

RESISTANCE

Anarchism in America

The "man in the street" would be amazed, but in certain radical circles it has become a commonplace that the events of the last dozen years have forced many young American radicals and intellectuals to ideas about society, the state, and the individual, that are clearly anarchist. The reaction against marxism and statist ideas; the penetration of the pacifist movement by many anarchist notions; the increasingly "libertarian" emphasis among young socialists; all signify an awareness that in a society where the paramount evil is the domination of persons by vast social institutions, the central issue is not the passing particular evils (capitalism, fascism, stalinism) but the very principle of authority and coercion.

Yet (*Retort* has raised this question) an American anarchist movement has not developed—in contrast to Europe—and we see little inclination to push anarchist ideas beyond a somewhat vague rejection of the state, toward discovery of effective action.

There is reason enough for pessimism; in the present instant, the proposals of anarchists certainly have limited (though surprisingly often positive!) meaning, the institutions are of great power, and though the evils are plain enough and no one is exempt from them, we find it hard even to communicate our ideas to our friends. Nevertheless, it seems clear that we have to find ways to communicate our ideas; that all of us with anarchist ideas need to come together and work together, that to-

gether we should study possible actions (and do them!) to put an end to the interminable talk-talks that we know are a substitute for forcing the facts to surrender their solution. As our evaluations become more desperate, immediate personal solutions become less possible, less satisfying, and group and social solutions, if so terribly difficult, become no idealistic preference but the hardest necessity. It would seem we had more reason to translate our desperation into action, to test if it is not so that those determined to break their chains have the strength of ten.

In *Resistance* we have hesitated to speak concretely: it is our thought that who *wants* to solve a problem (that is, to discover the best action) does so. We have been perhaps too self-conscious also about urging the potential value of an anarchist movement that does not yet exist. Perhaps part of the confusion regarding anarchism, and the failure of a movement to begin to take shape, derives from misunderstanding of the nature of historic anarchism, the nature of the anarchist movement, the things we believe we can do.

The words "anarchism," "freedom," "the state," etc., are used in a variety of meanings, by the same writers. It is necessarily part of our present task to define more sharply our basic principles, the institutions of the present, the attitudes we have assumed

(Continued on page 15)

Anti-Stalinism

The recent stalinist-sponsored "cultural conference" for peace in New York City focused attention on a continuing problem: How to be anti-stalinist without being pro-American and pro-war.

We know the nature of stalinism. Our anarchist comrades in Spain, Bulgaria, Russia, have been among the victims of the Russian Empire; we have had bitter experiences with the efforts of American stalinists to destroy or pervert every tendency to rebellion and freedom.

There is a stalinist menace, yes, but one hardly acts toward stalinism in America, where the danger of stalinist statepower is slight, as one does in Europe where stalinists control governments or stand ready for coup d'états. In America, the acts and existence of a government with the ideology of American imperialism remain our immediate foremost enemy; and it is to self-defense against this State, and overthrow of its ideas, that we address ourselves.

The anti-stalinism represented by the international counter-conferences of Hook and Company represents, from this view, a false anti-stalinism. Here we are in America, where the American State demands our submission, our participation in its war program, our agreement to its world conquest. Therefore anti-stalinism of this order has meaning in the *field of war*, it has meaning as it helps spread a hysterical fear-aggressiveness toward Russia; a pattern familiar enough from the prelude to the second world war. Objectively the New York Hook conference added a certain appreciable quantity to the anti-Russian propaganda the U. S. Government requires to maintain public support of its foreign policies.

The customary invidious comparisons between America and Russia serve only (*in fact*) to increase the pride of Americans in their own institutions. The truth about Russia must be said, but not so as to give credit to the United States; certainly it is more desirable to live in America, *but our aim is the destruction of whatever oppressive institutions we can destroy; without regard for whether they are less oppressive than others existing or possible.* By all means, let us not contribute to the ideological preparation for war!

But stalinism is a philosophy and action of sheer horror to anarchists. And

we see young people, many of whom do not belong there, drawn into the stalinist camp because it is "anti-war," because many stalinist criticisms of America are true and many of their proclaimed ideals have a shell of old truths. Stalinists are forever forcing themselves into anti-war-anti-conscription agitation, union leadership; we see them exploiting the rebellious, idealistic, opportunistic elements on which the Russian empire depends for its fifth column.

To hew this line between anti-stalinism that contributes to war-psychology and strengthens the ideological grip of the American State on its citizens; and anti-stalinism necessary to defense against stalinist ideas and methods of thought—this is a hard problem of every day.

At the same time we find it a practical urgency to prevent distortion of our ideas, to make clear we are *not stalinists*. But we do this by ignoring just those questions dear to the stalinists: the marshall plan, the atlantic pact, China, the *issues of the war*. (Certainly we have opinions about these things, but they do not concern us as they do the stalinists, whose strategy is war-strategy.) Those who shout: go back to Russia! will distort and vilify no matter how careful we are.

But the day-to-day problems: in general, two questions: the stalinist cry for civil liberties and the slow destruction by the government of the civil rights of Communists and those designated as stalinists; and the stalinists' various power-struggles (in unions, for example).

In regard to civil liberties the main fact is, the anti-stalinist drive must involve the silencing of all persons critical of the foreign policies of the American State. The stalinists can be suppressed, as has been proved in many countries; but they operate in a thousand channels, and cannot be finally suppressed without severe restriction of all forms of expression: not necessarily formal totalitarianism or fascism; but the closing down of all criticism and initiatives that do not fit into the mainstream of American ideology: it is easy enough to separate sheep from goats, a Socialist Party, for example, pro-American and outspokenly anti-Russian, from the Russia-oriented stalinists and those like ourselves who refuse allegiance to any nationalism or empire. (The vocally anti-stalinist I.W.W. has recently been added to Clark's "subversive" list.)

Now through the public institutions runs a clamor for loyalty oaths, expulsion of Communists. The best answer has been made by those who have pointed out that not just the stalinist professors' teachings are colored by their special ideology: what of the professors, librarians, school teachers who (often unconsciously) direct their work to propagation of Americanism, free enterprise, etc. etc.

As with any institution that contains

so much evil, an answer to an immediate problem is unsatisfactory: the educational fact that educators with their specific narrow-mindedness have power to impose their ideas on those whom they are ordained to educate in a system of compulsory schooling, this educational fact is the *fundamental* evil that ought to be constantly attacked, this illusion of the benefits of mass-education controlled by the State and its subsidiary States; and concretely fought by students and teachers able to point out the prejudices and coercion practiced by educators of *all* ideologies.

Again, the drive to expel stalinists from faculties can only mean that all those who do not concur in the broad mainstream of Americanism will be driven from the campuses.

Finally, the problem of the stalinist struggles for power in the movements, organizations and activities they try to exploit. It seems to me that our intervening in these political struggles can only strengthen the one clique or the other; when what we want is to encourage people to resist assumption of power and authority by stalinists or *any others*: not to bring about a shift in power, but to reduce power, where it cannot yet be abolished.

It is clear from experience that a "united front" with the stalinists works to their advantage alone: the nature of their aims and ours is such that theirs alone (opportunistic and directly political) can be served. On this point there can be no equivocation. Meanwhile an anti-stalinist propaganda is necessary, but an anti-stalinist propaganda is, in a certain way, identical with the rest of our propaganda, with our propaganda against the American State and the dominant American ideology. In neither case is our propaganda much concerned with the traditional political issues: rather with a fundamental criticism of systems of exploitation, government, rulership, of all kinds; to point out the consequences of such ways of living and the practical necessity for rebellion, disassociation and disobedience; to develop, that is, among as many people as we can, a psychology resistant to stalinism as it is to Americanism, precisely because these systems represent a contradiction of the goals and ideas and values that we consider intelligent.

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RESISTANCE

Vol. 8 - No. 1 June, 1949

Editors: *Resistance Group*

Resistance, an anarchist review, is supported solely by voluntary contributions. Subscriptions are free on request. Editorial contributions are invited from our readers.

IMPORTANT: Make all money orders and checks payable to D. Rogers, sec'y-treas. Resistance, Box 208, Cooper Station, New York 3, N. Y. 345

ANARCHISM

The article "Anarchism" in the November-December issue of *Resistance*, stating the thoughts of the editorial group, has led to considerable discussion in the international anarchist movement.

In *Freedom*, the bi-weekly of the Union of Anarchist Groups in Great Britain, the *Resistance* article was reprinted and several articles have appeared in comment: "Eight Comments on the Views of the Resistance Group," by Pat Cooper and Louis Adeane (March 19); "We Must Readjust . . ." by Gerald Vaughan (March 19); "The Problems of Anarchism Today, Our Statement on the Resistance Article," by Freedom

EIGHT COMMENTS by Pat Cooper and Louis Adeane

The article by our American comrades seemed to us to be necessary and valuable; we hope the following hasty notes will help to further the discussion it should provoke. We agree substantially with what the authors have to say, though we are not in accord with some of the attitudes implied. Perhaps other commentators will disagree with statements we should also contest if we had more space and time.

1. Tradition

There is nothing inherently wrong with tradition: it may be the crystallization of the best knowledge.

Not only the best knowledge: also the best emotional and physical attitudes, the best ways of feeling about the world and the most skillful ways of doing a job. But the world and the job changes; this determines, partly, whether a tradition shall become a convention or remain alive. It is determined also by the people living at the present moment: they live traditionally, or they may sleep in a conventional blanket, a system of manners, a prescribed pattern of thought and behaviour. A culture is the way of life of persons in a group, a tradition is this way of life viewed historically. It continues to live only by being compounded with what is contemporary. Conventions die; traditions change.

We feel that anarchists have tended too often to ignore the distinction between *tradition* and *convention*. The revolution, it is sometimes implied or directly stated, will break with the past, the capitalist system, present-day culture. This seems to the present writers to be a Utopian expectation, in the worst sense of the word. We live in the present; we are anarchists; anarchism exists with us. Ours was not an immaculate conception. We were born from parents who are dead; we saw them die; we are their immortality. To ignore the dead is as irresponsible as murder. To ask what exactly the dead wanted is foolish, but we do know that they made certain discoveries and erected certain values partly in the hope that we would be stimulated and sheltered. To condemn these discoveries and values as being products of a bad 'system' and therefore false is to be unjustifiably arrogant; it expresses a contempt for human beings. *We are the 'system', as our forbears were.* Unhappily, it is the pernicious habit of revolutionaries in general to use abstract words not as signs for concepts (which is

Press (April 2). Translations have also appeared in France and Italy.

We believe some of these comments will be of interest to the readers of *Resistance*. We are, therefore, reprinting the Adeane-Cooper article in full; a summary of the comments of the *Freedom* group; a section from an editorial in *Volontà*, the monthly review of the Italian anarchists; together with efforts on the part of individuals of the *Resistance* group to pursue some of the points raised.

It is our hope that these discussions can both stimulate thinking within the movement, and serve as a picture of anarchist ideas to those unfamiliar with it.

Resistance

useful) but as stimuli for emotion, usually conventional emotion. (*Freedom*: hooray! *Capitalist culture*, etc.: bang, bang!) We should always doubt, but not condemn. In particular we should doubt our own theories, and emotive statements disguised as theories. Faith supports convention; doubt renders a tradition supple.

When we find persons living exclusively in terms of their own past, we call them infantile. We say that their emotional drives have regressed or been fixated at an immature level. Such persons, we comment, are evading their present responsibilities (responses) and the necessity for self-expression and self-control. Now the future consists only of our expectations, which are based upon past experience. When we find revolutionaries suggesting that the Day or the Battle or the Barricades lie ahead, in twenty years time maybe, to-morrow, but never to-day in the present moment, we should ask ourselves if this is not also a regression, projected into the future. (It is surprising that no Freudian analysis of left-wing groups has been made along these lines.) How easy it would be if we could in fact *break with the past, present-day culture!* But actually we cannot without committing suicide without dying off into one of those comfortable Utopias mentioned earlier. In reality the revolution is part of evolution, as Kropotkin said, and we have to start now with ourselves.

It seems to us that the Resistance Group is aware of these points, and that their attitude to the anarchist tradition is an admirable one. But have they extended this attitude to other traditions? (A 'crystallization' of tradition is usually a convention.) Perhaps a failure here explains their pessimism regarding:

2. Progress

. . . it is debatable whether any real progress has occurred in the era of the State . . .

Though advance in some fields of endeavour has been notable, it is true that setbacks and standstills elsewhere have produced a general state of affairs which make the above remark understandable. However, we think that some progress has in fact been made. The elaboration of mathematics and deductive logic before the middle ages, together with the advance of inductive logic subsequently, have prepared the ground for modern scientific method. The latter gives us knowledge of one kind of truth (or

perhaps, of an aspect of Truth). Modern science was of some assistance to Kropotkin, and it led to the technological achievements which we would be unwise to neglect. Printing, for example, and therefore the diffusion of the ideas of the Resistance Group; electrical power, without which our hope of anarchy would be a rather sorry one, since a large percentage of the population would have to be conjured out of existence; medicine, which has supported anarchism in ways we need not specify. In another field, we believe that the arts of the medieval and Renaissance periods are probably superior to those of primitive craftsmen. Thirdly, certain moral advances have been made. Christianity (not its Pauline distortions) seems to us to have been an improvement on Judaic moral law, and on the moralities of some primitive societies. We agree that no *general* progress has occurred, but think that some quite *real* advances have enriched the lives of some people at some times. We should be careful not to tip these babies out with the bathwater. Obviously our statements imply a criterion of:

3. Value

No consistent progress, in terms of human happiness, is visible . . .

Our comrades imply that happiness is an *anarchist* criterion. This may be so but it is also a criterion which has supported mass democracy, passive leisure, passive love, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, Mr. Priestley, numerous song-writers (*Is everybody happy?*), the Southend Kursaal, and the happy happy felicities of the artist responsible for Jane's comic strip. Shouldn't we doubt, in the face of this authoritative array, whether happiness is in fact a primary value? It would be tedious to list the various theories of value that have appeared in the world, but common-sense tells us that we don't go after happiness as we go after a pound of margarine. We are happy when running to the shop, happy eating, and then happy no more. For happiness is usually a fugitive state, and we should look narrowly at the fact that Mr. Butlin restricts his guests to a fortnight's happiness at the most. Mr. Butlin knows a thing or two about values. Happiness, in our opinion, is incidental to the pursuit and attainment of other values. What are these values? That so many people should have thought that Beauty, Truth and Goodness were absolutely valid surely suggests that there is a strong desire for certain kinds of truth, goodness and beauty; we have already indicated that some of these desires have been satisfied in the last few thousand years. Perhaps this persistent set of sentiments is psychologically constant in some ways; perhaps a psychological theory of value could be worked out (or we might look round at those already existing) as a revision of the older view and a corrective to that overvaluation of happiness which has so far failed to help us to choose the valuable technological achievements from the worthless. The pursuit of an experience which is naturally fleeting produces satisfactions as thin as film, as short and dry as promiscuous intercourse; or else the dreary repetition of these things in the vain hope of making happiness permanent. Perhaps things could be valued by reference to the balance, complexity, delicacy, intensity and extent of our responses (which has a lot to do with responsibility) to them, by ref-

erence to the stability and flexibility of our attitudes, and the depth and pattern of our experiences. This would be in one sense an aesthetic theory of value. We have no space to enlarge on anarchism as an aesthetic view of life. But we have the support of Sam Goldwyn. He knows about Beauty.

4. Mutual Aid

In every crisis the human race resorts to mutual aid, but a free society . . . requires something different than herd behaviour.

This remark suggests an idea of mutual aid different from that of the present writers. Probably there are various expressions of mutual aid, differing with the size of the group, subjective pressures, and external conditions. (External hostility and reactive fear are of great importance. Compare the mutual aid of a guerrilla raiding party, Tube shelters, and an agricultural community.) Isn't it time the problem was properly studied, with reference to human beings under differing conditions? Kropotkin merely opened the doorway to a vast perspective here. We should stop lingering in the doorway and move on outside. Another phrase is very suggestive: "Mutual aid is a practical principle, easily enough learned . . ." Why should mutual aid have to be *learned*? The answers to this question already exist; they need to be collated and drawn into connection with anarchism. The writers continue: ". . . repudiation of authority . . . and independence, are much harder . . ." We doubt this, feeling that social life as it is encourages aggressive attitudes (part-basis of defiance, rebellion, obstinacy, etc.), while tending to destroy and distort attitudes of love and sympathy. In a civil war there is a good deal of mutual aid, on separate sides of the frontier. To what extent is mutual aid bound up with hostility to other groups, or with fear of them? To what extent is our anarchism based on hatred for other people (disguised by abstractions and accompanied by an overevaluation of human capacities)?

5. The Commune

We do not accept . . . the anarcho-syndicalist concepts . . . as the chief method of revolution.

At any time the concept of the commune is of equal importance, and owing to anarchist neglect of the matter, it is now of greater moment than any other problem. Just as nearly all our ideas about anarchy may fall into place around this central idea, so objectively our lives in an anarchist society would revolve about this local grouping. In anarchy the commune would be the point from which a local culture would exert its influence upon a wider one; it would be the chief transmitter of tradition; it would counter-balance the syndical organisation and prevent any attempt by a minority to obtain power. Syndicate and commune together, a vertical and horizontal division of society, would guarantee peace; it would stimulate local traditions while preserving sufficient general homogeneity to prevent disintegration of the total culture or decay of its parts. Most important, the communal grouping is the field within which mutual aid is actually effective at the present day. About the only good result of the atom-bomb discovery is to have produced a perceptible movement in favour of urban and industrial decentralisation. Though we should be careful not to

give our support to our opponents, the desire for decentralisation, like some aspects of the regionalist movements, should receive our sympathy and encouragement. We should, the present writers feel, stress the elements in anarchism making for decentralisation, and we should learn all we can from community experiments. (These are chiefly of value for experimental purposes, not as an agent of revolution.) When we consider the immense difficulties ahead of a revolutionary movement in this country, we should be grateful to see the State unwittingly working for our ultimate profit. In the meantime, though the attention paid to the Peckham Experiment and similar groupings has been extremely useful, it really only serves to prompt us further. Among the tasks awaiting anarchists (of which a thorough study of syndicalism is one of the chief), is a full report on some existing community from an anarchist point of view. We suggest a piece of field research on a village with a population of two thousand or less; a Cornish or Scottish fishing village would be very suitable. Such a survey would have to present a complete report on (a) the village as it is: topography, local traditions, economic life—fishing and agriculture with detailed accounts of economic relations with external world, transport and other communications—family structure, group psychology, individual psychology, etc.; (b) as it was a generation previously; (c) how it changed and why; (d) what could happen in it, should a revolutionary situation arise. This would give us some definite evidence on the practicability of anarchy in the real world. (The world is only real to-day, not to-morrow.) The difficulties thus theoretically estimated would be of the most value to us, for they would show us what is lacking in our general view of the situation, precisely why all these villagers are not already anarchists (and to what extent they are), and what further information we need for educational and propagandist purposes. The commune is, we think, the proper context for any discussion of:

6. Education and the Family

We support most of what our comrades say on this subject, but it seems to us that no information or theory regarding sexual mores and infant education is of much value unless it is related to our ideas concerning the commune. It is obvious that in some ways the commune (which we visualise as having its own creches, infant schools, medical centres, etc.) would supplant the family, with important effects on the adult attitudes of the children. In other ways it would strengthen the family and thus individual independence of communal opinions. We have Herbert Read's book on education, but this should be supplemented by a study of educational conditions as they are at present (available buildings, equipment, teachers—and how these things and the teachers can be converted). This is to say nothing of the vast unmined area of knowledge already accumulated regarding child psychology and parenthood.

7. Revolution in England

A revolutionary situation in Western Europe would be likely in the event of another war. But the possibilities latent in that situation seem to us to be

remarkably small. The difficulties are considerable in this country: densely populated, highly industrialised, dependent on imported food, psychologically quite unprepared except for blind violence and easy compromise. Add to these the possibility of invasion from without, and imagine the inhabitants trying to convert the land to food-production, to decentralise the big cities (helped perhaps by saturation bombing), and to educate their children! We remember the enthusiasm and courage attendant upon such situations, but we doubt if these attitudes would continue in being for ten years or so unless supported by continual fear of military defeat. If the means of an anarchist revolution are to be in accordance with its principles, it must have the support of ninety per cent of the population. In England this would include what is now the middle class. Until the anarchist movements we look to see have actually emerged spontaneously and widely enough to be classless, it would be foolish to destroy their potentialities by aggressive behaviour. Rather, we should be well-informed, we should be able to draw attention to examples of obviously beneficial and workable anarchist action, and we must continually be pointing to present-day attitudes and showing how they are in some respects anarchist attitudes. We must try to link our hopes for the future to what is actually occurring now; we should spend less time saying what is wrong with the world, and more time saying what would be right with a little alteration.

8. Blueprints for Research

While we agree that propaganda and action should certainly be promoted on the industrial field, we think that workers elsewhere may often be contacted in non-political and non-economic ways. (In so far as there is actually a division between these and other fields of activity.) We believe with the Resistance Group that anarchism is a way of life, which means that it must touch life at all points. In sociology, psychology, literature and philosophy, to give a few examples, it should have something definite to say. There are a few signs that persons with the will and ability to investigate these fields are being attracted to the anarchist movement. We have mentioned a number of urgent tasks awaiting a beginning or a completion, and would like to add that on the philosophical field also a great deal of work could profitably be done. What does *freedom* mean, for instance? Revolutions produce, and are produced by, sudden advances in all the sectors of human experience. They throw up theories by the hundred, and many of these are useful; naturally, since they are part of human endeavour at all times. Theories are often used by scientists as ladders for further exploration; as blueprints liable to alteration. A blueprint can always be changed and it is not likely to escape criticism. *Mutual Aid* and *Political Justice* have, perhaps, not been criticised enough; we think they should be regarded as blueprints for further research, which means that they will be revised, just as all the past is revised every time we look back, every time we doubt where we stand. Maps were made to be distrusted, to be remade continually like the landscape. We hope our comments will provoke a useful scepticism.

SOCIETY, THE STATE AND REVOLUTION

by David Wieck

These notes are aimed at raising some further issues, and at suggesting more exact formulations of differences of points of view.

The Cooper-Adeane comment on "Tradition" is a very sensible effort to define the relation of anarchists to the past and present. But what exactly does it mean to say: "In reality the revolution is part of evolution," "How easy it would be if we could in fact break with the past, present-day," etc. To make the point more general, I go here considerably beyond what Adeane and Cooper wrote.

Anarchists have traditionally made the sharpest and clearest distinction between the ideas "Society" and "State." The conception has been that "Society" describes those aspects that, as Kropotkin would say, derive from the principle of mutual aid—the productive, cooperative, progressive forms of activity and living; that this "Society" exists as a kind of permanent underbasis in the present, that onto it has been grafted the "State," deriving from the opposing Competitive principle, an extraneous growth, not without its roots in Society, but in fact superfluous, existing only to safeguard production and property relations that are to the interest of certain classes.

The thought was, the life of the community is healthy, it is these cancerous growths (the figure was a common one) that are draining energies, restricting good initiatives; the future society exists now, in the sense that a healthy society lies beneath the area of infection; it is *literally* a question of releasing the society of man from the oppression of State, church, capitalism, etc.

Therefore I take Adeane and Cooper very seriously when they propose to study existing communities, the interrelation of communism and syndicalism, education and the family in the setting of the commune, because I believe they are thinking of something of the sort described.

I suspect that the anarchist differentiation between Society and State—that is, a certain kind of social optimism, of confidence in society—has tended to become a fact of the past, misleading and largely false today. It seems to describe well the rise of the national State; and it would seem that at the times of the great revolutions liberation of society from the State was a real, immediate possibility. But something different, not clearly understood, has occurred in society (in America most obviously), until, to drive these abstractions to a figure of speech, society is unable to disentangle itself from the state.

That is to say: Living and production in modern society are not cooperative and communal, deriving directly from personal and common needs, as when we are hungry and we raise our food. Instead it is to the great institutional forms, of which the State is one and the prototype, that our work and our towns and cities and our education and pleasures very nearly owe their being: that is, we work together not out of a feeling of cooperativeness and community (as we imagine was the case in the medieval communes and villages, and even in the villages of Spain and Russia of recent days)—but because these are the institutional arrangements for

making a living (and if we push this far enough, we seem to discover that it is not even "making a living" that we are after, that this is almost a byproduct of acquisition of prestige and the other inculcated modern values). To state it most extremely and drastically (therefore exaggerated), and to suggest, beyond my scope here, what is at work: instead of a multiplicity of communities, there is one vast pseudo-community, the modern nation, in which personal relations are casual and not significant, and the great institutions of coercion are the relation between people: my relation to my neighbor is that we are both subjects of the same State, both belong to the same labor union, employer, landlord, etc.; he himself, he is nothing to me.

What a drastic view! I have said it is an exaggeration; and in any case it would appear that our life would have to be investigated to see if this is so. But I believe we have underestimated the extent of deterioration of society (therefore it is *necessary* for us to *learn* mutual aid, individuality, independence from authority, etc.: not that these can be taught, but they are largely lost, must *somehow* be reacquired). We have probably reached the point where it is no longer reasonable to think of *society* evolving in an anarchist direction. Let us formulate it boldly:

Anarchists can no longer reasonably identify themselves with the society as a whole; we no longer share the aspirations, values, methods of the mass who constitute the social herd; in some way, as individuals usually, we have been thrown into or chosen to withdraw to the margins of this society, and in effect the thing we are asking people to do is to individualize themselves, cease thinking in the terms of a social (human) herd whose automatic solutions have become war, force, competition, and so on. What is required, what the things we ask of people involve, is a near-total break with the present.

For this reason we can hardly hope to achieve our revolution today: it would be to construct a Utopia to ask people to act beyond their means, it is obviously a small number who by accident or sheer force of underlying nature can break with the ideas of their fathers, break through to ideas that we may loosely (at least figuratively) speak of as relating to a nature deeper, and better, than that trained to the values of our culture.

If it is so that things are at such a pass, then we are compelled to start from the most modest basis, of increasing individual awareness, searching the means to rescue our neighbors—if the case is as desperate as it may be, this may mean only the very young—hoping to awake *finally* a consciousness that will break through the present, creating always of course only such a future as its present makes possible; but then there should be the day when finally there are many of us, and many know they can live without the State and the great institutions of coercion, come to know each other and work together for love and joy and life; and so we should be free.

It would seem to me that anarchists are now, in actual fact, acting just as though this were true, for we are more and more asking ourselves, in what

way is this our action likely to encourage someone we know to act anarchistically toward institutions, his friends, his work, and so on. It would seem that what we can recognize in fact we are strong enough to recognize in theory.

When Is the Revolution?

Adeane and Cooper say very well: "When we find revolutionaries suggesting that the Day . . . lies ahead . . . but never in the present moment, we should ask ourselves if this is not also a regression." So, very logically, they ask, what are the facts *today*, in our society, in what ways is a revolution and anarchy possible? Hence when they consider the question of education and the family, for example, they do not ask (as we would rather): what are we to do about education, the family, sexual-repression, right now, while the unfree society exists, to chop away the roots of authoritarianism: they ask rather, how are we to manage these problems in the commune, once we have tentatively solved the great problems (that is, by abolishing the State, and building a syndical-communal society; a formula, by the way, with which anarchists have been somewhat free, that needs serious questioning to find what horizontal-vertical, etc., means outside the abstractions, what it meant in Spanish villages and cities, for example).

I have said, in effect, the revolution, if we are to imagine it as the time of general breakthrough toward anarchy, is not here, it is there. Adeane and Cooper say, if it is not here, we cannot talk of it. But then when they consider the facts of England today, they are describing the same facts, I believe, that I tried to describe, in a different theoretical framework, above (see: Revolution in England, in the "Eight Comments"); and it would appear inescapable that the revolution, as a great political fact, is again in the future, relieved only by the slimmest possibilities in the present.

As a matter of fact, one's expectations, as such, are not important; but this, what does a person want to accomplish, and what is he doing to accomplish it. It seems to me we escape from the danger of future-ism, and the equal danger of unreal demands on the present, by seeing the revolution in a different light:

Anarchy as a great social fact cannot reasonably be expected to evolve *directly* from the contemporary world. The revolution we can participate in now is not a climactic breakthrough, but a *vast, enduring, unfolding revolution*. Yes, we should strive for clearness about the nature of free societies, the institutions compatible with freedom, the pseudo-freedoms and the real freedoms: so far is it useful to ask, how would an anarchist commune deal with the problem of education, etc. (though we would not then take for granted that education, for example, would follow the formal pattern of the present institutions). But how much more compelling is to ask, as *Resistance* has attempted, how, by education, direct actions, our movement, our application of psychological knowledge, and so forth, can we develop among people a will to freedom? (That is, if we see a connection between sexual repression and development of character submissive to authority, we ask ourselves: how are we to act so as to free more children from this terror?

If we see our friends striving to shake off the idea-and-fact chains of social life in modern society, what do we do to help them, what possibilities do we point out to them, how (by our propaganda) do we bring anarchist ideas and techniques to their knowledge? How do we extend our movement and strengthen our anarchist circles? Not a very spectacular work, unless one looks at it just so; but there are also occasions for desperate and spectacular actions.)

Then it seems to me not false to have a clear vision of the future, because we recognize it as such, recognize our relation to it; we look it squarely in the face (the false "tomorrows" can never survive looking plain in the face). We can freely give ourselves to our dreams, without concern that they are our life, for we have founded it fast enough in the present reality.

Progress and happiness

As to Adeane and Cooper's rejection of the notion happiness. It seemed clear enough that the *Resistance* article was referring to—"maximum happiness—that is, maximum opportunity to secure biological needs, to enjoy love and sociability, to create and learn. This stress on the individual and his well-being" "the human values of association, love and creation," etc. A certain vagueness attaches to these words, though I believe they were written and meant concretely enough.

The thought was this: people are happy when they live in a community of lively relations among people, when they feel intimate relation to friends and neighbors; when their economic, sexual, defense needs are satisfied; when they have opportunity to express themselves artistically, to learn, to create things; when—they feel love. I see it as a question of inner freedom from anxiety in relation to these desires, outer freedom from coercion, opportunity freely to develop ourselves so as to achieve them in proportion as our strength of the moment allows. (So to speak, happiness is human consciousness of the well-being of the human animal.)

The nature of man seems to be common to the extent that all men in all societies have these needs and desires. Some may be blocked with only partial damage to the personality, but the experience (this is our own experience, personal and psychoanalytical, in western society) is that blocking of economic and especially sexual and security needs have far-reaching consequences, in the development of rigid personalities unable even to pursue the good things they recognize and want (in addition to those they have, so to speak, agreed to forego), unable to adapt and move; and, to repeat, we have a clear enough negative picture of happiness everywhere among us.

Why do these things have to be called by another name? We do not rename freedom because the term is stock-in-trade of every demagogue; we try rather to ask ourselves, what exactly do we mean by it?

Yes! Happiness! Let us not give aid and comfort to the pleasure-anxiety in our friends (and ourselves!).

PROBLEMS OF ANARCHISM TODAY

by Freedom Press

"The *Resistance Group* have performed a notable service to the English-speaking anarchist movement by surveying the field of anarchist endeavor, and attempting to assess the heritage of the past and the tasks of the day and the future. The *Freedom group* is well aware of the difficulties as well as the value of such an attempt and accordingly give it an all the more appreciative welcome . . . For it is essential that in the turmoil of adjustment to a post-war situation, we should not allow ourselves uncritically to accept the old analysis and the old precepts. The ideas of anarchism remain living ideas only if they are constantly applied to the existing, the new situations. And it is of the first importance that the movement should retain unimpaired the sharpest critical faculties; there is no inviolable canon of anarchism, set down for all time, and immune from the criticism of succeeding generations . . ."

Starting from this general viewpoint, much like our own, the *Freedom group* points out what they feel were the shortcomings of the article "Anarchism," and suggest their own point of view where it is different.

" . . . It may be said that *Resistance* finds an undue optimism about the outcome of social upheavals characteristic of the older anarchists. But we doubt if this is a true representation of the position." They point out that Kropotkin's intellectual influence on English-speaking anarchists has been disproportionate to the contributions of Bakunin, Proudhon, Malatesta; and that it was especially Kropotkin's view that is subject to this criticism: "Malatesta's influence is very considerable upon the Latin movement, and his outlook does not appear to us to be open to the kind of criticism which *Resistance* makes." " . . . it is unsatisfactory if one is going to attack 'the older anarchists' to attack only the partial account of them that has filtered through to Britain and America."

"We may expand this point into a more general criticism. Throughout, the *Resistance* article betrays a too exclusive preoccupation with the American scene. One feels that there is insufficient appreciation of the international character of the movement and of its achievements in the theoretical field . . . There seems to be a too superficial study of history—witness the references to Spain which are inexact and misleading—and little understanding of the social contexts in which the ideas of the past were relevant. For example, the ideas of Ferrer are described as 'undoubtedly wrong'; but one does not compare these ideas with, say, Neill's, because Ferrer's importance is not that he was an advanced educationist in the purely educational sense; it is that he set out to break the clerical monopoly in education in Spain, and he partially succeeded. The point by itself is perhaps a small one, but it will serve to indicate a criticism which applies to much of the article."

They think also: "There is a tendency to think that revolutionary mass action is remote—revolutionists thought so in 1917 and in 1936. Nothing is more difficult to gauge than the revolutionary

temper of a people, and it can be very misleading to be too despondent about it."

"People's indifference to radical ideas and to world events is partly explicable because we live during the aftermath of a war, partly due to the sell-out of the radical movement as a whole. Such moods are not necessarily permanent. In any case, however, such moods are partly protective. Governments seek to breed anxiety among the ruled, the more easily to push them around by playing on fear. Indifference to danger of war may serve to preserve us from this cultivated anxiety."

"Furthermore, the alleged apathy extends mainly to political questions and may more properly be regarded as scepticism. In matters which touch their lives and happiness directly—sex, family, education—very considerable interest is shown."

The *Freedom group* regards these as the decisive causes of "apparent apathy and indifference," rather than the "rosy" economic conditions of the American workers, which *Freedom* questions.

"Then there is the question of slave mentality. It is true that the security of the ruling class depends on the general acquiescence of the people as a whole. But it is easy to be rather patronizing about the sheep-like qualities of the workers, and to say that slave psychology is more important than the armed force of the State. For any group or individual which tries to throw off the acceptance of rule finds the police a very important weapon of the State. True enough that the State cannot stand against the people as a whole, but it is increasingly well equipped to deal with much less than a hundred per cent rejection of authority . . ."

"It seems to us important for our movement not to be too much concerned to see results. Much goes on that we do not see and it is impossible to judge the delayed results of anarchist ideas. We are already seeing the results of pioneer work by such militants as Emma Goldman in the sphere of sex (work which was criticised, be it remembered, by sections of the movement at that time). And it should not be forgotten that our movement supplies what may be called the public conscience of men. An uneasy conscience about doing what is expedient instead of what is just and right is more widespread than is always realized, and this is in part due to the influence of uncompromising schools of thought such as anarchism."

On the question of syndicalism, *Freedom* comments: "We very much welcome their critical attitude towards matters which are too often taken for granted. The question of revolutionary unions and syndicalism for example requires a thorough critical examination."

"They are not however fully clear about direct action, and once again one finds the question viewed from a too exclusively American angle. Direct action in the *Resistance* article means militant action at the point of production. But the continental anarchist movements are beginning to think of direct action more in terms of direct reconstructive action along non-authoritarian lines and independently

of State institutions . . . one would have preferred to see more concrete proposals regarding direct action."

"Having drawn attention at some length to points of difference, it is well to stress also the very important positive points which the American comrades make. The most significant content of their statement is the very clear case they make out for directing attention to problems affecting the lives of individuals. We have to look at other aspects of life as well as those which concern the wages' struggle and strictly political questions. We do not minimise these matters; but we consider that the problems of sexuality, of family relationships and their relationship to the development of authoritarian attitudes and their acceptance, of education—all these are of immense importance as well, and our movement cannot afford to ignore them, or even deny them intensive study."

A NOTE ON HAPPINESS

by D. E.

We do not live remote from our past: neither the immediate yesterday nor the pages of history. We formulate our today in the face of our yesterdays and from the ways of man we learn from our books. Our aim is to extend ourselves—our personalities, achievements, intensities. And this extension makes us more than we were. We call this progress.

Progress is one of those big words, indulged in by the academician, the reactionary, the revolutionary, each asserting the condition of man, evaluated with a given criterion to gauge this progress. For certain religions the criterion is giving unto God Man's Being, for certain historians the existence of the "integrative" quality of a culture, notoriously for certain radicals the state of Technology—and, for the Anarchists, the state of Human Happiness as asserted in the "Anarchism" article.¹ There is much confusion in the use of such a term as Human Happiness. A fashionable practice is to throw out terminology when it becomes encrusted with quadrupled, symbolically-displaced meanings. These words have a primary function, such as Human Happiness and Progress, in that they evoke concern for what does not exist when we speak of such. Whether to replace them now with more worthwhile relationships is not to the point. What is required is open discussion of the present vacuities. Seemingly, at present, our only point of departure is verbalization, and this is done with the old words, encrusted though they are. Frequently in Political discourse words at one time mean exactly opposite what is practiced in the name of these words. I am not suggesting that these words have a real meaning just revealed in the contradictory practices. Rather if this is to be avoided, we

1. From these we learn that the criterion involved would depend precisely on Man's Happiness. I am not concerned with their truth: I refer to them to indicate the wide spread appearance of Happiness as the criterion of Progress, so that it is understood that Anarchists are not making any private claim.

must press for accuracy in an attempt to maximize the contact with our readers.

It is an old story that first principles are not demonstrable in that we can persuade one to accept their "truth" only so far as the empirical evidence we offer verifies the consistency of the first principles (and commonly their acceptance is a result of how well they satisfy security systems already existent or in the making of a person). So the first principles of philosophic systems are challenged in what the supporting evidence claims.² These first principles are invariably about these big words—Progress, Human Happiness, etc. Extended elaboration is always required in establishing the so-called first principles, but dealing with them means remaining at the dead center of the problem.

We attempted in our article "Anarchism" to state definitely the first principles, the expectations, of the modern-day anarchist in so far as it is sensible to speak on the most common level, neglecting levels of contact, personalized content, etc. Of necessity much there was sketchy: the main function was to outline the critical principles that would be valuable in analyzing present-day institutions. This task is in its infancy: it is important; although to many of us it seems wearisome to write and write and write, there also seems little beyond this writing, since the notion of living Anarchistically is so shallow in the face of the dreams.

The first principle of Anarchism is that "Man ought to be happy, experience happiness." We stated in the "Anarchism" article "that there seems little or no progress in terms of Human Happiness since the advent of the Modern State."

Human Happiness as an ethical First Principle of Anarchism means essentially the attainment of worthwhile goals with the least interference from oppressive forces.³ Put this way the assertion is innocent. It does not explicitly state what Human Happiness, or oppressive forces, or worthwhile goals, are made of. Roughly: Human Happiness is the attainment of worthwhile goals with a minimum of Anxiety and the worthwhile goals are obviously those we speak of in *Resistance*. This is straight psychological talk, stripped bare of the fact that there are theoretical problems in all schools of psychology just what anxiety itself is. This sort of incompleteness in our sources of information provides modern-day Anarchists with an explicit technique: A skeptical bent toward the scientific knowledge at hand in that each group of findings is provisionally accepted as evidence that Man's Nature is or is not capable of accommodating itself to the ethics of Anarchism. This means partially a kind of magical manipulation in the face of the origins of this

2. Obviously in a system such as Anarchism much of the supporting evidence is non-empirical, millennial in nature so that here the communicability is on a different level when one speaks of the verification of Anarchist principles.

3. When we speak of Human Happiness we do not mean Joy or Sorrow. We do not speak of the disappearance of Man's problems. Happiness is a continuum whereas both Joy and Sorrow refer to more specific situations. Rather when we speak of Happiness what is meant is the minimization of interferences in the exploiting of our Natures, the removal of clearly oppressive institutions, not the removal of institutions.

information: The society from which these findings are derived. Personally this means trying, for instance, to discover the mechanisms of anxiety in the day by day; institutionally the advocacy of arrangements that will eliminate the extreme manifestations of Anxiety. Stating the problem in this way seems to me to allow for more contact in our discussions and responses with one another. And it seems that the principles of Anarchism lose none of their original content when phrased in a tentative psychological language.

However a basic confusion resulted in the way a second remark was phrased on the question of Happiness. Where Western Man had contacted primitive man, it reads in substance, the latter had been pulled down, made less happy. There is then a comparison of happiness in the two cultures with one superior to the other. This is true, deceptively so however, tending to show that truth is a fickle mistress appearing according to the way one entices her appearance. Put a second way, deceptive truths of this sort result from incomplete discussion of the assertion.

Defining Happiness as being intimately tied up with Anxiety, groups of Anxieties can be correlated with the level of Happiness being experienced. Where there is a greater Happiness, the group of anxieties is qualitatively and quantitatively smaller. Anxiety is related to achievement of certain goals. Kardiner's concept of the Basic Personality, if not pushed, is a graphic illustration. The discontinuities in Western man's Basic Personality allows essentially that Western Man is not so thoroughly dominated by the factors of the culture that go into Kardiner's concept of the Basic Personality.

When we read of the Trobrianders, the Dobu, the Samoan, etc., it is clear that these people have not extended their curiosity, drives, compulsions to such an extent that they have found out as nearly as we what dark powers push them this way and that. What we have learned of ourselves threatens such a state of innocence, that is, threatens the level of Happiness existing in such a culture. When we speak of pulling the Primitive down we do so without the wish of being one of them, rather to push ourselves ahead with the techniques we have produced in Western society. Reared in Western Culture I have blocks that predispose me to the pleasures of this culture. Such a bias determines much of me, but I see no reason to doubt that in good time the kind of Happiness that the Primitive enjoys (where this occurs, in many Primitive cultures the level of Happiness is certainly no higher than ours) must disappear in his own discoveries about his potential.

Techniques, partially contrived for discovering mechanisms that can push us closer to our millennium, exist in principle in Western Society. It is an idle question to ask if the evils of Capitalism, Medievalism, Greek Slavery were worth the bother of attaining these techniques. We must go from New York City 1949, unspeakably vile and vicious, mean and hypocritical, sorrowful and needful; despite this despair there are sparks of vitality here and there and these are concerned with exploiting these techniques with an Anarchist ethic: moving closer and closer to Human Happiness.

Far Politica?

Anarchism in Italy

by *Volontà*

In the discussion preparatory to the Livorno Congress of the Italian anarchist movement, the proposal has been made that anarchists concentrate their energies on organizing mass resistance to the State and war. In its editorial in the April 15th issue, *Volontà* points out that the gist of this proposal is to utilize the anarchist movement as a political instrument and to attempt to engage in a mass political struggle with the State. The editorial then sets forth the reasons why *Volontà* believes this kind of thinking misjudges the situation and misdirects the energies of anarchists.

Though the particular conditions in America are of course different, the approach of *Volontà* parallels some of the things we have been saying in *Resistance*; and, *mutatis mutandis*, this analysis seems to us to have considerable relation to America and the realities and possibilities here.

RESISTANCE

In such a social condition as the Italian of today, with the people (not only the mythical "proletariat" but all people living) weakened at the basis of their physiological existence, disoriented in ideas, devirilized in will—in one word, dehumanized—*far politica*¹ has only one possible meaning: to constitute ourselves an élite of the enlightened, preach to others, tell them, in short (even if the words and intentions are different): follow us, do what we tell you is good. Thereby the anarchists would place themselves on the same platform on which the professional politicians act, and would in fact find themselves obliged to concern themselves with the same unreal problems, even if from a different point of view—general problems, such as, currently, the Atlantic Pact or the Iron Curtain or the Atomic Bomb, about which every discussion is futile because the common men and women of Italy have no real possibility of acting on them, for or against.

In this social condition—a given fact, the necessary premise of further discussion—activity of self-liberation for us people can be conceived and brought to reality only on a plane that the professional politicians ignore, the plane of "trial and error" by persons and groups, in which individual men and women rediscover themselves, begin to think and act independently again. The great problem of a thousand faces, for the Italian people today, is the necessarily slow reconstitution of an active minority of "thinking" individuals determined to act according to their ideas. One says the same thing when one sees that the only reasonable activity for the anarchist movement is that of "making anarchists": for in present conditions any apparently revolutionary movement would be only a springboard for politicians. In fact, thinking (and willing) Italians are few enough, too few. After so much talk against war, instances of serious resistance can be counted on the fingers (perhaps of one hand). The correlary of antireligious propaganda is the increase

1. Literally: "make politics."

of public devotion to Italy's various madonnas and saints. And just yesterday a young man was arrested with both Communist and Demo-Christian membership cards in his pocket. There is hardly a trace of independent workers' agitation, or of independent initiatives by workers. Etc. Those who can remember know that in these matters it was infinitely better forty or fifty years ago. With such people, so bent down by the Fascist yoke, and held in that position by the parties and church in which the Fascist State continues its work, it is vain, and dangerous, to *far politica*. They will applaud us perhaps, but they will also applaud those who say the opposite. And if they arrive at action it is only in the spirit of sheep, obedient to the head or heads who—perhaps, in good faith, proclaiming themselves non-heads—point out the way they must follow.

This is why the criterion of the libertarian effectiveness of our action is not numerical "success," or numbers at mass meetings or the number who agree passively, who say we are right but have not thought for themselves. This success is still a non-result, often a negative result. To evaluate if and when our action is anarchist, the old measure alone remains valid: if, and how much, our action stimulates in our neighbor the surging of a will to liberty, of ideas and will to independent personal and social initiatives. This is necessarily impossible if one wants to *far politica*; it requires instead a rather silent and humble, and above all local, social action of personal contacts and personal encounters on problems of our stature, within our reach.

In terms of the movement, our great problem is: how can we act in such a direction without falling into reformism? How can we engage in concrete local activities among the people under the yoke, day by day, far from parades and ovations, without adopting their narcotics in order to feel less pain? So that we will, in our way, stir them to awareness of their mutilated lives, show them the basic causes, tell them bitter truth instead of sweet illusions, sow day by day, among real people, the seed of the will to self-liberation?

It is useful to ponder what Bakunin and others did in Italy almost a century ago, and draw lessons from that. It is useful to think about what the anarchists did in Russia and Spain. But more useful still to look around us, not only when "thinking politically" but at work, in school, in the family, at all times, and seek attentively the small crevices where little by little we can plant a bit of our action, of libertarian action, liberating so far as it encourages and aids self-liberation.

General suggestions are easy.

First rule: Try to achieve as many local contacts as possible, not withdraw and isolate ourselves—make anarchism a public activity—and thus help

the young especially, try to help them understand the new times, their grave residue of errors, the also-present intimations of truth.

Second rule: Promote the formation of all kinds of spontaneous associations, as many as possible, in the spirit of pioneers, with the idea of beginning at zero—from Centers of Orientation, places for discussion among people of diverse thought, to Groups of Excursionists free from the official sports organizations, to Societies for Birth Control, to Associations of Parents and Teachers determined not to collaborate with the rulers of the schools, etc.; and participate actively in these, each in his own field, to prevent their degeneration into a network of apparatus.

To form small local groups that battle on many fronts, in a force of liberation oriented above all against the Communist and Demo-Christian parties and the Catholic Church, but aimed potentially against the very system of parties and churches and all professional politicians.

To form and give life to little groups of activists in the factories where they work, in the schools where they study, etc.—to initiate actions (strikes, research, projects) independent of the trade-union and statist bureaucracies.

To note the critical points of our economy, encourage study and call attention to them: the fiscal system that bears down on the poor, the ruin of arable lands, agricultural and industrial conversion from autarchy to exchange, unemployment and emigration, public subsidies and essentially passive enterprises like the iron industry, the waste in centralized social services, etc.;—the same for the other sectors of our social life, separately and as they are interrelated: the degradation of the schools of all kinds, the prevalence of the churches, the degeneration of the parties, the need to break with the family-prison and the school-reformatory, the reaction against philosophic systems and the proclamation of anti-systematizing, the creative meaning of the contrast between new and old art, resistance to centralized planning from without and aid to planners-from-within, etc.;—the entirety as a basis for study aimed at development of a clear striving for new social forms, "irrealizable" today, the utopian ferment of the future.

Etc.

Easy to think of *these* things. Too easy.

But how to translate these indications of possible roads into effective daily work, for me for you for us, each one, where he knows how and can, and how, for the sake of this work, to reach agreement among ourselves and work together—this is not a matter for generic discourses. Each one and each group must consider itself, in its locality, in reference to the people they know and who know them. And the result will depend not only on the goodness of the ideas, or the sonority of the propaganda with which it is expounded, above all on how much work each one is disposed to give, sacrificing hours of convenience and rest, and how much social esteem has been gained with one's own life.

The Jovial Proprietors in Springtime in Wartime

Always, but when especially springtime reopens the year and opens our suspicious awareness of the year, I'm aware —not without sarcasm, but so it is — of an extravagant proprietary patronage, benevolence, and acquiescence in all our things: such trees and such a river, and the city by the river, as I happen to notice on a walk. Then I consider the winds are serviceably shifting, north or south as the case may be, and, good trees! the oaks, the oaks alone have clung to their sere leaves no matter what. But such a drifting of such thousands of icebergs down the river drags the eyes along in one floe that the shore-froze blocks seem to be trending backwards—alarming! for obviously my economy involves that every block drift down to sea. These too are slowly drifting to the sea! and the good indefatigable sunlight loosens the sliding ice from the rocks with a roar and all the ice is boiling into air.

The City (to my February mind) is mostly industrious on schedule, tho not so teeming as the renaissance in the grass. Yet there is a bickering in the lofts! and a cross-purposes below the stairs! A prudent owner overlooks it —especially because the estate's entailed. But now a War breaks out; Lord knows what tiresome complaints—

Then what a pleasure, on the busiest street, to meet another of the free-born heirs! Lothar! who tore the registration up. We'll unofficially inspect, with jokes, our factory that all possess in joint who by courageous inertia have stood—sovereign, like all frail flesh; but if involved and dragged along, sharp wit cuts the ties.

"No," says Lothario, "let's visit *here*, where no work is done, this unindustrious on schedule Graveyard; shall we not leave our fighting wit outside, and not stand firm where all stand firm?" A dripping icicle hangs from a cross, snow-patches overlap the mounds, a squirrel jewel-jointed leaps from tree to tree, and here now come the Jovial Proprietors.

—Always! there is another Polity of Peers who said, "My soul a kingdom is." Their flags of patchwork color fly today! And even we who diffidently own the world—no need to differ rich and poor—wither in this chivalry of truth and radioactivity of spirit. Here some are boundless, like Immanuel Kant who seems, if you venture close, to be a palace of rococo architecture, but then look out the window: all his stars are landscaped; and in a corridor everything has vanished into doubt

save the secret of the heart, of your heart. Others are little counties, yet they have equal honor, and no one can enter but under servile conditions, soon relaxed. I also of this sovereignty am. What is this snow-covered graveyard to me? My flag has a wintry sun on it, it gaily flies.

But 1947? (as the case is). "Friend! in a State of Nature," I said, "poor alien, not even in a cave in the fields like Lear's fool, but in the Imperial interstices, blown by—if we can help it!—by their wars; and choking back the rage and the resentment we will not hold them high enough to suffer; Lothar! discharge your charitable civil war that you will not win next year; come sit with me: I have a little hole of lies and honorable pretensions they dare not probe, and have a poison-ring for the emergency. Here we can make forays like little animals forever against this carrion, oh! and take away the timid temperance of one and the erroneous conviction of two. Not for *their* sakes! (tho it's hard to do them violence without improvement.) And shall we mostly not observe it soberly and tabulate the causes with hoarse squeaks of delight, as if the men were not the same as we? And this goes on until we shortly die."

But Lothar says: "Why fool ourselves? If we, if we do not associate with people with whom shall we associate? And if these warriors plunge themselves into disgrace what are we, being for ourselves alone? You evil poet! have your lively songs for which, like sacred poets of the ages, you slay yourself, but now, in 194-, you use them also for your consolation, strategically! I have no such art. But the Creator of the heavens and the earth—mark it well!"

—I shall, for what I make lives by this power and not my living death—

"*This* maintains me in the fact I am, in this lukewarm life and in this graveyard, and yes! in this almost universal error; and also in the confidence—not finite!—that we by such possessed will *brotherly*—that all who are possessed by such strong ease will therefore *brotherly* communicate; I mean the day we recognize the needy and glorious being how it is with us, shall we not *brotherly* communicate? why should we not?"

He speaks imploringly not like a seer, I say: "I search my heart yet hardly find the hope of which you speak."

Paul Goodman

Draft Resistance

Dear Editor:

Substantially Paul Goodman's letter in the March 1949 issue of *Resistance* appears to make two points:

1. the non-registrant does not know what his principles are
2. he has no right to assume a public role

The young as well as the old cannot be sure what their principles are. Action tests and ascertains the basic principles of each person. Goodman grants this but he does not seem to realize that the non-registrant tries to test his principles precisely by not registering because that seems the most basic, positive stand he can make. Like all ideas the underlying ideas that led to this final conduct have come to the non-registrant from his elders, teachers, books, etc. but certainly this does not invalidate them or their unique applicability to him. If they correspond to basic beliefs within himself, they are "his" ideas. One must not tend to think of non-registrants as 18 or 19. The larger number of them are, in fact, in the upper age level.

Goodman talks of the non-registrants accepting heavy penalties "willingly." But his mere presence in court is an unwilling presence and his attitude toward the law may be severely critical. Far from glorying in a public role, most of the non-registrants I know are "private faces in public places"; they seem to be essentially introspective, self-disciplined persons. In them I have observed very little of this public hero orientation to which this writer refers.

One of the most blatant contradictions of Goodman's letter lies in the alternatives of procedure he suggests and what he calls the young person's "primary duty" which he categorically states to be: "to seek for animal and social satisfactions and plunge into interesting work." But how is one to reconcile the alternatives he cites: "force, cunning, recalcitrance, camouflage, playing dead, flight" with the rosier picture of interesting work, sociality, love? If one must fly around from city to city in fear and evasion of the law, obviously one must forego continuous relationships, indeed any coherence of emotional or economic life.

a reply to Paul Goodman

In this regard I do not think the public and private role can be separated, as Goodman tries to do. Sometimes the pacifist's beliefs force him to assume a temporarily public role but that also—if firmly held and applied—revolutionizes his private life. What he can never say is: I will adhere to these beliefs privately but not publicly

Goodman's ambivalence of position gives himself away. He seems to be saying: In some situations you must feel; in others you must not. But the person who feels cannot exercise this selectivity. This writer's ambiguity inheres in this: he says in one sentence, You must Plunge Into Love. In the next sentence he declares: you must use cunning, camouflage, playing dead, flight, etc. "like any other healthy creatures we observe in nature"! Shades of Whitman and Rousseau! What's so "healthy" about the stick-insect and the opossum? This technique of playing dead,—just how would it *work*, I wonder, in the concrete situations facing the pacifist?—(Why not — for that matter — "play wounded" like the mother quail?)—And how would this going limp or playing dead benefit the individual? How, then, would the pacifist differ from the soldier seized with terrible fear-immobility on the battlefield? These alternatives do not have even metaphoric pertinence. Take "camouflage"—by which I suppose he means protective coloration or mimicry. However, when the organism adjusts its color to that of the adjacent society, it also takes on some of the characteristics of that society. In practice Goodman's recommended techniques would lend themselves too easily to self-deception and opportunism.

This writer signally fails, it seems to me, to consider the matter in relation to the concrete context of the individual's action, for it is mere verbalization to talk of camouflage, playing dead, flight, etc. without showing how these methods would work quodidually in regard to the pacifist. You have *A* (a conscientious objector) who has a certain address. *A* believes that registration is an integral part of conscription: he does not sign for the draft. Since he has an address, he can be reached by the FBI. The alternative is: he has no address. Thereby, however, he renounces the sociality and integrated work Goodman advises. To pursue this a little further. Because of his beliefs, the physical ambivalent of the pacifist in *society* amounts to a kind of prison for merely by living in the world-as-it-is he feels constrained and balked on all sides.

Whatever the motive, cessation of motor activity (playing dead) solves nothing whether the going limp occurs after

arrest or—as Goodman advocates—while free of arrest.

Goodman says: "In general when in doubt the wise course is delay, avoidance, not to have to make commitment on the doubtful issue; but on the contrary to throw oneself all the more into good activities that are not at all doubtful, one's lifework, or love, or the quest for them." . . . But what could be more "doubtful" to men of draft age than their lifework or the quest for love, what indeed more full of questioning and basic uncertainty? Surely a young man learns what he believes, *what he is*, by "acting it out"; not by a Fabian policy of avoiding conflict.

Goodman creates here a false dichotomy. The C.O. regards his active resistance as an integral expression of love as well as an embodiment of his work, a manifestation of what he can do. Many draft resisters are veterans; they have had "experience." To them resistance is "realization of their inward powers" and a "positive impulse." Although they may not be sure what their lifework will be, they see this direct noncooperation as their immediate, impelling job.

The C.O. who practices civil disobedience is not imprisoned "willingly," nor should he be. No cause-effect relation exists between resistance to the draft and the infliction of 1-5 years in jail. This personal belief should be made clear by the C.O. himself, by his manner, his words, his very stance in the courtroom as well as by his dogged fighting of the prison system after he is sentenced.

Goodman's romantic glorification of prison for "the great champion, the fiery revolutionary" strikes no echo in my breast. Penal confinement remains an illogical procedure in the case of either the "strong" or the "weak" offender and is devoid of both "fitness" and "beauty."

Who is the so called "small" offender and in what perspective is he judged. If in the context of his own day, perhaps all champions seem small. All revolutionary leaders in thought from St. Paul and Galileo on have run the risk of prison which is, after all, only the impinging societal world made more immediate. The effect of a confinement depends on the individual's response to *any* external set of circumstances. A certain type of person (the Ernst Toller-type, for instance) may find in jail an absence of distractive stimuli conducive to more intense work. To say this is not to romanticize an inhumane institution but rather to affirm that the small cyst of the jail represents the pervasive disease of all society.

But surely the kind of personal *laissez aller* Goodman recommends offers no solution to the primary problem. The true ethic of the C.O. does not consist in "loosely following every positive impulse" nor need it involve any cooperation with the State or its agents. Perhaps Goodman is right that the pacifist

places himself in an unnecessarily symmetrical relation to the State, but can he really be effective any other way? Can he "touch" the State by Goodman's peripheral sharpshooting? Would not this sort of oblique attack inevitably degenerate into egotism and Machiavellianism? How can such a person enjoy the luxury of maintaining his principles and compromising too? Goodman urges the resister to use "the powers of nature, releasing still new powers in yourselves and us, not in the infertile place of a jail, but in our general world."—All creation and fecundity depend, I am convinced, not on outer circumstances but on the inner resources of the individual,—but these resources and ideals must be tried, tempered and strengthened by direct clashes with the world.

Finally, I'd like to go back for a moment to Goodman's specific methods: "force, cunning, recalcitrance, camouflage, playing dead, flight." From these alternatives I would accept: force, cunning, recalcitrance. Surely civil disobedience involves all three. I am surprised that this writer does not include that weapon: humor. How powerfully this instrument of polemics is used in Thoreau's essay, for instance! Much good levelling and cutting away of dead tissue can be done by sharpened satire. When Auden wrote *The Orators*, he was bent on making ridiculous that fantasti-

cally serious book, Count Ludendorff's *The Coming War* (and other books like it of whatever nationality.) In the following passage he describes invasion-techniques from a peculiarly detached point of view. These methods seem, at first glance, trivially obstructive, but what Auden is saying is that: In dealing with a bureaucratic State the perverse, snarkish resistance is most effective. The resister must not crucify himself; he must fill in questionnaires incorrectly.

From the Section: *First Day of Mobilisation*:

"A preliminary bombardment by obscene telephone messages for not more than two hours destroys the morale already weakened by predictions of defeat made by wireless-controlled crows and cardpacks. Shock troops equipped with wire-cutters, spanners and stink bombs, penetrating the houses by infiltration, silence all alarm clocks, screw down the bathroom taps and remove plugs and paper from the lavatories . . . A leading article accusing prominent citizens of arson, barratry, dozing in municipal offices, espionage, family skeletons, getting and bumbling, heresy, issuing or causing to be issued false statements with intent to deceive, jingoism, keep-

ing disorderly houses, mental cruelty, loitering, nepotism, onanism, piracy on the high seas, quixotry, romping at forbidden hours, sabotage, tea-drinking, unnatural offences against minors, vicious looks, will-burning, a yellow streak, is on the table of every householder in time for a late breakfast. Conversion of hotels and boarding houses into private nursinghomes is carried out . . . Major operations without anesthetics begin at noon. At 6 p.m. passages of unprepared translation from dead dialects are set to all noncombatants. The papers are collected at 6:10. All who fail to obtain 99% make the supreme sacrifice. Candidates must write on three sides of the paper . . . A whitefaced survivor informs the prison governor that the convicts, loosed, storming the execution shed, are calculating the drop formula by practical experiment, employing warders of varying weights . . ." etc. etc.

By studying *The Orators*, Goodman might take a few hints and develop more specific techniques than those he mentions.

Sincerely,
Howard Griffin

Resistance:

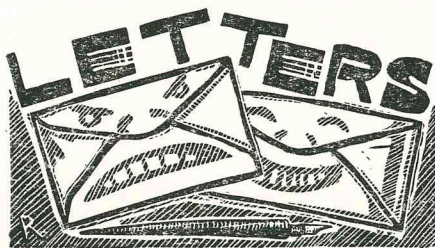
Here is a much belated contribution. And here also is an account of a recent experience with jimcrow that you may find of some use in the magazine.

I had been trying to get haircuts and shaves at Leone's Barber Shop, 410 S. Michigan, room 503, since June 1948. During the Christmas holidays a Jack Fooden, chairman of the University of Chicago CORE group, became interested, with the result that he was present for the third time when I tried on Jan. 13, '49.

After refusing us as usual, Leone called the police. Since as an Anarcho-pacifist, I don't believe in violence and hold that violence can be thwarted of goals if one doesn't cooperate with it, I "went limp," i.e. relaxed my muscles as thoroly as possible, from the moment a cop laid an arresting hand on me. I was carried into the patrol wagon and dragged into Central police station and thereafter carried and/or dragged to the Bridewell Prison hospital and the Cook County Psychopathic hospital.

Jack Fooden walked and at Central went out on bail which I refused on the mistaken notion that on the 14th I would be dragged into court and the charges against me (molesting a barber, resisting arrest) settled. But on the advice of lawyer(s) a jury trial was requested for January 21.

So on the 14th I was taken to the



Bridewell, and on the 15th to the Cook County Psychopathic where a four day hunger strike I entered onto to demonstrate the strength of my conviction for non-violence was broken by excruciating forced feeding.

While I was in these places the authorities did their best to keep my whereabouts hidden, and the best reason I can find for this is that they intended to put me into an Illinois state asylum and throw away the key.

On Jan. 21, '49 two trials came up: one in Criminal Court where charges against myself and Fooden were dropped; and "sanity hearings" at my location, where the same charges against me were dropped as a consequence of commitment to the VA hospital at Downey, Illinois. This "sanity hearing" was a farce—a Judge Jarecki having signed commitment papers hardly before the "hearing" was under way, and a Dr. Shorodin (sp?) testified that the time was not yet for what I was trying

to do, i.e. taking action against racial discrimination. This much I know from my sister and mother who were present, as I never saw the inside of any kind of court.

My treatment in the first three institutions (Central, Bridewell and Cook County) was brutal enough, having been kicked, slapped, punched, stuck with pins, nerves pressed, etc. I had \$4.00 stolen away, among other things, and clothes torn.

When technically I was out from under arrest, I resumed walking. On January 24 I began a period of exile, as I term it, at the Veterans Administration hospital at Downey, Illinois where I remained for "observation" until March 27. Doctors there tried unsuccessfully to talk me out of individual, direct action. I didn't go into that barber shop as an experiment or to prove my principles but to live those principles and thus intend to return.

At present I am technically out on a 90-day trial visit and am expecting release papers, while on visit. What effect the efforts of my friends in Roosevelt College and the Congress and Committee on Racial Equality had in securing my release I am unable to gauge. Their proposed efforts were largely legal, which were unavailing inasmuch as I cooperate my least with the State.

Anarchistically yours,
Joffre L. Stewart

Anarchism in America

(Continued from page 1)

toward them, our understanding of a free society; almost before we can begin to push on.

Can we say quickly what is anarchism?

Negatively, a philosophy that sees in existing social institutions a pattern that destroys and wastes human life, and blocks men and women from achieving the happiness they are capable of. That is, anarchists believe that the nature of one social institution after another—the organization of politics, production, education and so on—is such as to limit freedom of choice, prevent satisfaction of basic needs, make persons the prisoners of institutions and individuals-in-power, lead to war and logically to the leviathan-state.

Positively, a philosophy that sees in the liberation of the individual from coercive institutions, in freedom to develop as individuals who recognize and insist on their needs and desires, in the absence of state and government, in the development of communal, interpersonal living instead of the present non-human institutional relations—in anarchy—the possibility of satisfactory, happy living, the realization of human potentialities.

And something more: awareness that social change depends on the consciousness and actions of individuals, not of leaders and organizations; that social change must be integral, involving all aspects of life, not merely economic or political; that social change and all good actions must be *direct*, that in the world of politics we do not go east by sailing west; that our central problem is the relentless step-by-step undercutting and destruction of coercive institutions—not their replacement by new ("better") ones.

Our concern, therefore, is to find (and do) the acts, in the present, that will maximize our freedom and happiness; the acts that will loosen the grip of the oppressive institutions; that will encourage our neighbors to admit their possibilities, insist on breaking through the constraints, so that they will act boldly too: finally we must break through the great wall of fear and submission, slavery and violence.

This, we think, is anarchism. In a century of anarchism, much has been learned about practical problems; what looked promising was illusion, newer techniques have appeared, and not just now; this knowledge is the meaning and value of a tradition that has embraced nearly every idea of action derivable from anarchist premises and existing knowledge.

"The anarchist movement," as we understand it, describes the association of anarchist groups and individuals, based on recognition that their viewpoint and problems are common; not excluding this "tendency" or that—there can be no question of inclusion or exclusion, an anarchist movement does not require organizational form or definition of limits, it exists, if it does, as a fact in the minds of anarchists: a desire to cooperate, a feeling of solidarity and community. (Then it will take that form, forms, or none, which seem appropriate.)

Given such a movement we have a community

in which to strike after solutions of our problems (to find the best we can do). It is not a question of all persons doing the same things: of all going into the factories, to rural communities, all propagandizing, or all doing nothing. It remains the task of individuals and groups to find the exact, meaningful things they want to do, and they do not need to justify themselves to others.

Of the possibilities of such a movement one of the greatest is that it should be exactly a community: that here, now, among anarchists, should be lived the ethics, the solidarity, the human relations that are elementary to our principles.

Political movements are ordinarily combinations for determined objectives: and the difference between most radical movements and most reactionary political movements lies in the aims and partly the tactics: it is not merely that all are usually authoritarian, instruments of leaders: the most significant resemblance is that all preserve, even glorify, the impersonal, institutionalized pattern of the society at large; all take for granted the prevailing ethics, all assume, we may say, that the members of the movement hate one another, and can cooperate only through the magic of organization.

Surely when anarchists form groups and recognize the solidarity of a movement it is with the purpose of acting (in some sense) publicly: to broadcast anarchist ideas, take joint action, involve themselves in actions with non-anarchists. But also this: not merely have we a deep radical conception of a reasonable human society, not merely a severe perception of the relation between our means and our ends, we have also proclaimed a revolution in values, in ethics and human relations: if we are anarchists, these things we will *do*, and the practice of these should be the example, the experiment—and our present mutual aid—that we have sought in a variety of techniques, never, perhaps, enough in our own movement.

It is stated that anarchist principles are not mere ideas, but a reflection of the way we live. Obviously this is not so much a fact as a wish: but more than either, one of the finest tendencies of anarchist movements. Anarchism is a statement of our desire to be free, to live in a community of free people; it is hard, but within the abilities of anarchists, to create a movement that is not *another* social herd, another institution, rather *anarchist*.

The movement, seen so, is an end-in-itself; but it is not *merely* so: it is likewise a means of reaching out to the world: that is, we are to find the *actions*—in which not merely anarchists will participate—that will develop among people a demanding will to freedom. To this end, the anarchist movement offers a means wonderfully consonant.

When we are reminded of the dark realities—but these are not the all! the possible has yet to be made actual—it is perhaps wildly hopeful to talk so. But it remains experience that a great movement, at its best, merely multiplies what individuals and groups find ways to do; and that what one group, or a dozen individuals, or a dozen groups and a hundred individuals, do is not different in kind from the grand-scale things. Those who see the evils, who sense the human needs, will not find, by waiting, greater opportunities.

d.w.

To Our Readers:

We have just learned of the death of Marie Louise Berneri, one of the most active of our comrades in England. Though only 21, Marie Louise was already one of the ablest of anarchist writers and thinkers. She was born in Italy in 1918, the daughter of Camillo Berneri, assassinated by Communists in Spain in 1937, and of Giovanna Berneri, at present one of the editors of the Italian magazine *Volontà*. While still a child, she left Italy an exile. In 1936, Marie Louise participated in the activities of the English anarchist paper, *Spain and the World*. At this period she visited Spain and Barcelona on several occasions. She used her experiences during this time to advantage in a later analysis of the Spanish Revolution. She has been of great influence in the revival of the anarchist movement in England beginning in the mid-thirties, and was one of the forces in the growth of *Freedom* and *Freedom Press*. Her death is an unmeasurable loss for the anarchist movement. For her friends and her comrades it is a great sorrow.

Correction: Due to an error in transcribing, the line "To a grim leer of lips drawn with no teeth behind them" in Robert Stock's poem, *The Prisoner* (p. 5 of the March issue of *Resistance*) was incorrectly printed: "To a grim leer of teeth drawn," etc.

In the April 8 issue of the *Industrial Worker*, in an "editorial addition" to a friendly review of the March issue of *Resistance* by A. L., the editor comments: "And there is also in it an item about the death of John Lamb saying that he 'became an anarchist, opposed to the centralizing and reformist tendencies in the I.W.W.' Organizing so we workers can run the works for ourselves appears to them 'reformistic.' Perhaps if we forgot about that and went in for food fads, and debates on sex and literature, we'd be 'radical'!" For the record: *Resistance* does not believe that "organizing so we workers . . . etc." is reformistic; nor do we go in for food fads. We do believe that the I.W.W. has consistently looked narrowly at the economic question, that the slogan "one big union" has become an illusion, and the spreading of this slogan is the spreading of an illusion; we do believe that it is important to look at the facts in the happiness of people, and the facts in the psychology of people that are responsible for present conditions, and this includes (important among others) sex; we do believe in trying to see our world and ourselves with clearest eyes, and this means (among other things) arts and literature. We also believe in an attack on racism. We do believe that there are things that can be done *today* besides direct action for economic demands and

CONTRIBUTIONS TO MAY 10, 1949

CALIFORNIA: San Francisco: Potrero Hill Group 34.00, Libertarian Group Dance 127.50; Vallejo: J. N. 2:50; Los Angeles: H. Y. 1.00, L. M. 10.00, R. B. G. 3:50; Fairwax: J.T.B. 2.00; Hollywood: J.B.M. 2.00; Berkeley: J.B.B.: 1.00	\$183.50
FLORIDA: Miami: Italian Group: 33.33	33.33
ILLINOIS: Mattoon: E. C. B. 1.50; Chicago Heights: R. B. 2.00; Chicago: J. S. 2.40, Yelensky 60th Cel. Comm. 50.00	55.90
MASSACHUSETTS: W. Somerville: F. C. 1.00	1.00
MICHIGAN: Baraga: E. C. .50; Detroit: M. L. 3.00, F. R. 2.00, L. Refrattari 14.00	19.50
MINNESOTA: Minneapolis: J. T.: 1.00	1.00
NEW YORK: Albany: G. & S. 5.00; Hornell: E. M. B. 1.00; New York City: Social 12.00, C. J. S. 1.00, L. S. 2.00, A. H. K. 1.00, U. O. 5.00, Bryant Park Newsstand 7.50, D. R. 12.00, S. & F. G. 2.00, D. A. .50, C. C. 2:00, G. L. 1.00, Friends 1.25, Social 12.31, R. S. .50, N. B. 1.00, D. R. 5.00; Schenectady: J. A. A. 1.00	73.06
OREGON: Portland: R. J. G. 21.65	21.65
PENNSYLVANIA: Allentown: W. S. 2.00; Pittston: Collection 70.00	72.00
VERMONT: Burlington: R. F. S. .90	.90
CANADA: Vancouver: M. P. 2.00; Toronto: 5.00	7.00
ENGLAND: London: A. G. K. L. 1.00	1.00
Balance, February 28, 1949	68.21
	\$538.05

EXPENDITURES

Stamps, Vol. 7, No. 4	\$ 21.25
Cuts, Vol. 7, No. 4	6.33
Printing, Vol. 8, No. 1	300.07
Gummed paper and string	4.08
Rent for Post Office Box	4.00
	\$335.73
Balance, May 10, 1949	\$202.32

preparation for revolutionary industrial unionism—for this is the content of I.W.W. propaganda. We do believe that by its organizational approach the I.W.W. sets itself as an obstacle to immediate actions by the persons who are *now* radicals: as, for example, by scoffing at individual resistance and seeing value only in the organization of the workingclass. The *Industrial Worker* is a good labor paper, the preamble to the I.W.W. constitution is a fine document, the I.W.W. has a proud history of struggle for organization and free speech, and as an organization it certainly bears comparison with other existing unions. But the truth ought to be said in full: that it appears to us that the *general idea* of the I.W.W. is now a dead end, not because it is reformistic but because it simply provides no guide for attainment of goals in the present.

Freedom Press notifies us that they are preparing publication of "Russia's Third Revolution," by I. Mett, a history of the Kronstadt rebellion and the events surrounding it. This phase of the beginning of the Bolshevik's open counter-revolution (1921) has never been written adequately. *Freedom Press* is taking advance subscriptions at \$1.00 a copy, hoping to finance a minimum edition of 500 copies. Those wishing to obtain the book when ready should write to *Freedom Press*, 27, Red Lion St., London, W.C.1, England.

The Anarchist Bookshelf

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• HISTORICAL

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The Russian Enigma, by Ciliga	\$1.00
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Ill-health, Poverty and the State, by John Hewetson	30c
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Poetry and Anarchism, by Herbert Read	\$1.25
An Appeal to the Young, by Peter Kropotkin	10c
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Free and available on request are Randolph Bourne's "The State," "War or Revolution" and "Freedom" from England.