

RESISTANCE

TALK ABOUT FREE SPEECH!

WE WERE TALKING, some of us anarchists, about how much longer we would be able to talk in this "land of the free".

"How much danger is there really?" someone asked. "We radicals are always pointing with alarm. We said America would surely go fascist in the fight against Hitler—and it hasn't."

"Give her time," another said. "The way things are going it won't be long. Just look at what's been happening. The Taft-Hartley law has tried to pressure unionists into choosing Government-cleared officials. They're combing the Government payroll for anyone who is suspected of thinking for himself—which they call 'disloyalty' and a 'security risk'."

Someone said that it was good that anarchists are against participation in government.

The other continued: "And the Hollywood investigations have stirred up so much hysteria in the picture industry that a number of writers, suspected of Communist leanings, have been fired. A ban in local theatres has already been imposed on Chaplin's anti-capitalist film, *Monsieur Verdoux*, and we'll probably see a slew now of boring red-white-and-blue films. Then in Philadelphia a meeting of the Progressive Citizens of America was broken up by a vigilante group. And now we have the guardians of knowledge at City College of New York prohibiting Howard Fast, the novelist, from speaking on the campus because he's under sentence for contempt of Congress. That also goes for Arnold Johnson, a lawyer

for the Communist Party, who isn't under sentence. Columbia University and Brooklyn College have also imposed bans."

Another who had been silent said: "But it's only against the Communists who are, after all, agents of a foreign power."

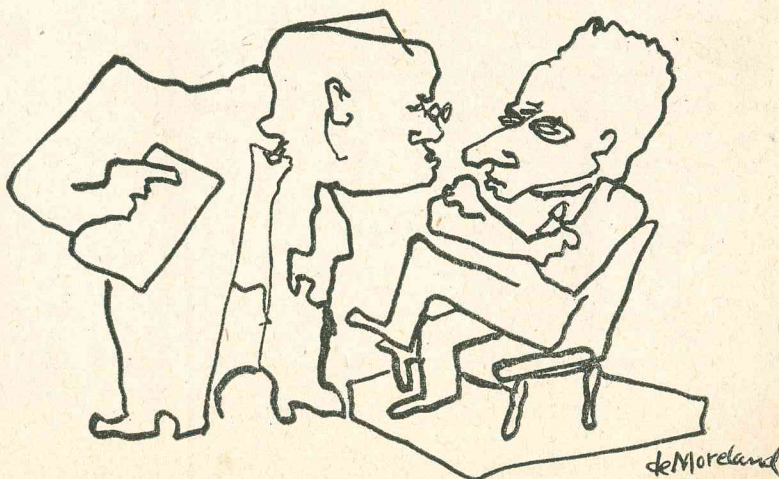
"It's that sort of thinking," replied the other, "which is one of the main dangers to free speech. Of course we know what the Communists are. In Russia, for the past twenty years, they've been doing to the anarchists and other revolutionists far worse than what the American Government is finally getting around to do to them."

"But not only them. The purge list issued by the Attorney General shows what we're up against. The list includes organizations which range from the Black Dragon Society to the poor little Proletarian Party of America. And other lists are being readied

by the FBI. Once the Government sets a precedent for restraining Communists, it will be easy to clamp down on anyone who might cause trouble. In fact, the Government will have to if only to keep the Communists from infiltrating other groups where they might operate freely."

"So far, though," another observed, "the Government has not directly clamped down on radicals. Perhaps that may come. Perhaps not. At any rate, the technique that is being used is certainly an effective bar to free speech and independent action, a technique that may be America's special contribution to the development of a democratic fascism. Through these investigations and the sort of lists that are being prepared, the Government can intimidate the public and isolate radicals, even more than they are, into intellectual concentration camps."

"But why is this hysteria being aroused now? What is the significance of it all?"



"A-hah! So you believe in free speech!"

Another answered: "I wouldn't agree that it is 'being aroused' deliberately by, say, Wall Street or the Government. Things don't operate that simply. But it is obvious that at this particular time there are certain powerful forces that go into the making of such an atmosphere. One is preparation of public opinion for the war with Russia. Connected with this is the need to forestall the possible growth of radicalism as a result of another depression. And, of course, there is the deep fear that Russia may obtain the atomic secret unless the Government acts now."

"So what can be done?"
 "What—if anything?" replied the pessimist among us. "It's all right to call for resistance. But who's going to listen? And how can you resist hysteria? We're already in those intellectual concentration camps."

"It's bad, I admit," answered another, "but not that bad. There are still other people in this country than the followers of the Hearst press. After all, the brass-hats still haven't been able to push through their scheme for peacetime military conscription. There are still strikes going on for better labor conditions. And still more can be done if people don't get lost in fruitless pessimism. Even failing the great resistance that is needed to stop another war and totalitarianism here, there are things that can be done, that must be done, if only for the sake of survival." His voice dropped lower. "We anarchists have an advantage at least in not having a formal organization or leaders in the usual sense. It is this that has helped the anarchist movement in Spain survive years of dictatorship. And here—I say it soberly—we will have to prepare for a new underground that will have to fight worse enemies than official repression, the worst of which will be public ignorance."

A new underground? Will it really come to that? I wondered. And I knew it would unless there was resistance.

—M. G.

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

LINES of RESISTANCE

Recently, the people of Ranaghat in Nadia district (Bengal) could not get rice even at high prices. They had to remain in a semi-starved condition while there were stocks of rice in the godowns. To end the suffering of the people, local teachers, students and members of the Scavengers' Union, Vendor's Union, Cinema Workers' Union and a large number of others brought out a one mile long procession which paraded the streets of the town and reached the office of the food supply department. The hunger-marchers demanded distribution of the stocks of rice through a committee of the people. The authorities had to accede to the demand. The committee will continue to have a hand in future rice distribution.

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.

At the University of Chicago, one thousand students turned out for an anti-discrimination rally, part of a two hour walkout to protest discrimination against Negroes in the university's Albert Merritt Billings and Lying-In Hospitals.

In Belgium, native miners showed their solidarity with prisoners of war with whom they work. When the POW's were given scant rations, the Belgian miners found they couldn't eat and watch their prisoner fellow workers go hungry. Short of food themselves, they shared what they had with their fellows even though there were strict rules against it. Some miners have been discharged.

Holy War: In Quito, Ecuador, two persons were killed and several wounded in a recent armed clash, resulting from an award of the Bishop of Riabamba fixing the boundaries between two church parishes. Parishioners dissatisfied with the award engaged in bloody riots and civil guards were forced to fire to disperse them.

March of Justice: State's Attorney William J. Tuohy's annual report shows that more Chicago criminals went to the penitentiary in the last year than in any of the last twenty years. Despite the increase in indictments in the court year from Dec. 2, 1946, to Nov. 28, 1947, almost nine out of ten persons charged with crime were convicted. The report shows an 89% conviction record for all tried. The last time there has been anything approaching this was twenty years ago when a crime drive was staged to clean up a crowded court docket.

Who's Civilized?: Testifying before the Trusteeship Council, G.R. Laking, New Zealand representative, was asked about the comparative cost of living in Samoa in 1947 and 1939.

REVIEW

Christ Stopped At Eboli, by Carlo Levi. Farrar Straus. \$3.00.

In the mountainous Lucania province of southern Italy there lies, remote and isolated, a land desolate, barren, and malaria-ridden. Its peasants subsist in brutal poverty, without comfort or solace, ever in the presence of death, eternally patient. They have a saying that Christ stopped short of their province, at Eboli—hence the title. Christ never came to these peasants, neither did time nor hope nor reason nor history nor the individual soul.

Carlo Levi, a doctor, philosopher, painter, and writer, was banished to this land in 1935 because of his opposition to fascism. His book is the rich record of the year which he lived in this peasant world.

It is a world in which the peasants have always been plagued with the evils of nature and man. In their words: "Everyone knows that the fellows from Rome don't want us to

Point Counterpoint

"For a Samoan, it is now exactly what it was before the war, and in the 19th century," Mr. Laking replied, "namely, the effort involved in raising enough bananas and coconuts to sustain him. If he is prepared to put in two days' work a week in his plantation, he can support himself."

By coincidence, the new issue of the United Nations monthly statistical bulletin also appeared the same day—showing that the cost of living had risen another 4% in the United States and was now 60% above 1937, while life in France was 1,515 higher, in Italy, 5,334 times higher, and in Shanghai, 377,200 times higher than before the war.

Flip-flop: The tiny Communist Party of Palestine, long scornful of purely Jewish nationalism, changed its name to Communist Party of Eretz Israel (Land of Israel). Arab Communists in nearby Lebanon stood pat, announced they were "ready

to fight for the liberation of Palestine from Zionist imperialism."

Dollarization: According to the N. Y. Times for Dec. 14, all week the Canadian Parliament has been debating in the dark and has arrived nowhere, in the opinion of a great many of its members..... Among all parties there is a sense of frustration and disappointment. Blame is laid on an unrealistic attitude in the United States and a tendency in Canada to drift into dependence on what is decided in Washington and New York. "Even the plans of C.D. Howe, Minister of Supply, for the development of Canadian industry, behind the protective barrier of the proposed emergency measures, are described as meaning that 'Canadian production would be tailored to supplement that of the United States' and not as an independent action in a world of independent nations."

Workers of the World: The French Parliament, including Communists and Socialists, voted approval for a budget which contains a large military outlay for the war against Vietnam.

live like human beings. There are hailstorms, landslides, droughts, malaria, and ... the State." And toward these evils they have the attitude: "The State is one shape of this fate, like the wind that devours the harvest and the fever that feeds on our blood. There can be no attitude toward fate except patience and silence. Of what use are words? And what can man do? Nothing."

Levi depicts wonderfully well the grotesque functioning of the fascist state, the lies and distortions of the bureaucracy, the absurd arrangement of existence where "orders" are ultimately the supreme law of life, the curious assimilation of parts of the outside culture by this primitive culture which has remained almost untouched. There are flashes of Italian humor, as when Levi describes his experience with censorship. Throughout Levi expresses deep sympathy for these human beings who for centuries have been forced to live like beasts.

Although Levi is not primarily concerned with political matters, he



loes offer suggestions to meet the complex problems of these peasants. He would not attempt to force alien patterns upon them, nor break up their own pattern, but would have them become a self governing rural community, with the chance to work out their own way of life, with the aid and cooperation but not domination of the outside.

To these peasants "evil is not moral but is only the pain residing in earthly things." Levi has captured the essence of that pain, and it pervades his writing, giving it a strange melancholic tone.

The book is written with such objectivity that it attains the stature of a brilliant social study, yet it is a sort of diary and this near complete detachment deprives it of a necessary intimacy that would have enhanced its value as a human document. For Levi was not merely an observer but a participant in the affairs of the village, and was drawn into actions that required moral evaluations (his numerous talents added complications). Some of his actions and judgments are questionable but the book gives no indication of his wrestling with dilemmas. Then, too, there is omitted details of the other political exiles and their life and attitudes. Why?

Christ Stopped at Eboli is certainly the most important work to be translated from the Italian since Silone's great novels. —QUISS.

Here and There

The bi-monthly discussions, sponsored by the Committee for Non-Violent Revolution and the Resistance Group, resume Saturday, January 10th with a talk on *Communal Living*. Dwight MacDonald, editor of *Politics*, discusses *The Utopian Socialists* two weeks later, January 24th. Admission is free. Time: 3.30 p.m. Place: SIA Hall, 813 B'way, N. Y. C.

Freedom Press, publishers of the London anarchist fortnightly, *Freedom*, is passing through a financial crisis and is in urgent need of aid from comrades and sympathizers in America. New subscription rates are \$2 for 1 year and \$1 for 6 months. Address Freedom Press, 27 Red Lion St., London, W. C. 1, Eng.

Anarchism Without Dogma

I. Recently I received a letter from a young comrade who is in a state of anger against some of the older comrades. He has, so he says, been "giving them hell" for their inactivity, for living in the past and on their past, for being so dogmatic in their particular brand of anarchism, etc. It seems to me that the present era of war and crisis and despair has undermined the good human feelings of many people, among them some anarchists.

We young people have much less sense than we think. We understand many things, but we have not become wise. We make other comrades victims of our own problems. We become angry with people for inactivity, when it is our own inactivity that disturbs us and we would like to rationalize. We become angry with them for their dogmatism because we are struggling to overcome this quality in ourselves. We become angry with them for their weariness and pessimism, because we feel ourselves adrift and full of doubts and unanswerable questions. So much anger!

For some of us, anarchism seems to be an expression of *disbelief* in man. For some of us anarchism is an ultra way of saying that everything is rotten and nobody is any good. You might call it nihilism. It is full of bitterness, hatred, contempt, full of the feeling of personal incompetence and failure. Nothing is any good—when it is ourselves that we mean to, and really do, condemn. "Guilt for guilt I traded vainly, till I searched out guilt in others, I knew myself, they knew them not, hence I was better; knew them, they knew me not, hence I was wise."

Anarchism cannot be built upon the ruins of cynicism. Anarchism must be built on joy, belief in people, rejoicing when we see them do a little good, rejoicing at the thought that they may do more good and may some day live in beauty. Anger that

people are unable to be the wonderful humans they (and we) might be. Not anger at them, but anger at what prevents their being true. Joy! sincere delight in men and women when they are beautiful—sorrow, not bitterness and contempt, when they are not.

This, and not a political theory, seems to me to be the core and the spirit of anarchism.

II. When Herbert Read suggested that many ideas traditionally held by anarchists should be re-examined and perhaps discarded*, many comrades became angry and indignant. "He doesn't know what anarchism is"; "All these things were settled years ago"; "Someone should 'answer' him right away."

Not long after Read's article appeared, I met with a group of young people who were curious to find out about anarchism. Their questions were disturbing. It seemed that they wanted someone to set forth a creed, a universal explanation. It seemed they wanted to be relieved of the obligation to think and to meet situations on their own. In effect, they wanted to be led.

How much of the ignorance in the world is the result of the search for easy, catechism-like truth! Priests, school-teachers, editors, political prophets, all readily furnish us with simple doctrines, easy to memorize and fatal to our minds. Religious and political creeds have encouraged, and thrived on, people's desire for certainty, for the security of final knowledge.

I remember the letter an old colored man wrote to *Resistance*. He said: "People is starving for the truth, sir." I believe (or like to believe) that the old man knew that all the dogma that passes for truth is an illusion—that we cannot learn to live by learning a dogma. This too, I think, is part of the core and the spirit of anarchism. —D.T.W.

* Anarchism: Past and Future by Herbert Read. *Resistance*, June, 1947.

Jeannette Delahunt, 14, went on strike for the right to dress as she pleased in a Camden, N. Y., school. Jeannette, who has her father's backing, had been told by school authorities that slacks were forbidden. Now 10 other classmates have joined her in protest against the school ban.

* * *

English merchant seamen at Mersey, striking against their employers and official union, gained their demand for a guaranteed week's wage until they found a ship. Organized by a rank and file committee, Africans, Indians, Chinese and white seamen stood their ground without discrimination—said to be the first time this has happened in an English strike.

* * *

In France, a campaign is growing for the refusal of payment of taxes (taxes of which workers bear the greatest burden). The *Union Departementale de Maine et Loire*, animated by libertarian and syndicalist militants, has taken the initiative in this movement. Repercussions may lead to widespread strikes in the French provinces.

* * *

Japanese workers may at last be resisting the myths and superstitions which have helped keep them in bondage. One slight indication comes from Tokio where so many grave markers were stolen for firewood that authorities posted signs warning of "definite punishment from heaven." The signs quickly went the way of all wood.

* * *

The women of Nigeria, in West Africa, have joined in mass demonstrations against a head tax of 60 cents a year, imposed by the King on all women over sixteen. Mistress Ransome Kuti, spokesman for the women, says the tax is beyond the means of the majority, many of whom earn only a few pennies a day. She says they are ready to flood the country's jails if necessary to uphold their case. Already eight have been jailed for default on the levy. In the background stands the British President, representative of the British Labor Government, who is supporting the African King.

Riding through Dixie

They looked like any other gang of workers clearing away the debris left by the hurricane earlier in the month... a group of nice looking young Negroes working with pick and shovel where the force of the wind and waves had torn up sections of the road and made gaps in the sea wall that kept the Gulf of Mexico out of Louisiana.

So, I did not pay too much attention to them, but rather concentrated on observing the damage to houses and forest wreaked by the great wind. It may have been just an impression, but all of the bigger, wealthier, newer houses seemed to suffer less damage than the smaller, older, shabbier ones. But then, the more money you have to spend on constructing a house, the stronger it will be and the less likely to suffer great damage. It is strange to look into a house that has been split wide open, like an overripe melon, with odds and ends of human refuse hanging out. Strange and terrible. Almost as terrible as the sudden thought that these smiling boys with the picks and shovels were not simple workers, who at five o'clock just put aside their tools and bid goodbye to friends until the next day.

I think it was the realization that these boys were all dressed exactly alike that caused me to snap out of the semi-trance that rolling for hours through a countryside puts me in. With anxiety, I now waited for the next group of men... the young black men with the unsmiling white foreman. The sight of the before unobserved gun was what drove the impact home. This was a prison work gang. No more was this a pleasant countryside with pretty streams and rivers... suddenly it was sick and frightening. A place where men are watched like beasts and forced to work as slaves. A place where the color of your skin decides whether you're human or not.

The signs in the waiting rooms and on the buses had already brought home the realization that we were in the South, but not strongly as one did not see many Negroes around the terminals or in the buses. New Orleans was pleasant and the mark of Jim Crow was not too evident.

But from New Orleans on, you couldn't escape from the signs of blight. A human blight that saps the vitality from the spirit, killing it, just like the spanish moss kills the great oaks of the South. The South is proud of its spanish moss. They use it in all of their propaganda posters. However, when viewed from close up it seemed more like a grey scourge, gradually choking the oaks, its host, to death. If anything contributed to the dreariness of the scene and the pervading sense of decay, it was this moss, a real symbol of the South.

Once the presence of Jim Crow was driven into our senses, we couldn't avoid it. It was an aura that hung over everything all the time we were in the South. The bus terminals were places to be avoided. The now blossoming signs, "Whites Only", "Negro Men", "White Women", etc. just goaded the soreness of the spirit. Our pleasure in the express bus, the Swanee Special, that we took from New Orleans to Jacksonville was destroyed because we realized that no Negro could ever ride this bus, it had only one toilet in the rear. On another bus in South Carolina a woman who rode a short distance refused to sit when it was apparent that there were seats only in the rear where the Negroes were forced to sit, even though the driver urged her to seat herself. I remember the fury that she aroused in me... yet all I could do was sit and mutter to myself... "You lousy bitch, I hope you get fallen arches".

While running from New Orleans to Jacksonville we rode with a group of young boys returning from a convention of high school students from fourteen Southern states that had discussed student self government. We talked to some of them, asked them if there had been any Negroes at the convention. One boy replied, "Are you kidding, this is the South, you know." I asked him if the Negroes weren't students too. All he could say was, "You'd never know it." We weren't surprised when we later found out that he had been raised near Allentown, Pa., and had just recently moved South with his family.

water that night I got into a discussion with a Methodist minister.

was a young man, just thirty, veteran who even now devotes much of his time to give "spiritual p" to the wounded in a Southern Veterans hospital. He was as glad I to have someone to talk to as long night run lay ahead of us. e began with a general discussion of religion when I told him I was atheist..... left religion after a long discussion running from Jesus

Paul, to the modern Catholic Church, to the role of Luther in suppressing the Anabaptist movement of which he was surprisingly ignorant, to an admission by him that his belief in God was a need originating deep in himself, to that killing of all theological arguments, "just I cannot prove the existence of God, you cannot scientifically disprove it."

At this point, I got to the question that stood uppermost in my mind. "If you believe that the creed of Christianity is a creed of brotherhood, equality and love, what do you do, as a Christian, living in the South, to attack the Jim Crow philosophy of the South which is a direct contradiction and affront to your beliefs?"

He became very serious and even more softspoken than before. (All these Christian ministers are so softspoken; my companion up in the front of the bus said that our discussion sounded like a monologue by me.) He said that he knew I was going to ask that question, and started to tell me something of the problems he faced. Some of the things he said surprised me very much as I didn't expect to hear them from a minister. "You can't look at Jim Crow as an isolated phenomenon of the South. You have to recognize that it has deep roots in the social and economic inequalities of the system we live in. After all, you people of the North face the same problem of minorities but in a less aggravated and obvious form. All we can do today is to try to alleviate some of the graver injustices, and try to educate all those we can get to listen to us. But, in the final analysis, Jim Crow will continue to exist as long as the present society

exists and will only disappear in the wave of brotherhood that will be necessary in order to change this society to a better one."

Of course, all this amazed me. (I guess I have inherited the distrust of the past generations of revolutionaries that look at every preacher, or sky pilot, to use a wobbly term, as an actual or potential reactionary.) When I asked him what he tries to do to alleviate some of the greater injustices and to educate, he pointed out a trip undertaken by the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Committee on Racial Equality to test the Supreme Court prohibition against racial segregation in Southern buses as a wrong tactic. He said that an invasion from the North like that, does more to aggravate the situation than to help it. The resentment towards the North which dates from the Civil War is very real and the demonstration that took place has the effect of arousing regional loyalties, which although irrelevant to the question, still hurt the attempts of those men of the South who are trying to effect a change in the relationship of the Negro to the community. He said that the people of the North could do better if they concentrated full time on wiping out the inequalities there, the effect of which would help bring change to the South. He wished that more "liberals" would come to live in the South and add their influence to the fight that only a handful of people now carry on.

However, when pressed for details of what he does to fight Jim Crow, he admitted that it is not very much. Mostly a slow process of education of the people with whom he comes into contact. Also, he admitted he admired the courage of the FOR group that invaded the South. Some of his inactivity can be traced, I think, to the fact that he had just received appointment to a new church. When I asked him if Negroes were permitted to attend or if he would permit a Negro minister to speak from the pulpit, he ruefully said no. He was a member of the FOR, and I think he was sincere in his desires to work for racial equality.

But I think that a more active approach to the problem than the one he took will have to be found

before much can be accomplished. I told him about the Macedonia Cooperative Community in Clarksville, Georgia, and the interracial work they intend to do, and he was very interested and took their address. He also asked to receive more of our anarchist literature. We talked all the way to Jacksonville and parted good friends.

In Miami, later, we discussed the same problem with a small group of anarchists and found there too a hesitancy and confusion about what to do to fight racial prejudice. I agree that what can be done in the South must be done by people living in the South, helped by the people of the North attacking the problem there. But I think that only by integrated attempts such as carried on by groups like the Macedonia community and direct action projects such as the FOR-CORE expedition to the South, but carried on by natives, can we expect any results. Jim Crow must become an issue for more Southerners as well as for more Northerners. Finally, I must agree with the Methodist minister on the Swannee Special that we must first of all aim at spreading a feeling of brotherhood and mutual aid that will cause people to put an end to all injustices.

The trip from Florida to New York was dreamlike in effect (bad dreamlike), tried to sleep most of the way. We fell asleep in Richmond, Virginia, and awoke in the middle of the night in Philadelphia, delighted to see a group of Negroes come aboard. We felt as though a ban had been lifted from us. It was like walking out of a stuffy, gloomy room into the cool, night air.

—D. K.

RESISTANCE

(formerly WHY?)

Vol. 6 - No. 7 December, 1947

Editor: William Young

Resistance, an anarchist review, is supported solely by voluntary contributions. Subscriptions are free on request.

Resistance appears 8 times a year as a bulletin and quarterly as a theoretical-literary review.

Editorial contributions are invited from our readers.

IMPORTANT: Make out all money orders and checks payable to S. Grieg, our sec'y-treas., Resistance, Box 208, Cooper Sta., N. Y. 3, N. Y.

Anarchism and the Family Man

Dear Friends:

The last few issues have been excellent. *Resistance* seems to me to be steadily improving; a year ago I barely glanced at it, now it is one of 2 or 3 magazines I read immediately from cover to cover. (A friend who is very critical of most radical mags wrote me the same thing.)... But here is a tough problem for you. It has me stumped:

My big objection to the articles in *Resistance*, and to anarchist thought generally, is that it seems to be mainly concerned with fields of action for the unattached individual. You did well in running MacLow's long article, as an attempt to answer the age-old question: "But what can I do about it?" But MacLow's article, naturally, was mainly an answer to the problems of the anarchist without family ties. Thus he says "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." But in my case minimum subsistence is for three people; and that takes up either a hell of a lot of time (as at present when I work 40 hours a week plus commuting for \$28) or else selling out for higher pay (as a reporter I got \$45 for the same time). Result: no time or inclination for creativity.

Again, there is the radical answer to the problem that children take up a lot of time. (My wife says the trouble with *Resistance* is that she doesn't have time to read it—couldn't you put it on phonograph records?) Most radicals say pack them off to a nursery (good old collectivism). Anybody who would sentence a child under the age of twenty-five to five days a week in an institution doesn't deserve to have children; and probably doesn't.

The frequent article on sexual problems I find stimulating but not especially pertinent (and frequently impractical—if we let our infant determine his own course of conduct, as Lowen suggests in *Sex and Adolescence*, he wouldn't last a week). Again, these articles seem mainly angled toward the unattached individual; and frankly, toward the individual who is still fighting his battle with 19th Century Puritanism. Your writers are in danger of falling

into advocacy of the 20th Century Promiscuity that Rexroth took some good raps at in his letter on the American scene. In other words, if our child turns out to be a homosexual I sincerely hope that it will make no difference in our relations with him, but are you seriously suggesting that after explaining about the bees and the flowers we should say, "Well, here are the boys and here are the girls; it's all the same—take your pick".

The exception to the above criticism of the anarchist approach has been the excellent series on communes (Woodcock, Macedonia, Bruderhof) and I hope we can have more of them. (The earlier series on the Peckham experiment and the British school of A. S. Neill were also good.) But there remains (as the CNVR conference clearly brought out) the unanswered problem of the family group which is not at present in a commune—and perhaps for some reason prefers not to be, as many at the conference did. How can we be anarchists?

J. McC., Yardley, Pa.

Free Speech

This space is open to our readers for letters which stimulate thought and action. To conserve space, editorial comments are omitted except where vitally necessary. Letters should be as brief as possible.

That Word Anarchy

Dear Friends:

In the past year I have talked to about 100 people seriously enough to (a) gain their attention, and (b) establish in my own mind what type of persons they are, and (c) to tell them simply that I am an anarchist.

I noted down their reactions, and these are amusing.

About 80% of the people I made this brief statement to responded by saying to the effect, "Then why don't you go back to Russia?"

Some asked me if I carried bombs, and others asked why I didn't wear a large black beard. Most of these were serious.

Virtually all of them, upon questioning, said they believed anarchists

were murderers, the bloodiest of all possible people. Sacco and Vanzetti were dismissed with "BUT those two were anarchists!" in a manner that plainly showed a belief that anarchy and murder were one and the same.

Perhaps 95% believed anarchy was a violent form of Russian communism.

At least 50% claimed anarchy was synonymous to the Mafia Society and the Black Hand, and that all anarchists were Italian murderers who came from Sicily.

Finally 100% of the persons I talked with believed that (a) anarchy is a thing of the distant past, undreamed of today, and (b) anarchists are the people who plot our wars...

I have reached the following conclusion:

No anarchist movement can possibly succeed or accomplish anything unless a system of organization can be at least loosely formed and a suitable name invented for anarchy, a name which will never in any way recall to the public's mind the word anarchy. I firmly believe 98% of the people of America subconsciously connect anarchy with blood, killing, savagery and chaos.

V. W., Medford, Oregon

On the other hand, any other word used in place of anarchism would soon become maligned and distorted by the upholders of authority. Anarchy is not alone in this regard. Such words as communism and atheism have met similar fates. Even such a word as sex has had to carry a burden of fear and guilt, the connotations of our inhuman society.

Besides, the uncompromising philosophy of freedom which has come to be known as anarchism is not some doctrine invented a week ago. Anarchism, which literally means "without ruler," has a history and valuable experience behind it. The word is a convenient index to this experience. A substitute—and most of the substitutes are inadequate mouthfuls like libertarianism—would destroy the sense of historical continuity.

What do other readers think?

NOW AVAILABLE . . .

THE RUSSIAN ENIGMA

By ANTON CILIGA

304 pp.

\$1.00

Here is a book about Russia that is different. The author, a former Yugo-Slav Communist, spent ten years in the "Worker's Paradise" and here, from the point of view of a radical who has remained a radical, though not a Stalinist, describes what he saw. Treated fully are the two currents in Soviet life—the bureaucrats' official lies and the secret hatred of the masses. Of particular interest is the description Ciliga gives of the years he spent in Soviet jails as a result of his disillusionment.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Vol. 6, No. 7

CONTRIBUTIONS

ARIZONA: Phoenix, J.M.C. 1; O.A. & M.E. 5; E. D.T. 10; C. C. 5; I. B. 3; S. V. 3; C. 3; E. D. T. 3; A.A.H. 1; Dinner Affair 50; Tucson: C.S.M. 4.20	\$90.20
CALIFORNIA: Alameda: E.M. 1; Berkeley: D. F. J. 5; Books: W.F.S. 2; Los Angeles: L.H. 2; E.R. 1; Youth Group 15; E.B.G. 5; Los Angeles Group 228.03; H.G. 0.25; Pasadena: E.R. 2; E.S. 1;...	267.28
CONNECTICUT: Bridgeport: S.I.A. Local 10.15	15.00
FLORIDA: Miami: Miami Group 21	21.00
INDIANA: Bloomington: R.W.I. 25c	.25
KENTUCKY: Louisville: J. H. G. 1	1.00
MASSACHUSETTS: Worcester: I. C. 2	2.00
MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: A.I. 5; Detroit: M.L. 2; I. B. 2	9.00
NORTH CAROLINA: Winston: W. C. 5	5.00
NEW JERSEY: Newark: C.R. 5; R. B. 5; Somerville: A. C. 5	15.00
NEW YORK: Hicksville: A.P. 1; New York City: H. F.S. 1; F.G. 5; B.L. 2; F.O.R. 2; A.M. 1; New Trends Gr. 50; L.L. 1; W.A. 1; H.H.S. 2; Resistance Dance 95.35; D.R. 10; P. G. 3; C. B. 1; J. H. 1; R.D.G. 2; Rome: B.W.H. 1.50; Woodstock: J. A. C. 3	182.85
OHIO: Cincinnati: J.P.W. 1	1.00
PENNSYLVANIA: Allentown: W.S. 2.50; Philadelphia: Group 10	12.50
WASHINGTON: Centralia: C.L. 1; Spokane: K.H.M. 4	5.00
WISCONSIN: Madison: E.C. 1	1.00
MEXICO CITY: M.P. 5	5.00
	\$633.08

EXPENDITURES

Printing, Vol. 6 No. 6	\$138.72
Postage, Vol. 6, No. 6	30.00
Cuts	11.05
Paper & Gummed Tape	9.20
Deficit Balance Vol. 6 No. 6	15.63

204.60

Balance Dec. 31, 1947

\$428.48

462

Have You Read?

• THEORY

ABC of Anarchism (Now and After abridged), by Alexander Berkman	25c
"...A statement in the plainest and clearest terms which can be understood by everyone."	
The State, by Peter Kropotkin	25c
An analysis of the State and its functions. Kropotkin shows how the State has always acted as a power for the maintenance of privilege, has stifled individual initiative. He indicates why the anarchists lay stress on the struggle against the State as the central issue of the revolutionary struggle.	
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
A restatement in contemporary terms of the social philosophy of anarchism, and an advocacy of that philosophy as a solution of modern social problems.	
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 E. Havel	10c

• HISTORICAL

The Kronstadt Revolt, by Ciliga	10c
Workers in Stalin's Russia, by M. L. Berneri	25c
An attempt to examine the Russian system from the revolutionary workers' point of view.	
Anarchism and American Traditions, by Voltairine De Cleyre	10c
The Guillotine at Work, by Maximov	\$1.50
Three Years of Struggle in Spain	5c
The Truth About Spain, by Rudolf Rocker	10c
The Tragedy of Spain, by Rudolf Rocker	10c
The Wilhelmschaven Revolt, by Icarus	10c
Social Reconstruction in Spain, by Gaston Leval	10c
A factual account, in a very brief space, of what was accomplished collectively and cooperatively, in industry and agriculture by some of the Spanish people during the 1936 revolution.	

• GENERAL

Cooperative Decentralization, by J. P. Warbasse	10c
Railways and Society, by George Woodcock	10c
New Life to the Land, by George Woodcock	10c
The British General Strike, by Tom Brown	10c
Mussolini: Red and Black, by Armando Borghi	50c
Italy After Mussolini, by John Hewetson	10c
Does God Exist?, by Sebastian Faure	10c
After the Revolution, by D. A. Santillan	\$1.00
Place of the Individual in Society, by E. Goldman	10c
Art and Social Nature, by Paul Goodman	\$1.05
Reflections on art and libertarian ethics.	
Peter Kropotkin: His Federalist Ideas, by C. Berneri	10c
Education of Free Man, by Herbert Read	25c
Homes orhovels—The Housing Problem, by G. Woodcock	15c
Trade Unionism or Syndicalism, by Tom Brown	10c
In this pamphlet, Tom Brown, himself an industrial worker, shows up the weaknesses and inconsistencies of the present union organization, and contrasts it with the syndicalist methods of workers' organization.	
Struggle in the Factory, by Equity	10c
The French Cook's Syndicate, by W. McCartney	10c
Now. Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9	each 50c
The March to Death, by John Olday	35c
A collection of graphic cartoons cleverly illustrating contemporary events and public utterances of famous and infamous personalities.	
The Life We Live, by John Olday	35c
Another collection of drawings by the same artist caricaturing some pertinent situations of "The Life we Live."	
Ill-health, Poverty and the State, by John Hewetson	80c
Mutual Aid & Social Evolution, by John Hewetson	15c
The Roman Catholic Church and the Modern Age, by F. A. Ridley	5c
Retort	40c

Free and available on request are copies of WHY? Publication Fund pamphlet, "War or Revolution?", Randolph Bourne's "The State", and "Freedom" from England.