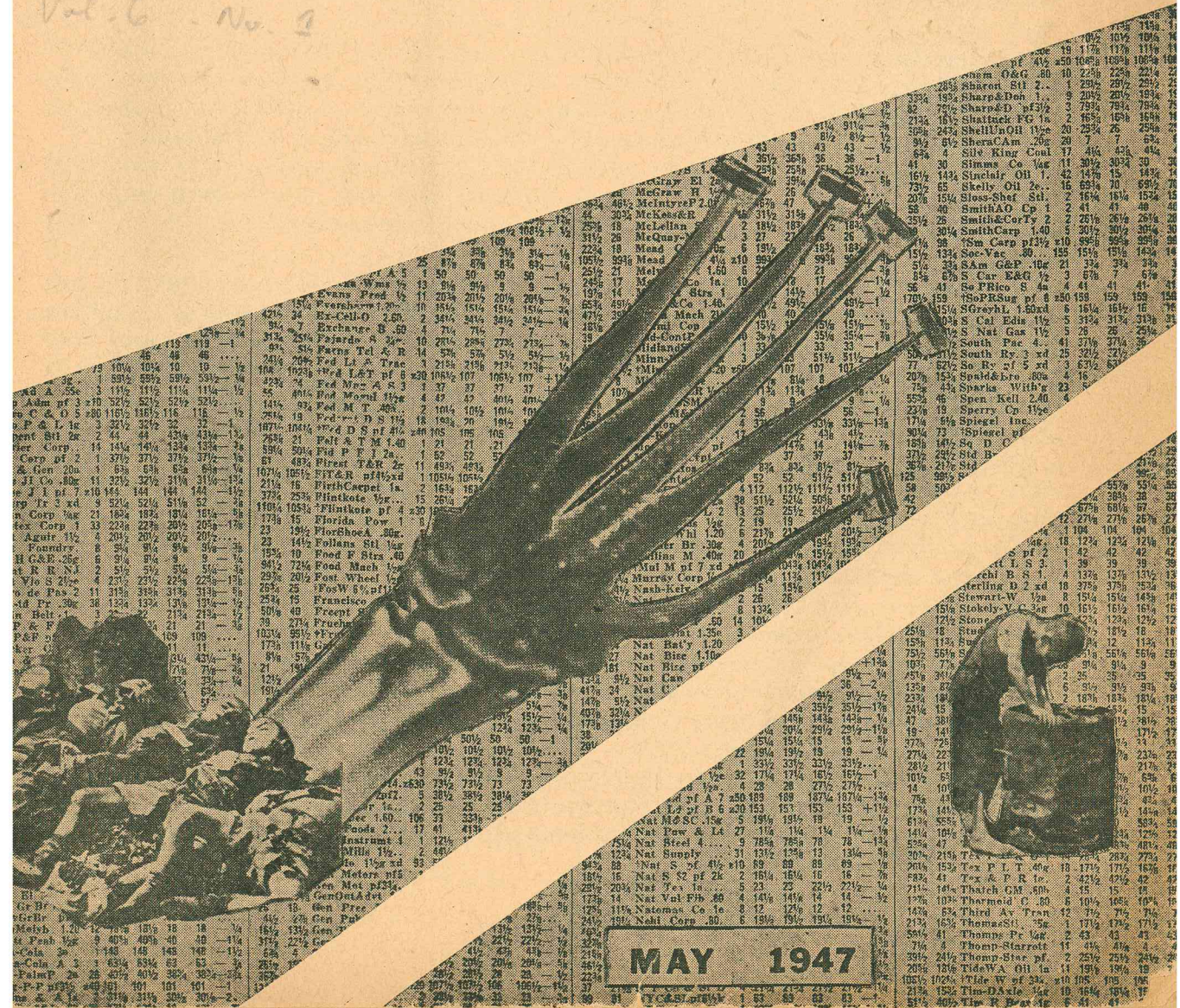


RESISTANCE

Against Oppression

—For Freedom!

Vol. 6 No. 2



MAY 1947

OUR RESISTANCE

The world in 1947 is a scene of poverty, hunger, depravity, regimentation and murder. Every hope for a better world has been smashed down by armed force or has died from the indifference of people. In 1947 we look forward to a future brightened only by a candle in the dark: the desperate hope that some human miracle will save us from plunging downward into even more terrible and murderous ways of living; the desperate hope that somewhere in the future there will be a renaissance, a revival of human living and peace and freedom.

The miracle we hope for is human. It depends on people who want to be free, who want to live like human beings, who want to wipe out the poverty and slavery and humiliation that are the life of the people of every country. The renaissance depends on those who see the evil; it depends on them to act, to show their brothers that evil so they may act.

This is our resistance: the arousing of men to act, oppose, resist, to create a life worth living.

* * *

Rarely do we realize how total and urgent is the problem we face. The problem is not merely economic. It is not merely American. It is a problem of the world. It is a problem of men and our behavior toward each other.

America today is a nightmare, almost a caricature of humanity.

America—a nation where wealth—the machines and equipment that make our food, clothing and shelter—is controlled and owned by a minority planning production for their profits, squandering resources, contributing nothing to our lives.

America—a land of politicians and generals, deciding whether we are to die in another world slaughter. Politicians and generals subservient not to our needs—for what need have we of politicians and generals? whom do they feed and clothe and house?—but tools of the wealthy minority and slaves to their own greed to rule the world. A group of men calling themselves government, arrogating the right to determine the life or death of human beings. A group ruling, through hired police and courts and prisons, the lives of people.

America—Americans living a step above poverty; living now on a “boom-time” of prosperity achieved by the world’s most deadly war. A prosperity of jobs, with a standard of living that the labors of a third of us could provide if the machines were ours. A people working merely to keep from starving, working like robots at jobs we never chose, giving our lives and labor to the enrichment of the wealth-and-power greedy.

America—a people facing another of the always-recurring, ever-deepening, ever-lengthening capitalist depressions. A people facing new joblessness, new doles—to last until a new slaughter puts us all at work killing our fellow men in other countries.

America—a people of whom millions because of their darker skin must live in ghettos, servant-slaves of the leisure class; denied permanently the right even to regard themselves as humans.

Even as the flowers of the spring
low-bent by the heedless walker's boot
slowly spring aloft again & soon
they turn their faces to the burning sun
so the mighty powers of mankind
trampled by unnatural violence
i' the spring o' the joys of youth, will rise to shine
in action when the institutions pass.

—Jackson MacLow

America—a people facing new world destruction and slaughter and new and tighter regimentation. Again to be dragged into uniform—or hunted down and imprisoned—driven out to kill our fellow human beings and ourselves be killed—to the profit only of the ruling and leisure class. To conquer the world—to the profit of the wealthy rulers.

America—a people whose minds and acts and lives are determined by the propaganda and “education” of our mechanized culture. Every American man and woman knowing how they are supposed to behave, and most of them behaving.

America—a people whose lives from their very beginning in the rule-by-threat family are lived as other people tell them, rather than as their needs and desires demand. A people whose behavior is controlled, or ruined, by a conformist inhuman morality imposed by dead ancestors and sustained by “education” and coercion.

America—America—a nation whose wealthy, ambitious bankers, politicians and generals rule most of the world, and demand to rule the rest. To rule the world: to exploit the people of the world and keep them in slavery by atomic threat. To rule the world: to the benefit of America’s rulers.

But it is not the problem of Americans alone. It is the problem of the two billion of the world. Everywhere, the same system: Capitalism—Communism—Peronism—Colonialism—the result is the same. In some nations people starve—or are systematically starved by the American rulers. In some nations every man who thinks aloud is imprisoned or killed. In some nations there is a slavery not known in America since Negro chattel slavery. But, at bottom, it is all the same. There is no peace, there is no freedom, there is no human living.

People are what we are interested in. Let the empires, the civilizations, the governments fall—it is the people, us, who count. Ways of living which destroy individuals, which make our lives a burden and a misery, which frustrate every natural desire, are against us.

It is a hell on earth, and it is this hell we are going to resist. This is what we call upon people to resist—to liberate ourselves from this webwork of misery and slavery and anti-humanity. We call upon people to be human beings and create a world fit for human beings to live in.

Commentary

ANTI-LABOR LAWS The Congressional drive to clamp down on workers' organization is nearing its climax. The House and Senate have voted overwhelmingly to re-establish the open shop, outlaw national union action, restore government by injunction and bar strikes against the "public" and government.

The purpose of these laws is to nullify every economic gain American workers have won. The purpose is to make direct economic action impossible and to re-introduce the old corporate absolutism. The paralyzing and smashing of workers' organizations is part of the march to regimentation in America.

Our only effective answer to Congress is: The threat of general strike, if these bills become law; general disobedience of all repressive laws. This is the kind of protest, opposition and resistance that the ruling class understands.

THE RESISTANCE BETRAYED The hopes of the French resistance movement have become a mockery; many of the maquis were convinced that their sacrifices would bring about a better life—hence their despair with the sad realities of French life today.

In a current issue of the French anarchist weekly, *Le Libertaire*, Rene Vivier reflects on the betrayal of the resistance by those "in whose mouths the word liberty had quite a different sound, masking other appetites and unavowed intentions." Among them were the black market profiteers, chauvinistic fanatics, zealous party propagandists, mere adventurers, "the whole gamut of 'patriotism'." These gentry, for the most part, had joined the resistance at the last hour when the leaders of the official movements set up recruiting bureaus where "all could have their names inscribed in proper fashion," ready to swarm into positions held by the tottering Petain bunch. This is how the fruits of the resistance were stolen; proof enough are the scandals, dating from the days of the "false liberation," which now fill the columns of the Paris press.

Added emphasis to these reflections is provided by recent police action against anarchists in Paris. Several months ago anarchists there held a public meeting to protest rations which were on a starvation level. The Stalinists, who have a good deal of influence with

the Paris gendarmerie, sent police to break up the meeting. A riot followed. Two gendarmes landed in the hospital, and two anarchists were arrested. The anarchists, who had fought in the unofficial resistance, have since been sentenced to three months in jail and fined 5,000 francs. They were charged with violating a decree issued on October 23, 1935, when the government was headed by the late Pierre Laval....

RESISTANCE IN SPAIN What has happened to the resistance in France is an object lesson for Spain where the resistance continues despite brutal repression.

In our last issue we reported that two young anarchists, Amador Franco and Antonio Lopez, had been sentenced to death by the Franco regime. The execution was to take place April 30. There was a smattering of protest in this country, notably by the IWW. Most organizations, however, were too busy dusting off their May 1st slogans, for the day after the scheduled execution. The execution took place at the scheduled time—delayed only shortly by the refusal of a lieutenant-colonel and some police to carry out their orders. It is reported that they have been placed under arrest.

May Day in Spain showed that the resistance spirit of the Spanish workers had not died with Amador Franco and Antonio Lopez. Work stoppages occurred throughout Spain. In Bilbao, second largest industrial center in the country, industry was almost at a complete standstill, including the foreign-invested Babcock and Wilcox machine shops. The strike in Bilbao lasted two days despite mass arrests. When Franco threatened further reprisals, workers in other cities went on sympathy strikes, and the regime had to back down.

"Whatever penalties individuals suffer," the *New York Times* reports, "the workers in general have scored in a way that observers would not have believed possible in defiance of the iron-fisted Franco police system."

But the heroism of the Spanish workers will not be sufficient, just as it was not sufficient for the French workers, if their hopes for social freedom and economic justice are to triumph. Influential political and financial forces are at work to seize control of the Spanish resistance. The Monarchists, it is reported, are making overtures to the Republicans and Socialists. Though there are collaborationist tendencies within the CNT,

Spain's strong anarcho-syndicalist union, reports that the Monarchists have arrived at an agreement with certain anarchists have been denied, according to the British anarchist paper, *Freedom*.

From whatever source these self-asserted leaders come, whether from collaborationist anarchists or the emissaries of Don Juan, pretender to the throne, the Spanish workers will do well to beware of all self-appointed Messiahs. If the forces of resistance against oppression and repression are to come out of the long night ahead they must not be sidetracked by leaders, they must rely only on their own creative powers.

BUSTING JIM CROW Testing enforcement of the Supreme Court ban on Jim Crow in interstate travel, an interracial group sponsored by the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Congress of Racial Equality recently toured four southern states, systematically violating the bus-and-train segregation rules. From April 9 to 23, the group of 16 traveled through Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky, holding meetings along the way to explain and publicize the campaign.

The Greyhound Company apparently issued orders not to cause arrests, but on Trailways busses nine men were arrested in Virginia and North Carolina, and several were convicted. The only violence occurred at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, when one of a mob-minded group of taxi-drivers struck a white member of the party. The group left Chapel Hill after an anonymous threat to burn the minister's house where they were staying.

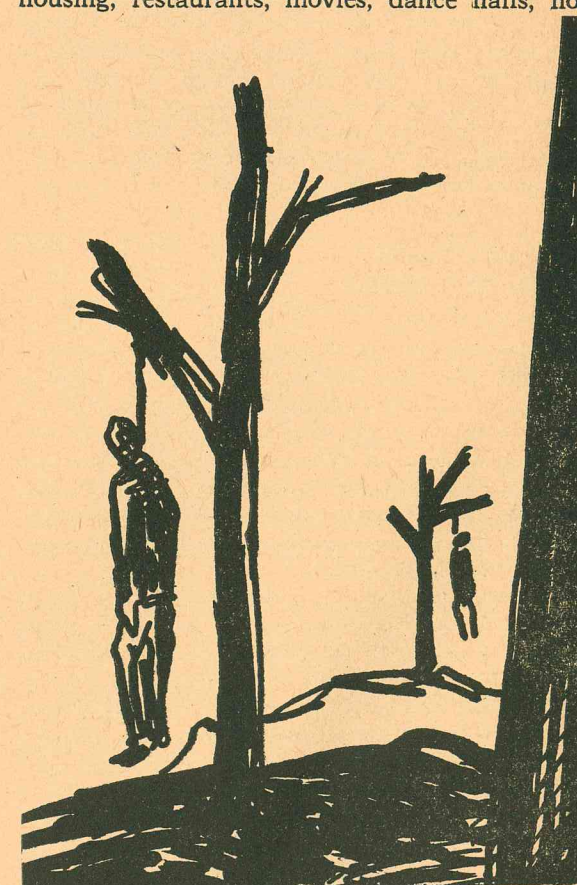
Probably the group's most significant finding was that "The great majority of the passengers were apathetic." Even in North Carolina, most passengers ignored the group; only a few demanded enforcement of Jim Crow rules. In Northern Virginia, where repeated test cases have caused the bus companies to abandon enforcement of segregation, there was no serious trouble.

Encouraging was the finding that "Uncle Tom's"—the pathetically pro-white southern Negroes who defend the racist system—were rarer than expected. Three cases were encountered; but many more Negroes were encouraged by the action of the group to assert their rights. Still, despite the Supreme Court decision, and even in the absence of enforcement by arrest, nearly all southern Negroes accept segregation. They know it is safest to submit. Segregation has been broken only

where concerted, continual violation of the rules has been possible.

The value of this isolated, expensive test-trip is questionable, and limited to publicity (which was good) and the encouragement it may give to liberal southern whites. After all, segregation of travel is on the fringes of the rooted southern pattern of segregation and racism.

The idea of direct action against racism, however, is good, and the expedition may start some people thinking in this direction. All of us have more opportunities than we realize to initiate or help in anti-Jim Crow action. With our belief in the basic sameness of people regardless of skin color or language, we have a responsibility to do what we can. Even in most northern states, Jim Crow is common — and frequently vulnerable — in housing, restaurants, movies, dance halls, ho-



Strange Fruit Still Ripens on Southern Trees. The lynching of Willie Earle and the freeing of the lynch mob by an all-white jury in Greenville, S.C., is just another demonstration that a class society in any form can never be an equalitarian one.

tels, on the job, etc. By attacking segregation and discrimination, we can stimulate people to thinking about racism; beyond that, the breakdown of part of the racist pattern destroys part of the forces which make Jim Crow a habit for most white people.

The problem of racism—especially anti-Negro racism—is of course much deeper. Racism has its roots in the economic and social system. Where there are upper classes and lower classes, those in the lower classes tend to grasp at any appearance of personal superiority. Racism is so ingrained in Americans that its solution is not simple. Continual man-to-man education of white people can do a lot. But in the last analysis racism can be wholly eliminated only by the elimination of class divisions, and economic, social and psychological insecurity, in a free society. Meanwhile, continual anti-racist struggle is urgent, for as long as the working class is divided by color and racist ideas, the possibility of unity against the ruling classes is not very good. Both as a practice and as a habit of mind, Jim Crow must be attacked continually. Direct action projects like the bus trip are part of the attack.

AMNESTY AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

"Three months have elapsed since the hearings of the President's Amnesty Board," A. J. Muste, Chairman of the Committee for Amnesty for all Objectors to War and Conscription, writes to President Truman. "It is clear that the Board does not propose to recommend a general amnesty and is, as a matter of fact, proceeding to the processing of individual cases. It is conceded that several more months will be consumed in this process before any recommendation whatever is placed before you."

In the meantime, of 13,000 men jailed under the draft law, 1,000 are still in prison. "Among them," according to the Amnesty Bulletin, "is Thomas J. Leonard, who was sentenced to six months for walking out of a CPS unit and who is nearing the second month of a hunger strike at the Danbury, Conn., federal prison."

It is now certain that there will be no general amnesty. Individual pardons will be granted at the discretion of the Amnesty Board. But even these pardons will not come before autumn, and probably no one still in prison then will be covered by the amnesty. It will merely be an apparently liberal gesture by Truman.

The campaign for amnesty for war objectors died at the end of 1946, when the Amnesty

Committee was caught off-balance by Truman's appointment of an Amnesty Board. The failure of the Amnesty Committee, plus the anti-liberal activities of the American Civil Liberties Union and the pussy-footing of the sometimes useful Workers Defense League, points up the need in America for a new organization for the defense of civil liberties, like the Freedom Defense Committee in England. The old organizations have long since served their purpose. They should be forgotten. There is a critical need for new forces to arouse Americans to action against the almost daily advance of regimentation and the totalitarian spirit.

FRENCH IMPERIALISM CONDEMNED

Le Liberaire, May 1, 1947:

"Two thousands Parisians, meeting Thursday, April 25, in the salle Wagram, at the call of the Anarchist Federation,

"Demanded amnesty for military prisoners condemned for desertion, insubordination, or lack of discipline;

"Called on the French people to support the campaign of *Liberaire* and the revolutionary syndicates, to stop the colonial wars by the recall of French troops—each people having to combat at every moment its own national or imperialist government;

"Denounced the phoney democracies which oppose the overthrow of Franco by the Spanish people, and pledged themselves to uphold the action of the C.N.T. and the F.A.I.;

"Urged the masses to unite across frontiers against their governments and against international capitalism;

"Pledged themselves to support the anarchist propaganda which, by preparing a social revolution, leads the sole action capable of overcoming misery, dictatorship and war."

RESISTANCE

(formerly *WHY?*)

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THE IDIOT MAKER

by Michael Grieg

Correlations have almost become (or are they already?) a disease of our adding machine culture. At the drop of a thesis, you can get most any bright young man to establish some inevitable connection between baldness and the business cycle, suicide and the setting sun or cabbages and kings. One of these days, I feel, a deadly correlation is going to be set up between the rate of imbecility and the number of correlations made in a given year.

This leads (how, I don't know) to another disease of our culture: advertising, and (misgivings aside) a correlation of my own. It seems to me that a more valid correlation than most can be made out between (1) the fabulous spread of American advertising in all its forms, and (2) the sinking pulse of the revolutionary movement in this country.

Previous to the onslaught of Modern Mass Media Methods, Americans were known to rally around the uncompromising program of an IWW. They would heed a Emma Goldman or a Gene Debs. About the biggest advertising distraction in those days were mild appeals to "favor with your purchase" the pills of Lydia Pinkham.

But how can Americans be expected on any scale to think straight today in our inferno of superwheedling? Can we count on any effective radical action when on all sides (and in the sky) they are assailed by the brain-numbing ballyhoo of modern advertising? How can the class struggle conquer over the appeal of a pill that squelches "extra excessive acidity", backed up by the mooning of a Sinatra? How can Kropotkin compete with an advertising model like Candy Jones?

From Halitosis to Neurosis

You flick on the radio in the morning to get the time and are immediately befogged by the hawkers of a dozen absolutely indispensable products, who intersperse their breathless dribble with a mention of the latest tragic world events—and by the time you get

the time you're late for work. The day finds you advised to

Make that gal your slave . . . with Burma Shave!

invited to

Help pick Miss Rheingold 1947!

warned to

Wash your duds in Super Suds!

implored to

End your financial worries at Personal Finance!

and by all means to

Never put bananas in your refrigerator!

All this—and far more—is blazoned forth by the radio, the billboards, the maze of ballyhoo placards in subways and trains, the newspapers and magazine columns. Add the skies filled with the glory of Pepsi Cola and I. J. Fox, the pseudo-news stories of publicity (that bastard child of advertising) and the countless other means of ragging the public's nerves, and you have at least one understandable cause for our national mental constipation—present company excepted.

Let me illustrate in more detail.

At hand is the *New York Herald Tribune*. The important news of the day reads: "*Haifa Jews Protest New Deportation . . . British Try to Ship 1,500 Off to Cyprus . . . First Attempt Is Balked With 1 Reported Killed, Several Hurt in Resisting.*" The story of this latest Middle East tragedy is continued on page 6; you turn to it, and there is the undoing of your sensibilities, the unsettling of your mind (unless you take "Gray-Matter-Scatter, the modern headache remover"). For no sooner are you done with the report from Haifa when B. Altman & Co. of Fifth Avenue New York, flashes before your eyes almost a full page of elaborate turbans (at \$66 per head) donned by sultry Americanized houris, bearing this legend: "*The Taj Turban Silhouette! Mme. Pauline transmits the vivid romance and atmosphere of the Middle East to the turban chapter in the fall millinery tale. Drapery*

swirls from the 'taj' crown—ending in a 'char-gat' to drape dramatically around your throat. Isn't it an exotic look, an enchanting look for your important fall hat?"

How does one's stomach take to the mixing of such stuff? Does the contrast sharpen our sense of the injustice done to the Jews? No doubt just the opposite takes place. We blink at the plight of the Jews and the "vivid romance and atmosphere of the Middle East"—one blanks out the other and we think no more of it. And if anything makes an impression on us, the odds are in favor of the turbans.

Why I Left My Tweeds and Pipe

The above example is undoubtedly exceptional in its unintentional irony, but it is certainly no exception, I think, to the calamitous, deadening effect that most advertising has on the public sensibility.

Far more insidious are the less exceptional ones, the value-distorting ones that try, for instance, to set up a causal relationship between success at love and a particular brand of hair tonic. The most flagrant example of this type came to my grieved attention recently when, on a family visit, a young nephew stormed into the house and, without a nod of recognition to his unusual uncle, ran to the radio, turning it on full blast with some such exclamation as "IgottahearFlashMcGonigal!" The announcer (believe me) was carrying on in this vein: "Boys and girls, let me tell you something I know you're mighty keen on hearing. You know, those flyers for Uncle Sam, those high heroes of the sky who dropped the atomic bombs on Japan, let me tell you boys and girls, that they needed all the atomic stamina and pep to do what they did. So you want to be ready for those atomic adventures of the future, too, don't you? Well, then, here's what you do, ask Mom to get a heapin' package of—" I gazed over at my nephew. He was riveted to the radio, completely unmindful of his unusual uncle.

For all this, millions upon millions of dollars go into advertising, but at what a bigger cost! Countless diatribes have been written, some best sellers, concerning the ruinous effect that fraudulent advertising has had on our health standards, but advertising is a fraud that goes deeper than that.

The effect on our mental health standards is far worse. Let us forget for a minute that Americans may be disconcerted from real issues by modern advertising. Let us think only

of the constant admonitions to buy "Stinko, the perfume of sheer abandon," or the warning that your future happiness depends on this or that "mild, delightful" laxative. Think of the tangled associations with which words have become knotted. More, think of the hollow lives of those who spend their time and money in a reflex to the hawkers of these glittering geegaws. And think of the anxieties of those whose poor purses frustrate artificially stimulated needs.

You might also give a momentary thought to the polished purveyors of the commercialized lie, the account executives, the idea men, the copywriters and the host of other advertising specialists. Only a moment's thought, mind you. They are not worth more. I spent two years in advertising myself (mainly in publicity work for national advertisers), and I intend to spend ten more years trying to live it down.

There are three kinds of advertising men*: those who are mentally deficient and believe that advertising has a social use; those who accept with cynicism the advertising game's lack of ethics and, rightfully, belong in the company of Nazi mass exterminators and Big Three politicians; and those who enter the business purely for cash reasons but who leave quickly when they find they have to sell their integrity and intelligence. You see, I was caught somewhere between the last two classifications.

How do the honest dupes of advertising justify the work they do? I refer, of course, not to purely informational advertisers, those engaged, for instance, in want ads—an infinitesimal part of advertising—but to the purveyors of persuasion, the innovators of innuendo.

Usually their arguments go like this: "Advertising helps people make intelligent choices . . . Advertising stimulates people to buy, which stimulates production, which stimulates jobs . . . Advertisers are the patrons of the arts—you've heard of the Pepsi Cola painting contests and, after all, Texaco backs the Metropolitan Opera broadcasts . . . And where would charities be if not for advertising to help sustain their funds?"

As if advertising *does* help people to make intelligent choices! As if an economic system which has to rely on artificially stimulated

*I haven't read the two recent novels about the advertising business, **PLEASE SEND ME ABSOLUTELY FREE** and **THE HUCKSTERS**, the latter a best seller. Both feature, I'm told, advertising men as heroes—a hopeless contradiction to begin with.

needs to keep going doesn't deserve to collapse, and with it advertising! As if society shouldn't find a way for artists to live without depending on "prestige advertising" with its general lowering of artistic standards! As if those in want should have to depend on charities!

"Check," says the cynic, "so what the hell are you going to do? Ethics don't buy bacon. If you leave advertising, you'll prostitute yourself in writing for the movies, the mags or taking a job on even the old home town paper. So why beat your brains?"

Well, all I can honestly say is what I've done and what I intend to do. I'm doing

Reviews

THE STATE. By Randolph Bourne. The Resistance Press. Individual copies without charge.

Resistance is best understood if regarded as a group of attitudes we must adopt toward the anti-social features of the institutions we live under, these attitudes crystallizing later into habits. In order to develop these attitudes, nothing is needed more than clear and constant analysis of these institutions.

Helping to fulfil this need, *The Resistance Press* has issued as its first publication a reprint of Randolph Bourne's long, though uncompleted essay, *The State*. Probably the only other significant pamphlet on the state by an anarchist, which is widely distributed, is Kropotkin's *The State, Its Historic Role*. Bourne's study goes beyond Kropotkin's and so can be considered a re-analysis of the state, while Louis Adeane's analysis which appeared in early issues of *Now*, the British anarchist bi-monthly, goes beyond Bourne's. However, since the myths concerning the state are still widely supported, and since Bourne's attack on these myths is so deadly, particularly dealing with the American state, the reprinting of the pamphlet is a wise choice.

Bourne was an essayist. His earliest essays were variations on the educational theories of John Dewey; a second group was collected under the title *Youth and Life*, and concerned the promise of American youth and the quagmire of university and elementary education; the third group appeared as *History of a Literary Radical*, essays on Dreiser, and avant-garde literature in general; the group from which the reprinted essay is taken is a post-

without bacon. I'm living on jobless insurance for the time being—that is, getting back some of the taxes the Government has taken to build up its stockpile of atom bombs. Then, as soon as possible, my girl and I expect to help form a cooperative community. That way we hope to satisfy our real needs: fresh food (not cellophaned, not dehydrated), mutual aid (no prizes), and happy children (without box-tops). Such resistance may not change the world (unless others take similar steps), but it can make a world of difference, at least for us, from the sleepwalker's life most Americans lead.

humorous collection called *Untimely Papers*, and dealt mainly with World War I and its implications, most of the essays having appeared in *The Dial* before that magazine's finances were withdrawn because of Bourne's polemics against the war.

The State is a spirited work. Frankly a polemic, a jeremiad, and not a study in the academician's sense, Bourne's reflections do not smell of the midnight oil. Not the result of intensive research, accumulation of vast data, there is no attempt to explore the full meaning of the institution of the state. Bourne's concern was with questions like this: "The question whether the American nation would act like an enlightened democracy going to war for the sake of high ideals, or like a state-obsessed herd, has been decisively answered." Necessary functions of any complex society, those now monopolized in the hands of the state, received no attention from him. Of course this unconcern with the fact that the state is more than the nation organized to act politically distresses the academicians no end; the academician—or liberal—still continues to regard the state as an instrument which, if used intelligently, can function for the total good of the community. (Dewey's *The Public and Its Problems* contains the liberal concept of the state. Later treatments from the same point of view are Hook's *Reason, Social Myth and Democracy* and MacIver's volume, *The Web of Government*.)

Bourne's essay is divided into three sections: 1) Psychological factors favorable to the perpetuation of the state, notions which are quite widely held today. For example, as Bourne points out, the state is thought of as a Fatherland, a view which has its origin in the familial arrangements of our culture. Consequently, "a people at war have become in the most literal sense obedient, respectful,

trustful children again, full of that naive faith in the all-wisdom and all-power of the adult who takes care of them, imposes his mild but necessary rule upon them and in whom they lose their responsibility and anxieties." Here, the only quarrel with Bourne might be over the words "at war"; in our time, in the quest for security, war has not been necessary for this recrudescence of infantilism.

A central term in this section is "herd instinct." According to Bourne and the psychologists he relied on, there is a "gregarious impulse" operating—"the tendency to imitate, to conform...and most powerful when the herd believes itself threatened with attack." The use of such an instinct has been validated by later evidence in such works as Reich's *Masspsychology of Fascism* and the study by Adeane. (The term "instinct" has, of course, come to be considered a *bete noire* by some; used indiscriminately, the term is certainly a dangerous one. Bourne's use of the term is very similar to Dewey's in *Human Nature and Conduct* where an instinct is regarded simply as a reaction to any social situation without necessarily being invariant.)

2) A distinction is made between nation and state. "The more closely it [the state] is examined the more mystical and personal it becomes....The nation [possesses] qualities exact enough to mean something." While government is the machinery of law-making and law-enforcing, "the State stands as idea behind them all...for the significant classes [those with preferential economic status] nation and State are scarcely differentiated." The flag is the symbol of the state. "We reverence not our country but the flag...we are disrespectful to the flag at our peril." And "...the flag is most intimately connected with military achievement...it represents the country not in its intensive life, but in its far flung challenge to the world." Bourne never formally defines the state, but the excerpts indicate the elements he regarded as invariant. Further, Bourne suspects that the only really adequate definition of the state can be found in its origin. This he does not attempt to explore since his concern is with "the American State as it behaves and as Americans behave toward it."

3) The American state. Here Bourne draws heavily upon Charles Beard and Thorstein Veblen. In this section he recapitulates the argument found in Beard's *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution*. The state in

this country had virtually disappeared for six short years during which time the Articles of Confederation was the only tie among the colonies. But as Beard's documented volume shows, the powerful propertied class accomplished what amounted to a coup d'etat in having our present constitution ratified. Through the years the sanctity of the American state has been established in the responsive behavior of Americans. As Bourne says:

"Every little schoolboy is trained to recite the weaknesses and inefficiencies of the Articles of Confederation. It is taken as axiomatic that under them the new nation was falling into anarchy and was only saved by the wisdom and energy of the Convention. These hapless articles have had to bear the infamy cast upon the untried by the radiantly successful... The history of America as a country is quite different from that of America as a state. In one case it is the drama of the pioneering conquest of the land, of the growth of wealth and the ways in which it was used, of the enterprise of education, and the carrying out of spiritual ideals, of the struggle of economic classes. But as a State its history is that of playing a part in the world, making war, obstructing international trade, preventing itself from being split to pieces, punishing those citizens whom society agrees are offensive and collecting money to pay for all..."

Here the essay ends, cut off by Bourne's death. Bourne had been shadowed and had suffered indignities at the hands of the state while he consistently attacked the war, its political aims, and the instrumentalist philosophy of Dewey which had been so easily adopted for purposes of war. In his last months nothing was certain but his antagonism to the state and those institutions in our culture—property, church, exploitation—which abetted the state in perpetuating itself.

Resistance to the state is crucial. Bourne, hunched and sorrowful, died in complete despair. We have inherited the evils of his time with our additions. We shall probably pass on in greater despair. Bourne's essay, however, helps awaken that resistance, which will be an ever increasing necessity, to the anti-social demands of the state.

A few more words about the pamphlet itself. In addition to Bourne's essay, there is a biographical sketch taken from John Dos Passos' *U.S.A.* and a rather schematic introduction by Michael Grieg. Because the publication of the pamphlet has been made possible by voluntary labor and the mechanical

costs sustained by voluntary contributions from the readers of *WHY?*, now *RESISTANCE*, Bourne's *The State* is being distributed without charge through various channels. Further contributions to the press fund of *The Resistance Press* will make possible other outstanding pamphlets at little or no charge.

—DAN ELIOT

CRITICS & CRUSADERS. A Century of American Protest. By Charles A. Madison. Henry Holt & Co. \$3.50.

From time to time a book is published which deals with little known events or personalities of American History. The latest such book, is Charles A. Madison's *Critics and Crusaders*. In it the author briefly discusses the lives and ideas of eighteen men and women who are little more than names to most people. The book is divided into six general classifications: abolitionists, utopians, anarchists, dissident economists, militant liberals and socialists. The author does a good job of telling the story of each person. He is accurate and objective in his reporting. Exception can be taken to some of his statements, but on the whole, he presents a clear picture of each and discusses them as intelligent, independent thinkers and not as the crackpots of popular opinion.

In this respect, the book does a valuable service. It is well for Americans to learn what Veblen, Brooks Adams, Eugene V. Debs, Emma Goldman, etc. have to say about the growth and development of capitalism in America. It is well to be reminded that America had anarchists and radicals who were not "dirty foreigners". And for those people who seem horrified that anyone should dare to strike in defiance of the U. S. government, it will come as an eyeopener to learn that John Brown actually declared war on that government, and that Garrison and Thoreau openly defied it.

Yet, like so many books written in this vein, it suffers from a lack of discrimination, oversimplification and often contradictory evaluations. These faults stem from Madison's approach to the people he discusses. Although he admires them for their courage, one senses that he regards them as too radical, too advanced. His thesis seems to be that radicals are necessary, even if not practical, because they act as a sort of conscience for the rest of society and help to keep a good balance. America with all its evils has progressed much and it was the

efforts of these critics and crusaders which was most responsible for this progress.

This is a rather naive idea. It is true that the gross brutality which characterized the development of capitalism in America has been softened a bit, made more subtle. But it is equally true that America today is what the critics and crusaders were trying to prevent. It is the America of today with its standardized human beings, the America whose people accept prefabricated ideas and attitudes as well as prefabricated houses, which the Fullers, the Thoreaus, the Debs and the Goldmans despised.

It is this naiveness which makes the author make statements that are often contradictory. Emotionally he admires these people who looked forward to a new world, but he is a "realist" and winds up accepting the New Deal-Roosevelt-liberal position. The contradiction between his admiration for the radical and his "realism" is evident in what he says of Henry David Thoreau: "It was just because he could foresee the final subjugation of the individual by the Leviathan State that he spoke out against it with such uncompromising idealism. Yet even now, for all the present impracticality of his anarchistic principles, there is an essential appeal in his philosophy which endears him to all freedom-loving peoples."

At times it seem as if Madison were at odds with Madison. In one chapter he discusses Benjamin Tucker, one of the leading exponents of Individualist Anarchism. During the first world war, Tucker was carried away by anti-German hysteria. In my opinion, he betrayed his anarchistic ideas when he said, "From the start I have favored war to the limit—war till Germany (rulers and people alike) shall be so whipped and stripped that never more shall she have the will or the power to renew aggression." Madison calls this uncommon prescience not to mention persuasive logic and good sense. Yet, a few chapters later he discusses Randolph Bourne, the most intransigent of the anti-war intellectuals of 1917. He talks of Bourne's passionate struggle against war hysteria in these terms: "It was his passionate eagerness for the richer and freer life of the American promise that made him oppose the war so desperately. He knew that war was inimical to culture; that in fighting Prussianism we would expose ourselves to a similar militarism... His dissenting voice rose accusingly against the moral

leaders: a love of country that held fast to the patriotism far nobler than that of the war myopia of the mob and gave expression to a ideal of the ultimate good at a time when practical citizens were concerned solely with matters of immediacy... It was this nobility of vision—so irritating to men of action in times of crisis and yet so vital to the moral health of society—that places Randolph Bourne among the true, if minor, prophets of America."

What Madison misses are the deeper implications of the ideas put forth by these eighteen radicals. As a result, there is no attempt to analyze, no attempt to discriminate

between any of them. At most, he makes the kind of generalizations that are so often repeated, i. e. anarchism is a fine ideal but so negative. What remains is a vague emotional admiration for the original thinking, independence and courage of the men and women.

The book is at its best when it describes the ideas and struggles of each person. This is its most valuable contribution. If the retelling of the lives and ideas of these men and women can stimulate independent thinking, it is a useful antidote against the standardization and blind obedience which characterizes most Americans today.

—D. A.

THE AMERICAN SCENE

by **Kenneth Rexroth**

One of the best appraisals of the American scene appears in the current issue of **NOW**, the English Anarchist Review. We believe that it is worth the attention of our readers and, therefore, reprint here significant portions of it.

It is hard to know just what readers of *Now* will want most to know about the U.S.A. as it emerges, post-World War II, ruler of the world, minus one-sixth and some additions. It isn't a nice picture. Marx had a word for it—two words—that put it succinctly, "human self-alienation" and "fetichism of commodities." This country always was a warren of greed and stupidity, now it is a madhouse. At night the streets, not just Broadway, but the main stems of Des Moines, Iowa, and Pocatello, Idaho, look like one of those old silent Russian movies of the rotten bourgeois helling around just before the workers take over. Only in this case, it isn't just the bourgeois, it's everybody, and not least the sainted workers.

There are certain index phenomena, usually accepted, which, whatever one thinks of the prigs who accept them, do give a picture: a fantastic increase in the consumption of alcohol, completely unmanageable "juvenile delinquency," jam-packed madhouses and a soaring commitment rate, a fivefold increase in the venereal disease rate in "civilized" states like California (nobody knows what goes on in the American Balkans, Mississippi, for ins-

tance), tremendous increase in gambling, a conspicuous increase in sadistic "sex crimes," with sado-masochism short of mayhem becoming a favorite indoor sport (see the pulp-magazines for the Roman apotheosis of the gladiator-detective), a mass dulling and brutalization of response that can be studied in the deterioration of all forms of commercial art and entertainment, an increase in homosexuality that must be seen to be believed. And everybody busy throwing money around with Klondike largess at night and trotting to psychiatrists by day. Now, don't get me wrong. I am all for juveniles being thoroughly delinquent, and joy being unrefined, and some of my best friends are queer, but these are all signs of a prolapsed nervous system and deranged gonads, and, whatever the health of a state may be, it is usually measured by the ability of its citizens to keep out of the more conspicuous forms of mischief. The U.S.A. after dark has come to look like 4th century Rome, or late Weimar Germany. The eve of the Goth, the eve of Hitler, the eve of the bomb. American is dying of a failure of nerve and a dead conscience inside it like a stone baby.

Over it all broods the unmentionable future, which everybody, even the most ignorant, knows is coming. Economic crisis, unemployment, starvation, social conflict, war and the Bomb.

Actually, in a sense, the economic crisis is already here. It is apparent that the country is not going to be able to use its incredible, war created, over-capitalization profitably. Once this spending spree is over, and it is based on nothing but pocket money, a lot of pocket money, but loose change none the less, gears, which have ground and clashed and stalled for two years now, will freeze for good. Hence the demand for war with Russia. Don't let sentimentalists tell you it is the dirty capitalists and diplomats. The Russia war, like Hitler's anti-semitism, is a genuinely popular cause, and with, roughly, the same strata. No government could last an hour which was not whole-heartedly committed to it. . . . It isn't called that, of course, it is called "getting tough with Russia," nor is it admitted that the U.S.A. and Russia have been at war by Chinese proxies for two years. . . .

The coming economic crisis still shows itself publicly in rather subtle ways, the stockpiling of unmanageable inventories, hidden overproduction, e. g., in cotton and textiles, the fall of the stock market, the floating of new issues to pay dividends on old, etc., etc., but principally in the perfectly obvious falling rate of profit — the inability of U.S.A. industry to get going again at capacity and still make money and the incorrigible disorder at the point of production. So the loose change is being sopped up with \$5 liquor, \$20 whores, baccarat for the workers, \$2 steaks, and second-hand jalopies that sell for more than new cars. (Because there are hardly any new cars.) What is important, too, is that the backlog of lower middle-class and working-class money invested in war bonds is burning up in the price inflation and spending spree. It simply isn't going to be there soon to sustain that post-war boom in consumer goods that was going to keep the economy running for years and years. . . . Further, the spread of war bond investment never compared with that of the first war. The Liberty Bonds were, proportionately speaking, far more diffused in the economy and hence gingered the boom of the twenties. The bonds of War II are already, much too many of them, in the hands of the banks. . . .

The principal factors in the Republican victory, or rather Democratic defeat, seem to be:

(1) The hopeless economic muddle, without, as yet, any, real suffering. (2) The shortage of commodities in the face of an inflated greediness; much of this is really due to strikes which have sometimes dragged on for months; of course, nobody tells the average citizen that U.S.A. capital has been on a political strike for two years. (3) The inability of the Administration to handle the tapering off period of the war economy; culminating in the meat fiasco, actually a strike of the ranchers, packers, and wholesalers. (4) Certain critical shortages, e. g., housing, which is not even keeping up with the increase of population and which was non-existent during the war; this again is due to a strike of building materials manufacturers, lumber interests, etc., and the refusal of the powerful building trades unions to adjust to the conditions of a mass housing programme; situations like this, which prevail in several fields, were completely beyond the control of the Administration. (5) The historical bankruptcy of New Dealism. Roosevelt took power amongst a lot of badly scared rabbits. Post-war America is a land of coyotes, not starving coyotes, but certainly coyotes with over-stimulated appetites. Those once profitably idealistic Trades Union leaders have become hardboiled economic condottieri, with amongst the largest income taxes in the U.S.A., bullet-proof cars, tommy-gun guards and entry into the "progressive" salons of Hollywood actresses and N.Y.C. surrealist millionaires. They no longer need those busy little men who subscribe to the *Nation* and *New Republic* (two comic supplements of the *Manchester Guardian* published weekly in the U.S.A.). The "Soul of Man Under Veblenism" is a closed chapter in U.S.A. history. (6) The desertion of the Democratic Party by the Stalinists. This might seem good riddance, but in many industrial areas and big cities, they were the ones who really worked, ringing doorbells and getting out the vote. Also, with almost thirty years of training in cynicism, they were able to hand out propaganda that surpassed both the effrontery and skill of the old line bar-room politicians. (7) The Wallace imbroglio. This was undoubtedly Stalinist manipulated, though it is difficult to say how much Wallace was aware of what he was doing; he is certainly under their influence. (8) The breakdown of the big city machines due to fat headedness and old age in office—Kelly in Chicago, Hague in Jersey, Pendergast in Kansas City, Tammany in N.Y.C., only the Colorado organizations held up. Chicago, for

instance, had got to the point where the city, simple as a service mechanism, had begun to break down. Many city services were as bad or worse than during the economic crisis when Chicago was stagnating in total bankruptcy. (9) Truman himself. One thing should be said in the poor haberdasher's justification. The Stalinists have carefully built up the legend that he is more "reactionary" than Roosevelt, because he is less confident that he can outsmart Stalin. As a matter of fact, he is, on the record, much more "pro-labor" than Roosevelt, and much more forthright about it. He just isn't such a smoothie as the Old Master.

As for the working-class....

It shows no signs of any militancy. Of course, behind the facade of Babylon which I began this letter by describing, ordinary people go on living ordinary, hard, seedy, sometimes squalid lives, overworked and starved for more than bread. These are the people who, when they can do nothing else, do what they have to do....

Maybe I have painted a somewhat dreadful prospect. How is it reflected in intellectual spheres? Pretty awful, worse if anything. Damn few went to it, but the war finished off a generation of U.S.A. intellectuals. They all went to Hell on a gravy train of human blood. Years of the expedientism of Lenin, Stalin and/or Trotsky and/or John Dewey had accomplished a miracle of surgery. Thousands of people woke up one day to discover that their backbones had been painlessly removed under the influence of laughing, or at least sniggering and chattering, gas. They had never missed them. The W.P.A. Writers' Project changed its name to the Office of War Information; salaries were upped handsomely; one went on, going to cocktail parties for a Second Front, then for Russian Aid, then for Yugoslav Relief, then for United (!) Spanish Aid, just like one had gone to cocktail parties for the Scottsboro Boys, or had drunk the boys out of the trenches by Christmas in Spain. Everybody was better dressed and people went to bed with less urging and there were a lot of uniforms around, which made the girls look hot and the men look distinguished; otherwise there wasn't much difference. The war was never mentioned except in overtly Stalinist circles, where everybody had more fun pretending to be the American Legion Post in Emporia, Kansas, on the Fourth of July. The "ideological leader" of the highbrow dissent of the later thirties, the *Partisan Review*, dropped its one irreconcil-

able, Dwight Macdonald, and dummed up with a good book by H. James for the duration. Amongst those who had "arrived" not a voice was raised, not a peep, not just against the war, but even against the Japanese-American concentration camps, the jam-packed penitentiaries, C.O. hunger strikers, persecution of German-Americans (that is still not supposed to have existed—the papers were ordered to print no such news.) Hamburg, Dresden, Hiroshima, Nagasaki, never a murmur. Believe it or not, the best self-styled progressive circles are still justifying the Bomb—"Look at all the lives it saved." The nearest thing to a man of integrity amongst the successful writers of the country was, I suppose, Jim Farrell, whose voice, unfortunately, was a little muffled, by his head being stuck in one of the many Trotskyite tar barrels.

It would be different if this had happened to a bunch of fools and happy parasites—spiritual whores have written good poems and painted good pictures in the past—but it didn't. These people are not innocent with invincible ignorance. They all knew they were selling their souls for a mess of government vouchers. Hence, the sources of artistic integrity were fouled and dried up, and the stuff they have written during the war and since, is completely worthless....

Letters

Sirs:

Today on visiting my friend he showed me a copy of *WHY?* (March 1947, Vol. 5, No. 10) which I started to read. While in the course of so doing I came across an article by D. T. W., *Blueprint for the American Century*. Towards the end of said article I read the sentence, "In the long run, suppression of the Communists must be made practical, and it can be." This sentence is under part V of the article by D. T. W. in the section starting, "The Secretary of Labor spoke..." I was astonished to read this. Feeling that I had read incorrectly I discussed it with my friend (after reading it several times) and we concluded that the author is in favor of suppressing the Communists by force (inference gotten by the sentence following "In Hitler's Germany...") By advocating violence (since Hitler's regime existed only through violence) the author is at odds with the anarchist principles

of freedom of speech. His stand is dangerous for by advocating suppression of the Communists the author is begging for suppression of his own views by those now in power.

I would like to know whether the author, D. T. W., is in favor of freedom of speech (since theoretically he advocates it being an anarchist) or whether he advocates suppression of it (as I gathered from that particular sentence mentioned above).

C. P. T., Brooklyn, N. Y.

In case other readers misinterpreted the section referring to suppression of Communists, I will state flatly that I and other anarchists are absolutely opposed to suppression of the Communist Party. The article was setting forth what it is logical for the government to do, in preparing for war with Russia; that is, to suppress the Communists and all liberals and radicals. We certainly do not favor this; we oppose war, and we are opposed to any government restriction on free speech. I was pointing out what the Truman Doctrine is likely to lead to, not what I want to happen.

—D.T.W.

* * *

March 23, 1947

In my hands has fallen a copy of *WHY?*. I wish to receive propaganda published in America, especially anarchist. If possible, please send them under special cover so that the post office here cannot revise them and thus know me as a receiver of anarchist propaganda. Here we have to be very careful about our ideas, although we do our very best to broadcast them. Our main enemy is the church here, and those are the majority of the people. Our struggle is a big one, no doubt yours is too. It is very hard when you come across people, besides ignorant, who stick up not only for government-State but also for stupidities like religion, etc.

Hoping that this letter will get to your hands and wishing to hear from you, also forgiving my bad English, I remain, yours and of the cause,

Rosario, Argentina

* * *

April 10, 1947

The March issue of *WHY?* came two days ago and I read it through to see if you were developing some positive plan of action and am sorry to say found none... "Neither Russian slavery nor American slavery, but Resistance." Merely negative futilitarianism, but no positive plan of operating the social mechanism. As wars are but the outgrowth of our

price economy and its concomitant commodity struggles, then it is well to consider a plan of social operation that will carry on our social activities without a price economy and the conflictis generated out of it.

It seems that all the "radicals," socialists, communists, wobblies, anarchists, the labor unions, liberals and others have taken such a drubbing in following their merely negationist proclivities that they are mortally afraid to advocate or follow such a positive plan as Technocracy, Inc., has projected... The Socialists, Communists, anarchists and wobblies have hardly moved a peg since the days of Marx and Engels, Bakunin and Kropotkin. In fact in many relations there has been a decided retreat from the intellectual positions taken prior to the first world war. The rising conception of the form and functions of a new social order has given way to the petty chiseling operations of commodity struggles within the framework of the price system, or futile oppositionism. Alone Technocracy, Inc., has a clear call for the institution of a functional equalitarian social order...

Any distribution of an abundance of production, based upon the man-hours of human participation can lead only to the failure of the distributive mechanisms and industrial stagnation. You probably recognize this, but despite this still stick to the rear-guard oppositionism as a social tactic. You could do that until hell froze over and only continue to be a dwindling minority (which you are).

These, above statements, may appear as harsh words to ones who are trying, as you will say, to arouse the people to the dangers that threaten them. But the negationism you are engaged in is a diverting of the energies of well intentioned people from a positive line of action of putting forward a plan for the functional operation of our social system upon the basis of equalitarian welfare for all. Is it not time to reinvestigate the whole basis of your conclusion? As it is, you are getting nowhere, but only obstructing by your policy of negationism. As it is, science must be given a mandate to install a social system that can and will distribute the abundance our mechanism is set up to produce.

W. I. F., Portland, Oregon

To many, our outlook seems negative because we emphasize primarily the evils of present-day society, and what the few people now conscious of those evils can do to combat them. We feel that so long as radicals are so few, it is useless to devote ourselves to

spinning theories about what we might do now if we were a majority. Our primary present concern is to arouse people to thought and action by pointing out the evils and what is needed to change society. We are not concerned, as Technocrats are, only with economic problems; hence we do not try to manufacture an economic solution which would simply transfer control from one set of rulers (capitalists) to another (engineers). We think the problem is much deeper than mere economics: the problem of individual people being free and responsible and participating in the planning of their activities. Hence we emphasize the idea of freedom—that is, anarchism—which to us is positive. We believe that a people determined to be free will work out the means of economic and other cooperation, without our preparing blueprints for them.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Combined Statement for Vol. 5, No. 11
and Vol. 6, No. 1

Balance, March 26, 1947\$284.72

CONTRIBUTIONS

CONNECTICUT: Hartford: Donato 3	3.00
NEW YORK: N. Y. C.: Galileo Club (Tickets for WHY? Dance) 6.50; M. M. 5; L. L. 2; C. B. 5; O. A. 5; L. L. 50¢; G. R. 5; C. L. 1; M. B. 10; Buffalo: E. K. 2	42.00
NEW JERSEY: Newark: Contribution to Youth Group Dance 5; Irvington: F. C. 5	10.00
PENNSYLVANIA: Allentown: W. S. 1; Philadelphia: E. I. G. 1.65; Pittston: P. B. 5; Wallingford: J. H. M. 5	12.65
FLORIDA: Miami: Miami Group 35	35.00
OHIO: Cleveland: B. F. 8; Youngstown: A. M. 60¢	8.60
MICHIGAN: Detroit: Spanish Group (May, 1946)*	50.00
ILLINOIS: Chicago: A. B. 3; E. C. 1; Champaign: J. S. M. 1	5.00
CALIFORNIA: San Francisco: Gruppo Libertario 25; Los Angeles: F. E. T. 1; A. A. 2.50; A. S. 1; Youth Group 116.05; Berkeley: C. F. W. 1.80; Oceanside: A. S. 35; Reedley: H. F. 85¢ Memo Park: F. B. O. K. R. 1	174.55
WASHINGTON: Poulsboro: J. O. P. 20; Centuria: J. & M. L. 2	2.20
	\$627.72

EXPENDITURES

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Cuts, Vol. 5, No. 11	6.50
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	\$568.98

Balance, May 21, 1947

(Does not include expenses for this month) \$ 58.74

*In May of last year we received \$50.00 from a comrade who was delivering the money to us from the Detroit Spanish Group. This money was never acknowledged or entered in the books. As result we found we had more money than was shown on the books, we therefore decided to balance books by making misc. and anon. contribution. We are now rec-

Have You Read?

• THEORY

ABC of Anarchism (Now and After abridged), by Alexander Berkman	25c
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The Roman Catholic Church and the Modern Age, by F. A. Ridley	5c
Retort	40c

Available on request are copies of WHY? Publication Fund pamphlet, "War or Revolution?", and "Freedom" and "Direct Action," from England.

tifying this error. We apologize to the Detroit comrades for this error on our part.

In the last issue of WHY? we did not print a financial statement because of the lack of space. We are now publishing a combined statement for the last issue and for this issue.

Our readers will note that our expenses continue to increase as we increase the numbers of copies published and enlarge the format. Also there has been a steady rise in the cost of printing. We are doing everything possible to keep our expenses as low as possible, but as our readers can see we now have on hand only \$58.74 to pay for the issue of Resistance you hold in your hand. We appeal to our readers and friends who feel Resistance can do a worthwhile job to continue to support us to the extent they are able.