

# 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, idleness 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-in-the-fight 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

**SACCO AND VANZETTI** Twenty years ago the twenty-third of August, two anarchists were killed. There never was

an outcry like that raised against the execution of two anarchists by the state of Massachusetts. All over the world, millions of men and women—anarchists and radicals, labor unionists and liberals, people with a simple sense of justice—denounced and fought the frame-up murder of Sacco and Vanzetti.

In 1927 the murder of two men could outrage the nation and the world.

In 1947 people have become used to atom bombs and mass slavery, and neither the death of one man nor the death of millions can arouse emotion. People read the news in their newspapers, and then turn the page and their minds to something less disturbing.

The death of Sacco and Vanzetti remains the symbol of American justice. Their lives remain the symbol of men acting with principle. Their courage remains the symbol of men refusing to surrender their dignity and their minds to the state.

**THE LAW AND ORDER OF NONSENSE** Almost as a rule, anarchists do not quote Social Democrats approvingly. An exceptional quotation appeared in the August issue of *Modern Review*, which underlines the blind hunger in Germany for which the Social Democrats themselves bear part responsibility. We quote in full:

The Dutch province of Limburg has a large surplus of vegetables. Netherlands sources state that 200,000 tons of vegetables will be available for export between the beginning of July and February of next year. A substantial amount of this produce is ready for immediate shipment and will spoil soon if it isn't disposed of soon.

Germany lacks vitamins; the cities of the Ruhr valley haven't received fresh vegetables for many months; the miners' children show signs of scurvy and other vitamin deficiencies. The German food ration is down to around 800 calories, well below the theoretical level of starvation.

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Dutch Limburg borders on Germany; transportation between the land where the vegetables are in danger of rotting and the land

of scurvy and vitamin deficiency could be easily arranged—freight trains could cover the distance to the cities of the Ruhr in a few hours. Between the wasteland and the land of plenty there are no high mountains, no natural obstacles whatsoever—but there is one huge obstruction: the Great Wall of Bureaucracy.

Holland wants payment in German industrial products but Anglo-American occupation authorities in Germany want all German trade to be transacted in dollars. The Dutch must pay in dollars if they want to get German industrial products; and the Germans also must pay in dollars—which they don't have or which the occupation authorities do not allow them to spend. So the hungry cannot get to the food and the food cannot get to the hungry: between them stands the whim of a few experts and the sign of the dollar—a sign dominating men, a sign condemning men to die, a symbol that has become an all powerful thing a thing that kills men, a Thing let loose.

On the left bank of the Rhine the vegetables are rotting and on its right bank men are rotting. A few hundred thousand tons of vegetables and the lives of a few million people are involved: but what is epitomized here is the state of our world. Only a sign, a regulation, a decree stands between the men and the source that could still their thirst. Is one really to believe that regulations, decrees and bureaucracy will forever keep people from taking what their bodies required?

**RAILS, SOLONS** "Washington, June 14:

**AND LOBBIES** "Sen. Tobey (R., N.H.), an old Teddy Roosevelt Bull Moose, was speaking in the Senate, carrying on the trust-busting tradition of TR. He was fighting the attempt of one of the greatest and most powerful trusts, the railroads, to exempt themselves from our anti-trust laws, as provided in the pending Bulwinkle-Reed Bill.

"He looked about him. He counted three other Republicans, the third entering as he surveyed the bare scene. On the Democratic side he spotted two Senators."

"From the railroads' own records he revealed how they percolate into Chambers of Commerce and business groups and use them for fronts; how they even got their propaganda into Ohio schools, reminiscent of the more widespread power lobby infiltration; how they influence state government agencies, often with-

## Point of Production

*In the month.* August brought no sharp clarification of the immediate effects of the Taft-Hartley Law. The economic situation continued to drift. The stock market fell back again, indicating that all recent market movements have been normal fluctuations around the 1946 lows. Production and employment continued high; most prices continued to rise, including a substantial boost in steel. Nickel-and-dime wage-raises were negotiated in a number of industries.

*New tactics.* Biggest news was that the International Typographical Union (AFL) convention voted not to negotiate any more contracts; locals will post the conditions under which the men will work, and if the boss rejects them strike will automatically follow. The ITU had already used this tactic to enforce the closed shop in states where it is outlawed. The printers' action deserves consideration by other workers.

*The pie-cards' concern.* It has become clear, though, that union leaders are worried mainly about three sections of the new law: political expenditures, closed shop, and suits for wild-cat strikes.

Many unions have made a big show of violating the ban on political expenditures, which the Supreme Court is almost certain eventually to rule unconstitutional.

To save the closed shop, many unions have hurriedly negotiated new contracts to hold the closed shop for the year allowed by the law. In his haste to keep the closed shop, Joe Ryan of the AFL longshoremen gave away virtually

out their knowledge; and, finally, their 'back-home' pressure tactics against members of Congress.

"The success of this last technique seemed to be indicated by the almost empty Senate chamber, by minds long made up. It is a many-sided technique, including preparation of a complete dossier on every member of Congress, and in particular 'the influences which control him and the persons on whom he relies for support.'"

—By Thomas L. Stokes, Scripps-Howard columnist, in the June 14 *New York World-Telegram*.



all economic demands, and set off another wildcat strike in the port of New York—in the Chelsea district, heart of the 1945 insurrection against Ryan.

To stave off law-suits, all unions are demanding contract-guarantees that the bosses won't sue. The impression is widespread that no-strike clauses are being thrown out, but this is not so; only Lewis has done so. Dubinsky of the AFL garment workers flatly stated he would see there were no strikes as long as the bosses continued the union shop; less loudly, UAW, steel worker and other union officials have taken a similar line. This means that union officials are going to keep workers tied up in arbitration and no-strike clauses; the officials just don't want to be held responsible when the workers finally do revolt.

**Communist affiliation.** What stand the unions will take on the Taft-Hartley provision for denial of Communist affiliation or belief is not yet certain. Some, like Dubinsky, admit they will sign. Since any NLRB protection seems contingent on such statements from all officers (from the local unions up to the federation), it seems likely that all but well-known Communist officials will give in on this sooner or later.

Incidentally, the Communists regained equality on the executive board of the National Maritime Union, as the vote of the port of New York was enough to elect their candidate to succeed Joe Stack, forced out last April by Curran.

**Effects of the veto.** Truman's shrewd veto of the Taft-Hartley bill is paying off—for him. President Whitney of the railway trainmen has come out for Truman in 48. Whitney, whose union was a victim of Truman's strike-busting in the spring of 46, had threatened to use the union's entire resources to defeat Truman. The helpless confusion of labor officials who can see nothing but electing different Congressmen is hardly surprising; what is unfortunate is that the rank and file has nowhere given any indication of thinking in any other direction.

**Miscellaneous.** The shipyard strike will end its second month September 1. Some small companies have settled for 12c increases, but US Steel, Bethlehem, etc., seem willing to leave the yards idle till they break down union conditions.... The last major non-union shipping line, Isthmian (US Steel), finally signed with the SIU, after a brief strike, for standard conditions, including union hiring

hall.... In New York, the Financial Employees' strike against the Brooklyn Trust Company was broken; the workers went back without recognition or guarantee against discrimination. Though never fully effective, the strike had been marked by militant picket lines and good support from other workers; the bank had been forced to grant wage increases after the strike began....

Another mine explosion in southern Illinois took over 20 lives; a third, at the world's biggest soft-coal mine in the same county, received no press attention because it killed only three men... Pearl Bergoff, most notorious of the professional scab-herders and strike-breakers, who once made \$2 million on a single job (on the Erie Railroad in 1920), died in New York... The AFL teamsters' convention created a new office of executive vice-president, to be appointed by Tobin; it is understood (though denied) that Dave Beck, west coast teamsters' boss and heir-apparent to Tobin's throne, will get the post... By a brief strike, the CIO rubber workers forced Goodrich to agree to a company-wide contract, leaving only Firestone of the big four without one... In Michigan the UAW has been meeting old-fashioned strike-breaking with militant mass-picketing, and the results have been good... In Los Angeles, a bitter hearing over the movie strike was marked by the Congressional committee counsel's assaulting AFL counsel Joe Padway. The movie strike was not clarified any, still drags on.

For the second time in three months, we are compelled to draw your attention to the financial condition of **RESISTANCE**. With the cost of this issue included, our deficit will again be nearly \$300.

We realize that many comrades and friends have contributed freely and generously. We dislike to make repeated appeals to them. If the current cost of production is simply beyond our readers' ability to support, we shall have to reduce the size of the paper in proportion. We hope not. We shall have to judge from the response in the next month or so.

# FOUR FORCES IN SOUTH AMERICA

THE popular imagination still thinks of the South American countries as comic-opera nations, where armies of generals command a single company of soldiers and revolutions occur weekly. But a study of the facts should correct this over-vivid fairy tale. Huge sums of American capital are being invested in the nascent industry of Brazil. The war debts of Great Britain have enabled the Argentine to buy the former British enterprises, particularly railways. An awakening local capitalist class is claiming these undertakings and exclusive rights for exploitation of national riches. Formerly a source of raw materials and cheap manual labor, Latin America is in process of transformation into a new world center of production, capable from the first of satisfying the needs of local consumption.

Nothing demonstrates more clearly the reshuffling of the great imperialist centers of activity than this reorganization of South American economy. Formerly London, Paris and Washington dealt directly with each local government, frequently controlling from outside the progress or decline of their economies, facilitating or impeding the growth of this or that crop in this or that region. Insofar as a certain measure of economic unity could be seen in the South-American countries as a whole, its origin and explanation could be found in the policy of some great capital outside the South American continent.

Today, with the regression of Britain in the world markets, the extension of Yankee imperialism and the disappearance of that of France, a different situation appears. Only the United States now dreams of controlling the unification of the New World. But they have run into a dangerous rival, still weak in capital and techniques, but potentially rich and skilled in the art of utilizing the forces of political and economic nationalism. This is the Argentine of Peron.

What took the form, in the British and French empires, of the emancipation of subject colonial peoples, appears in a different guise in South America (although the basic factors are similar). But it exists more in talk than in fact. In every corner of the globe ap-

pears the conflict, not only of the interests but of the actual war-machines of the two great rivals, Russia and the United States. Unable or unwilling to assist the struggle for social revolution, unable to influence the South American capitalist class by economic means—with materials, technicians or capital—Russia contents herself with political intervention by utilizing footholds in the leftwing movements and manoeuvring support for the anti-U.S.A. elements in the governments.

So much for the three official forces which are at work over South America. Some recent examples will illustrate their functioning:

Last autumn, the presidential elections were held in Chile, a nation whose rich mineral deposits are in the hands of North American firms, for example, Braden Copper. (The White House specialist in South American affairs is Spruille Braden, the principal shareholder.) The communists, through the Chilean Confederation of Labor, of whom they are the nucleus, entered the fray on behalf of Videla, a verbose and narrow-minded radical. In spite of the opposition of conservatives and liberals supported by the Yankees, and although an absolute majority was not obtained, the Chamber of Deputies, under the threat of the revolutionary movement dominated by the Stalinists, chose Videla. A ministry including three Communists was formed. At once the struggle began. The United States curtailed the import into Chile of manufactured goods, raw materials and foodstuffs. Prices rose like lightning. The communist ministers proved incapable of dealing with the situation, and refused to lead the working-class movement to the point of insurrection.

It was the third rogue who won the day. Peron negotiated a commercial treaty with Chile, to supply foodstuffs and to buy part of her mineral output. The communists, despite their slogans about unchained workers and uprising peasants, were beaten. Their fear of revolution had thrown away the one deciding factor—the proletariat.

In Bolivia it is necessary to go back again to 1946 to retrace the chain of events. The nationalist dictator Villaroel tried to wrest



certain privileges from United States firms, notably those concerned with the extraction of tin, the country's principal raw material. A movement arose, in which communists and American agents intervened, which overthrew Villaroel. The communists were in partial control of the political machine, the Americans held the economic levers, but once again the Argentine came out on top, carrying off the market by offering the independent producers better prices than those proposed by America. At the same time Buenos Aires undertook to finance a trade route between Bolivia and the Atlantic Coast.

Other examples could be cited to show the method employed by Peron to cash in on Russo-American rivalry, to unify nationalistic tendencies to his advantage, and to work for an economic-military entente between all South American countries. This last aim is, indeed, only lightly stressed, for Mexico, like Brazil, is completely under the broad thumb of Washington. But as he is working to a long-term policy, Peron hopes that first of all the Northern financiers will build up local industries; it will then be easier to rally the nationalist bourgeoisie to the point of view of Buenos Aires. Within the Argentine Republic a five-year plan has been established to build up a vigorous industry, capable of absorbing the greater part of the raw materials of the neighboring countries, and avoiding the cost of sending them to the United States for processing and manufacture.

Where stands the working class in this jungle of self-interest? The bulk of its forces is being dissipated for the benefit of the political parties, supporting the local ruling class, or one or the other of the great powers, U.S.A. or U.S.S.R. The greater part of the socialist organizations turn their eyes to Washington. In Chile, for example, the socialist leader Schnake, one-time revolutionary leader and ex-ambassador to France, is trying to unite the pro-U.S.A. forces. The "Apriste" movement of Haya de la Torre in Peru shows itself equally in favor of a continental bloc—the conception of Roosevelt, and the permanent aim of the White House. As for the communist parties, the distance of the "Russian Menace" and their strict instructions never to take social unrest to its revolutionary conclusions, have obliged them at the moment to found their influence on the working and middle classes. Cleverly ensconced in key administrative positions, so as to seize control of the unions, they will not show their strength in full meas-

ure until the day when the conflict between Moscow and Washington has become acute.

With the same facility with which they preached the sacred union of the allies during the war, they now preach anti-imperialist war against Washington. Today they are attacking British enterprises in particular, discovering on this occasion a certain sympathy with the pro-American elements or the Anglophobe nationalists.

The fourth force does not yet exist as a power. But the danger it represents is enough for the governments to try to suppress any awakening of the revolutionary movement and to destroy any revival of the old independent organizations.

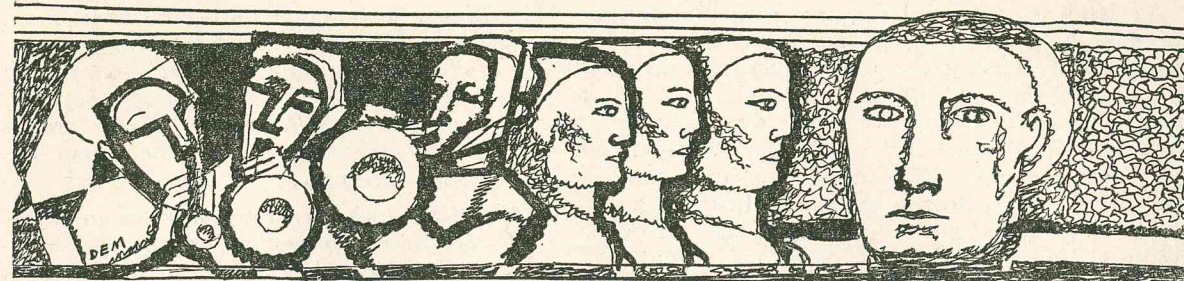
It should be remembered, in this connection, that most of the big left-wing organizations in both North and South America were the work of immigrant elements—Spanish, Italian or Swedish—strongly influenced by libertarian doctrines and tactics, and carrying this influence into the unions and working-class organizations. In the same way as, in the U.S.A., the I.W.W. before 1914 contained a large proportion of recent immigrants (mostly Scandinavians and Latins), so in the Argentine, Brazil, Uruguay and Chile, left-wing activities were first known after the arrival of European manual workers, well educated in the social struggle.

The F.O.R.A. and the "Antorcha" movement in the Argentine, the F.O.R.U. in Uruguay, the Chilean C.G.T., at one time constituted a serious menace to the newly-organized states. That is why these regimes depended on the support of the army—the only guarantee of capitalist "order"—and on foreign intervention.

Each time a new dictatorship installed itself, its first move was the expulsion of foreign militants, their deportation into the hands of the authorities of their countries of origin, their return to the concentration camps. In 1930 General Uriburu purged the Argentine in this terrible way, decimating the revolutionary movements. The same concern is shown today by the care with which Peron controls Italian immigration. His recruitment of Italian labor is accompanied by the supervision of the religious authorities, at both arrival and departure;—the "Black International" is never short of a job!

But these measures are ineffective, for the progress of industrialization is itself creating a new proletariat more compact and well-established than before. Peron knows this and

(Cont. on page 16)



## Jazz and Society

"We unite to create, and the pattern of creation is in nature, and we discover and conform to this pattern by all the methods of artistic activity—by music, by dancing and drama, but also by working together and living together for, in a sane civilization, these too are arts of the same natural pattern." Herbert Read  
—*The Education of Free Men*.

The concept of living as an art form is not original. If we define each work of art as an attempt to achieve grace, we can understand why so many of the great thinkers have suggested that the most important artistic medium is life itself, that the aim of each of us should be to achieve in our living grace, harmony and integration with all other life. For those of us who accept this concept it is patent that the majority of men are unskilled in the arts of living; most lives are discordant and graceless and the aggregation of these lives, society, is obviously lacking in harmony.

In most media of artistic expression the individual is not directly affected (in form, if in content) by the feelings of his fellows, but jazz (by which I mean in this context wholly improvised hot music) is unusual because the music is conceived, and produced as it is conceived, by not one artist, but by a group playing collectively. In good jazz, and that is all that I am concerned with, the individual expresses *himself* but at the same time there is a co-ordinated, harmonious result from the group effort. I suggest that this is what we want in our living, and that playing jazz is analogous to living a full and creative life. The jazz band seems to be in miniature the desirable society. Let us then examine the relationships of jazz musicians to one another when they play, and see if in this way we can discover the sort of social relationships that an harmonious society demands.

As soon as jazz musicians meet to make their music they accept, by mutual consent, limitations of individual freedom in the form of chord sequences by agreeing to play a particular number in a particular key. It is recognized that some structure is necessary, it is agreed that some sort of order is collectively desirable so that the result shall be cohesive, but within the accepted limitations the individual musician is able to express himself. Understanding that he is not alone, however, he expresses himself with an understanding of the feelings of his fellow musicians.

The relationship of the leader to the group is, I think, much the same with jazz bands as with primitive societies. Professor Bartlett, in his book *Psychology and Primitive Culture*, writes "it is a relationship in which leadership does not depend mainly upon domination or assertion, but upon a ready susceptibility to the thoughts, feelings and actions of the members of the group. The chief, that is, expresses the group rather than *impresses* it." This statement, which Bartlett applies to the relationship between the chief and the primitive group, is equally applicable to the relationship of such leaders as Oliver, Armstrong and Jelly-Roll, and the groups that they led. In the large swing bands the leader, together with the arranger, does *impress* the group; the playing of the individual musician is forced into the collective pattern which the leader imposes. Dennis Preston has already pointed out the similarity in form of the swing band to the totalitarian form of society; and the popularity of swing music may be due to the fact that it corresponds so well to the social order that is growing so powerful in our world. Perhaps the jazz band corresponds to a society more sympathetic to creativity and fulfillment.



As Rudi Blesh insists in his *This is Jazz*, the jazz band must be a small group. In all branches of activity the most successful units (from the point of view of personal development and satisfaction) are small groups: the communist cell, the early Christian "agape," the rowing eight. "The bigger the unit you deal with, the hollower, the more brutal, the more mendacious is the life displayed," wrote William James (Letters II, 90), and, though this may seem exaggerated when applied to jazz, we do invariably find that better jazz is produced by small groups than large and that the music becomes less related to jazz as the group grows in size.

What have we discovered about the relations of jazz musicians to one another? That there is a mutual acceptance of certain standards, that there is sympathy and understanding of the feelings of each other, that it is only in small groups that these conditions are possible. In social terms these principles seem to me to constitute the basis of a coherent social philosophy, a philosophy which holds that only through freedom and responsibility can men play a living and creative part in society, and that only through a devolution of power can men act responsibly in small social units.

These are the ideas of William Godwin, Tolstoy and Kropotkin, men whose aim was a society "based on the free co-operation of individual men and women in fulfillment of their common functional and economic needs."\* The relevance of jazz to the social theories of these writers will be shown in this quotation from the anarchist Bakunin (though it is not easy to share his optimism that the free society is inevitable). "There will be a new and mighty world in which all our dissonances will be resolved into an harmonious whole."

—PETER WILLMOTT

*Analogical argument is certainly the easiest when ideas are to be conveyed. But pitfalls reside in this form of argument, and unless they are realized, understandings that totally violate the intention may result. Such is so in the above. The editors regard this article insufficiently precise in the limitations of the analogy; consequently, so that the old, tiresome charge of "simplifications" "naivete" may not be launched, the editors append three remarks:*

\*George Woodcock *Anarchy or Chaos*.

(1) "The jazz band seems to be in miniature the desirable society." Clearly this means "a part of the desirable society," since the functions of any society extend much beyond personal interplay. Solutions to other problems, such as distribution, may be based in such personal interplay.

(2) Radicals have become notorious in their use of the term "primitive culture." Prof. Bartlett's quote implies that there is a singularity in primitive culture that allows for a generalized "primitive culture." The field work of anthropologists has demonstrated the falsity of such a loose concept. Benedict "Patterns of Culture."

(3) The editors of *Resistance* do not feel with Bakunin or Willmott that "all our dissonances will be resolved." Neither the content of Willmott's article nor contemporary anarchist ideology supports such a view. It seems impossible and undesirable to eliminate conflict and disagreement from human relationships, and I think this is what "dissonance" means.

The above article is taken from the excellent English jazz journal, "Jazz Forum," which can be secured from the Delphic Press at Burgate Cross, Fordingbridge, Hants, England. (Subscriptions, one year, four issues, 9 shillings; single copies, 2s. 6d.)

"Yet, life, happiness, health and goodness depend from things which are what and as they are, and not from what and as we believe or hope them to be. So that wrong faith, absurd hope, unfounded optimism and confidence are or may be fatal or at least very deleterious to the individual, in spite of their real help to him as animators. For they mislead us and when we face evil, cannot help us.

I believe better, to try and look the reality straight in its face, eyes into eyes. The question is not to shift from barren reality by any dreams or auto-suggestion. It is: 1st—Not to let ourselves be overwhelmed by the adversity, scared by black prospects, but face them as bravely as possible. 2nd:—Try to fight them with all our force. To destroy bad realities, to create good ones, lo! that makes gods out of men and women."

BARTOLOMEO VANZETTI  
(From a letter to Maude Pettyjohn)

# AFFIRM THE REAL THING

by Jackson MacLow

This part concludes MacLow's article. Last issue he discussed the general problem of possibilities of direct action and proposed five rules of thumb: Press the Resistances, Attack Idols, Affirm the Real Thing, Resist Real Evils, Insist on Consistency. He stressed specifically the importance of refusing to become robots in the Great Industrial System.

## II.

The whole technique of the strike must be extended and enlarged. There should be formed free syndicates of workers, without the bureaucracy present in the so-called "labor-unions" of today. Every worker must be able to exercise his initiative when he finds something to say or do; he must be able to control his syndicate directly, not thru the election of officers, delegates, and the rest of the bureaucratic riff-raff of the present "unions." The syndicate should make it possible for its workers to stay away from work indefinitely whenever necessary or desirable. One method of implementing this would be for the syndicates to form communes on the land to which the workers could retire whenever the occasion arose (if the CIO had done this with its tremendous treasury instead of buying mansions for Lewis, the strikes of the 30's would have taken a different course indeed—but such an "if" is patently absurd in the case of the CIO, AF of L or other fake "unions"). I might say that even the IWW has not been inventive enuf in devising methods of mutual aid for its members in times of strike.

This brings me to the question again of strike demands, and of another idol, the Standard of Living. I have said that the demand must be for *human work*, rather than wages, hours, or working "conditions," that the worker must resist the inhuman division of labor which is maiming him as a human being; I have also said that he must insist on controlling his work and the products of that work *directly*, not even to delegate his power to elected managers. What would be the outcome of making these strike demands? The answer is that over and over he will have to fight a losing fight! But what a glorious fight! How he will educate himself and his fellows, spreading like fire the consciousness of needs and powers never before realized!

What a *winning* fight he will be fighting! What a contrast to the present "organized" demands for higher wages (not that they are not at times necessary, but that they are at present often *not* necessary for a *human* standard of living, but only to attain the present gadget-filled Standard)—to buy patent can-openers and radiator-caps for his tin coffin, for shorter hours (not that this is not an excellent end in certain ways) in which to spend his time of life as an idiotic robot (the figure of horror and pathos and downright ridiculousness that Chaplin has so well shown us in *Modern Times*) and to give him greater "leisure"—to be passively amused by the idols of cinema and sport and by Superman.

Group purchase of food and other commodities—possibly even thru the already organized co-ops, altho that movement is at present too bureaucratic and money-conscious to be more than a very temporary means—is a good transitional step while worker-controlled farms and factories are practically non-existent. But I must emphasize that this is only a way of *dealing* with the Market and the Great Industrial System: it is a good *temporary* measure, but more direct attacks should be made as soon as possible. The present co-operative movement has the great fault of being too easily organized into the system, of more and more fitting in, in the same way as the bureaucratic unions; it does little more than put its members in a slightly better bargaining-position. In fairness, I should say that it is not yet as abject as the "unions", but in any case it is hardly dynamic—not at all greatly destructive of the present institutions or constructive of a better society. These statements do not apply to all of the movement—there are certain co-operative projects which, even tho affiliated with the official movement, are direct and obstinately dynamic. One might



compare the co-op movement favorably with the "unions" in this respect also: wildcat strikes are outlawed by the "unions"; "wild-cat" co-ops usually remain in good standing. Nevertheless I would recommend that we steer clear of the "official" co-op movement for the most part and organize purchasing groups of our own.

A similar temporary measure is the service or labor co-op where-in a group of workers sell their services or labor as a group to individual employers or negotiate the sale of the services of an individual worker thru the group; part of the income of such a group should be used in group purchasing, part held in an emergency fund perhaps, and the rest divided more or less equally among the members of the group; I say "*more or less equally*" since the ruling principle should be "to each according to needs, from each according to ability" rather than strict equality of income and service.

## The Education Idol

Finally, that most atrocious idol: the Educational System. By all means let us sidestep it. Let us keep our children away from their schools by setting up schools of our own. It is a poor sort of makeshift to send our children to their schools so that they will not be deprived of the sociality of the other children and then have to re-educate them at home!

In connection with the farming communes, the worker-owned factories and work shops, there must always be schools, centered in the child and his free development and activity, again, *without timeclocks* (if its a nice day, by all means let us walk in the fields!). Where such communities have not come into existence (and where have they yet?) we must establish our own schools, in the country where possible, but also in the cities. Here the children and adolescents may live freely, developing their powers primarily thru the arts, especially thru the drama and music, but also thru painting and the other plastic arts; here they may freely carry on their sexual activities, outside the taboos of the monstrous "Moral Code"; here they may develop, nourish, and learn to trust the courage of their powers.

And where such schools are unavailable (there are but a handful in the whole world!) we must do with what poor makeshifts we can improvise, keeping the lives of the children and adolescents as free and uncoerced as possible, exercising restraints only when they are indubitably necessary (when a child begins

to walk into a fire, we must pull him away from it—but this is a natural and necessary sort of coercion).

For the adolescents we must provide refuges where they can carry on their sexual activities with as little anxiety as possible: how shameful is it that the best this society can give them are hallways, basements, or (at the best!) tin coffins, in which to ignorantly and fearfully and worst of all—*unsatisfactorily* explore the pleasures of their powers!

## Asylum for Children

Lee Durling has suggested something else some of us could do for the children and adolescents. He points out that when children run away from home (or from orphanages and other "homes") they usually have perfectly good reasons, and that many of us could aid them, if we should happen to notice them before the police do, by giving them financial support, a place to stay, and in other ways helping them to get on their feet to live independently.

I think this suggestion is especially practicable in relation to adolescents, but these activities could even be extended to younger children where the means were available. Where schools and farm communes have been set up, such runaways should by all means be invited to participate in them. These are the children who haven't been yet completely cowed, who still have the courage to attempt to get away from intolerable situations. If we don't help them, the police will pick them up, to take them back home, at best,—often to put them into jails and reformatories, far worse than their original homes.

Such a program as this would have to be carefully worked out in order to avoid being completely squelched by the authorities at the outset. It could not be in the least an easy one. In many cases, however, the parents would be only too willing to get the kids off their hands. By careful investigation those cases could be ascertained and the co-operation of the parents secured. In other cases the parents might be brought around by persuasion; in still others the parents themselves, as well as the children, might be reclaimed (I am thinking especially of when farm and farm-factory communes have been set up).

There are other lines of direct action that might be noted. For instance, Durling has made another suggestion, an attack on Property that strikes some of us closely: that anarchist authors should not copyright their works.

He points out that in copyrighting we are potentially employing the sanctions of the state against anyone who should wish to reprint our works. This is obviously inconsistent with a libertarian position. By looking closely at our daily lives we can undoubtedly find many similar cases, fully as obvious, fully as hidden by our learned responses.

One definition of man is that he is the "co-operatively productive animal." Who in his right mind can propose "leisure" (in the sense in which it is now generally taken) as the primary end of such an animal? I am not referring to the "leisure" which is the condition of the production of great works of art and philosophy—that is an arduous sort of "leisure" indeed! But who can imagine the typical assembly-line robot going home to create great poems or paintings, or to speculate profoundly on the nature of the universe or of man? Such a defense of modern "leisure" is an absurdity!

## The Standard of Living

And what is this wonderful Standard of Living that is to be attained by demanding "in an orderly way" higher wages and shorter hours, by electing the right presidents, congressmen, aldermen and dog-catchers? What is 9/10ths of it but a bundle of crap? "Luxuries" of every sort—neither luxurious nor greatly pleasurable: substitutes for the real goods and gratifications which the society prevents: Do we desire a satisfying sex-life? we are given Dorothy Lamour or Victor Mature—or a certain laxity permitting 1-night stands with bobby-sox girls or sailors (but these are only for the adventurous). Do we desire better shelter, better facilities for living our lives at home? we are given housing projects like beehives where the dweller is caught like a rat in a trap (this is the *best*!) and patent gadgets to obviate the necessity of exercising even the most elemental skills in the home (so that we have nothing either at work or at home but to push buttons and become more and more automatic and dead). Do we wish to eat appetizing and nourishing food? we are given concoctions processed and re-processed out of any recognizable similarity to the products of the soil. The vitamins are taken out and put back in at such a rate that we are dizzy before we take our 1st bite of bread! Do we wish to learn? there are the newspapers and magazines to give us every half-truth and lie that our hearts could desire; there are the books telling us how to dispose of germans, to become wealthy, to release ourselves from nervous tension, to—our wives—there are even books

to tell us how to read a book! There are the tooth-cleansers that make our teeth so white that they fall out (thus giving more work to the dentists, who have to live too, poor fellows!), the soaps that make us stink like hot-houses, the hair-tonics that help us to a comfortably bald middle-age, lotions, face-creams—God knows what! Let me pull myself out of this sewer!

Even the arts, the sacred muses, are cellophane-wrapped: the wonderful "entertainment" of the radio, the nightclub, the Broadway theatre, and—we must never forget—how could we?—6\$\$\$ Hollywood films a year! This is our Standard of Living! I repeat: Let me pull myself out of this sewer!

Here is a sphere for direct action! We must refuse, refuse, refuse to take this crap. We must criticize every commodity and be loud in our criticism. We must refuse to be further bulldozed and insulted by the advertisements (and for God's sake not help make them!). We must use the industrial boycott: refuse even necessities for certain periods of time when we find they are being produced by methods outrageous to the humanity of the producers. We must resist and conquer the artificial appetites aroused by the advertisements (this will be all the easier if we give greater freedom to our strong natural appetites). We must learn ways of employing our own leisure (I here use the word in its correct sense: the time exempt from hard manual labor, or *forced* or markedly unpleasant labor of any kind): we must fight for time (by even more direct ways than the strike, by refusing to work longer than we need for the means of life, refusing to stay at a job longer than necessary, decoyed by the bait of the Standard of Living): *every stroke of art, every free thot—is a direct action!*

Another idol: Government. How much of our direct action is direct abstention from action! We must refuse to vote, refuse to assist at party nonsense, refuse to work for the government no matter how innocuous or even beneficial the buro seems. Those of us who can should propagandize actively against government and all coercive authority, against all centralized parties. Those of us who are hardy enuf shld risk prison by following Thoreau's example and refusing to pay taxes. By forming our own groups and syndicates we must take over more and more of the tasks which Government insists could never be performed without it: oppose governmentally-controlled "social-security" (when possible without undue hardship it might even be advisable to refuse to accept its benefits) and invent ways of mutually aiding one another without the inter-



ference of Government. (This mutual aid should be international when necessary: we cannot overemphasize the importance of sending food and clothing at the present time to our comrades in Europe.) By strikes of the extended kind outlined above, by boycotts and picketing, we must resist governmental coercion whenever the occasion arises. I have already mentioned the necessity—this is a *physical* necessity, since the advent of the atomic bomb, no longer only a moral one!—of refusing to co-operate with the army in any way. This same refusal should extend to the police force: whenever possible we should aid fugitive criminals (“while there is a soul in prison,” said Debs, “I am not free.”); we will find ourselves committing many “crimes” in acting directly and freely insofar as we are able so that we also will need refuge: the groups and syndicates should arrange ways of giving such refuge readily and swiftly.

There are further ways in which we might attack the idols of Government, the Standard of Living, and the Great Industrial System: the groups and syndicates should gradually take over not only governmental functions but also production itself, gradually sidestepping the Great Industrial System by not only setting up farming communes to which striking workers could retire, but also by extending these communes by setting up factories and workshops in connection with them, controlled by the workers directly and planned humanly, *without timeclocks* (if the work is decent and satisfying the workers will come to it readily without the whip of a timing-system). If a worker oversleeps or doesn't feel well the work should be able to go on without a panic: let people work when they feel like it: if it's a nice day, by all means let us walk in the fields and work later or perhaps not at all today!

In this way we “build a new society in the shell of the old.”

As for the idol of Property, there are many ways in which we can set about directly attacking it at the points where it comes most in conflict with our needs and freedom. Not that we would not be attacking it by proceeding along the other lines of action I've outlined: every attack on any single idol is an attack on all of them, directly or indirectly (of this fact the society is well aware).

An excellent example of the direct attack against Property was the taking over of empty houses in Brighton and other English towns by the people made shelterless by bombings. Here was an obvious human need, and here were the means of satisfying it: they brought

them together, not so much attacking Property as sidestepping it, ignoring it.

There are many other cases where the institution of Property should be sidestepped: if one is hungry, one should—taking the natural precautions of prudence which a sane man will use in a society of lunatics—take it, from the stores, from the fields,—wherever the need and the supply come together.

There is no need, as I see it, of taking undue risks in such cases. Robert Duncan recently suggested that shoplifting be conducted openly with public notice to be given as to who was to be robbed, when, etc. I submit that this is absurd: natural prudence is not dishonorable: how can one be always open and aboveboard with a crew of maniacs?

We must also remember that in sidestepping Property theft is not always necessary (I hardly think that the taking over of empty houses by the English “vigilantes” could be called theft, even as this is popularly understood). If people would only directly *demand* the things they need, I think the results would be surprising. Take one of these maniacs off-guard and he is apt to be amazingly sane! But such demands must be outrageous and sudden.

Such efforts as rent strikes and refusal to pay gas and light bills can be very effective if properly organized. An example of this is the large degree of success attained by the Glasgow rent strike in the 20's and 30's.

All forms of growing one's own food and building one's own houses are ways of sidestepping Property as well as the Market and the Great Industrial System.

There are a number of excellent methods by which we can provide our own housing, both in the city and in the country. There is the group ownership or rental of individual houses or apartment buildings, such as the housing co-ops most prevalent near universities now, but also springing up elsewhere. There is the building of housing-projects, unconnected with the government, by groups, unions, and syndicates, on land owned in common by the groups. This has already been done by one of the big clothing unions—but unfortunately this one is no better, architecturally, than the government projects, and direct democratic control by those who live in it is largely, tho not entirely, obviated by the bureaucratic structure of the union. But architecture need not be bad and unions need not be bureaucratic—and the group building such a project need not, even tho it be preferable, be a labor union. This last also applies to farm and farm-

## Re-Birth of French Anarchism

IN the last two years the anarchist movement in France has regained some of the popularity it had in the days of Louise Michel and the Reclus brothers. Recently, *Le Libertaire*, weekly organ of the movement, recounted some of the difficulties confronted by French anarchists and the factors that have contributed to the movement's growth.

Many were the difficulties at the time of the “Liberation”. As *Le Libertaire* points out: “The war, deportations, prisons, concentration camps had considerably reduced our numbers... Jourdain died in hospital, Huart, in concentration camp, and Gourdin in Germany. The pacifist Ruff also died in Germany, and Volin, veteran of the Russian Revolution, died as a result of his privations during the occupation. Many others, too...”

The movement practically started from scratch. “A few tenacious comrades; young people seeking the truth; a situation clear to anyone who used his eyes; the fulfilment of

factory communes; rather than starting with a union, such communes could be built by the coming together of previously isolated individuals for the specific purpose of housing themselves; later they might branch out in the ways I've indicated.

What more is there to say? I have given a few answers (as I see them) to the question: What is there to be done in the way of direct action. To the *general* question. We must each of us live as well as we can; we must Affirm the Real Thing; we must act freely, spontaneously, *directly* whenever we can.

But what each of us will do will be to take each time the next step that follows from our previous life. Who am I to say I can *trust* that I will find on each occasion something or other to do? But we must *all* have this *trust* in our own powers. Let us invent, improvise. Let us by all means have sense enuf to *abstain* from action when the occasion demands (How much of our direct action is direct *abstention* from action!). Let us develop the habit of the freedom of our powers, bringing them more and more to actuality.

Let us Affirm the Real Thing.

our past predictions—all these have influenced the growth of a new and vigorous movement.

“This is why we have in *Le Libertaire* an organ which each week reaches nearly 100,000 workers, despite sabotage, boycotts and financial difficulties and the obstacles placed in our path by the parties, cliques and imperialist interests.”

There is a ready basis in France for anarchist educational work. “The opposition which has appeared against the political parties which demand the trust of the working classes only in order to exploit them; the discontent which has followed the transformation of the C.G.T. into a mere propaganda appendage of the imperialist state; are regrouping around the principles which we have never ceased to proclaim. Thus there has been born the new C.N.T. which is rapidly developing.... The thousands of letters which flood our offices testify to the new curiosity, interest and faith in our movement

“...There are a multitude of federalists, partisans of workers' control, adversaries of the total state, defenders of the rights of the individual. But, unfortunately, (with some exceptions) they seldom go beyond lip-service to these ideas. Rare are those who follow them to their logical conclusion, and free themselves from their electoral pre-occupations, their faith in some form of the State, some aspect of patriotism, or some sort of capitalist society.

“It was to these elements, no doubt, and especially to the left socialists, that Leon Blum addressed himself in his editorial in the *Populaire* for June 17th:

“Here then, is the inexorable dilemma: either to expose oneself completely to all the risks inherent in the exercise of authority, or to abandon absolutely all forms of political action. Those who reject and evade the difficulties inseparable from the exercise of power, must, if they are to be consistent, adopt the second conclusion. They must cry: No more political, electoral or parliamentary action! Proudhon and Bakunin were right against Marx. The anarcho-syndicalists were right against Guesde and Jaures.”

“And, indeed, neither we nor the growing band of militants, intellectuals, and discontented elements will be willing to seek and grope blindly, to indulge in futile activity like the squirrel continually turning the wheel in his cage, but getting nowhere.

“We are getting to the root of the problem. Every day the course of events and experi-



ences turn more and more people of goodwill towards libertarian ideas. But an examination of this re-orientation, which is revealed both in the day-to-day struggle and in the clash of ideas, shows that we have not yet learnt how to make it conscious and vocal."

These problems are examined by anarchists differently than by political partisans. "A political party, seeking to gain, or to maintain power, looks upon the masses as a raw material, to be molded into the required pattern, and must hold out all sorts of bait to the unconvinced. It promises high prices to the peasant-farmers, high wages to the industrial workers, substantial profits to the capitalists and an easy life to the bureaucrats. When elected, it uses all the machinery of the State to maintain its power, and can conveniently forget its promises in the interests of 'higher policy', 'national defense', or a host of other excuses.

"Thus, for the politicians, the press and platform are nothing more than a means to power, and not a basically essential aspect of their activities. To us, on the other hand, our printed and vocal propaganda should serve to educate both our writers and readers, speakers and audiences, to prepare them, and to make them capable of effective direct action.

"When our comrades distribute their pamphlets at the Renault works, or among the railwaymen, it isn't for the sake of enrolling them in an anarchist group or to get their signatures to a petition, it is in order to make them more conscious of their role in the struggle, more audacious and determined, more self-reliant. The first strike at Villeneuve-Saint-Georges, like that of the Renault works was a significant indication that the anarchists are setting about their task..."

## RESISTANCE

(formerly WHY?)

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## Reviews

### Anatomy of Imperialism

*Black Anger.* By Wulf Sachs. Little, Brown and Company. \$3.00.

*Black Anger* puts psychoanalysis to a revolutionary use. Direct and dramatic, without the usual technical jargon, this psychoanalytic biography of John, a witch doctor from Southern Rhodesia, exposes the degradation hidden in that political cliché—imperialism.

Introduced to John by an anthropologist, Dr. Wulf Sachs spent several years studying the personality of the African, first as a patient and then as a friend. Sifting through his dreams, memories, fears and wishes, Sachs found that the witch doctor, actually a medicine man, was not some romantically mysterious figure but a complex human being beset by brutal institutions which treated him as a brute.

John had left his *kraal* in Southern Rhodesia to come to Pietersburg where, as a servant in a boarding house, he first experienced the full bitterness of racial prejudice. An elderly female guest, in a fit of neurosis, accused him of trying to rape her, and John, with his crippled wife, the Zulu girl Maggie, had to flee to Johannesburg. There, along with thousands of his fellow countrymen, he sank into the degradation of stinking slums where life passed in a tempo of "work, work, work... always work, and always for white people." Here, indeed, was—and still is—totalitarianism in its most total sense: the eleven passes issued by the authorities completely regulating the African's life, "entitling" him to look for work, travel, move from *kraal* to town, hire a room, have his wife in town with him, or appear on the streets between 9 p.m. and 6 a.m. Appalled by this degradation, the neglect his countrymen suffered, John, in defiance of the law, began to practice the medical and psychological art of his ancestors, establishing his own confidence and the confidence of others and finally seeking out means of direct action to better the lot of the ordinary African.

Interwoven in John's story is the contrast between the ethics taught by the white missionaries and the ethics practised by the white rulers, the conflict in the native mind between the wonders of the oppressive metropolis and the communal *kraal* life, the similarities and

differences between ancestral magic and modern medicine—yes, amazing similarities as Dr. Sachs himself admits.

But the unique contribution which Dr. Sachs, as a psychoanalyst, brings to the anatomy of racial subjugation is his emphasis on its sexual aspects, almost totally ignored by such sociologists as Gunnar Myrdal. For example, the folk myth that attributes abnormal sexual prowess to Negroes (and Jews), and the consequent subconscious envy/hate among repressed white males and the female obsession with being raped by a black man. It is in this light that Dr. Sachs interprets John's early experience with the elderly female guest. As an old African proverb puts it, more tersely than the Freudian: "The hen that cannot lay cackles the loudest."

There are some minor differences one might have with Dr. Sachs, who is of vaguely Stalinist inclinations. One might wish that the author had given a more detailed picture of the economics of African society and the aims and acts of native liberation movements. But perhaps it is because of these very omissions, because Dr. Sachs has followed the first rule of psychoanalysis—let the subject do most of the talking himself—that *Black Anger* is the human story it is.

—MICHAEL GRIEG.

### Experiment in Living

*The Basis of Communal Living.* By George Woodcock. Freedom Press. (Available from RESISTANCE for 25c each).

George Woodcock's writings have become familiar to the radical groups in America. Of late a considerable amount of it has appeared in America, which is all to the good, for it is not loaded with any of the ancient prejudices and dogmas that usually stud radical writing. His scrupulous objectivity in making political analysis, his fair evaluation of whatever thesis he has under his critical eye, and most distinctive, his fundamental integrity, have earned him a modest but firm respect.

His latest contribution is the Freedom Press pamphlet, *The Basis of Communal Living*. The basic principle underlying this work is contained in Woodcock's words: "...the community represents a natural form of human group, which has persisted since the earliest days of man's evolution, which universally

characterized the life of the primitive man and of the working people of the medieval era, and to which men keep attempting to return in a world of megalopolitan states whose characteristic of centralisation is antithetical to the natural needs of man." The content of the work is suggested by the headings of the chapters: The Primitive Community, The Intrusion of Religion, The Early Socialist Communities, The Spanish Collectives, The Palestine Communities, The English Community Movement, and The Community in the Future.

In making a review of communal living experiments in the past and present, Woodcock makes his point adequately: "But the movement towards a free society is an extremely wide and varied one, and any dogmatic adherence to direct social propaganda or industrial action as the sole recipient of a social revolution would be as ridiculous as a similar emphasis in the foundation of communities. Seen in their true perspective as parts of an edifice that is for ever being built, they fall into place and achieve significance."

It is in outlining the possibilities of future developments of communal living that Woodcock is open to justified criticism, and primarily for his failure to reckon with the contemporary historical scene. Since it appears that the totalitarian state is here to stay for some time, can the experiments have existence under such a state, or are they doomed? How can the repressive forces of the state not only be combatted and undermined, but overcome? Precisely what techniques of struggle can be used to maintain the oasis of freedom? Under the shadow of World War III, is it possible to remain within the orbit of either of the two giant powers, U. S. and U.S.S.R., and survive? Aside from the question of being sucked into the military machine (or prison), it is a matter of sheer physical survival. Woodcock leaves unanswered these vital questions.

Perhaps the experiment of communal living once again has the function, as in the past, of treading into unknown wildernesses, outside the reaches of a disintegrating world, there to nurture the fragments of culture taken with it, and sow the seeds of another culture. It would have been helpful and valuable had Woodcock considered communal living in the light of this possible function.

—QUISS



## Four Forcees in South America

(Cont. from page 6)

seeks to absorb the unions into a corporate state on the usual fascist lines, where the workers are "represented" by officials drawn from the union bureaucracy. But after 17 years of dictatorship, the anarcho-syndicalist F.O.R.A. still has deep roots in the Argentine. The glory of the Forestal and Patagonian insurrections, the memory of the general strikes, the heroism of the Anarchist militants like Ruano, Badaracco, and Di Giovanni, are not yet dead.

The workers of F.O.R.A. are in the British refrigerating firms and the American factories, as well as in the state-controlled ports. They boycott the ships of Franco, they are fighting at Rosario for the six-hour working day, and despite prohibitions, imprisonments and executions, they maintain their underground network of militants. And in Brazil, a few days after the relaxation of the dictatorship, several anarchist papers appeared—evidence of a need that twenty years of oppression could not stifle.

Even in the little towns of the interior of Colombia or Ecuador, amidst frightful poverty, illiteracy, and nepotism, where the private armies of the factory-owners are the law, there still appear propaganda sheets, printed by militant comrades, passed from hand to hand, supported by meager subscription; which sustain the tenacious faith of the workers, both Indian and immigrant, in a future without oppression.

A weak and poor movement, no doubt. The fourth force is perhaps the least powerful. But only those who fight for their own freedom will ever get it.

—S. PARANE

(Reprinted from "Freedom" - London)

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