

A BULLETIN OF

WHY?

FREE INQUIRY

SUPPORTED BY VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS

AFTER THREE YEARS

The world has been at war for almost three years. With the end not at all in sight, deaths approach the millions. The waste of the earth's resources is on a fabulous scale. The specter of starvation haunts the population of the occupied countries of Europe. And here in America the specter of post-war chaos broods over the land. Here we are only beginning to feel the iron fist of the war: rubber, a little blood spilt in the Philippines, sugar, some ships sunk, gasoline . . . But the Axis is firmly entrenched in Europe and Asia, and there is a long, hard way to go if they are ever to be dislodged. The pittance Congress may pass for the dependents of soldiers points toward the drafting of 3As. Nor, and Mrs. Roosevelt has just come out strongly for it, is compulsory service from boys not much over 15 out of the question. Furthermore, as one of the officials of the U. S. Employment Service has warned, the shortage of labor for vital, usually poorly paid jobs, on farms for one, will bring on government control of the flow of labor and the drafting of women. But none of the details of the black whirlpool we have been caught up into can overwhelm the fundamental questions exasperating the conscience of humanity: Why? Where to?

Why? It is not hard to discover why the Axis fights. They are fighting to replace with themselves the economic and political supremacy long enjoyed by the Anglo-American coalition; they fight Russia to insure their victory.

It is harder to uncover under the clouds of words the reasons for the fight of the United Nations. On one front is Lord Halifax, who helped knife anti-fascist Spain in the back, prating about "christian values"; on another, and speaking more candidly, is Mayor Kelly of Chicago, leader of the Democratic Party machine there, "So Roosevelt can tell every damn other nation where to get off." And in that masterpiece of demagogic platitudes, the Atlantic Charter, we find some-

thing so nebulously "progressive" that without the slightest difficulty. Dictators Stalin and Kai-Shek can be guaranteed seats at the peace table. How irritating it must be to our "liberal" orators who have jumped on the jingo bandwagon that their black and white division of the belligerents into dictators and democrats just doesn't hold water! Pampered by the American Government, the fascist states of South America, Peru and Brazil for example, declare themselves partisans in the struggle against fascism. The ruling class of Britain continues to exploit the colonial peoples with all the ruthless methods of the Nazis—except that they operate against colored skin not white. (British colonial fascism is not "ancient history" as some would have us believe. For example—June 2, 1942—the disgusting fascist wages of 81 cents a day paid laborers in the Bahamas, which led to a bloody riot when British garrison troops tried to suppress the workers' protest. Not to speak of the raw and cynical deal, worthy of Nazi Franz Papen, the British ruling class tried to palm off on India via Cripps. No, they are far from loosening their fascist imperial grip). Little need to go into details of democracy in Stalin Russia or Kai-Shek China, where classic instances of fascist terror are to be found. Clearly the idealistic reasons for the waging of war by "our side" are at a minimum.

Why then? There seems to be a multiplicity of reasons. The force of British public opinion, a public whose nerves were ragged by the perpetual crisis with which Hitler disturbed their Sundays, must have been an immediate cause. Likewise in the United States the goading jiu-jitsu at Pearl Harbor. But these are the obvious reasons. If World War I taught us anything, it taught us to look deeper than the superficialities. It is obvious to anyone who has studied the matter that, overriding these superficial causes, was the tremendous threat by the German "closed economy"

to the markets usually dominated by American and British "free economy". (See "You Can't Do Business With Hitler" by Douglas Miller, a book highly lauded by the capitalist press for its lucidity).

But the matter doesn't rest there. Studying the capitalist system since the last war, it is apparent that a social revolution, or social counter-revolution, has been going on. Laissez-faire capitalism has shown itself unable to handle the machinery of modern society. Towering, unmanageable public and private debt, unemployment for millions, the bankruptcy and poverty of the farming population; these were the main indications that capitalism in its laissez-faire form could not long continue. In Germany, after the social democracy of the Weimar Republic had failed so miserably, Big Business, taking its cue from the Italians, resorted to the total state of Nazism. In England and here, the social democracy of new dealism failed to stem the breakdown of private capitalism. True, in Germany and Italy, Big Business after a while was made to play second or even third fiddle to the gang which was to run the total state on their behalf. That does not rule out by any means the possibility that the British and American ruling classes will be able to produce a more stable brand of the total state. And what other alternative to the complete dissolution of their power? Surely not socialism! Let us not deceive ourselves, therefore, into believing that the fascistization of our lives going on now is principally due to the war. Aside from its being basically an imperialist conflict, the war is a cycle in the social revolution of reaction, speeding up the process of corporatism.

Mystic Vice President Henry Wallace and Labor Party Braintrust Harold Laski can play at blowing the rainbow bubbles of "people's war" and "people's peace." But "people's war" and "people's peace," if they are to mean anything at all, mean direct control of all power by the masses of the people—socialism in short. And their pretty bubbles cannot divert us from the fact that shrewd politicians Roosevelt and Churchill, leaders of the vanguard of the capitalist system, hold firmly in their hands the reins of power. (Let us not forget that the Roosevelt government was one of the chief gravediggers of potentially socialist Spain. As for Churchill, his ideas of democracy reached their height in pre-war adulation for Mussolinian restoration of the "grandeur of Rome.") True, there may be a "sort" of socialism during and

after the war but indications are that it will be the counter-revolutionary socialism of private capitalism in its downgrade trend. It will boil down to the socialism of that capitalist trojan horse in the war against the workers—the State as the supreme judge. The reformist socialist was a peculiar contradiction in peace. In war, when the bourgeoisie has the "argument" of patriotism, he is even more peculiar.

With the outbreak of the war, the working class paid for its inertia of the past, its lack of international solidarity with the workers of other lands. It paid for the time it allowed, with slight protest, the Allied intervention against the Russian revolution, thus affording the Bolsheviks a handy excuse for establishing their absolutist state, the pattern for Italian fascism. More recently, it paid for its lack of solidarity of direct action with the Spanish struggle against Franco and for a better life. And now Labor will be rewarded for its apathetic support of the ruling class with the iron chains of the total state.

Is this outlook too pessimistic? Viewing the scene dispassionately—Labor's nose held securely by Government and opportunist labor leaders—our view is probably not black enough. Despite it all, there remains a glimmer of hope. Desperate hope, but hope. It is the probability, as other wars have taught us, that in the event of a long drawnout conflict in which all the belligerents are too exhausted to impose a "peace," the common people, weary of too much "blood, sweat and tears," will take things into their own hands. Then, the revolutionary maxim holding true—"Revolutions though vanquished establish the course of the evolution that follows"—the masses will draw their inspiration from the Great Spanish Revolution of 1936, when free socialism first saw the light of day.

—W. O'C.

SOMETHING TO SAY?

Then why not say it? WHY? welcomes to its columns all friends and comrades. We are trying to make this paper as close to being the voice of the American libertarian movement as we can. But we can't if you don't write us and tell us what you're thinking. Even if it's a 1000 word article, a novel, a poem—or just a card raising hell over something we've printed. We don't promise to publish all we get, but as much as we can.

Why not write WHY? now!

The British Labor Front

When the Churchill government came into power, the British Labor Party agreed to an electoral truce which committed the three parties in the government to fill all parliamentary vacancies with candidates who were of the same political party as those whose seats in parliament were vacant. For example, if a seat held by a conservative was vacant the liberals and laborites were obliged to support only the conservative nominee. Thus, no election contests could take place. In exchange for labor support, this government of "national unity", the Labor Party, was given certain cabinet posts. However, the cabinet remained preponderately Tory (conservative). The war efforts, administrative control, formulation of policies affecting the people of Britain were, and still are, in the hands of the most rabid labor haters. In their hands lies the fate of the English working class.

Voice of the Rank and File

The individuals who represented the British Labor Party in the cabinet were old line political schemers who have for years misled and bamboozled the rank and file of the workers. Bevin and Morrison can be compared to the old line A. F. of L. fakers, ala Gompers, Wohl, and Mitchell.

At the recent annual conference of the Labor Party, the voice of the rank and file made itself heard. The opposition to continued collaboration with the government was enormous. The opposition represents a profound dissatisfaction with the manner in which labor has been treated. As the resolution adopted at the conference says, "The socialization of the basic industries and services of the country and the planning of production for community consumption is the only lasting foundation for a just and prosperous economic order in which political democracy and personal liberty can be combined with a reasonable standard of living for all."

Harold Laski, in a speech to the conference, took Churchill to task. Said Laski, "Mr. Churchill has agreed that this is a people's war. We mean to win it, but we want a pledge from him that from a people's war will issue a people's peace." Is a pledge from Churchill, that is the Tory class, all that is necessary to insure this people's peace? This is typical of the attitude of social-democracy throughout its inglorious history. At every crisis the social democracy could formulate fine resolutions; to carry them into effect they always propose some piece of political horse-trading. It appears that they have learned nothing from the defeats of the workers in Germany, Italy, France, and elsewhere. They have always relied on the promises of their enemies and now they seem to be well satisfied that all that is necessary is the worthless pledge of the class enemy of the workers, the Tories, whose man Churchill is. A number of naive people tried to translate the fine phrases into action. One resolution called for immediate removal of big business from control of war industry, the other resolution demanded that the party's program which calls for socialization, economic and social betterments, be put into practice *now*, and not *after* the war. These proposals were, of course, rejected.

Revolutionary Action Needed

The opposition to the opportunism of the labor party realizes that if the Labor Party, in the stress of war, voluntarily surrenders its power for a mess of political pottage, it will certainly be in no position to carry out its program after the war.

Different methods than those indulged in by the Labor Party will be necessary to transform the social system. The organized might of a labor movement determined on overthrowing the capitalist class by the use of its economic power will be necessary. Such a movement must rid itself of the politicians from *within* and must be established on the principles of direct action and workers control of industry, by the workers, and not the politicians.

—Bill Young.

As The Chains Tighten

TOWARD

Let us confess it candidly: we are no friends of governmentalism. As free thinking people, all its meddling in the life of the individual revolts us. All the regulations, laws, and orders emanating from the multitudinous organs of the government telling us what to do and what not to do, under continuous threats of this or that penalty, simply makes our blood boil.

Little by little we are codified, restricted, ordered, imposed upon in every minimum activity of life. The sphere of our free initiative is being so circumscribed, the freedom of our movements so limited, the means at our disposal for exercising our prerogatives as so called free citizens of a free country are being so much taken away from us every day, that to call ourselves still free, begins to sound quite a bit ridiculous.

If we turn our eyes to that Babel city, capital of this union, we feel a shiver run down our spine. At every hour of the day or night by means of the mail, the press, the radio, a continuous and ever increasing flow of propaganda is stampeding us, cowing us into submission to the will of the master politicians. *Flash!* Don't talk aloud about war; do what you are told, silently, obediently, or you are a traitor to your country. *Flash!* Don't criticize your government or you undermine the morale of the nation, and again you are a traitor to your country. The master politicians can't be wrong, put that in your head, you little nobodies who dig in mines, till the soil, run the trains, sweat at the furnaces, turn the wheels of industry. We make the laws, you'll obey them. And, by golly, we'll make plenty of laws for you to obey.

We shall tell you what to eat, what to wear, what to do, what to think. Honorable citizen, put your brains away for the time being; we, your proud representatives, will do all the thinking for you. And this disciplining, this regimentation of the minds and the bodies, is going on all around us. Gradually it extends over a greater and greater part of our lives, both public and private. No matter in what direction we turn, the eyes of the government are cast upon us, and its finger threatens. Better go straight. I'm watching you! The implication is that we are only half developed in our head, and we need to be told what to say and what to do by the mastermind politicians, or untold cala-

It has long been realized by observers and students of economics and politics, that the old Capitalist system of "Free" enterprise, competition and unplanned economy could no longer command the obedience of the working people, could no longer satisfy the needs of society. Chronic unemployment, starvation, continuous panic produced a state of unrest among the peoples of the world. This unrest crystallized itself into the growing consciousness of millions of dispossessed workers that some form of Socialism must be instituted. Capitalism was bankrupt, had outlived its usefulness; the time was ripe for a new society which would abolish capitalism and institute a better life for all the people by the socialization of economic life, abolition of inequality, a planned economy which would at least give the common man his rightful share of the abundance of goods and services which he produces.

The lamentable failure of the authoritarian socialist movements (Communists, social-democrats, and offshoots of the same) to inspire and rally the workers for the overthrow of capitalism and the institution of socialism, gave the Capitalist class a

miseries are going to befall us, and through our fault—to the country.

And the tragic thing is, that those who pretend to have minds for us are the same who in the last decade (without going any further back) have committed blunder upon blunder,—to put it mildly,—and for their blindness, stupidity, and even complicity, have helped or tolerated the rise of totalitarianism, and brought humanity to the bloody situation through which the world is going today.

And, we are supposed to keep silent. We are supposed not to point out their blunders and responsibility. We are supposed to let the politician suppress our rights, curtail our freedom, play with our lives, under the pretext that if we criticize them, we are undermining the morale of the nation.

And so every day, we get more regulation, more laws, more taxes, and the masses of the people—this good American people—take it all under the chin with the most indifferent and exasperating docility, making this country little by little another paradise for authoritarianism.

But, it is our duty, the duty of all lovers of the real freedom, to resist, to oppose this trend toward total regimentation, before this nation too begins to look like any other totalitarian country.

—J. P. F.

TOTAL REGIMENTATION?

breathing spell in which to consolidate their forces, and work out a solution to their problems.

That solution was the complete control of the economic life by a highly centralized political bureaucracy organized into a totalitarian state with unlimited powers. This state represented a new phase of capitalism. It based itself not on the old system of *free* capitalism and unregulated economy, but on a *planned* and regulated economy under *state* administration. The new economy was not designed to help the workers. The fruits of the planned economy was for the benefit of the holders of power, the State apparatus and the section of the capitalist class that was willing to work with it.

The Essence of Fascism

The proper functioning of such a system demanded the abolition of democracy, and any and all oppositions. The trade unions, which under the old capitalism were organs for the promotion of the interests of the workers, were converted into state agencies, whose functions were to keep the workers in line and prevent them from upsetting the delicately adjusted state economy by strikes, slowdowns, and the like. Wages, prices, conditions, and hours of labor were all set by the state. There being no effective force left to impede the regime of terror, the state proceeded to lower the standard of living, cut the wages, and lengthened the hours. In short, mass production under a planned economy was harnessed to coolie wages and living standards. This system of scientific exploitation is the essence of Fascism.

Fascism is not a phenomenon peculiar to Germany or Italy. It represents the line of development that must be followed by every capitalist country. The tendency toward Fascism is manifest in the growing power of the State apparatus, in the regulation and control of the life of the people by the Democratic governments. The initiation of the "New Deal" which followed the collapse of 1929 initiated a new period in the evolution of capitalism in the U. S.; the period of a greater and more and more embracing state control. Such acts as wage hour laws, public relief, freezing of wages, rents, price control, priorities, freezing of the worker to his job, and all of the other innumerable rules and regulations which extend into every branch of life illustrate this trend. The government has become the chief investor and the chief buyer.

As a necessary corollary of the growing power

of the state, a new and vast bureaucracy has arisen. The hordes of ambitious politicians and "liberals" and young ambitious college grads are seeking government posts; now the only career left open to them. Private capitalism is being transformed into state controlled economy. The war has merely accelerated a process which has been going on for years.

Fascism is the flowering of this tendency, all the countries are in a greater or lesser degree forced to follow along that road.

The Roots of the War

The economic reasons for this war can be more readily understood when we consider that the axis powers, having set up and perfected the fascist system, have gained certain advantages over the democratic capitalist countries who are still in the process of becoming fascist.

As we have said, coolie labor, harnessed to mass production in addition to planned economy can turn out and sell goods to the world market at less cost than countries who still have to pay higher wages, and have no planned economy. The reasons for this war are not that Fascists are bad people. England did not think so before this war, neither did the international bankers. German, Italian, and Spanish Fascism would never have attained power without the consent of these gentlemen. As long as the fascists minded their own business and did not infringe on the holdings of the Democratic capitalists all was well. But, when the fascists decided to widen their field of operations and outbid the Democratic countries on the foreign market, and threatened to take their possessions away, the democracies decided to fight.

Now, in order to compete with a fascist economy on the foreign market, it became necessary for the democracies to adopt the same methods and system as the fascists have. In order to fight a war against the fascists it becomes necessary to adopt fascist methods. Thus, the democracies are willynilly transforming themselves into fascist states.

Not Temporary

It is claimed by well meaning persons that the enormous powers of the new super state are of a temporary nature due to war necessities. They fail, however, to realize that this is not a temporary affair, but that the war has ripened the seeds of fascism and that the terrifying system into which

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Spanish Notes

REVOLUTIONARY EFFECTIVENESS

In order to consider the fight of the "men of the people" today, we have to do so with a questioning attitude. If Politics, as an art or profession of governing people has been proved a failure, why haven't we learned from the principles dictated by the administration of things?

The Spanish war and revolution is the best example of the revolutionary effectiveness of these principles. At the beginning, when the military revolt of the fascists against the existing government began, the workers (that is, only the workers' syndicalist organization with the scanty and vacillating help of political and military groups) massed in the streets. They won in some sections and lost in others. But they knew how to combine the fight at the front with the fight behind the lines.

It is appropriate now to write the history of their deeds. Much has been said, with questionable intentions, about the failure of the syndicates. We ask these people: who bore the burden of the war and the revolution? When food was needed to feed the militia, the agricultural syndicates were on the job; when more manufactured goods were needed, the syndicalist unions went to work without first passing resolutions. The bourgeoisie had fled. There was a decided lack of industrial directors who knew how to plan production in the factories; the large landowners were gone and the state remained powerless. It was at this time that the syndicalists took the responsibility of reshaping society and a new "organization of things" was set up. Due to international complications the Spanish syndicates were yielded to the state and to the professional political interferers. From then on, there was an apparent decline in the morale of the people.

The Spanish syndicalist workers knew that they could not win the war without consolidating the revolutionary gains. They continued fighting with the eyes of the revolutionary workers all over the world watching their successes and failures. It was something entirely new. A social phenomenon of the organization of things instead of political regimentation appeared on the scene in a large scale for the first time. We were shown that it is within the realm of possibility to have a more perfect and a more just society based on manifold and coordinated collaboration. Depending on the penetration of these teachings in Europe, we can say without being prophets, that the new post-war era will be more or less an administrative society. Syndicates

will play a very important role. Note that the effectiveness of unions of the same nature as we have in the U. S. A. (merely caricatures of real workers organizations) will be practically at the zero point.

The only hope for the future of the working class is that it will be able to participate in the administration of the necessary functions of life in all capacities; as producer, as consumer, as citizens. So only will the inequalities of our society be resolved.

SOLIDARIDAD OBRERA

Nearly all the groups of Spanish exiles have their own organs of expression. The most important sector of exiled Spanish thought lacked any means for letting itself be heard. The political intrigue, instead of diminishing and disappearing in expatriation are growing and becoming more and more insolent. In order to counteract this avalanche of vile persecution, the CNT in exile, the Spanish workers organization with the most admirable history, is going to republish the Solidaridad Obrera (Workers Solidarity).

We extend our best wishes to our friends in the Iberian syndicalist organization and hope that they will receive all necessary financial support. Those interested may communicate with WHY or write directly to Delegacion Confederal Apto. 1263, Mexico, D. F.

CONTRADICTION

Our Vice President, Henry A. Wallace, has spoken to the countries of Central and South America assuring them of our victory over Nazism and Fascism due to the intervention of the "man of the people." He paid homage to the fighters of the famous revolutions of history and mentioned for the first time the Spanish war and revolution.

There is a vast contradiction between the words of our Vice-President and the official attitude of the U. S. A. Antifascists and "men of the people!" No better names could be given to the thousands of Spanish refugees slowly dying in the concentration camps of France and North Africa. The various groups of Spanish exiles have been continuously asking the U. S. to abet the plight of these victims of fascism but they are met with the premeditated deaf ear of the Yankee government.

How noble to speak of the dead "men of the people" and ignore the only ones who know how to fight fascism, the Spanish workers.

FOR WORKERS'S ACTION

That the end of this war must inevitably bring about social changes of far reaching character, cannot be doubted. It is pretty well agreed that the system of Capitalism as we have known it is dead and cannot be revived. The theoreticians and social philosophers of practically all the political parties, as well as the middle class "liberals" are pretty well agreed that the new order which will come out of this catastrophic holocaust of war will be one in which the socialization of the economic life of the world in accordance with planned economy, will usher in, as vice-president Wallace said, "The Century of the Common Man."

How?

To translate these laudable objectives into life is the great task of our times. Who will initiate this new social order, and how will it be done? On the answer to these problems, there is no longer so much agreement. If the social changes are to be engineered by the combined force of the victorious powers, we can look forward to the centralization of economic and political power in the hands of a sort of super-state. The state, and by the element which compose it, the beureacrats, administrators, or what James Burnham calls, "The Managerial Class" would rule. The exploiters who were driven out of the window of private capitalism would sneak in again through the back door of state capitalism. Thus would the same tragic drama re-enact itself under a new title. The social democrats and other state socialists of the Marxist persuasion want a socialist system, without any capitalists in it. But, they also wish to enlarge the functions of the state, thus creating a new exploiting class, in essence, the same

as that profected by the victorious powers.

For the advocates of a social system in which the people who do the work of the world shall control and administer their own social political and economic affairs, the solutions of the authoritarians will not fill the bill insofar as the workers are concerned.

Free Socialism

The libertarians' or free socialists' aims are trying to establish a world in which the principle of freedom will underlie the social structure. The means of production and distribution must be socialized under a planned economy, but the socialization and planning must be done by the organizations of the people themselves, that is, the co-operatives, industrial unions, councils and shop committees through their freely chosen representatives. The organs of the people unite to build and operate the social order, they are at all times subject to the will of the people they represent, and can be recalled at any time. The libertarians desire a functional democracy, which means that those who do the actual work will do the administering. The libertarians hold that the "administration of *things* and not the government of *men*" should be the guiding principle of society. While no social system can be perfect, the principles proposed by the libertarians will at least guarantee the maximum amount of liberty consistant with social life, and reduce compulsion to a minimum. The authoritarians however wish to build up the principle of co-ercion to a maximum with a minimum of liberty. One wishes to build from the top down and rule by decree, the other builds from the bottom up and rules by consent.

The economic experts, planning commissions, administrative committees, and all the other countless bodies who do the actual coordinating of functions are now employed by the state. It is *they* and not the State who do the work. They would, under a libertarian social order, work with and for the associations of producers and distributors.

ON THE ALERT

A rigid censorship of foreign language periodicals in the U. S. is fast approaching. It is good to hear the sane attitude of one portion of the Spanish colony here. They will continue to publicize the valiant struggle of the Spanish workers, the real antifascist struggle, as well as to come to the help of any revolutionary no matter what race or language.

Coercion or Freedom?

Those who rely on the centralized exploitive state to lead them out of the wilderness and wish the state to build and control the new society, must be prepared to accept the domination of the state. They must also expect that self-same state to recreate in a new form the inequalities, exploita-

tion and other abominations that this self same state was supposed to obliterate.

The libertarians hold that the working class and its organizations the cooperatives, the voluntary associations of the people, the most progressive forces in society, alone are able to abolish the system of organized violence and crime known as capitalism. They alone can build up the new social order and the classless society. Any and all tendencies in modern life which encourage and further this aim receives the full support of the libertarians.

The European labor movement of the pre-war period was for the most part authoritarian and afflicted with the disease of State worship. The new labor movement must base itself on a correct understanding of the principles enunciated above. In doing so, the libertarian tendencies which characterized the labor movement from the time of the first international must be revived and modernized in accordance with the needs of the time. The slogan of the first international, "The emancipation of the workers is the task of the worker themselves" is still the bedrock upon which a free society must be erected.

SUGGESTED READING

WHY? is not enough! For a fuller understanding of the libertarian movement, the following list of books is indispensable. Most of them can be obtained from public libraries. Write us if you have difficulty in finding copies, and we will try to secure them for you.

GOD AND THE STATE: Michael Bakunin.

NOW AND AFTER: Alexander Berkman.

A CHANCE FOR EVERYBODY: H. Dubreuil.

LIVING MY LIFE: Emma Goldman.

CONQUEST OF BREAD; FIELDS, FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS; MEMOIRS OF A REVOLUTIONIST; MUTUAL AID: Peter Kropotkin.

POETRY AND ANARCHISM; TO HELL WITH CULTURE: Herbert Read.

ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM; NATIONALISM AND CULTURE: Rudolph Rocker

SELECTED LETTERS OF SACCO AND VANZETTI.

KEEP THE PAPER GOING!

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

Certainly these are the times, with freedom so endangered and trampled upon, when the voice of the libertarian movement needs most be steady and strong. Our efforts are humble enough as things are. The cost of putting out WHY? is small. But it is too large for our little group to handle month in and month out. We therefore appeal to our readers and comrades to send all they can spare, and as soon as possible. Even the smallest amount will help. Only if you respond can we keep going.

Your contribution, if in time, will permit us to publish next month something special in commemoration of the Great Spanish Revolution begun July 19, 1936. Comrades, do not let the meaning of that day die! Keep the paper going!

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democratic capitalism is evolving is now upon us.

The new oppressive forces will not abdicate. They will remain to police the world. No political or economic hierarchy has ever voluntarily surrendered its powers or committed hari-kari.

It is the task of the labor movement in the democratic countries to arrest this dangerous tendency; to demand a greater and greater voice in all matters affecting its welfare; to insist that the civil rights, the gains that labor has conquered in years of bitter struggle be retained; to expose those fascists who drape themselves in the flag of liberty. Labor must organize in such a manner as will preserve its independence and economic power. The workers must fight against fascism abroad and at home. The cause of freedom cannot be served by the blind and unconditional acquiescence of labor to whatever policies the ruling class inaugurates.

—Charles Storm.