

# RESISTANCE

WAR

War

War

War

MURDER!

DEATH

terror

FEAR

1948

MAY-JUNE

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Another war is in the making despite the lessons of the past. In a future sure to be disastrous, we must rely on individuals to keep their senses, their integrity, to find ways and means of remaining human, of remaining alive. This means cultivating ways of mutual aid among ourselves. This means cultivating disobedience and evasion of the Government's plans for conscription and war.

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WAR



THINE IS  
THE GLORY





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

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

These things exist because a small group of politicians, militarists and bankers, controlling the wealth of the nation, is able to starve people into submission,

to buy their minds and bodies, and hire them to kill and imprison each other. These things exist because people are trained, in the home, in the school and on the job, to obedience and submission to authority, and are beaten into indifference by the dog-eat-dog struggle for existence; because people cling to ancient myths of religion, patriotism, race and authority, and let hirelings of the ruling group do their thinking for them. We believe this system can be ended by our refusing to be pawns of the ruling group, by our learning to think and act for ourselves, by our finding ways of living and working together in peaceful, free cooperation.

For these reasons, we propose: That we clear our minds of the myths and superstitions we have

been taught, and see the world as it actually is;

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

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

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

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

## LINES of RESISTANCE

A tax refusal movement aimed against the Government's war preparations seems to be gaining momentum.

Nationwide publicity was given to the action of Mrs. Caroline Urie, Quaker and veteran social worker, who publicly declared her refusal to pay the 34.6% of her income tax which, according to government figures, goes to military expenses. Going her one better was Marion Coddington, New York secretary, who announced that she would not pay any income tax from now on since any part paid might be used for war purposes.

A Chicago conference of nearly 200 revolutionary pacifists gave support to a course of "outright tax refusal to a government seemingly bent on preparing for, and waging, war."

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Continuation of "resentfulness and unrest" has finally forced Eire authorities to yield to demands for an amnesty. All political prisoners, according to the London *Daily Telegraph*, have been released.

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The way to stop such catastrophes as last year's Centralia mine disaster, simply by on the job action, was shown by miners in Seattle. Schuman & Johnson, the

contractors on the University Ground construction job, took too long in obtaining air blowing equipment. The miners told the boss, "No air, no work," then stayed home, and found the air blowers on the job the following day.

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According to the French anarchist weekly, *Le Libertaire*, petroleum workers in Indonesia, belonging to libertarian syndicalist organizations, have taken over a number of oil wells and are organizing production by themselves. They are resisting efforts of Indonesian authorities to convince them that "political liberation" is sufficient. Kane, Indonesian Minister of Economy, wants to turn the wells over to Dutch, English and American companies which are demanding their return.

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In the face of growing communal war in Palestine, individual Arabs and Jews are continuing to resist the racist terrorism of both sides. In Jerusalem, Arabs and Jews in the Post Office, Telephone Department and at Lydda airport work side by side. In an Arab attack in the oil refineries it was established from evidence given by Jewish workers that local Arabs took almost no part in the attack, and Jewish workers re-

ported that they saw some Arabs hiding Jews or helping them escape.

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Students at Potomac State College, W. Va., went on strike to protest expulsion of a co-ed and her date for staying out after hours. Following a strike vote by 250 of the 650 students, 30 pickets appeared outside the main classroom building.

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A libertarian cooperative community, *La Famille Nouvelle*, composed of men and women of all nationalities, is being formed in France. Agricultural workers and artisans of all fields are invited to write for information to Louis Radix, Bascon, Chateau Thierry (Aisne), France.

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The curfew imposed on African workers at Accra, Gold Coast, after their cost of living protest on Feb. 29 has been lifted. The raising of the curfew was among the demands put forward by the Gold Coast Trades Union Council, backed by a threat of a general strike. The other demands were the release of six leaders arrested more than a week ago, freedom of speech, right of assembly and the ending of press censorship.

**REPRESSION**—America's home-OFFICIAL AND grown totalitarian trends are being stepped up to an atomic pace. It is becoming clearer and clearer that total repression doesn't have to carry a swastika or a hammer-and-sickle. It can be red white and blue.

The evidence piles up official and unofficial.

The totalitarian note is struck in the Goldsborough decision against the United Mine Workers, which, by a 1½ million dollar extortion (legally dressed up as a "contempt" fine), has given further recognition to the principle of forced labor.

Police State, U.S.A., grows with bill after bill in Washington to crack down on Stalinists—and anyone else who might get in the way of present war plans. The latest measure, the Subversive Activities Control Act, seeks to outlaw "the knowing and wilful advocacy of the overthrow of the Government... by any means." Up to now, the infamous Smith Act, which sent Trotskyites to jail during the war for advocating overthrow by "force and violence", has been sufficient.

Less subtle, home-grown fascism uses a nightstick in the strike by Wall Street workers. Blood-stained floors at Kansas City's Local 10, CIO packinghouse workers, are the work of police under "get tough" orders.

It is no wonder that with these and many more official examples that unofficial repression is also on the rise. In Columbus, Ohio, a gang of witch hunters entered the house of a Communist and smashed his furniture. Vigilante violence has followed the Wallace campaign trip through the mid-west. We oppose Wallace and have no intention of making a martyr out of him, but it is an indication of the repressive spirit in the land that hotels have been barred to him and attempts have been made to break up his meetings. In Pittsburgh, the Scripps-Howard paper has published lists of Wallace sympathizers as an invitation to the vigilantes.

The tempo of totalitarianism will no doubt greatly increase with the passage of a peacetime draft, the inculcation of militarism among teen agers. With the fur-

## Commentary

ther approach of war, the military demands for tighter and tighter secrecy, the impossibility of half-way measures against the Communists, the necessity for a labor draft, home-grown totalitarianism will be more than a trend. It will be here to stay.

These facts should give pause to the band of left-wing opponents of Stalinism who seem to half-enjoy the plight of the Communist Party here and the prospect of a Wall Street war against the Russian myth. It is becoming more than ever obvious that there is no such thing anymore, if there ever was, of a "good" war. Good, yes, for the State—but not for the individual.

**JIM CROW AND MILITARISM** To those radicals who are weary of mere words, A. Philip Randolph's prospective campaign of civil disobedience against Jim Crow in the armed forces seems worthy of full support. A number of militant pacifists have already pledged to take part. Unless the draft and the UMT acts embody specific provisions against segregation, they will advocate "organized refusal to register or be drafted" among Negro youth. Unfortunately, the matter is not so simple.

On one level, the level of racial equality, this action is almost heartening. It is a good sign that Uncle Tom servility is on the decline. But on another level, the action is disquieting. What it amounts to on that level is an admission that the armed forces, reformed a bit, is a fit place for human beings, colored or white. On that level, it is a campaign of civil disobedience for the right to obey.

We hope that those radicals who are entering the campaign will bear in mind that action can be as dangerous or more dangerous than inaction. Abolition of Jim Crow in the armed forces, isolated as a good end in itself, might have the effect of causing Negroes in large numbers to choose a military career, it might be more attractive than what civil life offers them in the South and

most of the North. This would be even worse than Jim Crow itself.

It would be dishonest for those radicals taking part in the campaign to ignore the possible dangers. The only honest approach is to say: "Military service is not fit for human beings. Jim Crow makes it particularly unfit for Negroes. Don't register!"

**UNCLE JOE VS. UNCLE SAM** A couple of months ago Uncle Joe of the Kremlin showed how he treats obedient nieces and nephews, his Czech Communist Party took Czechoslovakia for a ride on the Russian war bandwagon. Now Uncle Sam, in his own way, has done the same for Italy.

Gentler than Uncle Joe, Uncle Sam allowed Italians to show their favor for him by returning Premier de Gasperi to office. This was insured by thinly veiled threats that if poor nieces and nephews didn't vote the right way no more food and clothing would go to them. If that didn't make sense, there was the presence on election day of U.S. troops, U.S. warships not far off in the Mediterranean, and squadrons of U.S. planes in the Italian skies.

Just to make certain that Uncle Sam wouldn't be disappointed, according to Prof. Pierpaolo Fegiz of Doxa, Italy's Gallup Poll, the Catholic Church had its priests tell their flocks that they must vote for Premier de Gasperi and that Communists would not get absolution. And to make very certain that God and Wall Street would triumph, the Professor informs us that the winning party, the Christian Democrats, armed with billions of lire, competed with the Stalinists in purchasing votes on bloc in the south.

This is the "victory for Democracy" that has brought loud applause from Friends of Uncle Sam, Inc.—and even *The Socialist Call*.

The election illusion won't solve any of Italy's problems. However the totals might have gone, the basic economic problem of the country, a peasantry impoverished by taxation and feudal land owners, remains. Charity won't solve unemployment. Neither will the Pope.



The following information about the concentration camps at Koutzian and Bogdanoff Dol is from eyewitness accounts by Bulgarian anarchists:

The space per man in these camps is narrower than a coffin. Water is scarce, hygiene unknown. The doctor is not allowed to order even dying people to rest if their number exceeds 1% of the prisoners. Food is of the worst. Sugar and fat rations, theoretically in existence, are sold on the black market by the guards.

Starvation, overwork, ill-treatment, the complete disappearance of food parcels since the start of the year, result in death for many prisoners. Anarchist victims are especially victimized. 36 hours of continuous forced labor is no exception. Healthy men soon become walking corpses; then they are sent back home to avoid the trouble of letting them die in the camp.

One of the most common punishments, "counting the stars", consists of having to stay the whole night out of doors, under rain, snow or frost, while the guards prevent the victim from moving. This has been done for as long as ten nights in a row, after working hours, for the most trivial offenses. Such was the punishment of one anarchist who did not get up, during the meal, when an official passed by. Usually "collective responsibility" is applied, and a whole group or barrack is subjected to wholesale punishment.

Among recent arrivals at Koutzian were boys of 14, who remained two months. A dozen Turkish boys are still at Bogdanoff Dol, together with old men of 70.

Tito's visit to Bulgaria last winter was the occasion for wide arrests in the working populations of Varna, Jambol, Plovdiv, Hascovo, Kritshim, Kazanlik, etc.

—S.P.R.I. (Provisional Secretariat for International Relations), Paris.

## Bulgaria — The New Spain

THE NEWSPAPERS of the capitalist world, in their cold print war against Stalin's Russia, are sure to headline the "suicide" of a Masaryk or the execution of a Petkov. Middle class politicians, dead or otherwise, command wide publicity. Little or no space, however, is given to the far more important account of what has happened to the Stalinists' left-wing rivals—particularly the anarchists—in such dominated countries as Bulgaria. Here the brutal fakery of Stalinist "progressivism" is revealed; here is the lesson that communism must be anarchist or not at all—a lesson with which the capitalist world, for its own reasons, is understandably not concerned.

A pamphlet, *La Bulgarie: Nouvelle Espagne*, published by the Committee for Aid to Bulgarian Anti-Fascists, offers some light on the dark tragedy of Bulgarian anarchists.

Bulgaria, the pamphlet points out, is very much like Spain: agrarian, a similar climate, a population with a high degree of individualism and profound traditions of solidarity. Like Spain, too, drawing on the strength of its historical culture [the anti-Statism of medieval *Bogomilisme*, the peasant cooperative *zadruga* (fraternity) dating back even earlier, and the later Robin Hood-like *Haidouks*], Bulgaria has had a large and militant anarchist movement. Unlike Spain, however, the story of Bulgarian anarchism is scarcely known—even by anarchists.

Anarchists in Bulgaria have had a full share of the experience the future seems to hold for anarchists in this country, years and years of police repression from 1923 on, only a brief respite in 1931. They have sharpened their tactics of evasion and clandestine militancy in struggles against every variety of home-grown fascism, against the German army during the occupation and now against the Red Army and its political puppets.

Though outlawed they continued to maintain their roots in the life of the people. In 1923, at the start of the fascist peril, while the Socialists made speeches and the Stalinists tried to capitalize on the electoral situation, the anarchists organized the first band of partisans, among them Tinko Simov and the brothers Touman-guelov, who crossed through the Balkans trying to awaken the revolutionary ardor of the people. Anarchist activity also went on in the universities; anarchists were prominent among the transport workers, and they took a leading part in an anti-tax movement among the peasants of Chabla and Douran-Koulak. They lost struggle after struggle but they did not give up and they kept their sense of humor. When their strength among the university students was smashed, the Bulgarian anarchists reorganized their youth movement as an association of young teetotalers!

These are some of the anarchist victims of Stalinist terror in Bulgaria:

Vassil Jordanoff, a printer by trade, who has spent long years as an "illegal" or in exile. Twice before he was jailed by the fascists and democrats. For the last nine months he has been at the camp at Cuciyan, the price he has had to pay for spreading the ideas of anarcho-syndicalism among Sofia workers.

Costadin Zazarinoff, young engineering student, a veteran of the fascist camps, now at Cuciyan for having distributed leaflets on the anniversary of Cristo Boteff, Bulgarian poet hero and comrade of Bakunin.

Vassil Ivanoff, a baker, organizer of the cooperative at Jambol which supplied bread to the city's 26,000 inhabitants. He joined the others in the concentration camp for resisting Stalinist control of the baking industry.

At the end of 1944, the "new era" of Stalinist repression began. At first, after defeat of the German occupation armies, some semblance of freedom had existed. Work committees had spontaneously taken over production. The trade union movement had come out into the open. The anarchists, who had held their national congresses in the mountains for twenty years, met in the cities. Their journal, *Rabotnicheska-Missal* (Workers' Thought), reappeared. It soon attained a circulation of 30,000—quite an accomplishment for so small a country and (due to the Stalinist authorities) so restricted a supply of paper.

Only eight issues of *Workers' Thought* appeared. By that time the Stalinists had consolidated their power with the help of the *Front of the Homeland*. The trade union leaders had accepted with-

out reserve governmental direction, and with it came wage cuts, the re-introduction of piece work and the development of a spirit of rivalry among the workers. The reappearance of *Workers' Thought* was stopped when an article mentioned the strike as the most powerful weapon of the working class in defense of its interests.

It was one step from this to the closing of anarchist locals in many towns and villages, including Plovdiv and Pavel Bagna. Pamphlets and books were confiscated. Some anarchists have been detained at Koutzian (The Camp of Death) and Bogdanoff Dol (The Camp of Phantoms). Others have escaped. Word has been received that a few have made their way to Greece. Others to France. There, after rest and preparation, they are returning across the border to continue the

struggle—just as the Spanish anarchist militants are returning to resist Franco.

An effort is being made to help Bulgarian anarchists who have escaped to France. They need economic aid, clothing, medical supplies, especially penicillin.

We have on hand a number of food packages which are ready to be sent. However, postage is needed: approximately \$3 for a 21 lb. package. If you wish to help, please send money to cover the mailing to S. Grieg, *Resistance*, Cooper Sta., Box 208, N.Y.C. 3, N.Y.

Those who wish to help in other ways should contact Bernardo Pou, Restaurant Puvrier, 12 rue Masaryk, Lyon, France.

## The Future Society

Translators note: Anarchist Individualists attempt, with dismaying consistency, to carry through the fundamental assumption of all anarchists: that our objective, the freedom and happiness of each individual human being, can never be accomplished by the route of authority. Individualists lack faith in the concept of revolution, and they are dubious even about the freedom that anarcho-syndicalists and the followers of Kropotkin claim would be realized in their future society. The individualist, a skeptic, insists on seeing the relation between what he is doing and what he is going to accomplish for himself.

In these extracts from an article written more than 20 years ago for the *Encyclopedie Anarchiste* (Vol. IV, pp. 2611-2614), under the title *La Société Future*, E. Armand, editor of the French individualist paper *L'Unique*, presents the individualist alternative to the insurrectionary revolution and the utopian future society: the struggle now for freedom now.

Among many younger anarchists today, keen awareness of the consequences of the Russian Revolution, and keen consciousness of the fact of two world wars and world-wide totalitarianism, has given individualism a new relevance. Revolution and the revolutionary movement, the focal point of most anarchist thinking, are clearly remote from the world we live in. The individualist idea of acting now seems at least a useful counter-balance, if it is not the necessary alternative, to the mass-revolutionary perspective.

A comrade observed that all anarchists, even the most syndicalistic, are at heart individualists (this person is not an individualist). It is idle to hope that anarchists of all schools will therefore come together in one synthesized movement. Perhaps, however, there is much in the individualist approach that other anarchists can make use of; and vice versa. Experience has not yet revealed a "one true anarchism," however much anarchist communists, individualists, syndicalists and the several variants on each school may feel that they have found it.

—DTW

Individualists concern themselves little with a future society. That idea has been exploited and can nourish the believer just as exploitation of paradise nourishes the priest; but it resembles paradise, in that a description of its wonders has an enervating, soporific influence on those who hear it; it makes them forget present oppression, tyranny and bondage; it weakens energy, emasculates initiative. The individualist does not put his hope in the future society. He lives in the present moment, and he wants to draw from it the maximum results. Individualist activity is essentially a present work and a present accomplishment. The individualist knows that the present is heir to the past and pregnant with the future. It is not in some tomorrow that he wants to see the end of encroachment by society on the individual, of invasion and oppression of one person by another. It is today, in his own life, that the individualist wants to win his independence.



actions their intention, their will, their hope of seeing the individual free himself from the constraint of the herd, the mentality of the mass.

Can one hope that after many a flux and reflux, many a sad attempt, humans will some day come to conscientious practice of reciprocity, to the anti-authoritarian, individualist—anarchist individualist—solution, the solution of equal liberty?

Can one anticipate that, more enlightened, more educated, better informed, the inhabitants of our planet will at last come to understand that neither

coercion, nor domination of the majority, the elite, the dictatorship of an autocrat, class or caste, are capable of assuring happiness—that is, of reducing avoidable suffering? It is the secret of the future.

But, optimistic or pessimistic in this respect, the anarchist individualist will not the less continue to denounce the prejudice which gives statist authority its force: the *superstition* of necessary government; and to live as though the prejudices and this superstition did not exist.

—E.Armand.

## The Propaganda Expert Takes the Stand

Q.: Mr. A., I understand that you are the man responsible for the slogan *The War to End War* in World War I, and *The War of Survival* in World War II.

Mr. A.: (*modestly*) I am.

Q.: And you are also the man who thought up the “Cold War” and “the War to Protect the Peace” in World War III?

Mr. A.: Yes.

Q.: Would you mind telling me what phrase you have devised to induce red-blooded Americans to do their duty in the coming war against Afro-Asia?

Mr. A.: War? My dear sir, we don't want War. The United States never wants War. Just look at the Record: in its entire 200 years the United States has Protected the Peace of the world through six wars, or an average of a Protective War every 33.3 years. What more proof could a Peace-loving Nation give of its Love for Peace? Eternal Vigilance, sir.

Q.: —is the Price of Peace.

Mr. A.: Yes. (*suspiciously*.) How did you know?

Q.: I read it in the papers.

Mr. A.: (*reassured*)

Q.: Mr. A., if you are not willing to call our present relationship with Afro-Asia a war, what *do* you call it?

Mr. A.: I—I haven't named it yet.

Q.: No *name*?

Mr. A.: (*embarrassed*) Well—it's a ticklish problem. When we dropped those atom bombs on Russia to Protect the Peace, the word came to have unfortunate connotations in the minds of some of the survivors.

Q.: What word?

Mr. A.: Peace. They're suspicious of it. Since Congress passed BURP, the Building Up Russia Program—or as it has unfortunately come to be called, the Buffer Up Russia Program—we've been sending arms and bread by the tons to the Russians, but we haven't buttered it with a single good slogan. We've Made Our Bed, and I've been wracking my brain thinking how we're going to Lie in it. We've Burnt Our Candle at Both Ends. No one likes either *War* or *Peace*. We'll have to think up a better word.

Q.: Since it's really the whites against the blacks and yellows, why not call it something like

“The Race”? You know: “Uncle Sam Needs You In The Race.”

Mr. A.: Well, no, we couldn't do that. Too many blacks still here, although we've been trying for a long time to get them to set up their Own State in Africa. We could lock up the rest as enemy aliens along with the chinese and the japs, since they were all imported, but what about the redskins? No, we'll have to keep Race out of this. After all, it isn't because they have Shifty eyes and Discolored Skins that we are fighting them. We aren't Prejudiced. Why, some of our Best Soldiers in World War II were niggers and japs, although of course they may just have been trying to Push their own Race. Anyway, it's only because of their Beliefs that we have to fight them; it's their Ideas we don't like.

Q.: Which ideas?

Mr. A.: Well, Equality for example. They think that because we have oil and uranium that they have to have it too. Of course we believe in Equality, our forefathers Died for it, but how can you have *two* Strongest Nations in the world? And how can we protect Equality from the Enemy if the enemy is as strong as we are?

Q.: Then you don't believe in Equality?

Mr. A.: Oh yes, but obviously Equality means Equal Opportunity. We can't help it if the Darker Races didn't take the Equal Opportunity.

Q.: Would you say that they are trying to take it now, Mr. A.?

Mr. A.: Trying to take it from *us*.

Q.: Couldn't some compromise be worked out, like equality for both sides?

Mr. A.: Compromise? Appeasement? Appeasement doesn't Work: we learned that at Munich and Yalta. The fact is, sir, this is a Fight to the Finish. It's either Our Equality or Theirs.

Q.: I see. Just one more question, Mr. A. What do you think of the Afro-Asian leader, George Washington Wu? Do you think he is another Hitler or Stalin?

Mr. A.: Oh, there's no doubt about it. But it's too bad a man like that has to be on the wrong side. “*Afro-Asia for the Afro-Asians*”! He certainly can think up slogans!

—Ann Morrisett

## Money and the Hostile Workers

The letter of “V.W.” (December 1947) and the Editorial comment thereon give rise to an interesting question, one to which we have given a good deal of thought and study.

“Is there,” we ask, “some fundamental weakness in all propaganda directed towards the achievement of the classless society? Is there some blind spot both in ‘transmission’ and ‘reception’ which would adequately explain the indifference, even hostility towards fundamental social change?”

We have gathered together a good deal of evidence, historical, educational and psychological, which would indicate that a serious gap in propaganda technique does exist and the need for its further study made necessarily urgent. Tentatively we have come to the following conclusions discussion on which we would welcome.

(A) The adoption of a descriptive term qualifying and supplementing whatever word one used for a classless society. (Socialism and Communism as well as Anarchism are still used). We think that Moneyless World Commonwealth is as good as any. Also that the object should be elaborated in propaganda, not only in explanatory but also in descriptive manner.

(B) Devoting more time to the boosting of the classless society as a practical proposition and less in criticising the policies and programmes of other organizations.

(C) Facing up seriously to the questions of the “how will it work” type and giving a general outline of a classless society if it operated at the present stage of industrial development. One should be prepared to discuss the possibilities of the various aspects of social life in the new system, and to compare and contrast them with the sordid realities of their counterparts in capitalist society. Drawing upon our knowledge of present day technology one can show how much better the classless society would be for humanity, even using the means which are used today apart from those the full development of which capitalism forbids. Nothing is more convincing to the critic than to be shown that all the apparent “snags” are easily disposed of, and by means

## Free Speech

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

which already exist today in capitalist society.

(D) Demanding the classless society from all other projects by emphasising its moneyless and tradeless character. Incidentally this method arouses interest and curiosity and evokes much questioning. Money, or its lack, plays a great part in the everyday life of every person from early childhood to dotage, so that the suggestion of a moneyless world jolts people's minds to the realisation that here is a proposition quite different and involving a basic change in human affairs.

Along these lines we have experimented for several years and with noteworthy results. We believe that intensive individual propaganda along these lines would lay a foundation upon which could be superimposed much that is now regarded as difficult of understanding by workers. They will be more interested in the classless society when it appears within reasonably close reach. It will be closer when more and more workers are discussing it as a practical project. To get them talking — that is the problem that this different mode of approach attempts to solve.

London, Eng.

—Philoren.

## The Ethics of Staying Home

The Italian elections are over and the commies, forgetting the teachings of their illustrious (though somewhat demagogic) demigod Lenin are licking their festered wounds and crying fraud instead of rejoicing in their defeat; for papa Vladimir, somewhat more cognizant of the nature of bourgeois parliaments than the Stalinists, recognized that the workers could never capture the machinery of the state and operate that machinery for their own welfare. He insisted that a revolutionary must never forget that the only purpose in electing a guy to a par-

liament is for propagandistic purposes. But memory is short and fetishes are long till it looks like the anarchist is the only one who would rather stay in bed than vote (excepting, of course, a few non civic-minded persons who are just too damn lazy). Since we seem to hold exclusive title to conscientious non-voting we ought to re-examine our position and see wherein lies our defense. What the hell, November is on the wing and we'll probably argue this point many times during the hot summer.

The classical arguments against voting seem to be

- 1) Voting implies acceptance of the state.
- 2) I wouldn't trust myself in office so why should I trust some other gink.
- 3) We aren't forced to choose between evils.

Probably in these general terms many valid objections can be raised to these points, but once we get rid of the semantic problems most anarchists will agree that these form the basis for his volitional lethargy on election day. And if our only appeal were to be to anarchists then we could stop here. But I think we can extend our philosophy about voting to a large group of conscientious people, who, even though they reject the basic tenets of anarchy might join our society of ballot rejectors.

The argument is essentially a moralistic one (which is perhaps unfortunate; we all seem to be stuffed to the ears with moral ideas and have difficulty getting our toes into a little moral practice. But then, here's a chance—allons!).

With the exception of the handful of people who cast a protest vote, most persons vote with a unified purpose in mind, the election of their chosen candidate. If he is elected it is expected that he will carry out the program which the individual endorses. But, in order to do this he must receive the acquiescence of the opposition, which, I guess is essentially what they mean by democracy. Thus the voter should fully understand that the participates in a system where the minority is to accept the dictates of the majority, and hence, he, should his candidate lose, is morally bound to follow the person who wins. This is certainly not too much to require for he, by voting, demands it of the opposition.



Thus the guy who votes is morally obliged to accept the draft and it would appear he acts immorally if he assumes the role of an objector. Should he protest that it is immoral not to object he is faced with a conflict of loyalties (or, at least should be), which can perhaps, be most easily resolved by not voting.

Along about this time some one will probably suggest that all is not so black and white, that we really do a lot of voting anyway, and that a good deal of it is necessary. Don't we, as individuals, vote to the baker the right to make the bread, to decide the ingredients and the appropriate methodology, vote to the Dr. the right to decide whether or not an operation is necessary, and vote to the engineer the right to determine the strength of the beam? Because we are limited both physiologically and psychically we just can't make all these decisions, and so we voluntarily delegate the right to others to make them for us. So voting, per se, is not what is morally wrong, but rather voting in a given context. There are certain minimums to which almost everyone will agree, but when it comes time to delegate to someone or some group the right to push you into an army so that you can kill another guy who was pushed into an army then I believe we ought to make a grab for our sanity and hang onto the bedsprings—come election day.

—J. M.

## Nationalism and Culture

The discussion of Gandhi in the last issue of *Resistance* was interesting, but I don't think it was as strong as it might have been. I have been spending a couple of months with Richard Gregg who had spent a good deal of time with Gandhi,

and I got a very different picture of him, although the statements about him in this article may all be true. Gandhi, I gather, had a sense of humor and humility that went far toward counterbalancing the dangerous effects of his power. The picture of Gandhi out in the kitchen washing dishes and joking is vivid in my mind, and the realization that Gandhi acknowledged numerous mistakes and incongruities in his life lets me know that Gandhi was not only human, but had the unusual power of admitting a great degree of wrongness. Also the article about Gandhi gave the impression that he had supported the nationalism that led to Pakistan, without calling to mind how vigorously he had urged Nehru to reject it, and without mentioning that Pakistan is Britain's hold upon India, and was maneuvered to that end by the foreign office. I wouldn't blame the negative kind of nationalism on Gandhi, and I would consider the adoption of English by the intelligentsia a move to be resisted. That development cut the intelligentsia off from the people, made India dependent upon occidental culture—with its unfortunate emphases—and warped the entire education system. To give all India one language seems to me destroys the very variety of cultures that has made Europe and India rich and difficult to weld into a homogenous easily ruled mass.

I have been debating on the organization of a society for the promotion of atomic warfare. The most careful study brings me to the conclusion that the tendency toward the concentration of population in cities and suburban areas is perhaps a more dangerous tendency than atomic warfare. If A.W. were to wipe out nine tenths of the population, society would revert to anarchy. But if the present trend toward the movement of superior human material toward the cities continues, race suicide of city people (now nearing 50% each generation) will leave humanity utterly bankrupt, and it could only be regenerated from those peoples not yet affected by civilization. The longer our civilization continues, the less possibility there will be of significant peoples remaining who could yet give this regeneration. Then, our soil is being exhausted so rapidly that the humanity that would exist on it would be subhuman—and is becoming so now. I have

heard of counties where neither man nor animal can often bear healthy children, so exhausted is their soil in many of the mineral nutrients. The ablest specialists in soil fertility know that we know practically nothing about soil fertility, but we do know that synthetic fertilizer cannot long sustain life.

Apart from an efficient and not too far advanced atomic warfare, I can see little hope for humanity, except that we learn in small groups to develop the survival value—the vitality—that will survive the times that are ahead. The Jewish people developed ways of living that gave them such a survival value; their ways are a good deal out of date, and they are committing race suicide more rapidly than other peoples because of their weakness to urban culture and values. We need to be very efficient in our approach to all the qualities that make for survival, that will give people that capacity to take hardship in stride with good humor rather than letting bad humor destroy one. The high vitality of people who have had to maintain their vitality or perish, and who have developed the standards, the constitutions and the culture that make for survival is a prime necessity for what we believe in. But I do not feel that the culture of Anarchism has been any good at this. I have seen too many examples where it has been spectacularly bad. It does not know how to link itself to the effective folkways that made for survival, and in trying to make a clean break with the past it too greatly destroys its chances of taking effective root anywhere where it might survive.

I believe that continuity is a basic necessity to human culture. The commies make use of that fact in an evil way. Never can any human movement succeed which does not maintain cultural continuity with a deepseated human culture....

—Griscom Morgan.

## RESISTANCE (formerly WHY?)

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## Viewpoint on

# Religion and Mr. Mayer

THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT has sustained Mrs. Vashti McCollum of Champaign, Ill. in her contention that the state of Illinois has no business in aiding and fostering religious instruction for children through the facilities of its school system. The decision of the Court has aroused a variety of reactions and comments, most of which have been favorable to the principle of separation of church and state on which the opinion of the Court fundamentally rests. Even a great part of the clergy has accepted the decision of the Court as fair and reasonable and has admitted that the program of released time for religious instruction does not work so well, after all.

The decision, however, has aroused the ire of one religious zealot in laic garb: Milton Mayer who, with a flair for messianic preaching, has been plugging in *The Progressive* for innumerable worthy causes and almost any freedom, except... yes, except the freedom to be completely free by refusing to be spiritually slave to a god. Mr. Mayer, for a long time, has sprinkled his epistles with generous, if muddled, pinches of progressive mysticism. However, it took this last epistle in *The Progressive* for April, 1948, to show that he really "got religion" in a bad way. He has it in such a way as to make a jesuit father envious.

\* \* \*

Mr. Mayer, in his opening sentence, says that the Supreme Court has sustained the right of Jimmy McCollum, age 12, to go to hell. Of course, like all preachers, Mr. Mayer does not bother to tell his readers what sort of a place hell is, where it is located and how to get there, in the event that a sensible person might desire to verify the existence of so commonly dreaded and universally unknown a place. He does lament, though, that *God Bless America* is now officially a mammy song designed to persuade our young men to go and get their heads shot off. Very well said, indeed.

Mr. Mayer, when not employing the bogey of hell and perdition or the biblical wisdom-spitting technique of revivalists, rises to the higher levels of mysticism and metaphysics. He speaks of Love and of Hate. And he calls Love God. Just as others have called God once the sun, then the universe, at other times nature and then again the unknowable. We know Hate; we believe in Love. The universe can be sensed, and nature can be felt in its never-ceasing manifestations. We can bask in the sun, and we can dismiss the unknowable and still remain comfortable. But why juggle with names? God, Mr. Mayer, who is he? What is it? Can you rest in its shade, can you bask in its warmth? Or do you want to be a slave to the unknowable? I have been told that the mental pursuit and speculation which bring one to the belief in something

indefinable and undefined is a source of great personal satisfaction and happiness. I suppose it is a matter of taste; but what makes these happy researchers in the realm of the inexplicable call "these things" or "this thing" God?

Mr. Mayer, however, does not stay at the higher levels of sophisticated religion very long, and he comes down to us with a very personal, nay, biblical god who is Love and all things. In fact, all of Mr. Mayer's preaching is based on "Holy Writ", and he does not hesitate to call the bible "the book of all books... which ought to be found in every school room instead of in every hotel room." We venture to say that a hotel room—where unpredictable events and adventures occur—is a most appropriate place for the bible. To support his views on the value of the bible, Mr. Mayer brings in debatable statements by Goethe and Walt Whitman. Is it not true that even great minds have made mistakes and suffered delusions? We could advantageously quote Shelley and Christopher Marlowe, but why not let the old book stand on its own merits. The bible in every school room! What would Mr. Mayer have the children read from the "book of all books"? Would he recite (of course, in the University of Chicago English, not in the confusing biblical jargon) Lot's adventures with his own daughters, or King David's use of a naked virgin to stimulate his faltering worldly desires? Perhaps he would extol God's sense of justice by pointing out how we are ALL damned for the sins of ONE; or by relating the Lord's self-appraisal: "I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children of the third and fourth generation..." (Exo.20:5). If the children in the school room will not be impressed by these bright examples, we suggest Mr. Mayer cover his face and blurt out the following quotations: "Ye shall not eat of anything that dieth of itself; thou shalt give it unto the stranger that is in thy gates... or thou mayest sell it unto an alien..." (Deut. 14: 21) "And thou shalt eat it as barley cakes, and thou shalt bake it with dung that cometh out of man, in their sight... Lo, I have given thee cow's dung for man's dung, and thou shalt prepare thy bread therewith." (Eze. 4: 12-15)

Mr. Mayer harps on love. In fact, his religious delusions seem to be based on love. He damns the church for its complicity in war, stating that God is Love. Now, the bible has been, and still is, all things to all men, and Mr. Mayer has chosen to base his preaching on the few love scenes and phrases included in the old book, like "Love thy neighbor", "love thy enemy", "turn the other cheek", the Sermon on the Mount etc. etc. But, oh boy, if you really delve into the "Word of God"! You will find therein more hatred, horrors, blood-



shed and murder than was ever printed in any other book! The "Prince of Peace" himself, in spite of the protestations of the innumerable Mayers, flatly states that he did not "come to send peace, but a sword"; that he came to put son against father, daughter against mother and almost everyone against everyone else. This same prince goes into hysterics and curses a fig tree, causing it to die, because he found no figs on the tree. And he declares: "He that loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me." (Mat. 11:37).

God the father is still worse. Half of the bible is filled with his crimes, the biggest of all being the eternal tormenting of people in a "lake of fire and brimstone." This God-Love let 42 little children be torn to pieces by two she bears because they, childishly, mocked at Elisha, the bald-headed crony of the prophet Elijah. (2Kings 2: 24).

This god is supposed to be love, and love is supposed to be this god! Anyone with a strong enough stomach can check Numbers 5: 11-27 for further examples of god's love, and he will read about the trial by ordeal where a woman suspected of adultery must be forced to drink a filthy revolting potion to see what effects it will have on her: if her tummy and her genitals will rot away, she will have been proved guilty. Just the right stuff for school children. Should Mr. Mayer think the preceding items to be a little crude for the children, he can try to amuse them with the funny story of Balaam's talking she ass. (Num. 32: 25-30) The book rises to any occasion.

One could call Mr. Mayer to task and demand that he prove the divinity of the bible; a book whose historicity nobody has ever proved satisfactorily except by faith, a book which nobody knows who wrote and exactly when; a book full of changes, interpolations, expurgations and repetitions; a book capitalizing on the dramatic story of a Christ who, in the light of historic scrutiny, is much closer to a myth than an historical character. The believers, however, accept the biblical fairy tales on faith, and we can confine ourselves to discussing the logic, or illogicalness of those tales.

Mr. Mayer seems unduly worried as to what Mrs. McCollum will answer when her little son Jimmy asks her who made him and who made the bees and the birds. According to Mayer, Mrs. McCollum can do one of two things: either slap the boy's sassy face and tell him to shut up, or tell him that the good Lord has made him, the bees and the birds. Since slapping, torturing, racking and burning alive are pedagogical methods long discarded by the Christian pedagogues, we take it for granted that Mr. Mayer wants Mrs. McCollum to answer that the Lord made the bees, the birds and... little Jimmy. Which may be all right. But what the devil is Mr. Mayer doing at the University of Chicago where, we presume, natural science, astronomy, biology and evolution are taught? Wouldn't Tennessee be a more congenial place for him?

It would take too much space to refute all of Mr Mayer's jesuitic assertions and implications, but we must consider a few more as briefly as possible. "...If we don't get our inalienable rights from our Creator, where in the devil, then, do we get them?" In the bible the word *right* as a substantive appears in a very few places, and at no time is it employed to state that we have any rights. It seems that all the rights are the Lord's: we are just nobodies. But we know, and we suppose it could be told to little Jimmy McCollum, that every living being has certain inalienable rights because it naturally gets them the minute it starts to live, the minute it is born. As simple, as that.

Says Mr. Mayer: "Ma McCollum will know she believes in God when, like the atheists on the Western Front, she finds herself in a foxhole." Oh, shades of Billy Sunday lurking on the University of Chicago campus! What a pity that the good Lord has to wait for people to be in foxholes in order to get some recognition at all. Besides, the melodramatic story of the foxholes is getting too trite, and it has been refuted many times by the atheists who were in the foxholes and who did not call on the Lord.

Mr. Mayer claims to be a heretic, among reactionaries, who wants to tear down not only the wall of separation between the church and the state, but the state and the church along with the wall. However, when it comes to the "dismal choice" between the churches and their enemies, he will take the churches, any time. It is, indeed, an appropriate choice for a liberal professor, nay, an "individualist" who believes in all sorts of freedoms, but the freedom to be irreligious; who, admitting the wickedness of the church and the state, is willing to tear them down only to replace them with a god, just as exacting and as tyrannical. The Supreme Court, an instrument of the State, recognizes the right of the individual to be irreligious; (we are not discussing at this time the Court's motives) Mr. Mayer, an "incorrigible individualist", would want the state to force religious teaching on the individual.

The anarchists learned long ago that neither the state nor the church has any lofty aims; that god, originally the outgrowth of human fear and ignorance, has been consolidated into the omnipotent rock upon which the church and the state base their authority for the submission and the exploitation of the people. That is why anarchism holds that god and the state must go, leaving the individual free from any actual, imaginary or supernatural authority: a free man, among free men, asserting his freedom within the confines of another man's freedom. No more and no less. It is time to tell these mystics, these believers in the supernatural, these new purified preachers of a purified god—a god who seems to be all things to all men; who, because of his very nature, must keep man in spiritual bondage; who remains everlastingly unknown—to either come across with the goods, or hold their peace.

—Michael Redcliff

## 50,000 to 1

ON SATURDAY afternoon April 10, Army Day, 2 parades took place in NYC. At the first, a tremendous crowd of 1 million idiots cheered clapped hurraed as 30,000 regular Army men, U.S. Military Academy cadets, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Wacs, 2000 members of the Organized Reserve Corps, Bands of the NYC Police Dept., Fordham U. Band and R.O.T.C., National Guard, M. P. company of the 1st Army, Mechanized Unit of the 35th Cavalry and the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars and other Vet Organizations and other "national and patriotic" organizations paraded down 5th Ave. from 95th to 62nd St.

At the same time twenty anti war-anti conscription pickets carrying signs conducted a picket walk up 5th Ave., 23rd to 42nd and down 7th Ave. and 5th back again. The walk was sponsored by the YPSL's, supported by the WRL, and had in addition members of the Resistance Group and 1 (active) Trotskyist.

*Cooperate for peace not war, draft is preparation for war, UMT means a goosestepping America, smash the war system, 13,000,000,000 for "defense"—peanuts for housing, UMT is Stalin's way—these were some of the slogans.*

"Wallace is Here," Dirty Jewish Communists, Where's your Hammer and Sickle, Isn't that Disgraceful—these were some of the comments we got as we made our way slowly up a practically deserted 5th Avenue. Turning past the Library we got a crowd lining the library balustrade. Several puzzled Stalinists. Up 42nd St. we passed a lonely line of 4 SLP pamphlet sellers: *The Cause of War*. Lonely as any SLP pamphlet sellers. We exchanged greetings. We passed VIM strikers on the picket line. I pointed my slogan at them: *Peacetime armies are used to break strikes*. One picket smiled back. "Don't worry"—he said—"there won't be a war." We walked on—turned down 7th Ave. The blaze of aeroplanes over our head. I raise my sign to them to read. In perfect formation. Roar. Power!

Down 5th Ave.—deserted—shall we go on to Union Square? Can't?! Our Police time permit is running out—Lord! We break up in front of YPSL headquarters, 23rd St., 4:00 Eastern Police Time. Across the

street a character who has been following us and shooting with a large plate camera—takes his last shot—of our broken up meeting—before the YPSL building—Why does he want that? For evidence? Is he from the FBI?

Robert suggests we picket Sec. of War Royal at the Waldorf that night. Ball of the Military Orders of the World Wars. Why Not? We all feel frustrated. Damn it—is that all we can do—Police permit at 4:00. Let's picket—tonight!

We break up—eat, talk meet again at the Waldorf—night—fancy cars—doormen—braid—fancy women—braid—braid—braid. West Point Cadets—hundreds of them—We start—Inside Royal is saying "There is not a combat soldier in Alaska" (Hooray!) . . . . They gape—the cadets are abashed—well I'll be—the slogans bring home a reality to them for the first time—few laugh it off—the Hotel Manager gets excited—the

cops question a few of us—the WRL is sponsoring this line. "Wallace is here." Some cadets sure hope war doesn't come—A man with a face asks me who is sponsoring. I tell him—he says—Keep up the good work and enters the hotel—A well dressed middle aged woman says: "It's disgraceful—You ought to be castrated!"

The line goes on. The cadets look thoughtful—Read the slogans—A few scoff—still less ignore us completely. The cops push us back a few feet. We walk. I am nervous. I don't want to get arrested.

*The Times* says 1,000,000 marched and watched yesterday—We do not receive a notice. I know we were 20—1,000,000 to 20—What a score! Well—we weren't shut out—50,000 to 1. And over head the sleek drone of air power—air planes droning—droning—Hey Wake UP—Hey Wake UP America—Damn You—Wake Up!

—T.

## Cross Sample

Love and dishonest intentions  
rippling the powdered face;  
lamp-shades in the bungalow and greasy hair  
on the washed pillow;  
mercy for children with red eyes,  
feet swathed in rags;  
the uttermost enjoyment of the night's pleasure,  
the efficient signpost;  
caricatures of statesmen and jokes folded  
into obscene rhymes;  
these are the fatal contemporary samples,  
these are the children of our times.

We have the sigh with which to chasten  
the black act, the shoddy act;  
the penitence, the priest's finger  
to star our eyes and cool our breath.  
There is a crest of spun guilt  
upon our heads; there is the grass  
beneath the pavements of the street,  
pricking its weakness through the cracks.  
We have the giant holiday,  
the paper bags, the Cresta Run;  
we have the fabulous cinema;  
we have the kiss; we have fun.

Balance the ignorance, sweep the causeway,  
trade the disaster for a failure.  
This is the house of broken stones,  
the walls whipped with the telephones.  
This is the house of original sin;  
knock three times and die within.  
Balance the scales and sweep the halls,  
trade the whole world for a dime.

—JOHN ATKINS



# The Food We Eat

IN EVERY ARGUMENT on vegetarianism, no matter what the merits of his points, the vegetarian has won out simply because he takes seriously that we eat and how we eat; his opponents, like myself, do not habitually keep this in mind with equal earnestness. Yet obviously eating is one of those fundamentals that only superficial persons could keep from their thoughts and feelings, when it is central in their behavior. From such superficiality one can expect no vital impulses, therefore superficial persons are bad judges in ethics and we must listen to the vegetarians with respect. Let me state the same thing psychologically: the "superficiality" of neglecting in thought and feeling a central vital function is always a sign of avoidance of feelings too strong and painful; we do not want to see and feel. As regards meat-eating, the repressed feelings are not obscure: they are nausea and aggressive eating. If one allowed himself to feel himself eating at all, he would feel himself gagging, and biting and chewing with rage.\*

Now whatever the particular underlying causes of the gagging and savagery, the vegetarian is willing to allow at least the periphery of the complex to come to consciousness; he reacts to it with various ethical rationalizations (some of which are also cogent reasons). The ordinary superficial person keeps the complex out of mind altogether. This does not mean that the vegetarian reaction is necessarily more healthy than the superficial reaction. It is probable, I think, that most vegetarians are forced to deal with the devouring-nausea com-

plex because of an exceptionally strong repressed need to devour and vomit their totems; and on the other hand, many persons who eat everything with gusto can do so because their need to devour and vomit is weak, their childhood feeding was fortunate, their suckling satisfied, their parental relations not very fearsome, etc. But one thing can be said quite positively: *if we are looking for the ideal condition of spontaneity, fearless creative life and enjoyment, it is necessary for us to face up to, to admit to ourselves, and to feel whatever nausea and savage-biting is within us. To scrutinize what it is we eat and how we eat it, and let the nausea rise, and the rage.* (Excellent exercises for this are given in F. Perls' *Ego, Hunger, and Aggression*). That is, tho the vegetarian attitude and philosophy may or may not be healthier than the good case of eating everything with gusto, to attain the ideal attitude we must go thru the vegetarian crisis. I should also urge vegetarians to look deeper into their motives than is customary with them.

Leaving this specific topic for a moment, let me say something about the Grace at meals. It seems to me than in omitting the Grace, as we have learned to do, we have lost a wonderful means of expressing the joyful seriousness that should accompany every satisfied fundamental action. (So generally, in our revulsion from religious hocus-pocus and intimidation, we have often thrown out the baby with the bath, for profound humane rituals are not easy to invent.) Grace is a thanksgiving that the food is given to us, in cosmical, seasonal, agricultural, and social relations. In a satisfactory sexual act, the love and gratitude toward the partner, and the pleasure of the partner, ennobles, give meaning to, enlarge the pleasure. The sociable meal, praise of the cook, etc. are good grounds for Grace, but they do not make us feel the final fact, that the food is given to us in the widest relations. But indeed, we see that our attitude toward

In our last issue, Marcus Graham discussed **VEGETARIANISM AND ITS ETHICAL RELATIONSHIP TO ANARCHISM**. Here Paul Goodman offers another viewpoint on the subject.

the food we eat has become more and more graceless. We have less and less real contact with it. We do not bake the bread; we eat prepared foods out of cans. For most of us, the agricultural relation has vanished. And economy is not regarded as a relation between labor and food but between labor and prices of food. These are unlucky conditions for coming to awareness that we eat, what we eat, how we eat.

I shall not pretend to evaluate the merits of particular ethical arguments for vegetarianism. But let me make a few comments on some of Marcus Graham's points on the necessity of vegetarianism for anarchists.

Graham chastises Kropotkin for saying that man probably became omnivorous during the famine of the Glacial Age and then failing to draw the conclusion that he ought now to revert to vegetarianism. "With vegetation abounding the world over," says Graham, "what justifiable reason remains for the ethical man to continue his omnivorous concept?" This misses the point. The question is whether or not, becoming omnivorous, the animal underwent a biological change, especially in the structure of the teeth and the functions of biting and chewing. (This is a question of fact; I do not know the answer.) *If* such a change took place, then it is not with impunity that one could revert to earlier habits on merely "ethical" grounds. Right ethics is a flowering of the underlying nature. An ethics that would be in contradiction with the underlying nature must lead to frustration, repression, loss of love and spontaneity. Conceivably one might risk these things for some great factor of safety, but not for an "ideal."

Graham's notion of "justice" especially seems to me abstract and over-conscientious, divorced from the biological, psychological, and esthetic sentiments that con-

stitute the living justice of social happiness. He draws an analogy of the anarchist social ethics between man and man: "Justice, truth, and equality... every act on either side, to be just, must be a voluntary one", and the ethics between man and the animals he feeds on. But I doubt that we think of our animals (we love them, of course) as such responsible beings as to make the equation meaningful. Do we impute evil to animals when they eat each other? I have seen one kill another, and the awful struggle for life; the sight roused in me strong fear and passionate sympathy, but no sense of evil; rather, it was terrible, it was how it was. Contrast with this the mutual slaughter of organized armies: this is evil because it is stupid, wilful, they ought to know better; it is not terrible but saddening and rousing indignation. Yet Graham says that vegetarianism does not imply pacifism in the social struggle, because to kill an enemy is just. Surely he has here let his abstract reason obscure his imagination! I should say that the relation of man and his food-animals is neither on the level of the necessity of the animals killing one another nor of the stupidity of human warfare; it is *in fact* a relation of noblesse oblige, the man has the power and the forethought, he must not be callous or he will injure his own nobility and sensitivity.

Now in the realm of sentiments, the deepest part of thought, there is much to be said for the vegetarian position; but it cannot be said abstractly, but case for case, with regard to the individual men and the species of animals; also, sentiments have degrees and sentiments are ambivalent. Thus, to eat a pet is to do lasting injury to one's digestion; but to eat an animal one has seen slaughtered will be repressed nausea for a person who has avoided such realities, but will not be so for a person to whom such a sight is part of his way of life (and such a person has a deeper love for the animal than the other.) Certainly unconsciously, as children consciously, we regard the animals as like ourselves, we are a continuity of life; but Graham fails to see that this works both ways: if the

beasts are as soulful as we, we are justifiedly as savage as they: the totem is taboo because it is a man, but vice versa it is eaten with ecstatic gusto because it is papa. Further, people do not identify themselves with plants so as to be squeamish about eating them, yet many persons are offended by picking flowers, that have such obvious life. Gandhi apparently thought that in certain political circumstances any food whatever was unpalatable. Again, what will Graham say of vivisection and assumedly necessary animal-experimentation? And what, the next step, about contraception and abortion? In all these cases the justice is a resolution of varying degrees of sentiment and convenience and conflicting sentiment.

In ethics we must have a rule. I would venture to state a rule: *Dare to present to yourself vividly, if possible practically, with investigation and study, exactly what is involved in your diet, your experimentation, your fur-coat, your contraception. Then, when a new balance has been struck in your sentiments, act freely according to desire.* Following such a rule, a man is likely to find that many of his little satisfactions become undesirable to him; and he will see also that the justification of this or that depends on how much living value he can create with reference to it. To give a crude example:

## Review

### ALTERNATIVE

A newcomer to the ranks of *Politics, Retort and Resistance* is *Alternative*\*, a four-page libertarian monthly.

Yes, here is another paper that is not sold on technological progress, that wants some moral progress: here is another paper that is against conscription, the next war, Stalinism, Americanism and Wallace. The issues to date say pretty much the same things as the other papers and not too differently.

But *Alternative* may be able to

\* *Alternative*, P.O. Box 827, Church St. Sta., N. Y. 8, N. Y.

a man might find that his pleasure in meat is not great enough to stand against the thought of the lively lamb made still and dead; yet when he has planned a sociable party for his friends, the lamb might seem a worthy offering. It is a grave indictment of our institutions that vivid evaluations of this kind are hard to make. We open the can without concern and we eat the sodium nitrite without relish.

Lastly, I do not find myself happy with Marcus Graham's notion of anarchists and anarchist-vegetarians, as exemplars in society of a high ethical ideal, winning "respect and admiration". He is right in thinking that this is good propaganda; people say, "You have to give them credit, they are not fakers, they live up to it, they take it out of their hides." Yet I think the final effect is not to bring freedom and happiness, but rather to heighten the guilty conscience of our neighbors. But the conscience is already far too guilty. Anarchists will set the example more profitably in the way suggested by Kropotkin: "We do such and such think so and so, because it is sensible and you see that it makes us really happier." If vegetarianism is basically just and human, vegetarians will prove it to us not by their moral purity but by having immense smiles like Gandhi and living as long as Bernard Shaw.—Paul Goodman

serve a new purpose if the editors succeed in turning out a paper that is not just for libertarians or those already sympathetic. *Alternative* is of a handy size for general distribution via throwaway or letter box. But, if *Alternative* is going to succeed, the language used will have to be terser than it has been, the ideas more forcefully presented; perhaps some thumb-size sketches would also help.

It is hoped that *Alternative* gets the chance to prove itself. Subscriptions are free on request, and though it is printed by Libertarian Press, a workers' cooperative, \$90 each issue is needed from readers to guarantee regular appearance.

—M.





# HELP!

More than five years ago, this appeal for funds appeared in our paper:

"... If the next issue does not appear at all, the responsibility will rest squarely on your shoulders—you, our comrades and readers. Your response to our last appeal was very small. The prospects for the future of our paper are black. There is no more cash at hand..."

We're pretty much in that situation again; in fact, with printing bills the way they are, things are even worse. We need your immediate help if we are to continue to appear regularly. Won't you see us through the next five years? Won't you help now?



## FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Vol. 7, No. 1

### CONTRIBUTIONS

Balance Vol. 6, No. 9.....	\$46.58
ARIZONA—Phoenix: Dinner 21. M.B. & O.A. 10	31.00
CALIFORNIA—Berkeley: D.M. 2; Fresno: V. 5; A. 4, Anon. 1; Los Angeles: R.B.T. 1; L.A. Youth Group Dance 40; Los Gatos: J.M. 5; J. O. 5; Pleasanton: J.P. 5; M. 5; S. 5; San Diego: F.A.B. 2; Sunland: A.S. 1.75.....	81.75
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