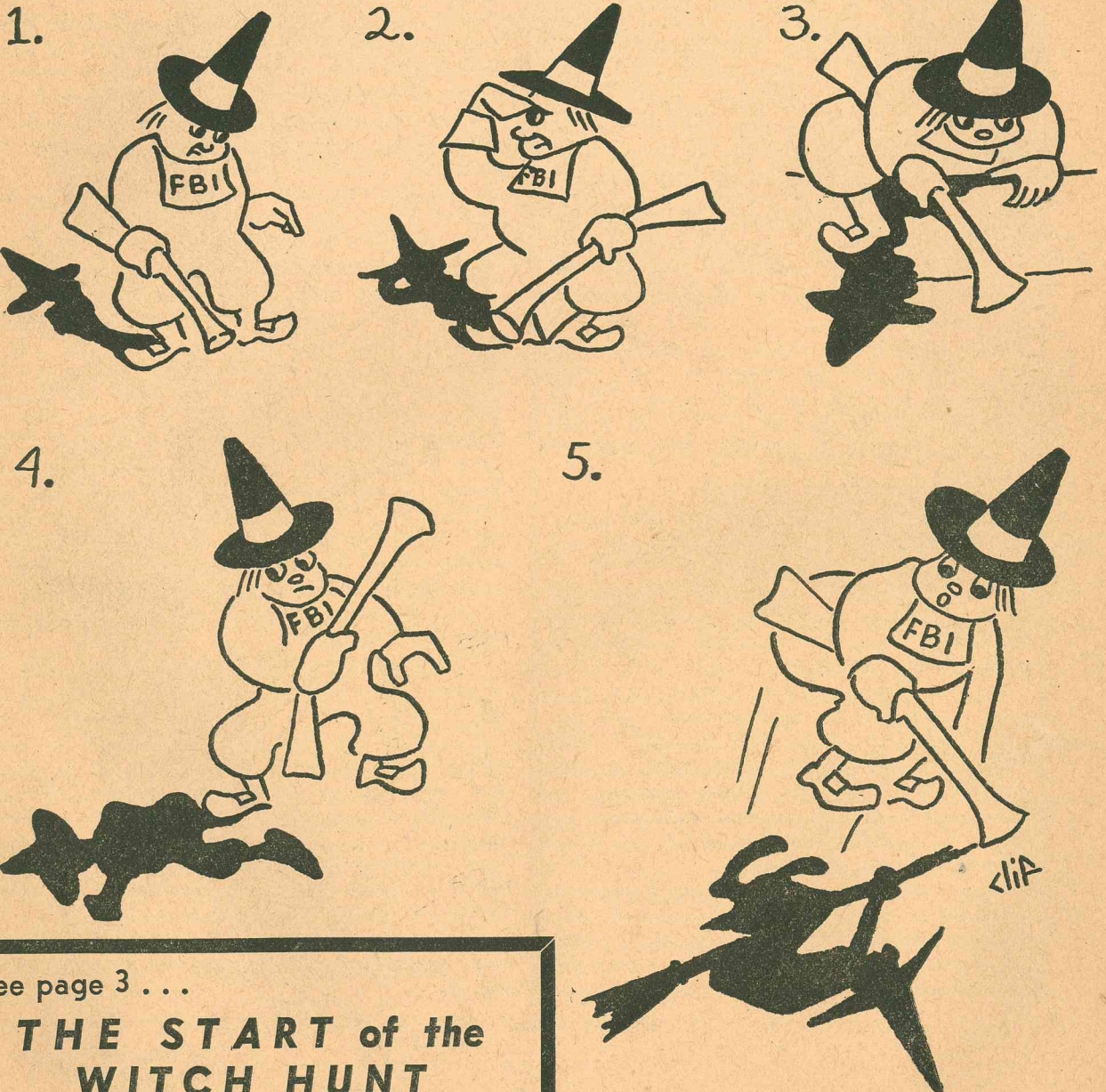


RESISTANCE

Vol. 6 - No. 2

AN ANARCHIST MONTHLY

June, 1947



See page 3 . . .

**THE START of the
WITCH HUNT**

We offer no blueprints of a future society, no handed-down program, no ready-made philosophy. We do not ask you to follow us. We ask you to stop depending on others for leadership, and to think and act for yourselves.

Organized mass murder, called "war"—conquest and plundering of nations, called "liberation"—regimentation of human beings, called "patriotism"—economic exploitation and poverty, called "the American system"—repression of healthy sexuality, creativity and living, called "morality" and "Christianity"—these are the warp and woof of present-day society.

These things exist because a small group of politicians, militarists and bankers, controlling the wealth of the nation, is able to starve people into submission, to buy their minds and bodies, and hire them to kill and imprison each other. These things exist because people are trained, in the home, in the school and on the job, to obedience and submission to authority, and are beaten into indifference by the dog-eat-dog struggle for existence; because people cling to ancient myths of religion, patriotism, race and authority, and let hirings of the ruling group do their thinking for them.

We believe this system can be ended by our refusing to be pawns of the ruling group, by our learning to think and act for ourselves, by our finding ways of living and working together in peaceful, free cooperation.

For these reasons, we propose:

That we clear our minds of the myths and superstitions we have been taught, and see the world as it actually is;

That we learn to live as free people by exercising freedom and individuality in our work, our recreation, our sex and family lives, our education;

That we refuse to take part in war, conquest, exploitation, imprisonment, and the other crimes of present-day society;

That we join together as workers, as consumers, as victims of war and conscription, as victims of race hatred, in movements to resist the rulers' demands and to take from them the things we need;

That we work together to spread the idea of freedom, to develop initiative and self-reliance, to create a society where we will be able to live as human beings.

Commentary

NO RESISTANCE TO FASCISM? Why did the union leaders have no program except to beg for a futile veto of the Taft-Hartley Bill? Why do they not call the law what it is, a step to fascism? Are they afraid workers will remember the indictment of the German people for failing to disobey a government run amok? Are they afraid workers will disobey this law if it is called by its right name, if "free American government" is exposed as a conspiracy of big business and militarists?

Does anyone fail to see in the Taft-Hartley Law, in the Truman Doctrine, in the drum-beating for a peacetime draft, in preparation for atomic war, the shaping pattern of slavery and death? Does no one see this? Does no one care? Will everyone wait for a signal from leaders who have no signals to give? Is everyone content with the "resistance" of formal protest?

Is there no will to survive, no will to be free?

HARD TIMES Despite optimistic assertions by Truman, Jesse Jones and others, the fact of a growing economic "recession," and the possibility of full-fledged depression, is forcing its way into the minds of economic analysts, political forecasters, and the newspapers. "The statistics reveal a recession that already has reached sizable proportions"; "If such a movement of stock prices does not presage a business recession, the event will be the first in American history"; these are typical restrained comments on the critical situation created by the evaporation of the economic factors that made the post-war boom.

The immediate causes of the developing crisis are obvious:

1) Reconversion and plant expansion, which accounted for \$12 billion investment last year, are nearly over.

2) Production schedules maintained by anticipation of demand are coming to an end, and dumping of overstocked goods becomes frequent as purchasing power proves insufficient.

3) Government spending has come down to half the level of the last pre-war year, and Congress wants to cut it still further.

4) The hoped-for building boom has been held back by the absence of buyers at current prices.

5) The rise in the cost of living has eaten up war-time savings and cut the purchasing power of wage-earners 20 per cent since 1944.

6) A year and a half of heavy excess of exports over imports has drained the world of the dollars accumulated abroad during the war-years, when America was paying out dollars for war materials. Britain has already, in one year, spent half the loan that was supposed to last five years. \$15 billion annual export, and 15 million jobs, are involved in a trade crisis which, everyone expects, will hit at the end of 1947 unless more big loans are made to foreign countries.

Behind these immediate causes is what most economists consider the prime mover in the capitalist business cycle and in depressions: the fact that some people are rich and most people are poor. To maintain the current level of national income, production and employment, the mass of the people must have enough money to buy the mass-produced metal goods which are the core of the manufacturing economy. Already, however, it is only the upper and middle classes, and a few other lucky individuals, who can think of buying automobiles, radios, washing-machines, refrigerators, etc. And their needs, accumulated during four years of exclusive war-production, will soon be satisfied.

Except in a war-economy, capitalism has never been able to resolve this paradox, other than by periodic depressions and mass unemployment. Nobody knows any solutions to it within the capitalist system, and the labor unions are wasting effort in demanding preventives; more sensible is it to accept the fact of capitalist depression, and plan for it, to prevent the capitalists and government from using unemployment and low wages to divide the workers, break up the unions, set up a dictatorship and drive us into war.

It is uncertain whether even a state-run economy like Russia's is free of cyclical depressions. What is certain, though, is that war is the one solution to depression that is acceptable to the government, the army and the capitalists. It is a sure cure. As a Wall Street writer said last fall: "An armament boom is the only ultimate major alternative now visible to a decline in business until it falls within a range of fluctuations around a 'normal' composed of replacement demand plus slow natural growth. Such an armament program in the long run appears inevitable, if we don't want national suicide."

War, as the alternative and "solution" to depression, is the danger we have to fear and plan against.

The Start of the Witch Hunt

Cotton Mather, the sadistic New Englander who prosecuted witches in colonial times, would feel right at home in the America of today. Today the witches are called "reds," but there is the same, though more diabolical, emphasis on repressive legislation as the cure-all for the nation's sins.

Congress resounds with the calls of the big corporations to curb labor in this, in that; to keep "reds" out of positions in the labor movement; to root them out of government jobs. Senators demand that Henry Wallace, that sincere demagogue, be tried for treason for saying what he thinks of Truman's foreign policy, and they summon up that legislative ghost, the Logan Act, one of the many laws on the statute books which could bring about our own form of constitutional fascism. Even Hollywood is getting set for a probe of the "reds," and redhead stars, it is rumored, are fast becoming brunettes and blondes.

Already Congress has decreed a death penalty for the "crime" of making known certain military information—the first time there has been such a penalty during peace. Already persons labelled "reds" have been fired from government jobs, and at least one, who had denied his political beliefs, has been sentenced to a number of years in prison. Even the august Supreme Court has not remained aloof from the accelerated repressive trend of the day. A recent decision permits the police to seize any incriminating evidence while ostensibly investigating a particular crime—opening the door, thus, to the sort of searches that went on under fascism in Italy and Germany and still go on in Stalin's Russia.

Our legislators have more method in their madness than Cotton Mather did. The witch hunt that has started is part of the preparation the ruling class is making for the next war. It is the domestic counterpart of the government's foreign policy. The Truman Doctrine abroad favors the repressive governments of Greece, Turkey and Argentina—with U.S. dollars rivals the more blunt attempts of Russia to swing the rest of the world into its power orbit. This means, too, that all

militant opposition at home must be stemmed. The rulers of America are jittery, nothing must jeopardize the only "solution" they have to the next depression—the war with Russia. Thus the present witch hunt.

Now we have absolutely no sympathy for the immediate target of this repression, the partisans of the Russian state, just as we have none for the partisans of the American state. The Communists in Russia, from Lenin through Trotsky to Stalin, have persecuted, jailed and murdered anarchists and other leftwing opponents of dictatorship—just as the American courts, with its Palmer raids after the first World War, terrorized anarchist and labor militants, murdered Sacco and Vanzetti, and have continually persecuted and prosecuted opponents of war and exploitation.

As anarchists we are opposed to all repression on principle. We are partisans of full and equal freedom for all. We oppose the repression or penalizing of upholders of unpopular views. We are against monopoly in every form, the monopoly of an ideology or the monopoly of property.

Furthermore, we realize that the real enemies in this country are not the half-pint totalitarians of the left but the indigenous totalitarians, the respectable gentry who only become concerned about tyranny where and when their investment interests, their power interests, are concerned, but who are quite able to tolerate tyranny if it suits their pocket books. We realize that if the spirit of legislative repression continues to gain force these respectable totalitarians will find it not too difficult and not too inconvenient to level witchcraft charges against militant labor and the radical movement in general. In fact, the logic of events would necessitate such action if the ruling class is to pursue its goals. For suppress Communist, and lo and behold! they will turn up as Socialist Party members or Trotskyites . . . or anarchists.

Given a shaky economy, a restive population, a sharper and sharper war of nerves with Russia, greater and greater power for the military, and the future will breed total repression, sparing neither Communists nor militant trade unionists.

All this, as we have stressed before, points to the urgent need for an American counterpart of the Freedom Defence Committee in England, a group to supersede the pettifogging legalism of the American Civil Liberties Union and the ineffectual Workers Defense League. We need a group, composed of sincere libertarians of all tendencies, with a social

goal opposed to the present coercive system, who will help rally the people to demonstrate by direct action their resistance against repression of what freedom we have.

Unless the current witch hunt is resisted, the America exemplified by Cotton Mather and current police and vigilante brutality, the deep streak of callous arrogance in American life, will gain full control and put to shame the talent for repression of a Hitler or Stalin. Then America will not only out-produce the rest of the world in refrigerators and atomic bombs but in gas chambers as well.

Your Help Is Needed!

For the first time since the start of our paper, *RESISTANCE* has a deficit of over \$300 (see financial statement, p. 16). Because of this debt, we were forced to cancel plans to make this a 20-page issue.

Cost of publishing has increased greatly in recent months; this issue, for example, cost almost \$300, compared with \$200 six months ago and \$150 a year ago. This covers printing, cost of cuts, postage and other incidentals. As always, no salaries are paid; the work of editing, writing and mailing the paper is done by voluntary labor.

We dislike to appeal for money, particularly in these days when everyone is finding the cost of living so high, but voluntary contributions from our readers are our sole source of income. We have no choice but to ask for your immediate help in wiping out the current deficit and in enabling us to expand the magazine.

If you have intended to send us a contribution, but have put it off through negligence, help us now.

Make all checks and money orders payable to D. Agostinelli, sec'y-treas., *RESISTANCE*, Cooper Station, Box 208, N. Y. C. 3, N. Y.

ANARCHISM: Past and Future

by Herbert Read

Writing in 1940, Herbert Read remarked, "The characteristic attitude of today is not one of positive belief, but of despair." The observation is even more pertinent in 1947 when the atomic bomb hangs over our heads like the sword of Damocles. No wonder that even anarchists, whom Read excluded from his list of those in despair, have begun to doubt some of their cherished beliefs about the nature of man and the future of the world.

There could be no more impelling time than now for anarchists to re-examine their ideas. Two articles in this issue of *RESISTANCE* pose some basic problems confronting anarchists today. Herbert Read, in an article reprinted from the British anarchist fortnightly, *Freedom*, deals with the basic anarchist principles and their validity in the light of the present situation and modern research.

What I have to say on this occasion is addressed to anarchists—to all those who feel an intellectual or emotional sympathy for the political tradition denoted by the word 'anarchism'. I am not concerned for the moment with propaganda or persuasion—rather, with self-criticism and what might be described as "a call to order."

I begin with this challenge: no fundamental thought has been devoted to the principles of anarchism for half a century. The last important contribution to anarchism was Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid*, written fifty years ago.

It might be argued that Kropotkin, and others before his time, Tolstoy, Bakunin, Proudhon or Godwin—had formulated a political philosophy which was good for all time—a sacred text which only needed the exegesis of later commentators to bring it up-to-date. Apart from the fact that deep contradictions exist between the writers I have mentioned, whose reconciliation would call for a synthesizing work of genius, there are certain historical events of the past fifty years which have fundamentally affected all systems of thought.

George Woodcock opens the question of anarchist organization and the values we attribute to the various factors in a free society. Next issue, in what was a talk at an anarchist meeting, Jackson MacLow examines the thorny problem of what can be done now to make our ideas more of a living reality than they are. Needless to say, we do not necessarily agree with all the conclusions reached in these articles.

The editors of *RESISTANCE* believe that the questions raised are open ones, problems not for despair but for careful thought. We invite our readers to send us their comments. We intend to explore further these questions and others, for we are enemies of authority, including the authority of anarchist tradition, and believe that the spirit of dogmatism is alien to anarchism.

—The Editors.

There have been two world wars—symptomatic of some deep social disorder; there has been a revolution in Russia which has undergone some very significant transformations; there has been a drift in the distribution of world power which has brought the United States into the periphery of our affairs; there have been changes in methods of production and means of communication which have transformed the economic basis of society; and finally, a new weapon, the atom bomb, has been invented which has decisive implications for revolutionary strategy. These are but the most dramatic of the changes which have affected our life since the writing of *Mutual Aid*; there are many advances in scientific research and philosophical thought which are no less significant for the future of anarchism.

Naturally, I believe that there are certain universal truths which determine our anarchist attitude, and which will always differentiate us from the socialist, the liberal, the capitalist or the fascist. But these so-called universal truths are few in number and very general in expression; they are abstractions, intellectual

concepts, emotional attitudes. We are probably compelled to adopt them, not so much by reason, as by temperamental disposition. They are beliefs which have to be translated into acts.

Three Fundamentals

The fundamental beliefs or attitudes underlying anarchism can, in my opinion, be reduced to three—three principles which we must accept if we are to continue to call ourselves anarchists.

The first is the belief in *personal freedom*—not merely a belief in individual liberty, but in a state of mental equilibrium in which thought is calm and life is harmonious—it is no good being politically free if we remain psychologically obsessed.

The second belief is in the social principle of *mutual aid*. We anarchists do not accept either the individualistic philosophy of the liberals and capitalists, or the totalitarian philosophy of the socialists and communists—we believe that society can be organized on a co-operative and federal basis, free from exploitation and from dictation.

About the third belief we may not be so unanimous, but I personally think that it follows originally from the first and second beliefs, and that it is now forced on us by the logic of events. It is the belief in *non-violence*—in non-violent resistance to oppression, and in non-violent methods of attaining our ends.

These beliefs are not self-evident to the majority of people, and it follows that we have to use our powers of reasoning and persuasion to secure the agreement of our fellowmen. My contention is that we are not at present doing this in any scientific or consistent manner. We are divided among ourselves, open to accusations of vague idealism and muddle-headedness, and of being fundamentally lazy or reactionary.

Fields of Knowledge

I shall now indicate some of the specific fields of knowledge which call for interpretation in the light of our fundamental principles.

There is first of all the field of *history*. We are advocating a certain form of social organization—the co-operative community. Such communities have been tried as experiments in the past, and are being tried as experiments in various parts of the world to-day. Some of these experiments date back to the Roman Empire; others begin in the Middle Ages; others are of recent origin. It is true that

Kropotkin has devoted a brilliant chapter or two to the most significant of these historical types; and Rudolf Rocker has given us a general survey of the history of civilization which brings out clearly the values of the federal principle. But a much more detailed examination of the historical evidence is needed; and apart from specific research into the history of co-operative communities, there is need for an analysis of history in general in the light of our principles. The history of law and criminology, for example, should provide evidence of immense value; the history of land tenure, or of trade organizations are other examples. I am not suggesting a tendentious interpretation of history: I think we have everything to gain from the objective truth. But let us get at the facts which support our beliefs, and weigh them against the facts which are held to support other beliefs.

The next field of necessary research is *anthropological*. Kropotkin, again, was a pioneer in this field, but since his day an immense amount of fresh material has been published and from my own superficial and incomplete knowledge of this subject, I know that much of the evidence collected and published by anthropologists like Margaret Mead, Malinowsky, Verrier Elwin, and scores of obscurer field-workers, has direct bearing on the co-operative organization of production and the subtler problems of collective integrity.

Anthropology would soon lead us to the wider field of *sociology*. Sociology is a very wide and indeed amorphous subject, but almost every aspect of it has some bearing on the issues raised by anarchism. It sometimes seems to me that the many problems investigated by the sociologist converge on the discussion of one point—the nature of the incentives which maintain the vitality and well-being of societies. Certainly, unless the structure of a society includes what might quite simply be called “a stimulus to work,” that society will decay. The formidable attack on totalitarian forms of socialism delivered by economists like Von Mises, Ropke and Hayek concentrates on this weak spot in the socialist state. It is an attack which is supported from day to day by events. Not only in Great Britain, not only in France and Scandinavia, but by their own confessions in the U.S.S.R. also, and perhaps there most decisively, the incentives to work have declined. Almost everywhere—in spite of increased wages and an improved standard of living—the rate of production per man-hour has declined catastrophically during the past fifty years.

There is evidence which shows that this is not entirely an economic question. When all due weight has been given to factors like wages and housing, standard of living and conditions of work, an unknown factor remains which we can only call *zest*: a certain positive attitude towards society and the future which shows itself, not only in rates of production, but also in the birth-rate. The same factors seem to govern the two processes of production. These factors are *psychological*, and psychology is the next sphere which demands our patient investigation.

Psychology

Psychology may be either individual or social. That individual psychology has some bearing on our problems should be obvious enough, but to show how nearly it touches them, let me quote a few sentences from a forthcoming work by C. G. Jung:

“The psychologist firmly believes in the individual as the sole carrier of mind and life. Society or the state derive their quality from the individual’s mental condition, for they are constituted by individuals and their organizations. No matter how obvious this fact is, it has not yet permeated collective opinion sufficiently for people to refrain from using the term ‘state’ as if it referred to a sort of super-individual endowed with inexhaustible power and resourcefulness. The state is expected nowadays to accomplish easily what nobody would expect from an individual. The dangerous incline leading down to mass psychology begins with this plausible thinking in big numbers and powerful organizations, where the individual dwindles away to mere nothingness. Yet everything that exceeds a certain human size evokes equally inhuman powers in Man’s unconsciousness, totalitarian demons are called forth, instead of the realization that all which can really be accomplished is an infinitesimal step forward in the individual’s moral nature.”

[*Essays on Contemporary Events*, p. xvii.]

“When people are thrown together in huge masses and considered only as a herd, it has the most devastating moral and psychical effect upon the individual. The foundation for collective crime is laid by just such a state of things; and then it is really a miracle if the crime is not actually committed. Do we seriously believe that we would have been proof against it? We, who have so many traitors and political psychopaths in our midst? It has filled us with horror to realize all that man is capable of, and of which we are consequently also capable; and since then a terrible doubt

regarding humanity—in which we also are included—nags at us.

“Nevertheless—and there should be no mistake about this—such a state of degradation can only be brought about by certain conditions. First and foremost among these is the accumulation of urban, industrialized masses; i.e. of people whose abilities are only partially mobilized, owing to the unnatural, one-sided character of employment in factories, shops, and so on. They have been uprooted from their natural soil and have lost every kind of healthy instinct, even that of *self-preservation*. For dependence on the state can be measured in terms of loss of the instinct of self-preservation, which is a deplorable symptom. Dependence on the state means that one relies on everybody else (=state) instead of on oneself. Every person hangs on to the next, with a false feeling of security; for one is still swinging in the air even when hanging in the company of 10,000 other people—the only difference being that one is no longer aware of one’s own insecurity. The increasing dependence on the state is anything but a healthy symptom, for it means that the people are on a fair way to become a herd of sheep, always relying on a shepherd to drive them on to good pastures. The shepherd’s staff soon becomes a rod of iron, and the shepherds turn into wolves.”

[*Essays on Contemporary Events*, pp. 52-3.]

But it is in the wider field of social psychology that the most pertinent work remains to be done. Social psychology which is sometimes called group-psychology or phylo-analysis, is, properly understood, the foundation of our whole attitude. We might say that all other political attitudes—capitalist, labour, communist—are attitudes without a sound psychological basis. Some Marxists, aware of this deficiency in their own philosophy, attack psychology as a pseudo-science, or as a bourgeois science, but that is only an indication of their own limitations. Psychology has its charlatans, like every other science, but its scientific achievements, particularly in the field of mental therapy, cannot be disputed.

The main problems of social psychology revolve round the relationships which exist, or should exist, between the individuals and the groups. Most mental illnesses, unless due to constitutional defects, are the result of maladjustment, and can often be cured by the “integration of the personality”—by which phrase we mean the effective restoration to the individual of a sense of community with oth-

ers. Repressions which result in an unconscious sense of frustration are the root cause of individual maladaptations and of most aggressive impulses. But, obviously the problem is not entirely an affair of the individual: there are two terms to the process of integration, and most maladjusted individuals might complain with some justification that it is not themselves, but the group which needs readjustment. And any psychologist who has worked outside his consulting-room is bound to admit the justice of this complaint. From the family to the state, the group in modern society is a flabby, inchoate, uneasy organism, and until we have discovered what is wrong with these organisms, we shall fail to effect any widespread readjustment of individual neurosis.

I believe, myself, that the pioneer work in this field has already been done by a group of American psychologists under the leadership of Dr. Trigant Burrow, but until the final results of their research have been published, it is difficult to substantiate this belief. We can already see from works like *The Biology of Human Conflict* and *The Social Basis of Consciousness*, that a new level of psychological research has been reached and that it has a direct bearing on the problems of social organisation. I believe myself that the conclusions will be a direct and powerful vindication of the political philosophy of anarchism. I am prepared to admit that other psychological theories, particularly those of Wilhelm Reich, are equally relevant. I am not insisting that any particular system of psychology should be adopted by anarchists: I am only suggesting that psychology has a direct bearing on all social issues, and that our political philosophy must be grounded in psychological truth.

Education

When we have got hold of the right principles of social relations, there will then be the problem of putting them into practice. The idea that this can be done by some kind of revolutionary *coup d'état* is really very childish. You cannot readjust individuals to society, or society to individuals, by purely external measures of control. The necessary changes are not so much political as biological—not structural, but organismic. The only way a biological or organismic change can be induced is by training or education. The word *revolution* should largely disappear from our propaganda, to be replaced by the word *education*. It is only in so far as we liberate the growing shoots of mankind, shoots not yet stunted or distorted by an environment of hatred and injustice,

that we can expect to make any enduring change in society. Revolutions fail because they are built on the bogs and volcanoes of vast social neuroses; the few sane and enlightened pioneers who may lead a revolution are almost immediately swamped by the forces of the collective unconscious which the violence of the revolutionary event releases. It is not the enemy confronting the barricades which defeats a revolution, but the forces coming up from the rear.

We may have to act in a revolutionary spirit in a given situation—I shall discuss revolutionary tactics presently—but a new order of society such as we desire can only be given a firm and enduring foundation within the physique and disposition of the human being, and education in its widest sense is the only means we have of securing such fundamental changes in the whole social group.

About the type of education likely to bring about such fundamental changes, there may be legitimate differences of opinion. I have my own ideas about it which I call "education through art", and I have given a summary of them in the Freedom Press pamphlet called "The Education of Free Men." In general, what is necessary is some form of moral or ethical education. The declining influence of the churches has left an enormous gap in the process of education. The education given in primary and secondary schools, in universities and in technical colleges, is an almost exclusively *intellectual* education: it trains the mind and memory of the growing child, but neglects the emotions and sensibility.

Ethics

Some of you may look askance at words like "ethics" and "morality" and fear that they may be a cloak under which some escapist form of religious mysticism would be gradually introduced. But that is really a very narrow-minded and timorous attitude. You have only to consider the psychological make-up of the human-being, and to compare this structure with the normal methods of education, to realize that fundamental constituent elements of the human psyche are either completely ignored, or ruthlessly suppressed, by present practices in the schools. Everything personal, everything which is the expression of individual perceptions and feelings, is either neglected, or subordinated to some conception of normality, of social convention, of correctness. I am not suggesting that we should educate for a world of eccentrics, of wilful egoists. Far from it. I am really suggesting that these forces which we call feelings, instincts and emotions,

should be used creatively, and communally—that we should substitute, for our neurotic separateness and discordant relationships, disciplines of harmony and of art. The end of moral education is the creation of group discipline, of group unity or unanimity, a living-together in brotherhood. Brotherhood is an instinctive social unity—a unity in love. But it does not grow without care, without a united will and a discipline. Just as the family can be an epitome of hell if it is based on discordant wills, on parental disharmony, on ignorant suppression of natural instincts, so society is hell let loose when it is one vast neurosis due to social inequalities and social disintegration. Moral education is simply education for social unity, and as such it hardly exists to-day. But it is the only guarantee of the endurance, of the lastingness, of the social revolution. It is for this reason that towards the end of his life Kropotkin turned his attention to the subject of ethics. He lived to publish only the first part of his work, which was a clearing made in the tangle which has grown up round the subject. (*) But he intended to build in the clearing he had made, and was working on a positive system of ethics when he died in Russia. I always hope that this last work of his may have survived, and will in some happier time be published. But we cannot wait for that chance. We have to go on from the point where Kropotkin left off, and give to the world a conception of morality or ethics which is an expression of our fundamental beliefs.

Finally, we have to develop and give a more perfect expression to our philosophy of freedom. Our philosophy is our faith. We believe that it is firmly based on empirical evidence—on the evidence of the natural order of the universe, on the evidence of biology and history. But we have to give systematic order to that evidence, and eloquent expression to the general concepts which arise from the evidence. We shall find some support in ancient philosophy—in Indian, Chinese and Greek philosophy; but virtually we have to build on new foundations—the scientific foundations which I have already described.

The Humane Revolution

What I have outlined is a coherent plan of research and work—a sevenfold system of study and creative activity, leading step by step from the facts as we find them in history and existing societies, through the basic facts of

* A new edition of Kropotkin *Ethics* has just been published in New York by Tudor, \$2. (Editors' note).

human psychology and social economy, to the methods of education and the philosophical formulation of our ideals. Perhaps it sounds all too systematic to you, but it is far from my intention to suggest the rigid structure of a universal philosophy on the lines of Comte or Herbert Spencer. Humanity is diverse; evolution is creative. A philosophy of freedom is a philosophy which allows for growth, for variation, for the possibility of new dimensions of personal development and social consciousness.

How does this programme which I have sketched for the future of anarchism differ from our previous conceptions of anarchism? Well, obviously, it is less political. I will not admit for a moment that it is less revolutionary. But the revolution envisaged is a humane one, and not a political one. But if we can secure a revolution in the mental and emotional attitudes of men, the rest follows. This is fundamental anarchism—anarchist fundamentalism. It discards for ever the romantic conception of anarchism—conspiracy, assassination, citizen armies, the barricades. All that kind of futile agitation has long been obsolete: but it was finally blown into oblivion by the atomic bomb. The power of the state, of our enemy, is now absolute. We cannot struggle against it *on the plane of force*, on the material plane. Our action must be piecemeal, non-violent, insidious and universally pervasive.

But this does not mean that we should retire to some sort of monastic life and lead a purely spiritual existence. On the contrary, we must study various forms of non-violent action, and above all the strategy and tactics of the strike weapon. Passive resistance to all forms of injustice must be organized, and must be made effective. Our most immediate aim is resistance to military conscription, and the preparation of some co-ordinated policy of universal resistance to all forms of military action, wherever and for whatever reason used. That aim alone is sufficient to absorb the energies of all those comrades whose temperaments are extraverted and energetic. But however much we become engaged in such revolutionary activities, do not let us forget that the real revolution is internal, that the most effective action is molecular, and that only in so far as we change the actual disposition of men do we guarantee the enduring success of the social revolution we all desire.

The Rat in the Head-Fixing Industry

Reuben Maury, chief editorial writer for the *New York Daily News*, and also for *Collier's* magazine, is probably the most widely-read editorial writer in America. In 1940 he was given the Pulitzer prize for editorial writing. Now, John Bainbridge, writing in the *New Yorker*, has exposed Maury as a classic example of journalistic prostitution. In the head-fixing industry, prostitution is rampant and notorious, but rarely so brazen.

By comparing Maury's editorials in the *News* and *Collier's*, Bainbridge shows that Maury has written for *both* sides of almost every major international issue in the last half dozen years. In one of Maury's prize-winning editorials, in the *News*, for example, he set out to show that the world was heading for totalitarianism, while at the same time he wrote for *Collier's*: "Pardon us, then, if we seem a bit dubious about the inevitability of totalitarianism. We've heard that 'inevitable' duck quack before, though never quite so loud."

Bainbridge cites editorial after editorial in the *News* in the pre-Pearl Harbor period, where Maury argued forcefully for isolationism, while he was preaching interventionism in *Collier's*; how he was for lend-lease (in *Collier's*), opposed (in the *News*); for Roosevelt's 50-destroyer deal (the *News*), opposed (*Collier's*); for post-war alliance with Britain (*Collier's*), opposed (*News*); for ending Chinese exclusion (*Collier's*), against it (*News*); for feeding Europe (*Collier's*), opposed (*News*).

The examples are endless; here are some of the better ones:

Regarding extension of the service of one-year draftees in 1941, Maury wrote in the *News*: "We do not believe either Great Britain or the United States is in serious danger at the moment... So we think a dirty trick and an unnecessary one is in process of being played on these soldiers by the Congress and President of the United States."... For *Collier's* he wrote: "We think these measures had better pass, for the national safety."

In the *News*, Maury recommended that we "warm up to Japan in the matter of stabilizing trade relations... The net effect would be... we would gain a powerful friend in

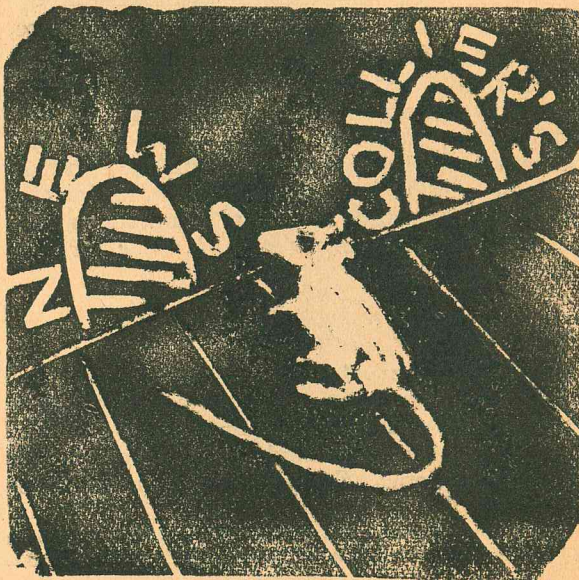
the Far East and would in effect double the strength of our fleet." For *Collier's*: "Apparently we aren't going to clap on Japan the war-materials embargo that would most likely paralyze the Japanese military caste's assault on China and perhaps produce a revolution that would mean the end of military overlordship in Japan."

Maury's employers are quite aware of his dual activities, but seem undisturbed. Each employer gets his money's worth. Says the editor of *Collier's*: "We didn't hire Maury for his personal opinions; we don't know what his personal opinions are. And to tell the truth, we don't give a good God damn."

Maury refuses to divulge what he thinks in the privacy of his brain: "If the great American public wants to find out what I think, let somebody rig up a signed column for me to write, get up enough lettuce, and I'll tell them." He works like a lawyer, he says (he was one before the *News* hired him); a lawyer doesn't refuse to represent a man because he disagrees with him. "My job as an editorial writer is, as I see it, to do the best work I can for anybody who is so kind as to want me to write for him or her, regardless of what my personal opinions on any assigned topic may be."

"The dirty, dishonest thing for me to do," he said, "would be to ease a little *News* philosophy into *Collier's* or work a little *Collier's* stuff into the *News*. I am very careful never to do that."

—DTW



THE COMMUNE: A Factor in a Free Society

by George Woodcock

The anarchist movement between the wars of 1914-18 and 1939-45 tended to be dominated by syndicalist influences. The most powerful organisations in the libertarian movement were such syndicalist bodies as the C.N.T. and the powerful revolutionary syndicalist groups in Italy, France, Sweden and elsewhere. In America the example of the I.W.W. tended to give the revolutionary working class a similar bias towards industrial organisation, and the Spanish civil war, which placed the C.N.T. and its syndicalist ideas of organisation at the head of the libertarian struggle gave added emphasis to this aspect of anarchism. The Spanish anarchists in particular developed their ideas on industrial organisation to such an extent that writers like Santillan produced blue prints of the "free society" which were almost as terrifyingly rigid as those of capitalist or communist state planners. I propose in another article to return in more detail to the danger implicit in this tendency to make too rigid plans for the society at which we aim. For the present, however, I am concerned with the emphasis which has been given to industrial organisation during a whole generation of anarchist and near-anarchist struggle. For thirty years anarchism was, for good or bad, predominantly syndicalist.

The end of this war, however, has brought a very profound change in the nature of the libertarian movements throughout the world. Anarchism has re-emerged from the war with a new vigour. In France and Italy there are large movements once again, and in the former country at least the movement is more vigorous than it was before the war. Small, but lively anarchist groups, with many young members, are operating in England, America, Switzerland and Holland. The Chinese movement has arisen again, and from the South American countries comes news that the movements there are once again taking up the struggle. Everywhere anarchist periodicals are appearing and increasing their circulation and influence. Even in Germany and Austria the

anarchists are reassembling and contacting new and interested sections of the population.

It is, however, significant that this rebirth of the anarchist movement has not been accompanied by the kind of large-scale syndicalist movements that existed before the war. Sweden, where the continuity of the syndicalist movement has never been interrupted, and Spain, where the underground libertarian movement still remains something of an unknown quantity, are the only exceptions of any consequence. The other large movement which has maintained a continuous existence during the past decades, that of Bulgaria, has never tended towards large-scale syndicalism, remaining always a movement of anarchist communism.

Elsewhere than in Spain and Sweden, the only syndicalist movements that have re-appeared are those of France and Italy. In neither countries have they reached anything like the same importance as the anarchist groups; attempts to form large-scale syndicalist organisations have failed, and the syndicalist group remain more or less concentrated in particular factories and workshops, where they play an active part, as individual groups rather than as a wide movement. Elsewhere, while the anarchist groups still talk in syndicalist terms, the fact remains that all activity is centered in the anarchist propaganda groups and not in any syndicalist movement. The one powerful German and Dutch syndicalist federations show little sign of revival. In England there is no syndicalist activity at all. In America, I have the impression (though I stand to be corrected by the editors) that the I.W.W. consists of a few old-fashioned militants who put forward a centralist policy of "One Big Union" which makes little appeal to the workers and has precious little to do with anarchism.

This situation, with the revival of vital anarchist groups and the continued moribundity of syndicalism — at least of the old pre-war variety — makes it necessary to reconsider our attitude towards anarchist organization,

and I submit the suggestion that the kind of industrial organization that has been advocated by many anarcho-syndicalists in the past has no real relation to modern social and technical developments, and that we should envisage a return to a purer form of anarchist communism as the basis for our new libertarian approach.

Traditional Syndicalism

The anarcho-syndicalism which flourished between the two wars tended to relegate the commune to a minor place in its scheme. This form of syndicalism, and to an even greater extent I.W.W'ism, became so involved in the tactics of the industrial struggle that it came to regard man as little more than a worker, a producer, and to forget that the consumer and the plain human being also have their rights to attention. Therefore we had elaborated schemes for the organisation of production and distribution, and very little attention was paid to that rich communal organisation which is the aim of anarchist communism and without which productive organisation loses its value.

Moreover, the traditional syndicalists became so much involved with the struggle here and now against large-scale capitalism, that they began to be influenced by some of the general concepts of organisation which belonged to capitalist industry at the time. The capitalist trust was paralleled by the idea of the "One Big Union", of the organisation of industries on a national scale, of a society based on a few great syndicates which would dominate it in just the same way as the capitalist trusts attempted to do. There was a certain lip-service paid to the consumer — the syndicalists would bear in mind the needs of the communes, would make their arrangements with other syndicates for the supply of necessary goods, etc. etc. What we forgot was that any monolithic organization, whether it is a syndicate or an army, tends to set itself above the community of individuals, and that in all large bodies there are enormous dangers of centralism creeping in, if it is only through the ossification of bodies which may begin as co-ordinating councils, but which, if the organization becomes rigid, may well turn into centres of power.

The large industrial syndicate, in which the loyalties of the workers are firstly to their own industry on a national scale, has as many disadvantages in its own way as the old craft unions. It brings unity on a large scale — but also produces division on a wider front.

And it is based on the idea of industry remaining organised in large national networks, which is also the traditional idea of monopoly capitalism and state socialism.

But anarchism is basically decentralist, founded on diffusion in every possible way, so that units of organisation are no larger or more widespread than is necessary for efficient work. And if efficiency were to depend on the creation of monolithic bodies of any kind — which experience proves it does not — then the true anarchist would willingly sacrifice efficiency.

But it is just in this sphere — of efficiency — that decentralist anarchist communism is most in accordance with modern developments in social science and industrial technique. Large scale industry, centralised in great factories, is a phenomenon of the capitalist era which was produced by the need of the capitalist to concentrate his economic power, by the mere physical factors of the industrial revolution, which made it more economical to have large factories at or near the sources of coal rather than small workshops scattered over the country, and by the demands of imperialist trade, which required that much industry should be located where it had reasonable rail access to seaports. The factory system brought with it all the evils of overcrowded cities, detached from a healthy contact with the country, as well as the regimentation of workers into large masses of uniform thinkers and liver.

It was in this situation that syndicalism and I.W.W'ism arose; except for a few far-sighted men, the supporters of these doctrines tended to accept the factory system as something permanent in society, and to base their ideas of industrial organisation on this assumption.

Trend to Decentralism

Today, however, the physical foundations of the factory system are disappearing. Coal is no longer the only source of power, and, except for certain heavy industries, there is no reason why work should not be carried on in shops or small factories where it has been impossible before. The capitalist's need for centralisation of economic power has no relation at all to the anarchist conception of society, since anarchism is concerned with breaking up any form of centralism, economic or otherwise, and should struggle to rebuild society on an organically regional basis.

The third reason for the existence of the

factory system — the need for exports and overseas trade, is largely cancelled out by the fact that modern agricultural methods have made most areas potentially self-sufficient as regards food, while countries which were formerly in a position of colonial dependency regarding manufactured goods are rapidly developing a high potential power of industrial production. Most international trade is artificially induced by the needs of capitalists to give themselves a justification for existence, and these vested interests have had a great hand in hindering natural productive growth. A balanced regional development of agriculture and industry would reduce the need for imports and exports between regions to quite minor proportions, involving only such things as could not readily be produced in the country of consumption, such as exotic fruits, etc.

The possibility of breaking down economic centralism and substituting localised nuclei of industry and administration has been realised not only by anarchists, but also by a number of professional sociologists, particularly Lewis Mumford, whose *Culture of Cities* should be a part of every anarchist's reading. Centralisation has no longer any social, economic or technical justification, and social tendencies, in spite of political developments of a totalitarian nature, are moving towards decentralisation. The writings of Kropotkin on such matters begin suddenly to have a much more contemporary ring than they seemed to have ten or twenty years ago, and it is not surprising that sociologists are beginning to list him in their bibliographies as an important social scientist.

Decentralisation is in fact the main issue before us today. If the great states are not broken up from within, they will bring disaster to humanity in a very short time. And for decentralist teaching to be effective we must have some sound practical concept that will offer an alternative to a centralised society. That concept will not be reached while we are talking in terms of monster industrial unions, and giving the organisation of powerful syndicates a disproportionate place in our minds.

I do not for a moment deny the necessity for a revolutionary fighting movement of the workers to precipitate the end of capitalism. But it is essential, firstly, that the workers should be careful not to imitate capitalist forms or organisation and set up unwieldy and ossified organisations, secondly, that we should not necessarily accept the syndicate as it is evolved in struggle against capitalism as a model for organisation in a free society, and,

thirdly, that it should be realised that man considered only as a worker is a pretty lopsided individual. It is capitalism which makes men think of themselves as workers only — anarchism must make them strive to be whole men — and a whole man is a good deal more than a mere producer.

The one anarchist concept that gives the answer to our present problem is that of the commune. We have tended in the past twenty years to retire from the idea of anarchist communism put forward by Kropotkin and Reclus. Among the large movements, only the Bulgarian retained its anarchist communist character.

But today, when social decentralisation, the destruction of the state, are vital questions, the commune is something which we can present to the people as a practicable goal for which to struggle. It offers a world where there are no large power units of any kind, where the concentration of industry is ended by the achievement of regional self-sufficiency in food and factory products, and where, instead of life being dominated and sapped by the metropolitan cities, it will become reintegrated in many local centres of culture and social co-operation, which will lead to an enrichment of life such as existed in the free mediaeval cities of the past.

The Anarchist Commune

The pivotal unit of organisation in such a society would be the commune, the association of men and women living in a certain locality for the proper satisfaction of the social necessities of life. Each factory and workshop would of course be organised as producers, each street and small centre of population as consumers, and there would be innumerable associations of men and women gathered together to promote various interests, such as sport, arts and sciences. The commune would be formed from the co-operation of all these various collections of people, representing different aspects of life, and the task of its delegates would be to co-ordinate and secure the efficient running of all public services and to give expression to the wishes and needs of the people. A commune council would, in fact, be something like a genuine soviet of representatives of all kinds of human interests; it would have no governing power, but would merely exist to secure the co-operation of men in a certain district.

Beyond the commune, the basic unit of

social organisation, would grow up the regional and international federations of communes, the federations of various forms of profession and industry on a wide scale, etc. But always it should be emphasised that the only sound foundation for international solidarity is a rich communal life, and that the commune is the unit of organisation which must be established before the rest of anarchist society can be secure.

The return to an emphasis on anarchist communism, instead of the now outdated "Big Unionism" of the 1920's, necessitates a change in tactical approach. Large-scale unity of workers in each industry is still necessary — but it is even more necessary to gain an intensive organisation in each place of work, and also the local association of workers of all trades. This was, in fact, a concept of early French syndicalism, the idea of local *Bourses de Travail*, which was later submerged in ideas of monolithic syndicalist organisation. It seems to me that such local organisation of all kinds of producers and consumers may be more effective even now as a means of struggle than big industrial unions. If all the dockers in the country come out in support of the dockers at one port, it is no doubt a good thing. But if all the workers of all industries in their area came out, and if a communal organisation existed to supply the needs of the workers while refusing service to the state, then the revolutionary movement would be in an even stronger position.

Anarchism cannot succeed as a negative doctrine of industrial struggle, nor with a syndicalist idea of organisation which is influenced by capitalist ideas of monolithic centralism. It must bring forward a dynamic concept of social organisation and, to my mind, that exists in the commune, the basic unit of organic social growth, and the only form of organisation in which the individual will be guaranteed not merely his freedom, but also the richest possibilities of personal development. Modern industrial potentialities and social science give the greatest support to the anarchist communist ideas of decentralism, and should give a great impetus towards building the commune as the organ of social balance and liberty which we must oppose to the unbalance and tyranny of the modern total state.



The Siege

from Aristotle's Politics,
Bk. ii, ch.7

Autophradatus came, in panoply, engines and animals, by land and sea, to root grim Eubulus out of his nest, for honor, justice, and the rest. Atarnè-town prepared for death, and armed itself, and held its breath.

At twilight came a messenger to the besieger's tent, to confer. "How much," he said, "will this siege cost, the armor and the horses lost, and the rations and the daily pay? Make up an itemized account. For sixty percent of the amount Eubulus will go away."

Autophradatus with a frown (bad at figures) marked it down —whistled—and had the bugles blown, and left at the crack of dawn.

—Paul Goodman

Just Out...

THE STATE
by Randolph Bourne

Individual copies free on request.
Limited supply, so order now from
RESISTANCE.

Letters

April 16, 1947

Comrade:

This is to *protest* your "boost" of the *Industrial Worker*—I.W.W. organ—as contained in the March number.

I happen to be one of the "old-time Wobblies," a member of that organization since its start and in its earlier Revolutionary and constructive period. I utilized my last contact with it in a fruitless attempt to prevent its becoming thoroughly "poor-and-simple" and "respectably" capitalistic by adapting the "common interest" (common with the *exploiting-class*) program of *signing contracts*—thus completely abrogating its Revolutionary Principles.

Thus far I have not heard of any reversal of that *reactionary* and *anti-Revolutionary* policy. Hence I can see no *good* in that organization—no matter whether Fred Thompson, or who else, edits its paper; and I cannot understand why, or how, an anarchist paper can do otherwise. I believe there are *other Rebels* who will support my views in this matter. I hope you will *think it over*—and try to act *logically*, and in good faith with the Social Revolution.

S., San Diego, Calif.

We received two other such letters regarding the comment on the Industrial Worker. We still feel (as we said) that though we disagree with many of the ideas and policies of the I. W. W., the Industrial Worker is the best labor paper in America today. Organizations and individuals need not be anarchists for us to cooperate with them and support them in certain ways. We feel there are few enough radicals in America, without setting up rigid factional lines to keep us divided. Our policy is to cooperate with sincere radicals whenever it is possible.

June 2, 1947

Sir:

Your attack on the Brady article ["expose" of "literary anarchism" on the west coast] was accurate enough. I would like to add, though, that most of the "facts" in the article were either completely ill-founded (the libelous remarks on Rexroth are a case in point) or simply misrepresentation. Actually among those who consider themselves anarchists, in San Francisco or Northern California, I know of none who accept Reich's psychology as

wholeheartedly as Mrs. Brady makes out. And as far as his theory of the "orgone" goes, it leaves most of us pretty cold.

There was a repercussion recently, prompted largely by the *Harper's* article, in the form of a four-day Hearst editorial drive against Henry Miller and "west coast anarchism"—via the *San Francisco Examiner*. But, as most things of that sort, it died down soon enough.

Most of the people Brady alludes to are serious young writers whose assimilation of current revolutionary thought is hardly as flippant as she says; there is no "cult" that I know of; and I know of few who wear beards or corduroys. But I suppose it's the job of people who write for *Harper's* to fabricate and mislead, so that they can all the better turn out hot, but essentially silly journalism. My first impression upon meeting the lady in question, at a party, was that she suggested an altogether too familiar type—the aggressive, self-possessed, career woman whose existence seems another symbol of our mechanized, self-alienating society. (I suppose for such an impression she would conclude that I was the bearer of a very staid morality, which would be a typical twist.)

Philip Lamantia,
San Francisco, California.

What's What...

This space is devoted to miscellaneous information of interest to anarchists and readers of *RESISTANCE*. What anarchist meetings are being planned? Are there readers in, say, Tulsa, who want to form a group? This is where such questions are asked and, if possible, answered. Contributors to this column should write as briefly as they can; there is no charge, of course, for any notice.

NEW JERSEY — The annual picnic for the Italian anarchist weekly, *L'Adunata dei Refrettari*, will continue from July 4 through Saturday July 5, and Sunday, July 6. There will be an orchestra on the 4th for dancing, and films of the *L'Adunata Colony* during the Spanish Revolution will be shown. Those who are unable to come for the full three days are invited to come for any time they can. Directions: Take Lehigh Valley train at Penn. Sta. to Easton, Pa. Take Washington Bus at Easton Oval to Schillinger's Feed Mill, Stewardsville, N. J. From there signs will be posted directing you to Thorps Grove Park, the site of the picnic.

STRIKE AGAINST WAR WITH ANTI-WAR MATCHES. On outside cover are slogans against war. On inside cover: "Defeat Peacetime Conscription." To get 50 books, send 25¢, covering cost, to: James Peck, Room 1029, 5 Beekman St., New York 7, N.Y.

(Sold in any quantity—rates on request.)

Readers of *RESISTANCE* in New York who are interested in meeting anarchists and taking part in outdoor activities, write to the paper, Cooper Station, P.O. Box 208, New York 3, N.Y.

A Regional Conference to be sponsored by the New York Group of the Committee for Non-Violent Revolution will be held July 11, 12 and 13. Those interested in the details write to: Box 327, Newark 1, N. J.

Le Libertaire, the French anarchist weekly, has been expanding in influence since the war, but the life of an uncompromising radical journal, independent of the big parties and big business, is especially insecure in France. An effort is now being made to increase the size of the paper, and to obtain more subscriptions. Subscriptions are approximately \$1.50 for six months. Send all donations and subscriptions to: Robert Joulin, *Le Libertaire*, 145 Quai de Valmy, Paris (10), France.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Vol. 6, No. 2

Balance, May 21, 1947\$ 58.74

CONTRIBUTIONS

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: Circolo Aurora 50; Somerville: S. P. 2; Dorchester: P. 5\$ 57.00
CONNECTICUT: Wallingford: care of Sylvio 16; Old Lyme: M. & K. 2 18.00
VERMONT: Jamaica: S. N. 2 2.00
NEW YORK: N. Y. C.: B. A. 1; L. P. 3; S. K. 1; C. B. 5; L. L. 1 11.00
PENNSYLVANIA: Allentown: W. S. 2; New Castle: A. P. 50¢; McKeesport: J. E. 2 4.50
OHIO: Cleveland: A. F. 5 5.00
MICHIGAN: Detroit: B. E. 10 10.00
ILLINOIS: Chicago: T. B. 2 2.00
KANSAS: Kansas City: S. G. 15 15.00
COLORADO: Denver: R. B. 1; R. B. 65¢ 1.65
ARIZONA: Winslow: F. J. 2 2.00
CALIFORNIA: San Francisco: Gruppo Libertario 28; Palo Alto: J. L. H. 2.50; Berkeley: D. M. 1; Los Angeles: A. S. 1; Santa Rosa: J. O. W. 1 33.50
CANADA: Vancouver: M. F. 2; Ontario: G. 5; Allario: J. E. J. 1.50 8.50

\$228.89

EXPENDITURES

Printing, Vol. 6, No. 1\$228.48
Postage, Vol. 6, No. 1 36.56
Cuts, Vol. 6, No. 1 20.50
Cut for masthead 5.00
Rubber stamps 3.00
Post Office Box rent 4.00

\$297.54

Deficit, June 23, 1947\$ 68.65

The above deficit does not include the cost of this issue; our total deficit exceeds \$300.

Have You Read?

• THEORY

ABC of Anarchism (Now and After abridged), by Alexander Berkman 25c
The State, by Peter Kropotkin 25c
Revolutionary Government, by Peter Kropotkin... 10c
The Wage System, by Peter Kropotkin 10c
A Talk Between Two Workers, by E. Malatesta 10c
Anarchy, by E. Malatesta 10c
Vote—What For?, by E. Malatesta 10c
Anarchy on Chaos, by George Woodcock 25c
Anarchism and Morality, by George Woodcock... 10c
What is Anarchism?, by George Woodcock 5c
The Philosophy of Anarchism, by H. Read 25c
What's Anarchism? by H. Havel 10c

• HISTORICAL

The Kronstadt Revolt, by Chigge 10c
Workers in Stalin's Russia, by M. L. Berneri... 25c
Anarchism and American Traditions, by Voltairine De Cleyre 10c
The Guillotine at Work, by Maximov \$1.50
Three Years of Struggle in Spain 5c
The Truth About Spain, by Rudolf Rocker 10c
The Tragedy of Spain, by Rudolf Rocker 10c
The Wilhelmshaven Revolt, by Icarus 10c
Facing the Chair, by John Dos Passos 10c
Social Reconstruction in Spain, by Gaston Leval 10c

• GENERAL

Cooperative Decentralization, by J. P. Warbasse 10c
Railways and Society, by George Woodcock... 10c
New Life to the Land, by George Woodcock... 10c
The British General Strike, by Tom Brown ... 10c
Mussolini; Red and Black, by Armando Borghi... 50c
Italy After Mussolini, by John Hewetson 10c
Does God Exist?, by Sebastian Faure 10c
After the Revolution, by D. A. Santillan \$1.00
Place of the Individual in Society, by E. Goldman 10c
Art and Social Nature, by Paul Goodman \$1.05
Peter Kropotkin; His Federalist Ideas, by C. Berneri 10c
Education of Free Man, by Herbert Read 25c
Homes orhovels—The Housing Problem, by G. Woodcock 15c
Trade Unionism or Syndicalism, by Tom Brown 10c
Struggle in the Factory, by Equity 10c
The French Cook's Syndicate, by W. McCartney.. 10c
Now, Nos. 5, 6 and 7 each 50c
The March to Death, by John Olday 35c
The Life We Live, by John Olday 35c
Ill-health, Poverty and the State, by John Hewetson 30c
Mutual Aid & Social Evolution by John Hewetson 15c
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.

RESISTANCE

(formerly WHY?)

Vol. 6 - No. 2 June, 1947.

Editor: WILLIAM YOUNG

RESISTANCE is an anarchist monthly which is supported solely by voluntary contributions. We do not charge anything for *RESISTANCE*, subscriptions are free on request.

IMPORTANT: Make out all money orders and checks c/o D. Agostinelli, our sec'y-treas., *RESISTANCE*, Cooper Station, Box 208, New York 3, N. Y.

462