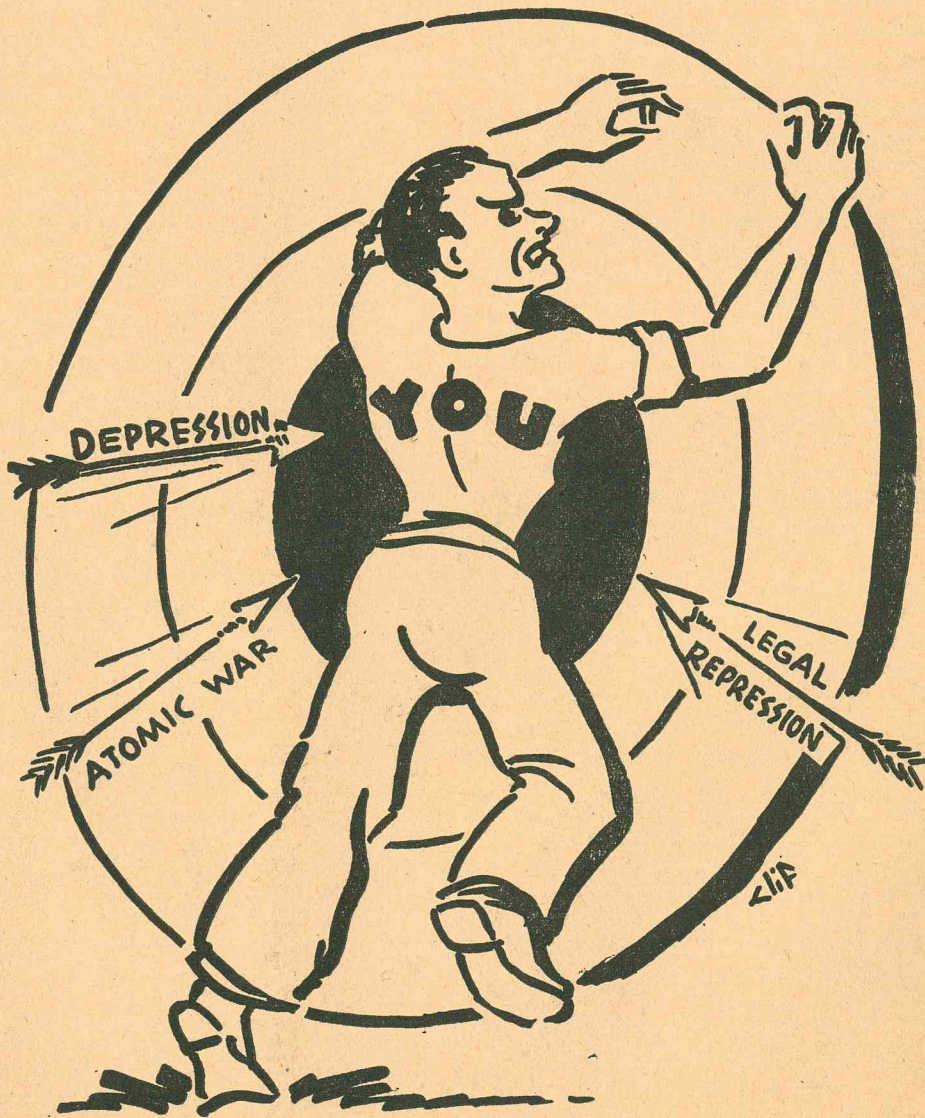


RESISTANCE

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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 hirelings 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

WHAT IS THE MARSHALL PLAN? Many Americans are either very emphatic or very apathetic about the Marshall Plan, but very few know exactly what the plan is—what is being planned for... or rather, planned against.

We do know, in general, that the plan is supposed to be an attempt to rebuild and integrate the European economy, backed by American dollars. A conference has been held in Paris to discuss the plan—Molotov was invited, came, saw and did not like what he saw. He hurried back to Moscow and devised his own plan to stabilize the Kremlin's hegemony over the economy of Eastern Europe.

We have our own suspicions about the implications of the plan. We know, for instance, that two leitmotifs are present in American policy: the probability of a depression and the probability of World War III. By building up markets where American "surplus" production can be dumped, the depression might be staved off for a time. By dollar diplomacy, bridgeheads could be secured against Stalin's Russia. What remains a mystery, though, are the exact details of how the plan will be carried through, particularly exact details concerning conditions for American help.

The horse traders in the State Department are not letting out the secret, probably not even telling their friends behind the closed doors of the Paris conference. In a similar matter, for example, the \$3,750,000,000 Anglo-American loan agreement, the British have become a little worried over a vague clause relating to non-discrimination in inter-European trade. According to a London dispatch in *The New York Times* (7/17/47), "the British broached the subject of exempting trade with 'backward colonial areas' from the non-discriminatory clause during recent talks here with William L. Clayton, United States Under-Secretary of State for Economic Affairs... Mr. Clayton was sympathetic but had indicated that the final answer must come from Washington and that self-governing dominions could not be included." This last reference, concerning "self-governing dominions," is obviously directed at India where American investors seem ready to give the British a run for their money to see who gets financial control while India gets "independence". With this example before us, it appears

probable that the Marshall Plan contains joker clauses for everybody—friends as well as enemies.

Only time will tell—for nobody else will—what the answer is to America's Big Business 64-billion-dollar question: What is the Marshall Plan?

RESURGENCE OF FRENCH SYNDICALISM In our last issue George Woodcock made a number of valid points concerning the need for emphasizing the importance of the communal idea in anarchism, but he seems to have been premature—at least, regarding France—in announcing the failure of the syndicalist approach.

When first started in May, 1946, the French anarcho-syndicalist National Confederation of Labor (CNT—not to be confused with the Spanish CNT) had barely more than 600 members. The CNT found it hard going to make any headway with the French workers who, as elsewhere, were too dazzled by the promised plums of left-wing politicians, too reluctant to heed the realistic syndicalist program which based its promises on the workers' own direct action. Gradually, though, more and more workers have become aware that the promised plums of the politicians had soured into inedible lemons.

Prices had spiralled high above wages, there were serious shortages in basic necessities. The Socialist Government of Ramadier was playing a reactionary role. The Communists and the Communist-dominated CGT, the largest labor organization in France, were caught in a squeeze play between continuing their game of power politics (with members in the Cabinet, they were responsible for the official policy of maintaining a ceiling on wages) and heeding the demands of the workers.

While the Communists vacillated, the Renault strike broke out, followed by strikes involving the bakers, metal workers, railway workers and others. In these strikes the CNT played a militant role which is reflected by its present membership growth of over 120,000, and accounts in the Paris newspapers have shown that its strength is causing some worry in the ranks of the bosses and politicians.

An interesting and revealing sidelight to all this is the attitude of those unsuccessful politicians, the Trotskyists. This attitude is indicated by a recent report in *Labor Action*, organ of the Shachtmanite section:

"... Perhaps many more would have left the Stalinist CGT for the anarchist-controlled CNT were it not that the Trotskyists advised the workers who are in opposition to the course of the CGT leadership to remain within it and to build its opposition around the [Trotskyist-influenced] Front Ouvrier (Workers Front) tendency."

Obviously, the Trotskyists believe that it is better... for the interests of the Trotskyists... if the workers remain dominated by the Stalinists, who after all pay some lip service to Marxism, than if they go over to the heathen anarchists. The Trotskyists have more in common with the Stalinists than many believe.

WITCHES BEHIND BARS The U. S. Government's anti-Communist campaign reached a temporary cli-

max in July with the sentencing of Eugene Dennis (CP national secretary) and the officers of the Communist-front Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. The defendants in two cases were given from three months to a year in jail for "contempt" of the Un-American Committee. A Washington, D.C., grand jury is still trying to get a legal hold on two UAW local officers for denying that the 1941 Allis Chalmers strike was CP-inspired. Meanwhile, the Civil Service Commission announced that over 800 civilians, mostly in the War Department, were dismissed as "subversive" in nine months ending March 31, 1947.

(As we go to press, one of the Allis Chalmers men has been indicted for denial under oath that he belonged to the C. P. The trial of Gerhard Eisler, the center of the bomb-spy scare earlier in the year, is still going on.)

We have no sympathy with Communists—as we have repeatedly emphasized—and we want nothing to do with them. But a witch-hunt concerns all its potential victims, and that means all of us. Persecution of Communists and alleged Communists narrows still further the areas of political freedom remaining to us in the U. S. In view of easy public hysteria over the "theft" of "secret" A-bomb files, and over the imaginary flying saucers, it would be optimistic to speak of successfully combatting the present trend. But this does not relieve us of the responsibility of trying to awaken people to the threat of an outright police-state in America—for, if that police-state comes, there won't be much left for us to do but wait quietly for the bombs to fall.

ART, SCIENCE and RESPONSIBILITY

by Alex Comfort

EUROPEAN art and European science are the only two factors in our civilization at present which qualify it for exemption from the term Barbarism. In the downward vortex of the Industrial Revolution and of the utter disorganization of human function and responsibility which have followed it, they have remained, as serious contributions to the future of Man, things for which people will be grateful. The position of the artist in a megalopolitan order has been such that he has been able, up to the very outbreak of the second National War, to remain independent if he wished, to be the responsible voice of humanness. His importance was not recognized by the stateholders before the advent of Fascism and Communism—accordingly he was surprisingly and almost consistently unmolested. The scientist, on the other hand, stood and stands in a relationship to the megalopolitan organization which makes his relevance immediate and obvious, and unlike the artist he and his tradition have played a definite part in the manufacture of megalopolitan institutions. He is also subject to no automatic control, of the kind which operates, in the very nature of art, over the artist—responsibility is a part of the equipment of creative genius: art which lacks it is incapable of any prolonged or serious survival, but the mental adolescence or the personal irresponsibility of a scientific investigator do not render him incapable of obtaining results. The collision between megalopolitan barbarism and applied science has been postponed until the last twenty years, but now that it has occurred, the pace of the process is increasing.

The mission of science as a creative activity is, if we examine it, the complement of the function of creative art. The theory of artistic purpose and conduct which we have

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come to call Romanticism postulates that man is in perpetual conflict with two hostile forces, his environment which kills him, and irresponsibility which enslaves him. These conflicts are biological, in that they arise from the nature of Man and of his aspirations—the first is common to all organisms—the second is confined to Man, and is a product of his psychical awareness of the first. The artist is the champion of man in his fight against irresponsibility—the scientist in his fight against his hostile environment, the mute or active enmity of a universe in which human values have no place, and against which human values have to be asserted by main force. The greatest betrayal of humanity is the betrayal of the artist or the investigator who allies himself with irresponsibility. Yet while the artist, in the nature of his talent, has the equipment necessary to make right decisions, even if he has not the personal stability or judgment to implement them, the scientist can only acquire it by having a general philosophy of the universe which includes an appreciation of the nature of man and man's problems in society. I think that a good many investigators are coming slowly to the realization of the nature of megalopolitan barbarism which had been clear to artists at least twenty years ago, when they see that society in its present career will inevitably destroy organized scientific investigation, perhaps for centuries. Wide fields of investigation are now being opened up in which the limiting factor is not human ingenuity but the secrecy and restriction imposed by social-barbarian agencies such as national Governments or private firms. The mechanism by which dark ages are produced is a social one—such a dark age occurs whenever a direct conflict arises between the artistic and scientific conception of responsibility on the one hand and a group or aggregate of stateholders on the other. The last conflict of this kind was with the Church, but we have now reached a phase of the historical cycle where religious persecution is replaced by political persecution.

Beside this, the fact that megalopolitan societies tend by their structure to become more and more warlike and less and less defensible, makes the position of the scientific investigator in a field where individual work depends wholly on the possession of proper resources, highly precarious. The course of the next few years, in which megalopolitanism remains tottering, may have a vast influence on general wellbeing, since in a period of collapse the individual discoveries of the most important responsible sciences, particularly medicine, are never entirely lost, though much of the technical finesse is submerged. If the big cities remain undestroyed for another ten years, an effective answer to tuberculosis is certain, and to malignant diseases probable. If not, a collapse of western society through war and famine would leave the possibility of such organized investigation over until the next social form had almost fully expanded.

At the threat of such a period, the awareness of common function between artist and investigator almost always revives to a striking degree. The responsibility of art has been on the whole creditably maintained. I believe

that if the facts were known, a wider resistance among technical and scientific experts would be uncovered than the occasional voice which makes itself heard in the Press. The organization of scientific resistance is one of the most urgent tasks of the present time, since the power to obstruct war-making is concentrated increasingly in the hands of the scientists, and a very limited recalcitrance among the highest ranking workers could have disproportionate effects in making the preparations for the Third World War of no effect. There is almost a case for an international body devoting itself to uncovering and rendering public secret techniques of war, a kind of altruistic spy ring dedicated to the hindrance of military research. But in the immediate task of obstructing military preparation and neutralising the propaganda for the acceptance of war against any power, resistant scientists and artists can co-operate closely and publicly. If *RESISTANCE* can canalize such an effort in the United States it will have done much to make the collapse of normal life less probable, and the legacy of the present culture more valuable to future civilisation.



The Horrors of War by Henri Rousseau. Reproduced from the cover of Randolph Bourne's *The State* (The Resistance Press). The pamphlet can be obtained free from Resistance.

AFFIRM THE REAL THING

by Jackson MacLow

What can be done in a world that seems to be going in a direction opposite to anarchism? This is the first part of an article, originally delivered as a talk, which suggests ways of direct action now. We do not agree with all the writer's suggestions, but we like his direct, personal approach to problems too often resolved by appeal to time-honored slogans. Comments are invited from our readers. —THE EDITORS

Panic

I think it is significant that my 1st reaction to the question "What is there to be done in the way of direct action?" is "God knows!" I think it is significant—this *panic*, not in the face of a demand for action, but of the question: "What is to be done?"

The mind wanders idly over the clichés of the past: the strike, picketing, sabotage, internal terrorism and assassination, insurrection—to call them clichés does not mean that any of them are not excellent for some of certain times and places, but that they become worn in our speech, that they come to the lips before we are aware of them,—that, indeed, sometimes they come so readily and stay so persistently in the foreground of the mind that they stand in the way of our view, blot from our vision other possibilities that might otherwise come readily to awareness). But still this *panic*—who am I to say what there is to be done? Where am I—as scared to death and in the way of initiative as the next poor sucker. Am I, indeed?!

What pride comes to my rescue. Have I not long done exactly what I could, acted as bravely as the present condition of my impoverished life allowed (God knows how!) to do? Have I not all along refused to cooperate with the war, to enter war industries, to buy war bonds—did I not make use of every lucky chance, of every providential delay or eccentricity to stay out of their army camps, their jails and camps as well? Have I refused to stay at any job more than 3 months at a time, to work at anything that seemed too absurd (some of the things I've worked on have been absurd enough, perhaps—) or

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obviously corruptive or destructive of my fellows? Here was what I did: I *didn't* help the war (as far as it was possible); I *didn't* work against my fellows (as far as it was possible): It wasn't I that invented the atomic bomb!

But more than that: I have worked conscientiously—tho not enough so—at an art, a craft (I have the verse and prose to show for it—was this not acting directly? I put the pencil to the paper—and wrote! Is this not direct?). I have even painted a few pictures and written some music—both best forgotten,—but at the time—those acts—were they not direct? I have attempted to learn from books—I have opened the books and read! I have contracted friendships and lived in them, sometimes well sometimes badly, but *lived*. I have spoken in many gatherings, most private, some public—not frequently, but at certain times, I have opened my mouth and spoken. Was this not acting directly?

Here, now, I write what comes to mind in regard to a question I have been asked to speak upon. I am acting directly. I have walked along a street and words have come to me; I have mounted my stairs, turned on the light, removed my coat, inserted a piece of paper in the typewriter and struck the keys. This is direct action.

But I have been asked generally: "What is there to be done in the way of direct action?" I have been overwhelmed by *panic*: "What is there to be done?" "God knows!" Is it not because I have been asked to enunciate certain tactics (what a word! this is our leftist tradition!—tactics!), certain ways of acting for others *beside myself* to pursue. As for myself, I know that as each thing comes along there will always be something or other to do and I will probably do it: when the occasions arise, I trust my actions will not betray our common nature, will be properly destructive of this prison we live in. It wasn't I who

worked in the OWI or wrote the insulting subway ads!

What crust! I *trust* my action etc.! What prideful boasting! As if I haven't done one mean action after another in this short life of mistakes! How easily I forget the unmerited rebuke, the sadistic half-truth, the procrastinations that have tortured those I love best! How easily I forget the moments of pride and anger, ingratitude and selfishness! I *trust* my actions will not betray me. What crust!

How can I speak on this *general* question—enunciating ways of acting for others to pursue, others *beside myself*—I who could produce a list of betrayals and wounds inflicted on my friends a mile long? But this is a *general* question. Perhaps I can speak even tho I have not always had the will to act.

II. The General Question:

It is with a sense of relief I turn to the *general* question: What is there to be done in the way of direct action? That is to say: what should others *beside myself* do? I trust I shall find something to do when the occasions arise (what crust!); I trust I can improvise when I have not composed a plan beforehand. But others have asked me: perhaps they do not trust themselves; perhaps they only want to hear what I have to say. It is with a sense of relief I turn; I can still trust myself.

But it is absurd to talk abstractly of *direct* action, of *direct action*; it is always a *special* occasion when we act: there is always something or other to do, but how can one say beforehand what it is? At best we can only get rules of thumb to be modified and concretized as occasion demands.

Elsewhere I have discussed 5 of such rules of thumb that have occurred to me; they were stated as a series of slogans: 1. Press the Resistances. 2. Attack Idols. 3. Affirm the Real Thing. 4. Resist Real Evils. 5. Insist on Consistency. I concluded that they were all included in the 3rd, Affirm the Real Thing, and implied that this was the most important principle of libertarian action. It was objected that my formulations there were too general; I will try to be more concrete in my suggestions here.

The injunction Affirm the Real Thing means that we should act directly and spontaneously on all occasions possible and that in doing so we affirm the natural world and our com-

mon nature (which is a social nature). It means doing work—and only such work—that is satisfying to us, operation by operation, hour by hour, and of which we understand the processes and product and its usefulness to ourselves and our fellows. It means contracting friendships and acting in social groups, and living in these friendships and groups vitally and spontaneously. It means understanding the objects we use, the physical and social world and the sciences concerning them. It means being able to appreciate and to some extent comprehend works of art even when we ourselves cannot produce them. It means—and this cannot too strongly be emphasized—we ourselves working in the arts whenever possible. It means that we ourselves should take the initiative in all matters concerning us rather than delegating our powers of action in such matters to "representatives." It means that we ourselves should decide on the work we do (not delegating this decision to "managers" or strawbosses of any sort) and how we spend each hour of our lifetime. It means that we ourselves should satisfy our needs for food, shelter, warmth and sexual intercourse; that we should choose our own pleasures; that in all these we should not allow ourselves to be hampered by so-called "moral codes", learnt by rote and indeed, for the most part, grossly immoral. It means that the children and adolescents should be allowed to join in all these activities whenever they wish and are able.

But look! on every side, if we begin to act directly in these matters we encounter enormous resistance! How can this be? Here are obviously good and correct acts for us—why should anyone resist them, resist, indeed, the advocacy of them in many cases? What is the matter with these people?—they must be mad! and indeed—they are.

We attempt to assert our natural social nature and they set up a howl from here to China! Indeed, they are mad. They are very far gone.

It is the almost invariable experience during a psychoanalysis that after a certain number of sessions during which things go more or less smoothly the patient will begin to resist the analyst violently; he will refuse to divulge certain dreams, will stop short in certain lines of free association, will repudiate violently many of the analyst's conclusions or suggestions and begin to hate the analyst furiously; in many cases he will quit the analysis entirely and perhaps become a violent oppon-

ent of psychoanalysis. It is just at these points that the analyst will work most diligently; he will return again and again to the offensive association, the offending suggestion, will attempt to draw from its concealment the hidden dream. For he knows that it is precisely at these points that he is getting to the source of the patient's neurosis; it is here that he is nearest to uncovering the traumatic incident or relation from which has grown the evil weed of neurosis that is choking his patient's life. He will free him! and to do so he will press continually at the patient's resistances.

The analogy is not a difficult one. We see the madness of our society, how sick these poor people are (and we do well not to except ourselves!) and we see them resisting violently actions that are obviously good and proper. What are we to conclude? Is it not that *those things which the society resists most strongly must be those which threaten the sources of its hideous sickness?*

There are certain actions and abstentions which are basic to the structure of the society, to keeping it as it is. Any actions or abstentions opposed to these threaten this structure. But people are not entirely mad (tho they are very far gone!). The society is mad and demands mad actions and abstentions, but people still feel the desire to act or abstain sanely—not strongly enuf as yet to do so (but wait!) but strongly enuf to resent it when others do so. "Who do they think they are?"—trying to get away with something we can't!" In many cases they find it extremely difficult to repress this desire to act sanely. "But what if everyone did so?" Their fears are correct; the whole system of madness would collapse!

But why do they fear this collapse, so obviously desirable? Why does the patient cling so closely to his neurosis? There is a comfort in this sickness, a fear of the uncertain condition in which they would be left without it. "I want to act sanely but I want to continue to act exactly as I do." Thus argues the sick patient, and the sick society likewise.

Therefore what are we to do who are still sane enuf to act sanely at least part of the time? How are we to free our brothers? We must imitate the analyst, we must Press the Resistances, striking again and again at the points where we meet the most resistance.

The question becomes, for what acts and abstentions which we can conceive ourselves pursuing in a free and natural society, one affirmative of the real thing—are we put into jail in this society?

Most "crimes" are those against property, but we cannot conceive of their necessity arising in a free and natural society where all receive what they need from the product of the common labor. We cannot conceive of committing crimes of violence in our right mind in such a society; in fact the abstention from violence would there be taken as a matter of course. There would be none of the 1001 petty governmental regulations for the infringement of which we are now jailed; whatever regulation was needed would be arrived at by free agreement among the members of the groups concerned. The remaining "crimes" are those involving sexuality.

But among the affirmative actions we have listed—without emphasizing enuf its importance to our lives, an importance amply attested to by the researches of such men as Freud and more lately Wilhelm Reich—is the satisfaction of our sexual needs: it has been found that the deprivation of sexual pleasure lies at the base of most of our psychic illnesses: as Freud said "At the core of psycho-neurosis there is frequently *actual* neurosis" by which he meant a condition of the body itself brought about by sexual deprivation; this has been shown to be invariably so by Reich, who has found in sexual deprivation the root of the timidities and lack of initiative which keep us enslaved: (1) the 1st deprivations lead to timidity which leads to our accepting the depriving authority and further depriving ourselves which leads to further timidity and so on. Can it be that the satisfaction of such important needs can land us in jail? Of course! If we encourage the children and adolescents to satisfy their sexual needs, we land in jail; if we satisfy our own needs outside the institution of marriage, we land in jail in many states; if our desire is toward our own sex and we satisfy it, we land in jail; if our partners in the sexual act are below a certain age, we risk not only prison, but in some states death! and this isn't the half of it!

What madness! But Freud and Reich have shown us its roots: it is the continual deprivation of sexual pleasure that keeps the people timid enuf to stand for the whole insane mess. "What if everyone did so?" Of course they couldn't continue this systemized madness with people who had the courage of their natural powers! Here is one sphere of direct action,—not to be trivialized by bawdy jokes

(1) Cf. *The Function of the Orgasm and The Sexual Revolution* passim. (Published by The Orgone Institute, New York.)

about the irrelevance of the bedroom to the barricades.

Again, from what acts would we abstain in a free and natural society, would we, indeed, have little or no desire to commit? Immediately we think of murder and acts of violence approaching it. No sane society would resist such abstention! But this society, of course, is mad. One would nearly expect it to condone murder in all cases—but as yet it isn't *that* far gone! It still resists such real evils (if it didn't it would be overwhelmed in a minute!)—but inconsistently. We find that private murders are punishable by death or long prison sentences,—but lo and behold! we see the young men periodically sent forth to commit murders and strongly condoned for these acts. And those who refuse to do so, abstaining from such acts as any sane man would—are put into jail and in many cases severely maltreated (that is, if they can't get out of it thru some lucky chance, perhaps some providential disease!).

Among the 5 rules of thumb are Resist Real Evils and Insist on Consistency. Surely here is a case in point, one where we press against the strongest resistances. We must refuse to co-operate with any war and to resist all action supporting it in every manner possible to us. If forced into war industries, we must refuse to work; if forced into the army, refuse to fight; wherever possible we must even destroy the means of warfare. This is direct action.

We may also land in jail if we follow the 2nd rule, if we Attack Idols. Therefore we must seek out the idols of the society (when-ever they are not pushing us in the face!) and attack them ruthlessly: Government, the Just War, the immoral Moral Code in relation to sexuality, the Great Industrial System, Property, Law and Order and so on and so on and so on. "Those things," I have remarked before, "which become idols for the society are usually substitutes for the real gratifications or goods which the society renounces. Always cut under the idols to the real things for which they substitute. When people are "sure" they have the real thing, we may be sure (for the most part) that they have a substitute." And again, "When real goods become idols they are taken for more than (or even other than) they are. They are taken for not only what they are (if that!) but also for what they are not. The fact that they are real goods (in so far as they are) makes their

substitution for other real goods plausible. We must affirm them for what they are, and affirming those things for which they are substitutes, attack the substitution of *these* real things for the other real things which they are *not*."

To specify: We have the Great Industrial System, inhumanly centralized and transforming the workers, by the minute subdivision of labor, into automatons performing operations of the meaning of which they may not have the slightest notion. Indeed, as we see in the case of the atomic bomb plants, they may not even know what they produce! But nevertheless it is a good thing to supply our material needs and for there to be machines to lessen the amount of labor needed in that supply. We must ask: Is this inhuman centralization and division of labor necessary to supply our needs? Are the machines being used so as to best further our lives, our freedom? Are all these machines necessary? Which are? Which arent? What are these methods of production doing to the workers who are consuming their time of life at them each day? When we are working on a machine or at a conveyer-belt, what is this doing to *us*? Do the operations we perform employ all our powers, satisfy our instinct of workmanship?

If we find that certain jobs are maiming our powers (and we can include practically all assembly-line work in this category) we must refuse to take them. We must refuse to produce useless or pernicious articles. We must refuse to work at this or that machine the operation of which is an absurdity or which reduces us to automatons. We must show the ways in which our material goods can be better supplied and press for their substitution in place of the present methods. We must work only at jobs in which we understand the operations we perform, their relation to the production of the finished article, and the usefulness of the article, along with its effects in the society. Those of us who find more pressing and satisfying work at hand—in the arts, for instance,—must refuse to work except for minimum subsistence at jobs. By continual criticism and protest we must show up this idol for what it is. We must strike and walk out of jobs not for better wages and hours (we must attack the whole notion of wages and hours) or even better "conditions" of work—but for *human work*. The worker must be vocal in his criticism and encourage and call forth such criticism from his fellow-workers.

Point of Production

PASSAGE of the Taft-Hartley Act was widely expected to lead directly to an all-out union-busting campaign. On the contrary, on July 8 John Lewis, for the miners, signed a new agreement calling for \$1.20 an hour increase, 3 hours instead of 9, doubling of the welfare fund, and continuation of the federal safety code. On top of all that, the miners must work only "when willing and able."

NAM and big business got what they wanted from Congress, but they don't want to use it yet. With the Marshall plan holding out hope for continuation of high production-levels through a vast subsidize-Europe program, the steel corporations who dealt with Lewis wanted peace; to get it they had to meet Lewis' terms. The new law has made workers restless and union officials nervous. At this point, big business wants to calm them, keep production going, make profits while they can, and wait for the tapering off of the boom before exploiting their advantage.

This is true of coal and steel and similar industries. Elsewhere, as in the shipyards, which have been down since the war, there is no eagerness to meet union terms. Since around July 1, some 60,000 CIO shipbuilding workers have been striking for a 13c an hour increase, and no settlement is in sight. In upstate New York, Remington-Rand, notorious for the Mohawk Valley strike-breaking formula (exposed after the machinists' union's defeat in 1936), is running an old-fashioned strike-breaking campaign against the CIO electrical workers, who were recognized only last February. In New York, the Hanscom Bakery seems to have broken the AFL Bakery Workers strike by hiring scabs; and in the south R. J. Reynolds (Camels cigarettes) has blacklisted 500 returning strikers (a procedure the old NLRB made too costly). Shipping companies have opened war against "foremen" on the ships and docks; Ford, having broken the strike of the Foremen's Association of America, has gone on to victimize 32 of its leading members (the auto workers' union gave the strike no support).

In the coming months, open strike-breaking on the edges of big industry will probably increase, while we can look for continued efforts to appease workers in industries basic to the Marshall plan. When Hartley blasted the coal settlement as violation of his law, Taft made it clear that the law was to be used only as employers saw fit.

Union officers' reaction to the new law has been mostly healthy. There is widespread talk of boycotting the new NLRB. AFL Chief Counsel Padway even suggested that unions might dispense with formal contracts, and avoid the board entirely by relying on informally establishing conditions (the old IWW idea). In general, however, the CIO position has been more forthright, despite the fact that Shipbuilding President John Green was quoted in the *Times* as appealing to Truman to act under the new law to bring the shipyards to terms.

When the going gets rough, however, union officials are unlikely to talk so bold as now. They are being bought off, for the present, with good contracts. When the heat is turned on, few unions will be in such a strong position that their leaders will risk bucking the government agencies.

The new law plus Lewis' gigantic victory increases speculation about AFL-CIO unity. William Green has called for unity again—probably nudged by Lewis, who still wants to be the No. 1 labor boss. Early unity is still unlikely. It might come on the basis of an anti-Communist front to isolate CP unions, but first the effort will be made to recapture those unions from the CP. This campaign advanced another step with the ouster of Len de Caux and his Communist aides from editorship of *CIO News*. In any case, workers stand to gain nothing from the marriage of Green and Lewis with Murray and Reuther. Nor is Lewis likely to be allowed to lead a combined federation.

Items: Joe Ryan was reaffirmed, by the AFL longshoremen's quadrennial convention, as life-time president; the long-line phone workers voted to join CIO; CIO selects Taft-Hartley restriction on political activities as a point of test (one of the many non-essentials in the law which will keep the unions shadow-boxing). New York's liberal Mayor O'Dwyer forced Queens bus drivers to accept arbitration by threatening city operation of the private-owned lines; and when the workers finally struck, following resignation of la-

bor member of arbitration board in protest against chairman's obvious bias, O'Dwyer ordered police escort of buses, and threatened further action. Striking employees of the Brooklyn Trust Co. met first New York anti-picket brutality in years, when O'Dwyer's police broke up mass picket line (later allowed). Also: Secretary MacDonald of steel workers states that "his union had never called a strike during the life of any wage agreement, and its policy had not been changed in that respect"; the IWW announces its intention to raid CIO in retaliation for UAW raid-victory over IWW at Republic Brass in Cleveland; and the Conference of Studio Unions (AFL) attempted to rescue its hopelessly-lost 10-months strike by anti-trust proceedings against the motion picture companies and the International Alliance of Stage and Theatrical Employees (AFL), which it charges is still dominated by Willie Bioff.

The New Year

Into our lives falls, unsteadily,
A rush of the moon's light,
And only a few drink of it
With the veins of the body.
Who stand possessed in the night air
Or fired by cooling drops of rain,
Washing away the evil within them,
—Who, but those bearing love,
Entwined in another world,
In another time?

The air changes.
The scene escapes me.
Suddenly, I am reminded of you,
The ruling classes of a dying age,
Impotent parvenus
And arrogant fakers,
Sweating away in the whirlpool
Of unprincipled action
And wielding your passionless power.
I look angrily about me
—To the streets where people,
Become targets, will fall dead
And the wounds of war will again
Spill blood over your lives,
Crossed with guilt
And sealed in a lie.

—Philip Lamantia.

Truman's Burden

"OURS is not yet a perfect democracy," said Walter White, the professional colored man, as part of his speech introducing Harry Truman, the president of the United States, at the closing ceremonies of the 38th annual conference of the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), Sunday, June 29th.

Truman then said that we have reached, in his opinion, "the turning point in the democratic treatment of all the people," and "when I say all the people, I mean all the people."

"We must make the Government a friendly and vigilant protector of all Americans, and again I mean *all* Americans." Later in the course of his speech he remarked, apparently after a long session with Dr. Watson and a powerful magnifying glass, that "Prejudice and intolerance still exist."

What could possibly bring the liblab Mr. White and the ranting hater of Negroes and "foreigners" together on the same platform?

The answer, from Walter White's side of the almost imaginary barricade, is probably ambition. Ambition for himself, or granting him the possibility of some personal integrity, ambition for his organization.

Truman's reasons, both for appearing on the platform with Negroes and for speaking in favor of "tolerance" may appear to be slightly more obscure at first glance.

In the October, 1944, issue of *Common Sense* there appeared a remarkable article by Grace and Morris Milgrim. It was called *The Man from Missouri*. The article started by saying that "he (Truman) will probably become Vice President—and possibly President—at the most critical moment in our history." The Milgrims went on to say "He has no political philosophy except that of the machine. He can be swayed either to the right or slightly to the left."

They go on to reveal indisputable facts proving that Truman had never been elected to any public office except by machine-engineered vote frauds. It would appear now that the first time he ever held office legally was when he was elected as Vice President!

Truman is quoted in regard to fraudulent votes which elected him to the U. S. Senate:

"Those things were due to over-zealousness by Tom's boys." (The late Thomas Pendergast was then boss of Kansas City, Missouri, and Harry Truman.) "They were too anxious to make a showing for the boss, and they took the easiest way."

Pendergast, said Truman, was not a dictator—"He was a boss, an American political boss. You've got to have leadership in politics, and a boss is only a leader."

His record on Negro relations shows him sometimes to have voted (as in the case of his support, by vote, of the Anti-Lynch Bill) for liberal measures. At other times, however, (as in the case of his voting later on for the shelving of that same bill) he did quite the opposite.

The Milgrims, being honorable and liberal socialists, see this as being puzzling and contradictory. I think that we can safely lay this seeming contradiction to one of two causes. Either the party machine was beginning the Herculean task of building the legend of Truman's "liberality," (his appointment and dummy functioning as head of the War Investigating Committee would seem to underline this point) or he may have been acting under party orders when he voted for the bill, and later voted for its shelving because he wanted it shelved in the first place, and had not received specific orders on how to vote in regard to its shelving.

This would seem to make Truman a stupid man. Don't let any one fool you. He is just that, and more. As Vice Presidential candidate on a ticket with anyone else but the gorgeous F.D.R. he might have been committing political suicide by granting such interviews as the one he did with the Milgrims.

Earlier, at a meeting of the National Colored Democratic Association on July 14, 1940, he had said to his Negro Audience: "I wish to make it clear that I am not appealing for the social equality of the Negro. The Negro himself knows better than that, and the highest types of Negro leaders say frankly that they prefer the society of their own people. Negroes want justice, not social relations."

He told the Milgrims that Negroes "are not and never will be" served in the restaurants and soda fountains of his home town, Independence, Missouri. He said that he never had and "never will" invite a Negro to his home for dinner. "I reserve the right to choose my guests," he said. He is in favor of, and actively supported, segregation in

schools. He was against federal aid to education for the obvious reason that with it could come federal intervention in the matter of segregation.

To cap the climax let me quote verbatim the next to the last paragraph in the Milgrim interview:

"The most remarkable of Senator Truman's beliefs is his delusion that Negroes have organized 'push days'. Negroes, he told us, 'are going too far in St. Louis. There Negroes have started a push day once a week, when they shove people out of bars. Why, St. Louis is sitting on a keg of dynamite! And they've got a push day in Washington, too! I won't let my daughter go downtown on the street-cars on Thursdays, any more. It's not safe. They push people off the street cars.'"

There you have some of the background of a "modern liberal." It does not take too much imagination to figure out the reasons for his veto and polite and politic wrist-slapping of the Taft-Hartley Bill. The party *must* have made the decision, knowing that the bill would pass over Truman's head, and leave him with the sympathy of liblabs all over the land.

—RUSSEL NEWTON ROMAN.

Pound of Flesh

United Press, Washington, June 10:

"The treasury drive on income tax cheaters is spreading out.

"And, a Bureau of Internal Revenue spokesman revealed today, investigations are under way into tax chiseling by prostitutes and pushcart peddlers.

"The pushcart investigation is going on in a large New England city. Agents expect it to yield \$250,000 in back taxes, penalties and interest.

"The investigation of tax evasion by prostitutes is centered in large cities which are near Army and Navy wartime camps. The spokesman said the drive was started as a result of high wartime earnings of prostitutes in such locations. He said much of the money was not reported for income tax purposes.

"During the first 11 months of the present fiscal year, the Treasury has recovered more than \$1,500,000,000 from all groups of tax chiselers."

Reviews

An English Anarchist

The Innocent Eye. By Herbert Read. Henry Holt & Co. \$3.50.

In the world of literary and art criticism, Herbert Read is one of the foremost present-day figures. Because he is also the most widely-known living anarchist, his self-portrait, *The Innocent Eye*, commands serious attention.

Read has a fine prose style—quiet, clear, smooth and simple, yet not simplified. He is a writer, as well as a fine poet. I liked particularly the first section, called *The Innocent Eye* (originally published separately under that title). These chapters tell of the first nine or ten years of Read's life, before the death of his father caused him to be torn away from the pre-20th century English farm



he beautifully describes in this section. The title refers to the child's state of free emotional reaction to the world. This is a quiet portrait of the farm, its surroundings, and a few bits of Read's life there.

The rest of the book deals with Read's intellectual development, particularly after the age of fifteen: his discovery of poetry; his development of an agnostic philosophy; the maturation of his political ideas to the point of anarchism; his period as a World War I soldier from the age of 21 to 25; his decision to concentrate on literary and aesthetic criticism; his development of a philosophy based on art; his struggle to earn a living without hampering his creative work. There is little here of Read's "personal life," nothing of other people. I suppose this follows from his preoccupation with intellectual things, his lack of general contact or friendships with people (except for the soldiering period). If the story is intellectual, and that much dry, it probably honestly reflects his character and life.

I did not care much for the war chapters. They are not, to my mind, far out of the run

of good war-episode descriptions, and they miss what I judge the most significant thing about the army and war—what anarchists usually find most unbearable—the pressure of the army machine and regimentation. Read seems to have been barely conscious of this. Despite his political opposition to the war, he did not react emotionally against it. He was an officer, and even saw certain virtues in war—still, in fact, seeks a "moral alternative to war."

With Read, artistic, poetic and aesthetic impulses are primary. His political and social ideas seem to be intellectual conclusions drawn from these basic feelings. Read ascribes his early interest in Marxism, syndicalism, anarchism, etc., to direct observation of the condition of the working class in the city of Leeds. He must have genuinely hated the ugliness of Leeds; but I doubt that he emotionally hated the miserable lives he never experienced or came close to.

I think this sheds light on why *The Innocent Eye* is in a way so little autobiographical and so much a series of chapters showing the development of Read's ideas on religion, art, poetry, politics, etc. It also suggests why political questions have so little urgency for him.

From his study of the history of art and civilization, Read finds that culture, as something truly general and not limited to isolated professional artists, flourishes where the unit of living is small, where there is relative freedom, where there are no real class divisions, etc. He has in mind particularly the city-states of the middle ages, with their great mass-built cathedrals, etc. (Vice versa, he thinks that such a true culture is a prerequisite to psychological health and freedom; wisely, I think, he puts the whole emphasis on artistic-creative activity, rather than acquisition of knowledge and right ideas, in the education of free men.) From his anxiety over the miserable level of modern culture, from his study of societies where real culture flourished, and from a belief in the injustice and sickness of modern society, Read comes to anarchism as a social ideal and decentralized communism as a practical objective.

Read does not follow those anarchists who, in their enthusiasm to decentralize and abolish the dominance of machine over man, wish to destroy the machine and the mass-production system and return to a primitive economy. Much affected by Marx's historical analysis, Read views this as unreal; of the Machine Age, he says elsewhere, Let it rip; but build

under it an art-culture, change the control and organization of the machines, destroy the great cities, rebuild the land and the men.

Read's anarchism does not have at all the Utopian color that most pictures of anarchist society, built up from analytical economics and abstractions about freedom, etc., tend to have. He revives one's belief in the possibility of a great stride toward anarchism without changes in human nature almost awe-inspiring to imagine.

Read's anarchist ideas, it seems to me, should interest especially those who might accept many of his aesthetic, cultural and philosophical ideas, and see no relation between them and anarchism. But they are of no less interest to the rest of us.

Incidentally, while I would make no effort here to pass any general judgments on Read's philosophy, I would say that much of it strikes me as very good. I think his literary and artistic taste is excellent. As anarchism, Read's is one kind. It should be studied carefully, and thought about carefully.

—DTW.

Launching of The Ark

The Ark. Spring 1947. 50c.

We live in an age of process, if not progress: from swiss cheese to atom bombs, the machine process goes on and on, giving us the standardized, cut-and-dried life most of us seem content to put up with. The margin of unprocessed products is fast disappearing. Even—no, rather especially—is this true of the products of our minds. Block after block of shining mediocrity comes off the conveyor belts of the publishing world, Radio City, Hollywood. Perhaps it is in the magazine field that the ultimate has been reached by the Luce-a-ton, a rather fearsome machine, which—in *Time*, *Life* & *Fortune*—stamps out style, information and opinion in pre-digested form.

Once upon a time the little magazine field was free from the above process. There was spirit, an individual pulse could be felt, in little magazines from *The Dial* to the old issues of *Partisan Review*. What have we now? Most of the financially sound ones are under the tutelage of the universities, and their prose is heavily encrusted with academic bilge. Exceptions, like the University of Chicago *Observer*, are few. Others like *Horizon* and

Partisan Review, the latter soon to get a rich backer (as a reward for its recent deadness?), have their own form of academicism. Lively, rebellious little magazines can be counted on your fingers—and you ought to have a finger left for a new one, *The Ark*, an anarchist literary magazine hand-printed in San Francisco, which has just set sail against the deluge of death.

The editorial states the direction of the magazine in these terms:

"...we are concerned with a thorough revaluation of the relations between the individual and society. We hope that such a revaluation will stimulate thought and action. It is with this hope that we are issuing *The Ark*, a magazine with consistent anti-Statist attitudes. We shall seek to present the various aspects of libertarian thought, of a religious, personal or political nature, and shall examine ideas of the past and their relation to recent developments in social and political thinking.

"We believe that social transformation must be the aim of any revolutionary viewpoint, but we recognize the organic, spontaneous revolt of individuals as presupposing such a transformation. The vanguard of such a revolt is becoming a potent force in contemporary literature. Certain older writers who have preserved clarity of outlook toward the existing false political and social values will here be seen in a new perspective; young writers who suffer lack of recognition will have a forum for their work."

There is broadness and yet unity in this policy; as this issue indicates, the policy is broad enough to include such diverse writers, though all have similar values, as Kenneth Patchen, George Woodcock, Kenneth Rexroth, W. C. Williams, Paul Goodman, E. E. Cummings, and, among the younger talents, Robert Duncan and Philip Lamantia.

The Ark contains a good deal of poetry, which seems to me a fine thing; first, because poetry gives a real sense of human feeling to a magazine—and these days we need all the human feeling we can get, and second, because so few magazines offer adequate space to poets. I liked particularly the work of a 16-year-old poetess, Alison Boodson, William Everson's *If I Hid My Hand*, and the four poems by E. E. Cummings.

The prose in this first issue of *The Ark* is not up to the standard of the poetry though there are some good things: excerpts from

Sleepers Awake by Kenneth Patchen (who, I must confess, I like best in short doses), a critical piece on *The "Horace" of Corneille* by Paul Goodman, and W. C. Williams' *Inquest*. George Woodcock's *What Is Anarchism?*, a reprint of the penny pamphlet, is an excellent short statement of anarchism but it seems skimpy here, its length limits the exposition to almost mere assertions. Ammon A. Hennacy is a valiant man, he is one of the most militant anarchists, but his article in *The Ark* on *Christian Anarchism* is a rambling hodge-podge that I found irritating: Alexander Berkman is quoted against the use of violence without a mention of the fact that Berkman believed that violence might be necessary in certain circumstances; Proudhon, the god destroyer, is paired loosely with Eric Gill, the libertarian Roman Catholic; Malatesta is called (I think wrongly) a pacifist. Worse, Hennacy seems to feel (and the sentiment is echoed by *The Ark's* editorial) that the Roman Catholic labor paper, *The Catholic Worker*, is a sort of exemplar of Christian Anarchism. But I always thought that the Christianity in this current of anarchist thought was one of an unorthodox, personal nature, having nothing to do, no matter how obliquely, with Roman Catholic authoritarianism or the authoritarianism of other organized religions. Though *The Catholic Worker* quotes Kropotkin, it also quotes the popes approvingly (though never mentioning the Vatican's lauding of Franco, Salazar and Peron). It is this ability of the Vatican to have many forces at work, to appear to be all things to all men, that constitutes a danger which it is sheer irresponsibility to play with.

Still, as I say, whatever differences one may have with the magazine or its contributors, *The Ark* is not dead.

—MICHAEL GRIEG.

The Ark is available through Resistance.

Just Out...

NOW 8

AN ANARCHIST REVIEW

edited by

GEORGE WOODCOCK

Includes...

Chains of Freedom,by Herbert Read

Pornography and Censorship

by Alex Comfort

Order from RESISTANCE, 50c.

Sadness of the Young Man Late at Night

A scarlet mouth splits
into a jagged scar,
while rapist eyes narrow
behind their crumpled News.

This is the city
and this is the night
when I, Eliot's old man,
blindly throbbing
between two worlds,
between two realities of all possible realities
speak haltingly—
a lisp is too unforgettable
for time

The old man of ineffable weariness
squints wearily at jagged neons,
walks wearily down impossible streets,
is at home in a house of the dead.

I am aware through this damp anesthesia
of a soul's shadowy groping.

—Donn Moir.

What's What . . .

This space is devoted to miscellaneous information of interest to anarchists and readers of *RESISTANCE*. If, for example, you want to know whether there are other anarchists in your locality and want to start a group, here is the place to find out. Contributions to this column should be as brief as possible. There is no charge, of course, for any notice.

The Macedonia Cooperative Community, comprising 1100 acres in Habersham County, Clarksville, Georgia, offers an integrated way of living and a chance to do creative social work towards bettering race relations in the South. Inquiries are invited from the readers of *RESISTANCE*. Address Arthur Wiser, Macedonia Cooperative Community, Clarksville, Georgia.

A picnic for the benefit of Spanish and Italian political victims will be held Sunday, August 24, at Lincoln Park between Lynn and Salem, Mass. In case of rain, the picnic will be held indoors at the Circolo Aurora, 42 Maverick Square, E. Boston.

Sunday, August 24, at Wiloths Park, 814 East 225 St., Bronx, N. Y. C., a picnic will be held for the benefit of the Italian anarchist weekly, *L'Adunata*.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT Vol. 6, No. 2

CONTRIBUTIONS

MAINE: Vinalhaven: G. W. 25¢	\$.25
MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: A. R. 1; A. S. 1; Arlington: N. D. 5	7.00
CONNECTICUT: Coscob: T. S. 1	1.00
NEW YORK: New York City: R. A. 5; T. S. 5; C. B. 5; O. A. 5; B. M. 3; S. D. M. 1; J. E. 1; R. B. 1; M. B. 5; Uncle Pete 3; C. G. 1; M. 2; A. 1; S. 2; M. B. 1.11; Pete 1; B. 50¢; Anon. 5.41; Penny collection 2.68; coin collection 4.50; Postal note 4; F. S. 5; S. L. 10; J. B. 1; C. B. 1; F. F. 1; S. J. 1; A. B. 1; G. G. 3; Albany: J. R. 2; Rensselaer: G. T. 5; Adams: W. H. P. 1.25; Rochester: E. F. 5	95.45
NEW JERSEY: Phillipsburg: J. V. 1; A. M. 1; G. M. 2; L. B. 1; Paterson: D. V. 2; Stelton: E. H. 2; S. A. 1; Irvington: T. C. 2; Totowa Boro: A. B. 1; N. Bergen: B. C. 1	18.00
PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: G. C. 2; G. A. 1; L. A. 2; G. 3; Pittsburgh: Group 17; J. A. 1; M. B. 5; Havertown: P. E. L. 85¢	31.85
OHIO: Cleveland: G. L. 1	1.00
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WASHINGTON: Seattle: G. B. A. 1; S. E. S. 2; Port Orchard: C. W. 1	4.00
CANADA: Toronto: B. B. 20	20.00
AUSTRALIA: Mareeba: A. N.	2.00

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The response to our last financial appeal has been heartening. It has proven to us that one of the main reasons why contributions had fallen off was that we had not reminded readers of our financial straits for a long time. Frankly, we would rather use the space devoted to appeals for a better purpose; as it is our space is extremely limited, and we would like to expand the paper as soon as finances warrant. That depends, of course, on you. So let's not waste space on appeals. We won't—if you remind yourself regularly that **RESISTANCE** depends on your voluntary contributions.

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 or 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 Olga	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
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• GENERAL

Cooperative Decentralization, by J. F. 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
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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 Men, 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, 7 and 8	each 50c
The March to Death, by John Olday	25c
The Life We Live, by John Olday	25c
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
The Ark	50c
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. 3

July, 1947

Editor: WILLIAM YOUNG

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462