

A BULLETIN OF

WHY?

FREE INQUIRY

SUPPORTED BY VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS

ANTI-FASCISM VS. ANTI-FASCISM

Superficially, all who oppose the regime of Hitler, Mussolini, and company, are anti-fascists. Actually, each has his own concept of what anti-fascism is.

Lord Halifax, foreign minister in the Chamberlain Cabinet, deeply religious hater of the Spanish Revolutionaries, is *now* an anti-fascist. Churchill, one time admirer of Mussolini, hater of labor, chief strike-breaker (1926 General Strike), defender of imperialism, is *now* an anti-fascist. The Polish government in exile represents the Poland of slavish repression. This Poland, which grabbed a piece of Czechoslovakia unwanted by Hitler, is *now* anti-fascist. Poor helpless Greece, where Premier Metaxas, and his puppet King George instituted a dictatorship and the suppression of the masses almost as heartless and ruthless as Hitler's, is *now* anti-fascist. The "Free French" who want to restore the same system which spawned fascism are also anti-fascist. So is the Mazzini "Free Italy" movement. Totalitarian Russia, pioneer of fascism, where "Liberty is a bourgeois virtue" (Lenin) and the state drains the blood of the people, is also anti-fascist. So are the other State-Socialists who aim to establish the dictatorship of the bureaucracy, the rule of the mediocre. Herbert Hoover, Wall Street, Standard Oil, who want to safeguard "Free Enterprise" (the right of the capitalist to work his slaves to death without interference) are also anti-fascists.

When two thieves quarrel over booty the gangster who gets the lesser share does not thereby become an honest man. Yet, these are the people who will face each other at the peace table. The kind of peace they will make is bound to reflect their class position. Any peace made by these elements must inevitably lead to future wars since all the institutions and the abuses germinated at such a peace table, will, with slight modification, be left intact. All the roots of fascism will be fertilized and allowed to grow.

These are the anti-fascists who now control the conduct of the war. Under cover of military necessity they are entrenching themselves in such a way as to assure their continuance in power after the war is over. The bulk of the anti-fascist movement is composed of workers, peasants, and oppressed minorities. It includes all sorts of people with all sorts of views and prejudices: from devout Catholics, Jews, Protestants, Mohammedan, Buddhists, to fanatical nationalists, and ardent revolutionaries. The oppressed "minorities" and the nationalists, are anti-fascists merely because they wish to be left in peace. They want to keep right on being clannish. They demand the right to sit in their Ivory Towers. The fact that churchism and nationalism are in themselves the breeding grounds of fascism does not concern them. As someone once said, "People do not wish to be free, they wish to be safe." There are, however, other anti-fascists who understand that the defeat of fascism must be accomplished radically by tearing out the root causes, the religion of statism, its corollary, nationalism, and the system of exploitation in all its manifold forms. To accomplish this, the means of life must be in the hands of the people who do the world's work. Society must be rebuilt on the solid foundations of human solidarity and freedom.

Viewed from this angle, the war against fascism cannot be successful if it is waged only to restore capitalist democracy to create a Super-State-controlled society. True anti-fascists demand a radical change. Archaic and monstrous social institutions can be swept away only by the swift current of social-revolution. The fight against fascism must, by its very nature, constitute a revolutionary act. Not just "Anti-Fascism," but *Whose* and *Which* is the question.

TWENTY YEARS AFTER

Bartolomeo Vanzetti disembarked at Ellis Island in 1908. His expectations of the new world were high, but his dreams were shattered when he saw the cruelty of the officials at Ellis Island, and when he saw the misery and debauchery of this country. Vanzetti, "underwent all the suffering, the disillusion and privation that inevitably come to one who immigrates at the age of twenty, ignorant of life, and something of a dreamer. Here he saw all the brutalities of life, all the injustice and corruption in which humanity struggles tragically."

The obscure years after his arrival to the "shore of freedom" brought Vanzetti into closer contact with the poorer strata of society. Through discussions and study of anarchist literature, Vanzetti became a sincere and true defender of liberty and justice.

In 1920, because of his anarchistic ideals, he and Nicola Sacco were arrested in Plymouth and electrocuted August 22nd, 1927, for a crime they did not commit.

Sacco, like Vanzetti, was brought up in a strict catholic atmosphere. He had no formal education, but he was alert to the misery and rottenness of this country.

When he landed at Boston from Torremaggiore, a province of Foggia, at the age of seventeen, he was an Italian Republican. Dissatisfied with what the republicans had to offer, he turned to socialism and later became a follower of the intellectual-anarchist, Galleani, who was living in Massachusetts at the time.

Sacco, a man of action, not of words, participated in many strikes, and in all anarchist meetings. Arrested unjustly on May 5, 1920 with Vanzetti, Sacco rebelled with all the energy and force of his body. He abhorred the speculation on his case and resented the interest of philanthropic friends.

After seven years of imprisonment, his faith in his ideals remained unshattered and when he was taken to the death chamber, his last message was, "Long Live Anarchy."

—B. C.

We reproduce the last letter of these two martyrs for the cause of liberty and justice.

August 21, 1927. From the Death House
of Massachusetts State Prison

Dear Friends and Comrades of the
Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee:

After tomorrow midnight, we will be executed, save a new staying of the execution by either the United States Supreme Court or by Governor Alvan T. Fuller.

We have no hope. This morning, our brave defender and friend Michael Angelo Musmanno was here from his return from Washington, and told us he would come back this afternoon if he would have time for it. Also Rosa and Luigi were here this morning, and they too promised us to return this afternoon. But now it is 5:30 P.M. and no one returned yet. This tells us that there is no good news for us, for, if so, some of you would have hurried to bring them to us. It almost tells us that all your efforts have failed and that you are spending these remaining few hours in desperate and hopeless efforts to evitate our execution. In a word, we feel

lost! Therefore, we decided to write this letter to you to express our gratitude and admiration for all what you have done in our defense during these seven years, four months and eleven days of struggle.

That we lost and have to die does not diminish our appreciation and gratitude for your great solidarity with us and our families.

Friends and Comrades, now that the tragedy of this trial is at an end, be all as of one heart. Only two of us will die. Our ideal, you our comrades, will live by millions; we have won, but not vanquished. Just treasure our suffering, our sorrow, our mistakes, our defeats, our passion for future battles and for the great emancipation.

Be all as of one heart in this blackest hour of our tragedy. And have heart.

Salute for us all the friends and comrades of the earth.

We embrace you all, and bid you all our extreme good-bye with our hearts filled with love and affection. Now and ever, long life to you all, long life to Liberty.

Yours in life and death,

Bartolomeo Vanzetti
Nicola Sacco

This Reconstruction Business ^{by} ETHEL MANNIN

The British are a very curious people. Once, you may remember, they were going to hang out their washing on the Siegfried Line; nothing much may be said to have come of that except a short-lived popular song success. Now the popular theme-song would appear to be,

The more we are defeated
The more sanguine we will be!!

Every fresh defeat is followed by a fresh wave of optimism, and renewed reconstruction and retribution talk. Once it was the U.S.S.R. that was going to save us; not it is the U.S.A. Once it was air supremacy, now, it seems, it is the long-talked of and long-agitated-for Second Front. The ejection of the British from Norway and France is now old history; since then there has been Greece, Crete, Malaya, Singapore, Burma, Libya. Said the NEWS CHRONICLE after the fall of Tobruk, "Whenever we have come up against Hitler's forces, or against the Japanese, there has been the same monotonous record of defeat." Back in February last a writer in THE OBSERVER, (London), was pointing out that there was 'no Divinely appointed ruling to the effect that the British shall never lose a war.' That was after the fall of Singapore. The 'dismal record', as the NEWS CHRONICLE called it goes on, and still the British babble o' green fields—the green fields of post war reconstruction, that land fit for

heroes of which we heard so much in the last world-war (the one that was to end war, if you remember). With Rommel gathering his forces for what must almost certainly be the decisive battle of Egypt, with Alexandria and Suez threatened (no sooner had Rommel swept on into Egypt after the fall of Tobruk than the DAILY TELEGRAPH hastened to assure its readers that if Alexandria fell it would not close the Mediterranean to the Allies—there were other ports available) we find the DAILY TELEGRAPH for July 11th detailing plans of 'six-track highways linking London with every other great city, running through a series of green belts' as 'the foundation of post-war replanning.' Ministers and M. P.'s are always telling us, at austerity banquets, how, after the war, public schools are going to be made really public, so that every errand-boy may have an old school tie and, 'tis to be hoped, a varsity accent; how many country houses, the stately homes of England are to be handed over to the nation, and a good time, generally, to be had by all. Suggestions on the design, planning and equipment of houses and flats, after the war, were invited by a special sub-committee set-up by the Ministry of Health's Central Housing Advisory Committee quite early this year.

During the last war there was the same confident talk, the same fine promises; and when it was all over, we had what was called a 'Reconstruction Government.' We had two million unemployed, a trade slump, and a nightmare of ribbon development along the new by-passes, desecrating the English countryside. Men wearing Mons ribbons hawked matches in the gutter, ex-officers turned the handles of barrel-organs and tried to sell vacuum cleaners from door to door. . . . But the masses have no memory. Or have they? Not even politicians can fool all the people all the time, and pie in the sky is all very well, but when the bread gets worse, and the eggs disappear finally in the Great Egg-Muddling Scheme (eggs, we are told, are going to be scarce 'during the next two years of war.' Surely this is a misprint for wars will be scarce during the next two years of eggs—in that visionary era of prosperity ahead of us?) the pie in the sky may become less palatable. It is not, after all very nourishing fare.

Reconstruction promises, and retribution threats—conferences of the United Nations to be called to settle war-guilt, and punish with utmost rigidity of the law, to use Mr. Brendon Bracken's words, those responsible for atrocities, such conferences and tribunals will be presided over, no doubt, by Dr. Tem-

(Continued on Page 8)

The Condemned—August 23, 1937

*Once you have killed these men, destroy
their skin*

*And bone, utterly, and hide all vestiges
Of their existence. Let only nothingness
Remain of what your prisoners have been.
Permit their friends no grave to lay them in,
Erase their writings and their likenesses,
Forbid their names in all assemblages:
Cause them to be unmentionable sin.*

*For if any one so much as named their name,
It would mean not them but you yourselves
and shame,*

*And looking on their likeness he would see
Not them in prison cells but you and me—
And would find recorded on their graveyard
stone*

*That the death we meant for them became
our own.*

WITTER BYNNER, in the New Republic

Direct Action

The following excerpt from Michael Bakunin's *Works Volume IV* makes timely reading.

"The State . . . will always be an institution of domination and of exploitation . . . a permanent source of slavery and of misery." How, then, shall the State be destroyed? "First, by the organization and the federation of strike funds and the international solidarity of strikes; secondly, by the organization and international federation of trade unions; and, lastly, by the spontaneous and direct development of philosophical and sociological ideas in the International. (*International Workingmen's Association founded 1864.*)

"Let us now consider these three ways in their special action, differing one from another, but, as I have just said, inseparable, and let us commence with the organization of strike funds and strikes.

"Strike funds have for their sole object to provide the necessary money in order to make possible the costly organization and maintenance of strikes. And the strike is the beginning of the social war of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, while still within the limits of legality. Strikes are a valuable weapon in this two-fold connection; first, because they electrify the masses, give fresh impetus to their moral energy, and awaken in their hearts the profound antagonism which exists between their interests and those of the bourgeoisie, by showing them ever clearer the abyss which from this time irrevocably separates them from that class; and, second, because they contribute in large measure to provoke and to institute among the workers of all trades, of all localities, and of all countries the consciousness and the fact itself of solidarity: a double action, the one negative and the other positive, which tends to constitute directly the new world of the proletariat by opposing it, almost absolutely, to the bourgeois world."

"Once this solidarity is seriously accepted and firmly established, it brings forth all the rest—all the principles—the most sublime and the most subversive of the International, the most destructive of religion, of juridical right, and of the State, of authority divine as well as human—in a word, the most revolutionary from the socialist point of view, being nothing but the natural and necessary developments of this economic solidarity. And the immense practical advantage of the trade sections over the central sections consists precisely in this—that these developments and these principles are demonstrated

NATIONALISM

I.

There can be no real solution of the Indian problem, as far as the day-to-day life of the Indian masses is concerned, so long as the struggle against imperialism remains a struggle for national independence. Many are dying in the smouldering strife now gripping India, dying bravely, attacked by the lathis and bayonets of British troops. Our sympathies are with them. But when the tear gas smoke clears, should the Hindu struggle continue along its present lines, no worth while goal will be in sight. The hard and brutal fight of the Indian people for human dignity and a decent life will still have to be fought.

The British imperialists will never get out of India unless driven out. The sight of their empire tottering has made them imbecilic. They indulge in rosy visions of Indian progress during the era of British domination. (If you have the time, see the last few speeches of Lord Halifax.) They cite statistics showing how the national wealth has increased 1% every year—overlooking the fact, however, that during this time life expectancy has been decreasing. The normal Indian baby has the prospect of living to the ripe age of 26. Maybe that is how the imperialists hope to solve the Indian problem . . . when the Indian hasn't any life expectancy there will be no Indian problem. This isn't too far from the truth as to how far London shareholders will go toward a solution. Ex corporation lawyer Sir Stafford Cripps, His Majesty's Revolutionary Ambassador, is bundled off to New Delhi, a plan for dominion status in his satchel—to be looked into after the war. It is needlss to enlarge on the Tory conception of Freedom and Justice. In India their high-sounding words boil down to bleak servitude for the masses of workers and peasants.

But does this mean all is right with the Nationalists? Some radicals and most liberals can't think straight when confronted with a colonial

to the workers not by theoretical reasoning, but by the living and tragic experience of a struggle which each day becomes larger, more profound, and more terrible. In such a way that the worker who is the least instructed, the least prepared, the most gentle, always dragged further by the very consequences of this conflict, ends by recognizing himself to be a revolutionist, an anarchist, and an atheist, without often knowing himself how he has become such."

and INDIA

people in conflict with an imperialist power. Their sentiments are proper but they are usually unable to draw proper conclusions. "Historical destiny" and "self-determination" are just phrases that confuse the issue. Mere struggle against a recognized evil is not enough. Too frequently has victory helped create a worse evil. Struggle for what? Is the fight for nationhood a fight that will advance the well-being of India, of the rest of the world? There are the important questions demanding solution.

Clearly the victories of fascism lay bare the sinister role played by the idea of nationalism. The writings of Mussolini and Hitler reveal that an essential of fascism is a strong national movement based upon a reflowering of national values. Nationalism, to no less a degree than capitalism, is a nourishing root of fascism. Nationalism strikes against the pressing tasks of the present: individual freedom unhindered by unjustified values outside the individual himself and the economic federation of mankind.

Nationalism in the field of human culture is utterly antagonistic to the normal development of culture which is universal in scope, knowing no national barriers. Science, the passion for justice, individual freedom, the growth of arts—whatever is best in humanity—finds origin and development in complete disregard of national differences. Nationalism smothers the creative aspirations of the individual. It is a machine that forces upon him an allegiance to an outlived tradition of ideas and values.

Were Indian nationhood a reality it would be an evil. But as presently constituted in the world today, India as an independent nation is an impossibility. The major nations would still have India under their thumbs just as much as the so-called independent nations of Latin America. And there is a greater bulwark. India is a patchwork of clashing national elements. The Hindu struggle for nationhood is opposed by an equally fervent Moslem struggle for Pakistan (a separate Moslem state). Mohamed Ali Jinnah, president of the All India Moslem League, recently stated that his 80,000,000 followers would fight to the death should Britain accede to Hindu demands. And these are just two of the national elements! From such a patchwork, the struggle for nationalism is likely to end in a bloody, anti-social civil war with British or more likely Japanese imperialism finally winning out.

—W. O'C.

The Great Confusion

Lillian Symes, ("The Call," August 7, Part 1; August 14, Part 2) has written about the bankruptcy of Social Democracy and Communism in the last twenty-five years, in an article properly entitled, "The Great Confusion."

The first part merely affirms that the State Socialists are confused. The writer has discovered nothing new, since the root causes of this confusion were known and exposed by the Libertarians in the days of the First International, way back in 1864.

One would expect the second part of the article to dispel the confusion. However, Friend Symes fails to present any constructive solution. She merely takes up the cudgels in defense of Karl Marx against his critics.

In reference to an article written by Harry Paxton Howard in "Retort," Miss Symes says, "To Comrade Howard, Marx is not merely responsible for the failure of both Communism and Socialism—but is also responsible for the rise of Fascism in Europe." In her attempts to disprove Howard's contention, she unconsciously confirms him and contradicts herself. She admits that, "The Marxist parties of western Europe were so wedded to democratic and legalistic methods, that they let fascism develop unhindered." She also declares that, "Unquestionably, the fascist leaders learned much—as they frankly admitted—from the Leninist pattern of an omnipotent, militaristic and dictatorial party state—but this does not mean that even Leninism was "responsible" for the rise of fascism, though the deliberate splitting of the labor forces throughout the world by the commintern facilitated its triumph."

If these are not the reasons for the rise of fascism, as Miss Symes claims, we would expect her to give us the low down, but she does nothing of the kind.

She lauds that part of Marxian doctrine which deals with "His (Marx's) chief contribution to sociopolitical thought—his economic analysis of the development of capitalism (which)—has been proved, practically to the hilt." In other words, Marx told the world that capitalism is bad and showed us how it worked, but when it came to a solution as to how to abolish capitalism and establish socialism, he was "Marx the prophet, the dreamer, the social revolutionary who translated what he *wished* to happen into something that was *sure* to happen." (Emphasis are Miss Symes). In short, Marx in his criticism of capitalism was *negatively right*, but when he came to *constructive* remedies, he was *positively wrong*. Such is the logical conclusion of the arguments presented by Miss Symes.

—C. S.

Union Card for Jim Crow?

Recent investigations disclose that hatred and discrimination against the Negro people is rampant in the American Labor Movement. Twenty international unions specifically bar Negroes from membership, while nine other unions, with a membership of close to a million, bar Negroes by implication. The need for labor in war industries has forced the issue of employing colored help to the fore. What was the reaction of many so-called "union men"? When the Packard Motor Company of Detroit shifted a number of colored workers to tank production, members of the auto workers union refused to work with them and staged a sit-down strike. This is not an isolated case. All over the country similar occurrences took place. There were violent fights between white workers and their colored brethren, who were told to leave the job.

The American worker and his unions are full of hates. They hate Jews, foreigners, Mexicans, Chinese, and all other orientals. Much of this prejudice is based on ignorance, and miseducation fostered by the press, the movies, and other agencies of the capitalists. A great deal of it is due to a set policy of the employers who are interested in promoting race hatred in order to keep the workers from presenting a solid front against exploitation. This attitude found classic expression in a statement made by the capitalist, Jay Gould back in 1894, or thereabouts. He said, "I have nothing to fear as long as I can get one half of the working class to fight the other half."

The capitalists have been ably assisted by the labor unions. The A. F. of L., for example, has been

instrumental in getting laws passed excluding members of the yellow race from citizenship and forbidding them from coming to the U. S. The A. F. of L. job trusts did not want to admit them to membership because "they worked for less money and flooded the labor market." This is understandable in view of the fact that the leaders of labor were more interested in a closed job monopoly by the aristocracy of labor than they were in organizing all the workers regardless of race or creed.

Race prejudice and discrimination are products of our perverted social system. The unions cannot be held solely responsible for this evil. On the other hand the labor movement has failed to educate its membership in the principles of human solidarity and equality; has even abetted the jingoes and the native fascists in injecting this infection into the hearts and minds of the working class. When labor organizations indulge in, or aid in the spreading of race hatred and discrimination, they show clearly that the labor movement is indeed very sick. It is indicative of that inner degeneration which makes labor unions a fertile ground for fascism, has rendered them helpless against the reactionary storms that are sweeping the world.

The fact that millions of men and women are organized into labor unions means very little unless these unions are permeated with the spirit of tolerance and solidarity and are motivated by the ideal of a free society.

—W. Y.

Notes from a Mariner

We tied up abreast of a British ship in a South African port. The ship had English quartermasters and a lascar crew. (Lascars are East Indian natives.)

As is customary, we exchanged visits. We showed the English our ship and quarters and they stayed for dinner. Later the English invited us to eat on their ship. "You Yankees are quite careless about these matters, what, so we must caution you: you are not to be familiar with the natives, it just isn't done, you know?" We said, "O. K., but we're not quite clear on this race question. Whom are we to shun, you or the lascars?" And then the battle started. Casualties: one of our shipmates had seven stitches on his forehead; one Englishman in the hospital with a broken shoulder.

The following day we had the lascars to dinner aboard our ship; we ignored the English.

When an English pilot boarded a ship to pilot it into Hong Kong Harbor he had three servants. One carried his cigarettes and lit them, another carried the pilot's charts, binoculars, etc., another performed

Troops Accused of Racial Bigotry

Walter White, Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, told a recent meeting of The March on Washington Movement, held at Madison Square Garden in New York, that most American troops being sent to Asia are from the South.

"Disturbing rumors," he said, "come back from the Orient of soldiers from Mississippi, Arkansas, Texas, and Louisiana treating Indians and Chinese as they are accustomed to treating Negroes in darkest Mississippi. Is there any wonder that the people of India and China look with skeptical eyes upon the beautiful words of democracy and the four freedoms which fall from white lips?"

Reprint from THE CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR, August, 1942.

The Death of Sebastian Faure

The "New York Times" reports that our comrade Sebastian Faure died on July 22 at Rouen, in the Bordeaux region, where he was born 84 years ago.

The 65 years of militant life of our comrade Faure cover almost entirely the life of the Third French Republic, and the period of growth of the anarchist movement as a revolutionary force and social philosophy distinct from all other vanguard movements.

Born into a rich family, Faure was made to study religion in his youth, and, after his father's death, business. At the age of twenty, inflamed with the ideals of liberty and justice, he rebelled against the Church and Commerce, leaving his family to devote himself entirely to human emancipation.

The works of our comrade Faure are many. As monuments to his abundant energy and clarity of thought, there are a dozen large volumes, many pamphlets, and articles published over a period of half a century in practically every anarchist paper in France. These range from the "Libertaire," which he founded with Louise Michel, to the last publications before the fall of the Third Republic.

Finally, there is Faure's life work, the "Anarchist Encyclopedia." Although he had as collaborators the most outstanding libertarian writers, the four volumes of the Encyclopedia bear the imprint of his own contributions.

Where Faure most excelled, however, was as an

such important tasks as announcing his master's presence to the captain of the ship. Their wages were one Hong Kong pound a month (about \$3.00).

To while away the time aboard ship, I caught three fish which I gave to a native longshoreman working aboard. When his English foreman saw this, he commanded the native to clean and hand over the fish to him. When I asked the longshoreman why he submitted, he pointed to the police guard, shrugged his shoulders, and said, "What can I do?"

In South African towns, a large number of natives eke out a miserable existence as human draft animals pulling rickshaws.

Sometime before the war, the street car companies and taxis employing Europeans enacted a law prohibiting rickshaws. Now, during the war, since the conductors on the trains and busses take no fares from men in uniform and merchant seamen, the rickshaw has come into its own again. Military men are urged to use rickshaws—free. Let it be said to the credit of the military men and merchant seamen that most of them pay them anyhow.

orator. In Paris (city of orators) his lectures, even in the most turbulent period of police persecution, drew crowds of eager listeners. Even in the outlying provinces where the priest and alcohol ruled, his frequent lectures were attended not only by those directly interested in the social question, but by all his many friends—and his enemies.

So great was Faure's ability as an orator, it was popularly known that the Socialist, Jean Jaures, refused to debate with him on the subject of "Socialism or Anarchism," claiming that such debate would not be of any gain to either party.

He participated in all struggles for freedom and justice from the Dreyfus case on, with all his mighty ability. As a youth, he opposed war. A member of the Freemasons, he left this society when it supported Poincare's war. He slammed the door in the faces of the patriots and "Union Sacre," forerunner of Versailles and the Laval-Petain infamy.

To implement his opposition to the First World War, he published a libertarian paper which had a short but tempestuous life, earning the implacable hatred and untiring persecution of Clemenceau. This incident remains an indelible testimony to his courage.

The "Times," in its brief obituary, stupidly presents our comrade Faure as an ex-anarchist deputy and a pacifist. Certainly the ideal of universal peace was as deeply rooted in Faure's conscience as in that of any man who aspires to the creation of a true human brotherhood.

Faure hated wars intended to preserve the wealth, power and pride of the two hundred families who dragged France to ruin. Above all, Faure was a revolutionist. All his life was spent in encouraging the revolt of the oppressed against the oppressors.

He was a pacifist only insofar as he endorsed the prevailing thought in France, which, martyred by the previous war, was trying to prevent a repetition of the catastrophe. During the fighting in Spain, Faure was not content merely to embrace the cause of the Spanish people who revolted against the fascist conspiracy of 1936. At almost eighty years of age, he went personally to Spain, to bring to the Spanish battlegrounds in vibrant oratory, the supreme answer of the revolution in action.

We should like to remember him not only as a brother, and gifted teacher of our ideal. We should like to remember him not merely for his strong character and clearness of thought, but as the good and affectionate comrade who understood the anguish of the vanquished, opening his arms to his downtrodden brothers.

*Resumé of article in L'ADUNATA,
August 8th, 1942.*

THIS RECONSTRUCTION BUSINESS

ple and Cardinal Hinsley—all made in the assumption that in the face of evidence to the contrary the United Nations will win this war between rival Fascisms. . . . When the last out-post of Empire totters there will still be British ministers to babble o' green belts, and how many hens per head the backyard poultry-keeper (having been previously advised to keep hens and help the nation's egg supply) is to be allowed to keep. . . .

But by then, perhaps, the masses will come out of their press and radio hypnotized coma and realize that it is not the hens' necks that are in need of wringing, but the politicians'; that, to parody John Ball, things will never go well in England (or anywhere else) so long as there be politicians and governments. So long as there exists the monstrous machine called the State to grind the masses into submission by which it is kept alive—like some hideous monster that thrives on human beings.

We need reconstruction, all right, but a reconstruction not dreamed of in the politicians' philosophy. We need reconstruction from the bottom, from the common people, not from the top. It is not what sort of government we are to have after the war, but how to get rid of all centralized government. The need is for a people's reconstruction program—which can only be effected through workers' control of industry through their own syndicates, and to hell with trade-union bosses, along with the politicians. In short, the reconstruction represented by complete social revolution. All else is mere reformism. 'A socialist Britain now!', cries the I. L. P., and, as Damon Runyon would say, it means nothing, it does not mean anything. The Labour Party has been

talking loosely of 'socialism' for years, and increasingly since the war. The I. L. P. wants 'a workers' government' . . . as though Russia was not enough. It clamours in Marxist language for 'a dictatorship of the proletariat', and dictatorship is an ugly word, and one which can never have anything to do with freedom. No need to go to Stalinist Russia for example; the T. U. C. is a pretty good example of the dictatorship of the proletariat—a dictatorship that refuses to support strikes in war-time so as not to hinder the capitalist-imperialist war-effort.

Whether or not this country after the war is in the position to carry out its reconstruction program for which so many blueprints are now being made, is of no importance whatsoever; if it is in a position—which would seem highly doubtful—the whole thing can amount to no more than so much reformism, whatever government may sponsor it. The basic evils will remain untouched, the many still exploited by the few. The only reconstruction of any real lasting value to the masses is *reconstruction of the whole social system into a stateless society*—that is to say an anarchist society in which men are not governed but govern themselves in the natural discipline of a true communism, whose creed is not competition but co-operation, not Marxism but mutual aid. Such a reconstruction flourished in Catalonia for a short time during the Civil War, until its superb, exciting promise was smashed by the Republican Government and the Stalinists in unholy alliance. Such a reconstruction could flourish in this country if the people had the will to emancipate themselves from the T. U. bosses on the one hand and politicians on the other. . . .

Reprint from WAR COMMENTARY, July, 1942.

MESSAGE

*Embryos of the future,
Shapeless things that people the present
As you'll take form in the midst of an
endless dream,
Shake off the weight of our beings
Judge not and live not by our deeds.*

*We lost our reason and let hatred rule
instead,
I weep, my children, for we have killed and
we have bled.
Take logic, the simplicity of living
Mould your lives into the commonplace of
things
Teach yourselves the meaning of giving
And discard the monstrosity of slaves and
of kings.*

—GAIL

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Contributions	
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Towards the October Issue of WHY?\$ 3.04

There it is, black on white, \$3.04 left. As no doubt you have noticed, this issue comes out a month late, thus an August-September issue. Unless you help us now, WHY? will never come out again.