable part of her means as well. It certainly should share her name some day.

Constant correspondence in efforts at promoting donations to it resulted in an amazing response. Duplicate copies of publications unlisted anywhere else, and scarce periodical runs unknown to the standard union lists of serial publications, became not uncommon. With her growing network of contacts and friends and aided by sympathetic library superiors, the shelves of the space originally provided for the Collection soon overflowed. But much of the material was at best only partially classified. No one ever learned to use the peculiar card catalog she devised, and librarians trained in the orthodox manner shook their heads in confusion at the system of classification. But contributions and mail from a dozen or more countries often crossed her desk in a single week, as well as requests for information on almost every fragment of the radical and libertarian movement. Her memory was astounding, and began to give out only in the very last few weeks. Debilitated though she was by old age and a diabetic condition, her mental processes did not deteriorate. It was the opinion of a few who spent extended periods of time listening rather than talking that she had forgotten more about the radical movement than most of the alleged experts and authorities knew.

Here she spent, mostly in an unpaid capacity, the better part of twenty years, gradually expanding the periphery of her knowledge of the subject matter with which the Collection was concerned. Her own money went off in payment for subscriptions to obscure publications of several kinds, and cash of varying denominations often accompanied letters to old radical friends who had seen the early days through and were now living in precarious circumstances. Circles of anarchists of Russian, Italian and Spanish origin became her friends in Chicago, Detroit, Boston and New York. Toward the end she started receiving more mail from California, as contemporaries tended to locate there in retirement.

The Collection became a home for the materials of a considerable number of ideologies for which Agnes Inglis did not especially care, but she meticulously preserved and noted everything that came. She said on several occasions that she hoped that its universality would continue, that no doctrinaire filtering of its materials to make it conform to someone's narrow view of intellectual purity would take place. There was a strong streak of sentimentality in the structure of the Collection, however. Many things which were housed there were quite out of place. Numerous books and pamphlets of no relation to the field of radical and labor literature whatever were kept there simply because they had once been the personal possessions of radical donors. This was a matter which was a subject of good-natured bickering between us for some time, and no attempt was made to bring the "dispute" to any positive conclusion.

I do not know anyone who ever figured out Agnes Inglis' personal philosophy. Long contact with the spectrum of libertarian-radical-labor ideology left her favorably predisposed toward almost all its shadings, or at least toward the persons involved, if she found their beliefs too contrary to hers. One could take for granted that if a social situation involved an underdog, her sympathy was with him. Her loyalty was well-dispersed among a large number of kindly gentle people who advocated a wide variety of nonviolent solutions to mankind's economic and social problems. Of the latter day group she prized very highly a number of anarchists and syndicalists, but

there was a strong affection for the proletarians of the nineteenth century in her makeup. She esteemed especially the land reformers such as Thomas Skidmore, and to a lesser degree, George Henry Evans. Other favorites from this era included Godwin, Josiah Warren and John Francis Bray, the old English reformer who lived most of his life in Michigan, and about whom she was a world authority. The labor-for-labor ideas of Warren long impressed her, as did some of the works of Kropotkin, especially **Mutual Aid**, which complemented the vast literature in the Collection dealing with the hundreds of communitarian experiments native to this country. The cooperative exchange of labor products of people living close to the land was probably her ideal social order. She never seemed to tire of the discussion of the land problem.

Perhaps the most impressive intellect she encountered in the radical movement was Benjamin R. Tucker; a most highly prized possession of the Collection was a nearly full run of Tucker's celebrated anarchist paper **Liberty**. But the French, Spanish and Italian anarchist sections were just as well filled out. The publications of the FAI, CNT and POUM she amassed made the Labadie Collection the world's outstanding depository of materials dealing with the radical non-Stalinist side of the Spanish Civil War. A few steps through the aisles of the Collection disclosed literature of all types; Hebrew language anarchist and labor papers, Chinese translations of Kropotkin, Hindu translations of several important radical treatises, Swedish, Norwegian, Hungarian and Finnish syndicalist papers, a large section devoted to German radical writings and an even bigger one in Russian. Large files of labor newspapers of all types filled many shelves as well.

The group she knew best from personal experience and one she never ceased talking about was the Industrial Workers of the World. She revelled in the humor of their revolutionary songs and the verbiage-stripped news columns of the **Industrial Worker**. One of her favorite stories was an anecdote connected with a visit paid her by the late Patrick J. Read, a veteran of the Spanish Civil War fighting and an editor of the IWW paper whose tenure was marked by what she thought were the highest standards the paper ever reached. Read and two printer compatriots strode into the Collection one day and insisted on wearing their hats inside the building all day, to the discomfiture of several. Read insisted, she said, out of refusal to honor a "bourgeois institution." Pat Read was one of several persons who made significant contributions as a personal acquaintance. A thick file of letters reveals a perfect riot of names and it would be unfair to rank them in an estimate of significance. Emma, the labor organizer Fred Beal, Hippolyte Havel, John Nicholas Beffel, Carl Nold, and of course, repeatedly, Joe Labadie, these names constantly entered her conversations. But for the most part she mentioned most freely the numerous obscure modest persons who helped build the Collection with their gifts of books, papers, pamphlets and letters.

On the ideological front it was difficult to get her involved. An opponent of Stalinism long before the totalitarian liberals found it fashionable to be so in order to remain eligible in the power struggle elimination contest, she still had little to say on the issue. The Collection had much Communist material and she had some friends in the Communist Party, but like G. P. Maximov, she looked upon political Marxism as the ultimate in reaction. Her disillusion with the Soviet dream began in the early '20's during the executions among the non-Bolshevik left. She marvelled that there was such an avid cold war market for the books of converted Stalinists when Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, among others, had said substantially the same and better nearly twenty-five years before, only to be smeared outrageously then by many of the same folks trying to brush off all evidences of previous Stalinist handholding.

Agnes Inglis was simply uninterested in any scheme to produce heaven on earth through executions, even if it involved only **one** execution. From her point of view the social ills of mankind did not lend themselves to cures brought about by dosage with concentration camp brutality and lead slugs. Privately she believed that the old order of bourgeois society was much easier to live under than the most brightly scrubbed bureaucratic state capitalist totalitarianism, but she handed out no bouquets to any kind of status quo. She had no faith in political democracy and I do not believe she ever voted for anybody. It was her belief that the central committees of political parties simply forced their selections upon the mass electorate, and she doubted at all times the possibility of ascertaining virtue by counting noses. Likewise she was completely unmoved by the platitudes of orthodox liberalism, since she was of the opinion that the "liberals" had killed off liberalism years before.

Miss Inglis' interest in the labor movement was genuine, and her contacts with the union press and its educational departments were extensive. After the nation entered World War II she slowly became convinced that the big unions with their oligarchical leadership structures were so intimately involved in war politics that for all practical purposes they had become merely the industrial arm of the state. She rejoiced at all violations of the wartime "no strike pledge", and took heart at anything which indicated live interest by the labor rank and file in the conditions of their life. Nearly everyone in the labor movement in Michigan knew of her work, and she once received a flattering award from them for services in the interest of Detroit and Michigan labor, but with characteristic self-effacement dispatched a favorite nephew to receive it for her.

Agnes Inglis was one of the most sincere friends the radical movement in this country ever had. She impoverished herself in its interest, and spent her last score of years living in the most modest of circumstances in a tiny apartment on the edge of the university campus. A retired millionaire brother supplemented her small salary, which was admitted in my presence many times. In a book which he wrote amplifying on his exploits in the fields of industry and finance, her defection from the family fold was mentioned and probably he would have been perturbed to know how she spent her allowance, on occasion. But they were on friendly terms to the last.

To my knowledge her last wishes have never been carried out. As an atheist she refused to sanction a

continued on page 18

Music & Musicians

The composer delights in sound. At some point in his life he came to the realization that his sensitivity to sound was fundamental to his expressiveness as a person. When he found that he "played" with sound, or "acted" with sound, "phantasized" with sound or "thought" in sound, he considered himself a musician.

* * *

A musical composition is a movement; the movement of sounds through the area of time. We refer to a symphony in three movements. Motion is fundamental to music; its elements are sound and time. These are the tools of the composer.

* * *

A composition is a full, completed life. It begins, moves on progressively from one action-expression to another, develops, changes, remembers, ends. When it is done, it has had its "say". The composer bears a piece; when the piece is objectified (on paper) it takes its place by influencing the history of man; it no longer belongs to the composer. The piece is on its own. We say it is Beethoven's Fifth, as a means of identification, and as a reverent gesture to the creator. As listeners and as musicians, we try to "make it ours".

* * *

As music is a path of movement, it is also a path of reasoning. A piece exposes its assumptions, its arguments and its conclusions, but not as a proof; rather, as an expressive ACT. In listening to music, we must hear each tone, its continuity and the progressions and the choices of the composer's tones until the final note. Then we have the sense that the progression was meaningful; meaningful means consistent, without arbitrariness, within itself.

Memory serves a vital function in a time art. As we hear from note to note, from second to second, we record our impressions. Then we recollect elements of this series of progressions such as special moments of decision, characteristic qualities and tone patterns. In repeated hearings we contact the reasoning process more fully, we understand, and attempt to sustain the spontaneous experience of following from note to note at the same time. The danger is that we give up our note-to-note listening, the spontaneous experience, and keep an intellectualized picture of the whole composition. This intellectualization, usually in the summary form of a catchword — sonata form, minuet, rondo, etc. — becomes meaningless when it is divorced from the primary, progressive experiencing of tones and their movements.

* * *

Fixed vibration, "tone", is an extremely subtle form of sound. It is the most used sound in Western music. Usually, in life, sounds are the results, the concomitants of action, but sound in music is action itself.

* * *

Tones exposed in time sequence make up a composition. We listen to each tone and follow its direction; its hesitations, its incompletions and its fulfillments. We have traversed an energetic path of motion. Emotion results. An ACT without EXPRESSION is inconceivable. In listening, we have recreated the act by identifying ourselves with it, by experiencing the path of movement.

* * *

Predictability in music makes a composition end. The excitement of a piece is its consistency, its activity and its progress. These are its truth, its expression and its fruitfulness.

* * *

Music is a rational art; it makes "sense", and in doing that it is "lawful"; that is to say, it does not obey laws, but it makes them. It creates systems of composition, and experiences and proves these systems anew with each composition.

* * *

In doing and expressing with music, we choose the "next note"; we use nature. Composers choose the note that will help the piece "go". In itself a tone has no emotional connotation; neither G# nor B flat are heroic or sad. In the expressive act of moving, emotion results. The actor on the stage has certain things "to do"; Stanislavsky said, "Acting is Action". When the actor acts "emotion" rather than the action of his part, we call it "hammy"; it is emotion divorced from its roots, action and expression.

* * *

The best known system of western music is Triadic Tonality. A system of composition is a consistent set of assumptions in accordance with which movement and pulsation can be expressed. Pulsation is a characteristic of human life. Systems of composition give to pulsation the expressions of contemporaneity. A fruitful expanding system gives the sense of universality; of endless expansion. It builds from its common functioning principle.

* * *

In music, the path of reasoning is identical with the path of movement.

* * *

Themes are patterns that result from characteristic activity; they embody activity and the seeds of continuing growth. To follow only the patterned repetition of themes is to miss the activity of the music. Analysis based on theme recurrences begins with a concept of structuralization and never arrives at the understanding of and the rapport with MOTION. At best, such analysis gathers evidence in the form of lists: First, second, third, etc.

* * *

We speak a great deal about the universality of art. Usually, we mean that ART appeals to all peoples, regardless of nationality, sometimes regardless of culture. If universality exists in the reception by art's audience, it must also exist in the statement by art's practitioners.

The universality of art begins with its handling fundamental sensory elements. In music, sound and time; in painting, line, color and texture. The contact with art comes through the eye, the ear, the touch of hand, as well as through the sympathy of the "sympathetic" nervous system — the pulsations of the heart beat, blood flow, plasmatic pulsations, etc.

The artist uses nature by combining, through his fancy, the elements of sense activity. He acts sensorily and sensibly, feelingly and knowingly. He usually acts on both planes at the same time, for, to him, intelligibility and sensory experiences are the same thing. The act of the artist is the fusion of the ideational and the emotional.

An art work is a complete human activity, from its roots in the life of the atrist, through its modifications by the shaping of art's tools, and finally into its objective existence as an independent, self-sustaining thing.

Life is a series of "mistakes"; there is no completion except in death; there is continual correction and responses to pleasure, pain, etc. The artist in the course of making the final work goes through the process of correcting mistakes, but he attains to a complete work. It is probable that in the attempt at completion art becomes an abstraction of life.

If the artist deals with nature, he deals with life. To be sure, he cannot deal with all of nature, nor all of life — but **each artistic attempt reflects the whole of life.** It is the small mirror of the artist's life, and tells us how he conceives and creates, and how he shapes his creations, in making them independent things, to stand on their own.

On the stage, the lone actor represents the lone people in the arena of the whole world. The world of the play is the bare stage at that time, and the person alone means: "One is alone". That "ONE" is given a name and associations and a specific life, but his life and situations are taken from the lives of us all, and reflects the actor's comment on the lives of men.

The universality of art is that it deals with all of life; in doing this it cuts through behavior to the fundamentals of life, before and beyond speech, to the senses, the moving things in living, the alive in life and the death in life. This activity of art is present even in the movies, in mystery stories and in other forms of "popular art". What characterizes these works is their lack of profundity; they resist going beneath the situations of living to get to the roots, the universals of life.

* * *

Listening is an act of the listener. The composer and performer put music into the air. The listener contacts the air, charged with sound. The communication of music is incidental to its nature, and indirect in its path. It is a projection of the listener that he thinks the music is "meant for him"; in fact, he is a fellow traveler with the music.

—Alvin Bauman

A Note on «The Outsider»

The hero of Richard Wright's novel, "The Outsider", seems at first a stranger to us. This man, seizing a lucky opportunity to escape from a daily life of responsibility and fearful boredom, drifts out into the world. To conceal his identity and protect his new self, he kills a friend; becoming involved with the Communist movement, he murders two Communists and a fascist, and by confessing his murders he drives to suicide the girl with whom he had fallen in love. But this man is by no means a stranger. He is The Outsider in the sense of having, by character and chance, withdrawn from the world he was born into, having rejected its values, having an objectivity toward it. But he is not merely a man of clearer vision, thru whom we see the reality of (say) the Communist movement. He is the figure of existentialism who, from the freedom of detachment, plunges back into the busy world to create his own life; and he is equally the thoughtful radical, who has thrown off his social ties, traditions, obligations, responsibilities, and attempts to live as Ego, as an individual.

Cross' tragedy is that, given his intellectuality, his severe childhood, he cannot find his way. The only way he knows is to follow his impulses. But these impulses are merely his old self, now stripped of the conventional, hypocritical softening that makes survival in our society possible. So, when his identity is threatened, he kills; when he is revolted by the monstrous cruelty and stupidity of Communists and fascists, he kills; when a Communist tries to blackmail him into submission to his power, he kills. He creates nothing in this way — he merely gives play to the Communist-like impulses in himself, this is not life.

He discovers life, but too late. He discovers that he had inevitably fallen prey to these worst impulses in his nature, because he had been alone, even had wanted to be alone. When he and the girl fall in love, he has found the way to avoid the aloneness, to begin to create a life. But it is too late — not only in the trivial sense that the Communists now will hunt him down, but in the crucial sense, that when the girl learns the truth about him, she is unable to accept his past, unable to realize that his love had really won out over the evil in him. (Ideally, she ought to; but the people of the real world, with whom we have to find love and comradeship, are not saints; the most we can hope for is that they are able to love.) He must reveal the truth to her — and the end is at hand, for he does not have the will to fight on after this last act of destruction.

Wright is not an anarchist. But he has pictured very clearly and powerfully the basis for anarchism (for Wright is non-political). The man alone has nothing to live for, he is equally lover and murderer, he satisfies his passions. Let this man become political, and he is a Communist (or its one-man equivalent). The one possibility is love, fraternity, in which we act for each other, and create each other. A politics which precedes or ignores fraternity and love leads to ruin and destruction. If we are able to love one another . . . **then** there may be a politics, the politics which such persons naturally create.

These are immensely hard sayings, because it is plain that the politics of the non-political, the human politics, does not find a ready echo today. It is not even the case that Anarchism, as a present social fact, embodies it truly, for being an anarchist means only that one has rebelled, is in favor of freedom and against the government; it is by no means inevitable that the rebel finds the Way, when there are in the world — and not merely among anarchists — so few who, by the power of their self and their love, can light the way to comradeship and humanity. (Without such true examples, the only words in which we can speak of these things are ambiguous, laden with false connotations, just about meaningless.) On the other hand, as Wright shows us, it is not the case that there is another way.

—David Wieck

Discussion

The Anarcho-Syndicalism of Maximoff

("Constructive Anarchism," Maximoff Publications Committee, 1952. $2.50)

Maximoff's "Constructive Anarchism" is not a novelty. It was written 20 and 25 years ago — though not previously translated from the Russian — and the ideas are familiar to anarchists. It claims attention as an extensive statement of anarcho-syndicalism. Because of its dogmatism and uncongenial style, it presents an inviting target, which has already been hit several times by reviewers; the intent here is to look for ideas that are commonplaces among many or all anarcho-syndicalists.[1]

Maximoff's thesis runs about like this: Anarchism has failed because it has not adhered to the teachings of Bakunin, represented in the twentieth century by anarcho-syndicalism. For Maximoff, anarcho-syndicalism meant the creation of revolutionary unions as a fighting and educational force under Capitalism; the organization of production by the unions during the revolution and in the free society; the co-ordination of the unions with consumers' cooperatives and communal organizations; and certain modifications during a Transition Period.

i.

Let us begin at the far end — the distant objective. Maximoff does not claim to know the ultimate social destiny of man, but he does tell in full detail what society will be like after the revolution, after the transitional wrinkles are ironed out: a network of producers' organizations grouped into a general confederation of labor; communal organizations federated regionally and nationally, etc. Maximoff omits nothing, nothing is left to invention or chance, not even the hours of labor.

It is true that non-anarchists do not believe that a non-profit, non-power society can work. They deserve an answer, and the syndicalists offer one — they give us their Utopia. But Maximoff, refusing to stop at this reasonable point, **claims to have solved the problems of the future.** Well, this is just possible. But if syndicalists, or anyone else, intend to assert this, then they owe us an explanation of **how they gain insight into the needs and desires of free people.** And supposing that they can, why it is so important.

Failing to meet these objections, Anarcho-Sydicalism of Maximoff's type must be charged first, with burdening anarchism with a worthless polemic, and second, with unjustifiably transferring the concern of anarchists from **freedom** to **form of organization.**

With regard to these questions, Maximoff's answer is clear. He sees no problems in psychology, bureaucracy or power (such as are usually argued against syndicalism, because of its elaborate type of organization). People, he seems to say, have no innate drive to wield or submit to power — all they need to do is create a social organization which will **work,** which will not need the motives of profit and power to propel it.

But if this is so, why must we tell our free men of the future what to do? And how can they fall into serious error?

(Parenthetically, I may remark that Maximoff is right in regarding the form of organization **in a free society** as a technical question. The **easiest** questions to solve, **after** the revolution will be the "big" problems, the national problems — free men and free communities will easily, rationally adopt the most convenient solutions, for they will have no motive to do otherwise. But after saying this, we must remark that Maximoff, and anarcho-syndicalists generally, take little interest in the "small" problems — the conditions and qualities of freedom in man and a community. This is the unfortunate meaning of transforming the core of anarchism from concern with freedom to concern with technical forms of organization.)

ii

In 1953 we do not feel an urgent need to anticipate the problems of revolution. Writing only a decade after the Russian Revolution, Maximoff was dealing with a pressing problem. We may set aside our feeling that the problem is not immediate, and see what he has to say. From beginning to end, it seems to me unfortunate.

First of all, he formulates the problem of Transition in an entirely academic, and therefore misleading, way. He tacitly assumes that a revolutionary labor movement, imbued with a libertarian ideology, is master of the situation. His entire argument stands or falls on this metaphysically-derived formulation. The brutal fact, fearfully verified by the Spanish Revolution, is that **the revolution will not wait, and the reaction will not wait.** What is to be done — and before Spain, this was the problem in Italy — when the movement is too weak to carry the population with it, and yet strong enough to influence events? Suddenly a revolution exists, and the anarchists must begin to do **something.**

The problem of the "**premature revolution**" — because, unhappily, it is probably in the nature of revolutions to be premature, that is, not to wait for the full development of consciousness in the people — is extremely serious. Maximoff's academic formulation — not exactly unique with him — cannot be used as a basis for meeting this problem.

Second, we must challenge Maximoff's State-which-is-not-a-State. The reviewer of "Constructive Anarchism" for the **Catholic Worker** seized on this point, to allege that absence of government is a false conception of Anarchy. The point is grave, again because it is not peculiar to Maximoff — indeed, he has merely repeated, rather mechanically, the Bakuninist idea of "regional and national federations of communes." Anarchist ideas on the administration of a community are possibly unclear and it may still be too soon to clarify them, but in respect to **central political government** anarchism can equivocate only at the price of falling to pieces.

What of these giant federations? What are their functions? Maximoff does not attribute any to them — indeed, one suspects that the entire idea has merely been thoughtlessly repeated from generation to generation. Could these federations have any function — consistent with freedom? (If their function is war, then for a fact we have the nightmare of Statist Anarchism.)

I would not impute a governmentalist intent to those who have followed Bakunin in this matter; more likely, they have merely failed to heed one of the axioms of revolution: **the urgency of abolishing useless central agencies and centralizing institutions.** In a revolutionary period — as no one will deny — power-minded elements, the "Jacobins" and the "Bolsheviks," are immensely active, and nothing is more to their purpose than a non-functioning central agency. Maximoff's shadow-government seems to fall exactly in this category.[2]

Third, in another time-honored vein, Maximoff brushes off the problem of militarism, and settles it in a purely **formal** way, by means of the "popular militia." This seems to be, more than anything else, a renaming of things. Anarchists are no doubt still far short of solving the problem of defense, but I think we are less naive since the Spanish Revolution, and would put the problem in quite another way: **How can we reduce the need for military force?** That is, what can be made of non-violent methods of resistance — strikes, boycotts and the like — what can be done to make contact with "enemy" soldiers — how can a revolution behind the lines be promoted?

Maximoff would not, of course, have **denied** the utility of non-military measures. But to put the problem of defense solely in terms of **form of military organization,** is in fact to commit ourselves to a military solution. And if, when all else fails, we must have an army, I should prefer frankly to call it an army — for certain good, practical reasons. Namely, that anarchists might become confused enough to agree to conscripting a "workers militia," under such euphemisms as "mobilization," but they will hesitate a long time before they conscript "free men" into an "army." (Maximoff "mobilizes" his workers into "workers' militias.")

Fourth, as a practical goal in a revolution, Maximoff's syndicalist scheme is too rigid. For example, he failed altogether to anticipate that, in Spain, the spontaneous agrarian collectives, non-syndicalist, would be the strength and grand achievement of the revolution. That such facts **cannot be** anticipated, warns us that our attitude must not be "we have a plan to put in effect," but "we have certain principles which we will look for chances to apply, depending on the facts that develop."

Fifth, does the syndicalization of production, linked to communalizing of politics and to consumers cooperation, correspond to the economic facts? Labor organizations have evolved — **in certain sectors of the economy** — as a means of defense against economic exploitation. Is there good reason to believe that their structure **also** meets the needs of a society moving toward freedom?

The syndicalists are impressed by the extractive and manufacturing industries, producing for national markets; and they extend uniformly throughout society principles derived from this segment. But what purpose would be served by national syndicates of utilities workers, intra-city transport workers, printers, construction-workers, truck farmers— and the rest of those whose primary natural integration is with the community they live in? Maximoff, of course, mentions decentralization, division of function between local and regional and central agencies. This formula seems to relieve him of examining whether the **variety of modes of production,** even in a predominantly industrial society, should lead logically to a pluralisttic economic organization.

It is extraordinarily mechanical, again, to treat Education as an industry, and assign it to the "Union of Educational Workers." To be sure, Maximoff adds that parents and others should collaborate with the Educational Workers. But Education is simply not an industry, it is not even analogous to an industry, and it will not do to treat it merely as a peculiar kind of industry.

Further, following the general principle that the non-essential central agency is a grave menace to a revolution, we must ask whether syndicalism, with its elaborate organization, is self-evidently necessary. Is it feasable, as **Volonta** has suggested, for autonomous production-units to deal directly with autonomous units of distribution, as under capitalism (but minimizing middleman agencies)? Or if not absolutely applicable, will it work in certain parts of the economy?

It has been the unfortunate history of syndicalism, under polemical attack and defended polemically, to have been resistant to suggestions that it might find its place in anarchist theory, but not the monopolistic position it claims for itself.

iii

We move closer to the here and now, and come to Maximoff's idea that revolutionary unions are the chief means of education and action in pre-revolutionary times. So sure is he that rejection of this technique has destroyed the pure anarchist-communists, by reducing them to impotent verbalism, that he does not bother with their well-known criticisms of anarcho-syndicalist unions.

The questions he ignores concern power and bureaucracy, and the ideology and membership of the unions. For example, it has been the present writer's contention that the nature of economic struggle under capitalism encourages centralism as a plausible means of coping with vast aggregations of capital; further, that large-scale organization under capitalism tends to bureaucracy. (To put it less abstractly: to be successful, the tactics of syndicalism require of workers an amount of initiative, and acceptance of insecurity, that is hardly to be expected of a worker whose "consciousness" is restricted to a desire for immediate economic benefits.) A second question is perhaps more crucial: Is the union to be merely a union of anarchists — and therefore not a labor union — or a mass union, in which case its ideology and practice will be fixed by the relative conservatism of the mass — unless the anarchists **impose** their theory and practice on the mass.

These criticisms are not raised here as a novelty, but in the belief that anarcho-syndicalists generally have ignored them as blithely as Maximoff does; and that they have failed to evaluate the history of the various revolutionary syndicalist movements in terms of these half-century old criticisms. (The CNT, and the badly-confused Swedish movement, would be cases in point.)

By now, anarcho-syndicalism may no longer be offered as a glowing hypothesis. It has a history, and it must either stand on that history or explain it away.

iv

We reach the present. Here we cannot ask enlightenment from Maximoff, for it was not perfectly clear, 25 years ago, that the major sources of anarcho-syndicalism had dried up. I refer, of course, to the undisputed fact that the field of labor organization is already monopolized — and in many countries monopolized twice (socialist and communist); and to the diminution of spontaneous revolutionary actions.

Except for its advocacy of local direct actions, anarcho-syndicalism can hardly claim to be less "talky" than other anarchism. To **call** for action — organization of revolutionary unions — always **seems** concrete, realistic and constructive, but only to the person whose energies it engages. The "purist" anarchists are, curiously, blamed by the syndicalists for the failure of Syndicalism! This will not do. The blunt fact remains that the leaders of the IWMA are all anarchists, and that its member sections are predominantly anarchist — it is not the case that the program unites the masses.

Here, of course, we raise the question of the failure of anarcho-syndicalism to face its changing environment, **and to establish its correctness when mass revolutionary unionism is not a fact.** Again, Maximoff is not to be taxed for this; but if present relevancy is to be claimed for his theory, we must observe that history has torn a great gaping hole in it.

—DTW

Anarchist writing has the obvious purpose of presenting information and persuasive argument. Less often, it is the writer's good fortune to have hit upon a good way of handling an immediate, pressing problem. A third element might reasonably be expected. So difficult is the realm of ideas and the realm of social science, so inadequate is the available evidence, that we always insist that no "school" of anarchism can claim alone to represent anarchism. Nor is it even demonstrated that we need an embracive, accurate theory of society and revolution. Perhaps we do. On the hypothesis that we do, we should like to see what could come of a careful, severely critical reading of theoretical works by anarchists (or works with theoretical implications). We earnestly invite contributions to this space, and discussion of material presented here.

1. In fairness to anarcho-syndicalism, it should be said that many anarcho-syndicalists would regard Maximoff's theories as a caricature of theirs. On the other hand, it may be a caricature only because Maximoff is remorsely logical with premises they share, and shrinks from no sort of unpleasantness.

2. Happily, Maximoff's idea is not shared by all syndicalists. See, for example, "Syndicalism—The Workers' Next Step," Freedom Press pamphlet by Philip Sansom (1951), p. 40: "I can see no reason for the establishment of regional or national councils on the same lines as the Syndicates."

Agnes Inglis

continued from page 13

church funeral and further stipulated cremation. This was done, but her friends had been asked to gather and "discuss her ideas and ideals", and instead a brief memorial service was held in a chapel in one of the university buildings. It was attended among others by many members of the old Spanish and Italian anarchist groups from Detroit who had known her for a long time. No attempt was made to include them when remarks were made, most of which consisted of a tribute in the form of spiritual uplift delivered by a faculty member operating in the new hush resulting from the latest episode of self-applied brain washing sweeping America's campuses. It is the impression of several attending that she would have repudiated what was said at the exceedingly brief service. Perhaps her old friends, who never felt they had anything to lose by associating with her, can produce something more substantial in the way of a memorial at a more appropriate time.

Essentials of Anarchism

continued from page 7

or intellectuals, gives them no automatic impulse toward freedom. It is nice to talk of "the universal yearning to be free" — but this means only, "people do not like to feel oppressed and restricted"; it certainly cannot mean that they yearn to make choices and exercise the responsibilities of free men. To be free — not merely to escape oppression — is a potentiality of man, the condition, we think, of man's nobility; not given, only earned.

The anarchist idea of freedom is a very serious one; it implies a view of life that people do not yet have. This is why we cannot — must not — hawk our ideological wares in the manner of the political parties or the hucksters of thought. If we were foolish enough, we could cry out that we are for liberty, and Americans are supposed to believe in liberty, so "Do as we say." It is always possible to draw a crowd in this way. (To be sure, it would be nice to draw a crowd just once in a while!) But anarchism is a serious idea, and misrepresentation is its death.

When there are more of us, and we can stop merely talking about it and can begin here and there to give practical demonstrations of freedom, then, we believe, freedom has such power that our propaganda will be easily made and persuasive. Until then, anarchism must progress slowly, and nothing so much as patience is required.

IX. The Realization of Freedom

In short, anarchism is a philosophy based on the premise that men need freedom in order to solve urgent social problems, and begin to realize their potentialities for happiness and creativity. Anarchists initiate their practical actions by looking squarely at the time and place they live in, and deciding what can be done **now** to forward their goal: to find the next step to be taken, to take it, and encourage others to move ahead.

The step to be taken now, we believe, is to keep alive the idea of freedom, and the desires it is meant to serve; to live and work with people and act toward social institutions in the ways which will grant us the nearest approach to the humanity of which we dream; to come together in the solidarity of anarchists to invent actions together. In these ways, if we are inventive, we can introduce into our neighbors' lives the idea and practice of freedom.

—David Thoreau Wieck.

Off the Press

The year since the last issue of **Resistance** has been noteworthy in the field of anarchist book-publishing. We should like to call attention to the following:

"Bakunin, The Political Philosophy of Scientific Anarchism," edited by G. P. Maximoff, has been published by the Free Press, of Glencoe, Illinois. This is the first wide selection of Bakunin's writings to appear in English. Copies may be ordered, for $6.00, from the publisher, or from the Maximoff Publications Committee, 2422 North Halsted St., Chicago 14, Illinois.

"Constructive Anarchism," by Maximoff, is reviewed in this issue.

"Men Against the State: The Expositors of Individualist Anarchism in America, 1827-1908," by James J. Martin, has been published in a limited lithoprint edition at $6.25 a copy. " 'Men Against the State' is the story of a unique group of native American radicals whose economic and social thinking has gone around the world. Their activities resulted in a vast amount of literature, some of which has been reprinted in over a dozen languages in half the countries of the world. From its origin, as a frontier reaction to the doctrines of Robert Owen, down to the decade prior to the First World War, native American anarchism was elaborated into a propaganda of impressive scope. Its Yankee originators, from Josiah Warren and Stephen Pearl Andrews to Lysander Spooner and Benjamin R. Tucker, are men whose names are still mentioned in anthologies of world libertarian thought. Their status in the history of American radical movements has been thus far unjustifiably obscured." By now, the limited edition may be exhausted. Persons interested may inquire of the publisher, The Adrian Allen Associates, P. O. Box 413, DeKalb, Illinois, whether it is still available.

The "Libertarian Book Club, Inc.," Box 842, General Post Office, New York 1, N. Y., has announced that the long-awaited publication of Holley Cantine's translation of "La Revolution Inconnue" (The Unknown Revolution), Voline's study of the Russian Revolution from an anarchist point of view, is due soon. The price has been set at $3.50. The same organization has announced also the impending publication of "The Lessons from the Revolution in Spain," at $5.00 a copy. Both books are being published in cooperation with Freedom Press of London. Persons interested may contact the Libertarian Book Club directly.

Notes on Anarchism in Japan

I think most of you have no knowledge of Japan. After the war many Americans came to Japan and returned back with a few memories or at least some impressions of travelers. But they came to Japan as victors and Japanese also treated them as troublesome guests. Then, there was almost no room to understand and associate with each other as friends.

Most Japanese intellectuals despised the policy of America which tried to teach so-called "American way of life" to Japanese as teacher of Democracy. But such a "way of life" finds no affinity to the poorer countries like Japan which are expropriated by the richer countries like America.

When MacArthur said "Japanese mental year is twelve years old", our intellectuals were glad we grew very young again! If MacArthur's words were true, we were very happy! But in reality the heavy loads of old oriental civilization (Buddhism, Confucianism and Shintoism, etc.) always destroyed and destroy our hope to revive.

Some American thinkers seem to have some interest in old oriental civilization. Perhaps these civilizations may have some eccentricity to them. Of course it is very good tendency that the eyes of American thinkers widen up to oriental civilization. It is a sign that they will treat Asiatic as Man. We know very well most of them considered us as no-Man or even a kind of animal. I am afraid most proper Americans have this prejudice, consciously or unconsciously, even today.

Asia has two important problems. One is the heavy burden of old and dead civilization, the other is the expropriation and suppression of Europe and America. Some Asiatics were earnest to introduce European and American culture in order to free Japan from the burden of past. But Europeans and Americans didn't treat them as friends. They were always master or superior, we were servant or inferior. Then, some of them run to anti-American and European, and return back to old dead civilization.

The life of Yone Noguchi, the father of Isam Noguchi, is a typical instance. He devoted himself to absorb the foreign culture in his early days. He married an American woman. But in later days he turned back to Japanism, extreme nationalism, and admired Japanese and Oriental civilization arbitrarily. Kyojiro Hagiwara is another instance. He was the most radical anarchist poet in early days. He praised the revolt of workers and blamed ruling-class most violently. But in the latter he turned to Japanism and published poetry to praise Tenno (Emperor) as a living god without the direct compulsion.

I have a long list of men and women who were ever very radical and turned to reactionary. And it is very important that they almost all had brilliant talents and strong sincerities. Their turning back was not convenient, but had some reason in their way.

Anarchism in Japan is not free from these social conditions. About sixty years have passed since the first cry of Anarchism in Japan. When we examine the history of these sixty years, we shall find there were three types by which the life of Japanese anarchists were characterized — 1) murder 2) suicide 3) turning-back.

We have already lost about twenty comrades in these years by the hand of government. Among them there were two great leaders, Schyusui Kotoku and Sakae Osugi.

Schyusui Kotoku was the first man who had introduced Anarchist thought to Japan and the leading spirit of early socialist movement. He was put to death with eleven comrades in 1911. This event is called the Haymarket tragedy of Japan. They were accused of a plan to murder the Tenno, but there was no evidence. This was one of conspiracies in order to make pretexts to suppress anarchism and socialist movement.

The other, Sakae Osugi, was killed unlawfully by the military police with his wife Nae Ito and his nephew in the confusion of the great earthquake of 1923. After the death of Kotoku and other comrades, socialism movement was suppressed completely. In this dreadful silence Sakae Osugi published "Modern Thought" and fired a rocket of revival of anarchism.

This dreadful history speaks of the brutality of Japanese ruling class. It means death to struggle against ruling power directly. And it is very difficult to flee to any foreign countries for the geographical condition. Then, suicide becomes a way of escape for the conscientious intellectual.

The suicides of Schyungetu Ikuta, anarchist poet, and Takeo Arishima, anarchistic novelist are well-known instances. Schyungetu Ikuta was called the Japanese Heine, a gifted and brilliant talent. But his sincerity and honesty destroyed himself. Anarchist novelist, Takeo Arishima, was born a great landowner. But he liberated his land to his farmers like Tolstoi. He was not militant, but a good sympathizer of anarchism movement.

I have already said about the third type — turning back. There are a few differences of this turning back — to nationalist or to Buddhist or to Communist or to common man, etc., from anarchism. But every type is result of recognition that anarchist thought doesn't suit to Japan. In fact, even liberalism was not brought up in Japan. Much less anarchism!

My report may seem very pessimistic. Anarchistic thinker thinks it is impossible to make anarchism a strong social force in Japan, so we must be absorbed into any superior tradition of Orient. But this is a new type of turning-back. I think also anarchism will not become a strong social force in five or ten years in Japan. But is there any tradition to rely on completely? We can find a quickening of new civilization in India and China. And yet we can find a quickening in the same degree in Japan too. We must rely on ourselves, even if our goal is prison or death, I think.

The present problem that is given us, Japanese anarchists, is to analyze the Asiatic social conditions and to establish the theory to fit to these conditions. If we can succeed in this task, we shall be able to send you much more hopeful information.

—M. Osawa

To Our Readers

It is a great pleasure to publish, at last, another issue of **Resistance**. The outlook for regular publication is not very bright, but we will try.

One of the essential problems of **Resistance** — and of anarchist periodicals generally — is the lack of significant, **positive** events to report and write about. It is hard to get much satisfaction from writing — or reading — that "things are bad and getting worse." Readers frequently suggest that they would like to hear what positive actions have been discovered and tried. It is not any fascination for the skeptical and the gloomy that deters us from publishing such pieces! But they don't turn up.

Because of this, it has occurred to us that perhaps regular, frequent publication of a **periodical** is not practical — that perhaps the medium best suited to the present times is the pamphlet. So the following idea took shape: to publish **Resistance** magazine whenever there happens to be enough material; and in the intervals to publish pamphelts on the same financial basis as the magazine (free subscriptions and voluntary contributions) — that is, as supplements to the magazine.

So far it is still an idea. We should appreciate hearing what readers think.

* * *

Cover drawing by Vera Williams

FINANCIAL STATEMENT, JULY 6, 1953

CONTRIBUTIONS

CALIFORNIA: Hollywood: B.M. 1.50; Larkspur: R.K. 2.00: Los Angeles: Picnic 52.50, Italian Group 20.00; San Francisco: C.L. 1.00; Vista: A. S. 1.00	$ 78.00
ILLINOIS: Chicago: R.D.H. 5.00; J.S. 1.05	6.05
IOWA: Mt. Vernon: W.G. 4.30	4.30
MAINE: Cape Rosier: S.N. 1.00	1.00
MARYLAND: Aberdeen: R.M. (per D.D.) 10.00	10.00
MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: A.M. 1.00; Greenfield: R.B. 5.00; Needham: J.R. 1.00; Wellfleet: V.B.W. 50.00	57.00
MICHIGAN: Dearborn: R.E.N. 4.00; Detroit: I Refrattari 100.00; A.B. 0.25	104.25
NEW YORK: Brooklyn: M.E. 0.50; Misc. 13.78	14.28
OHIO: Cleveland: T.T. 1.00; Elyria: L.M.R. 1.00	2.00
PENNSYLVANIA: McKeesport: J.R. 2.00; Milton: J.B. 0.30; Philadelphia: Circolo d'Emancipazione Sociale 10.00	12.30
WASHINGTON: Seattle: R.H. 2.00	2.00
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: Anon. (per L.K.) 20.00	20.00
CANADA: Vancouver: L.B. 1.00	1.00
	$312.18
Balance, July 1, 1952	314.49
	$626.67
Less, contrib. of Il Gruppo Libertario, L.A., Calif. (Vol. X, No. 1) returned	50.00
	$576.67

EXPENDITURES

P. O. Box Rent (15 months)	$ 22.00	
Postage, Vol. XI, No. 1	40.00	
Printing, Vol. XI, No. 1	339.55	
	$401.55	401.55
Balance, July 6, 1953		$175.12

The Anarchist Bookshelf

● ANARCHIST THEORY

Berkman, Alexander—ABC of Anarchism (Now and After, abridged)	.25
Berneri, Camillo—Peter Kropotkin: His Federalist Ideas	.05
DeCleyre, Voltairine—Anarchism and American Traditions	.10
Godwin, William—On Law	.05
Godwin, William—Selections from "Political Justice"	.25
Goldman, Emma—Place of Individual in Society	.10
Kropotkin, Peter—Organized Vengeance Called Justice	.05
Kropotkin, Peter—The State	.25
Kropotkin, Peter—Revolutionary Government	.10
Kropotkin, Peter—The Wage System	.10
Kropotkin, Peter—An Appeal to the Young	.10
Malatesta, Errico—Anarchy	.10
Malatesta, Errico—A Talk Between Two Workers	.10
Malatesta, Errico—Vote—What For?	.10
Read, Herbert—Philosophy of Anarchism	.20
Read, Herbert—Poetry and Anarchism	.85
Rocker, Rudolf—Nationalism and Culture	3.00
Woodcock, George—Anarchy or Chaos	.35
Woodcock, George—Basis of Communal Living	.25
Woodcock, George—What Is Anarchism	.05

● HISTORICAL

Berneri, Marie Louise—Workers in Stalin's Russia	.25
Borghi, Armando—Mussolini: Red and Black	.50
Hewetson, John—Italy After Mussolini	.10
Icarus—The Wilhelmshaven Revolt	.10
Kenafick, K. J.—Michael Bakunin & Karl Marx	1.50
Maximov, G.—The Guillotine at Work	1.50
Set of 3 Pamphlets on Spain	.15

● ECONOMIC

Brown, Tom—Trade Unionism or Syndicalism	.10
Equity—Struggle in the Factory	.10
Hewetson, John—Ill-Health, Poverty and The State	.30
McCartney, W.—French Cooks' Syndicate	.10
Warbasse, J. P.—Cooperative Decentralization	.10
Woodcock, George—Railways and Society	.10
Woodcock, George—New Life to the Land	.10
Woodcock, George—Homes or Hovels—The Housing Problem	.10

● GENERAL

Faure, Sebastien—Does God Exist?	.10
Gibson, Tony—Youth for Freedom	.40
Naeve, Lowell—A Field of Broken Stones	3.00
Olday, John—The March to Death (cartoons)	.25
Prison Etiquette	2.50
Read, Herbert—Education of Free Men	.20
Ridley, F. A.—The Roman Catholic Church & Modern Age	.05
Weil, Simone—The Iliad, or The Poem of Force	.25

● PERIODICALS

Now—Nos. 6 and 7	each .10
Retort—Winter, 1951 (Vol. 4, No. 4) and Autumn, 1951 (Vol. 5, No. 1)	each .40

The above prices do not include postage

Copies of the "Resistance" pamphlets "The State," by Randolph Bourne, and "War or Revolution" are free and available on request. Also available are sample copies of "Freedom" from England, and back issues of "Resistance."

Printed by LIBERTARIAN PRESS, GLEN GARDNER, N. J.