

WHY?

A Bulletin of Free Inquiry

Vol. I, No. 8 March, 1943

NORTH AFRICA: The Cuckoo's Nest

"My enemies accuse me of being a Hitlerite; I am proud of it."—Marcel Peyrouton, quoted in *La Marseillaise*, 1-24-43

Some three months ago the American forces landing in French North Africa were hailed as the liberators of the earth from fascism and tyranny. Since then, the antics of the higher-ups seem to have caused surprise and consternation in the American press. Certainly the North African governmental setup is open to question as an anti-fascist body. The plea of "military expediency" may have been accepted by some pseudo-liberals, but the hearts of the French masses paying for Darlan's villainy, and those men and women still rotting in African concentration camps, were filled with anger and dismay.

The Jews of French Morocco have not been "liberated" from the anti-semitic laws, as yet unrepealed. According to the New York Post of Feb. 24, 1943, all the Jews remaining in Vichy France as well as in other European countries face extermination at the hands of the Nazis—yet the men who collaborated in the anti-semitism of Pétain and Laval are placed in command of the destinies of a revived French Empire.

Let us take a look into the background of some of the men who, with the approval of our State Department, have been given power in North Africa.

Giraud is a nationalist, conservative, pro-fascist and a general of the old school. Perhaps his own words will give as good a picture of this gentleman as any we could use. The following quotation is taken from Giraud's memo to Pétain which was printed in the American magazine "Life", Jan. 29, 1943: "Sincere Frenchmen who have been in Germany as prisoners of war can bear witness to its prosperity and its physical and moral health. Admittedly, the Germans do not perhaps have liberty but there is certainly neither disorder nor anarchy. Everywhere there is work, the only fortune for a people which has to live and live happily. May France remember and benefit by it!"

General Nogues, now High Commissioner of Mor-

occo, is well known for his pro-fascist, pro-Franco attitude. Many a political refugee was sent back by him to Spanish prisons and probable death. According to the New York Post, Feb. 17, the General "sees nothing wrong with his regime or Vichy associates." On the "subject of the Jews," Nogues took the line that "the anti-Jewish decrees affected a tiny part of the population."

Peyrouton, Administrator of Algeria, was in former times raised to a high position in the Vichy government through the efforts of L. J. Malery, a Deputy once banished for malfeasance. Peyrouton worked hand in hand with Vichy, arresting any liberals and radicals who were then at large in France. As Minister of the Interior in France immediately following the German occupation, he declared that the defeat of France was due to "rotten and decadent democracy." *La Marseillaise*, a Free French publication, points out that it was Peyrouton who was responsible for the first anti-semitic laws in France; Peyrouton who set up the first concentration camp in France proper; Peyrouton who arrested and interned without trial over 15,000 Frenchmen and foreigners including Reynaud, Daladier and Blum; Peyrouton who in his own words was "the first Frenchman to introduce Nazi methods into North Africa."

Our President and State Department now approve of this gentleman with the odorous career. A few months ago, however, he was poison to Cordell Hull and Co. when, as Vichy's diplomatic representative to Argentina, he established a record for mixing in the local fascist intrigue.

These are but a few of the men whom the American government now deems worthy to be administrators in North Africa and allies in this "war for democracy and the four freedoms."

It is pitiful to note the effect of this political juggling on the journalists and writers who consider themselves liberals. In their surprise and disappointment they place the blame for this fiasco on the U. S. State Department and pin their failing hopes on the President. But Roosevelt's trip to Casablanca did nothing to assuage their uneasiness. When will people realize that government officials

THE STRUCTURE OF

We present the first in a series of articles in which Howard L'Hommedieu will analyze our political and economic problems from his point of view. Although he is not "one of the bunch," his outlook is libertarian and unorthodox; we are glad to have him cooperating with WHY?

Nothing is more useful to the student of government, as to the student of engineering, than the knowledge that a machine will function exactly as its structure compels it to function. In his book, "Our Enemy, The State," Albert Jay Nock points out that when the theory of the divine right of kings was destroyed, our economic rulers had to think up a new means of persuading people to stand for exploitation. Their ingenuity gave birth to the idea that citizens of what was called a democracy were a sovereign people and ruled themselves. Very few of us took the trouble to find out what there was in the structure of the governmental machine that kept it from functioning as we desired.

Thoreau, in his "Essay On Civil Disobedience," remarks that if he relies upon the courts and legislatures to correct an injustice, his life will be gone before anything is accomplished. Our present meth-

play the government game in the government way and for government stakes? This war "to bring liberty to the four corners of the earth" is but a repetition on a larger scale of the "war to end war" fought, (and lost) twenty-three years ago.

Collaboration between democratic and fascist governments is nothing new. Liberals ought not to be so naively surprised at this latest development; fascism existed for years in many countries with the connivance of both Britain and America. It was not until Germany and Japan dared to challenge the far-flung holdings of these two great empires, and menace the freedom of the seas for trading purposes, that these two governments became so interested in "liberty for all."

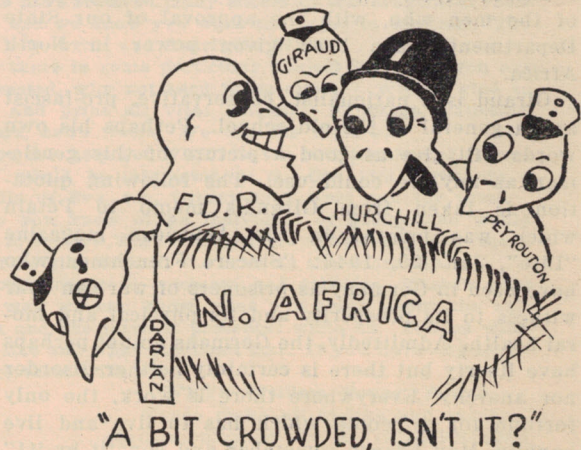
This is not an idealistic war. The United Nations are really the United Governments and the latest one to join, the French, is most certainly fascist, representing the 200 families of France who intend to maintain economic power over their unhappy people both now and after the war.

The United Nations have made a good job of feathering the nest for the French fascists. Will the fascists turn out to be the cuckoos of the brood, or is it a case of birds of a feather?

William Young

od of trying to control the government, by applying pressure to a long string of officials, is like trying to push a chain of iron links. One controls only the link in his hand. We are so well aware that our government is never fully responsive to the people's will that we are inclined to think of a politician as being a particularly villainous type of person. He is not; he is merely another human like ourselves, spoiled by power. Instead of correcting the structure of government, which enhances the natural imperfections of this otherwise harmless individual, by granting him the blind obedience of the police force, it is customary for us to imagine that a better type of person can be found and elected. We hope that another person will give us a government essentially different from what we have at any given time. This is truly a naive idea—that we could place in office a man whose physical and chemical structure was approximately the same as that of the incumbent, turn over to him the same environment of power and temptation, and obtain a noticeably better result.

If the aeronautical engineers of a generation ago had adopted the attitude of the political reformer, when asked to design an airplane, they would not have troubled themselves to build a new type of machine. It would have appeared much simpler to place a good Christian Socialist (or whatever party follower they happened to favor) in the driver's seat of an automobile and tell him to fly it. It would not, of course, fly, because it was not constructed to fly, but its failure to do so could always be blamed upon the peculiarly dishonest character of each contemporary driver, even though a con-



MAN and GOVERNMENT

stant succession of drivers failed to lift the machine off the ground.

Many of India's sympathizers feel that there is something in the Indian character which would make it possible for the Indian National Congress, if freed of British rule, to exercise their own oligarchic control over the country, in the interest of the whole people. The physical and chemical structure of Indians, however, being approximately the same as that of others of the world's population, we can be sure that concentrated power—however beautifully labeled—would result in the same abuse there as elsewhere. Gandhi's reliance upon non-violent methods may well result from his lack of army and police power. His virtue, as with others, may lie in his not having succumbed to temptations to which he was not exposed. We may well venerate such a man, whose interest in other matters—national pride, human sympathy, science, art, reputation—may partially and temporarily win out against the ordinary weaknesses of mankind, but the history of "men of the people" invariably discloses feet of clay as they mount the pedestal of autocratic power.

No invention is completely novel, but that of non-violent regulation, as applied to the modern State, is deserving of a basic patent, as a method of providing each person, official or private citizen, with exactly his full normal powers—neither enhanced in the one case, nor diminished in the other, by the automatic obedience of a force subject to official pleasure, carrying out or ignoring laws as the official chooses to interpret or ignore the law. The extension of the Indian practice of personal non-violence to the actual structure of government would involve the abolition of the prison system and the use of persuasion, arbitration, payment for damages in money only, allowing for capacity to pay; and the use of full publicity, threatening boycott and ostracism, for failure to comply with judgments.

Such regulation is truly democratic, being applied by the economic and social contacts of the person in default, in exact proportion to the public's agreement with the official decision, with ample opportunity for full rebuttal and change of mind on the part of either side. Physical violence, if used at all, would be restricted to defence against direct attack by those temporarily or permanently so unbalanced as to be unaffected by non-violent control. These are the forces which regulate most

of our daily activities—forces which have always proved adequate, except with the handful of abnormal persons requiring psychopathic treatment, or with persons subjected to extreme repression and exploitation, whose status will never improve or even be appreciated while society is regulated by violence.

There being no reason to expect a change in man, the scientific reformer will endeavor to create an environment which will give to every person an opportunity for complete self-expression, but no opportunity for self-indulgence. Only by the use of natural control shall we be able to effect genuine reform, here or elsewhere, now or at any time.

WHY WORLD GOVERNMENT?

By Ammon A. Hennacy

The chief business of all government is murder. This is true whether the government is a court in a small town condemning a man to death, or whether it is Hitler, Stalin, Churchill or Roosevelt with a war of "defense" conscripting millions to kill and be killed.

Mankind has been misled by politicians and clergy into allowing them to make their decisions. Laws and the State oppress and murder man under the guise of protecting him. Good people do not need laws; bad people do not obey them.

Government flourishes because it corrupts man who is essentially moral and good if left to himself. In a crowd, in an army, he loses his sense of personal responsibility; the evil which he does is borne by the State. Tolstoy says, "The falsehood and brutality of their action is hidden from all classes of men by the system of political organization." Of judges: "They do not do it themselves. Their servants do it for them in some faraway corner."

What Kropotkin has said of law applies as well to any proposed World Government as it does to a national one. "Law: Its character is the skillful commingling of customs useful to society, customs which have no need of law to insure respect, with other customs useful only to rulers, injurious to the mass of the people, and maintained only by the fear of punishment." When single States have kept mankind in continual depression and wars should we not expect even worse evil from a World State?

Who will head the proposed World Police? Boss Flynn? Three men not known for keeping promises will control World Government. They ask unconditional surrender of the enemy. Vengeance! Is this a moral foundation for a Free World? Stalin, murderer of his old time comrades. Churchill, organizer of the Black and Tans, former exponent of Hitler and Mussolini, denying freedom to India. Roosevelt, who ploughed under crops and drowned little pigs. These are the leaders of our New World who are paving the way for World War III.

Pay as You Go

Many years ago, long before any of us were alive and the United States had not yet come into its own as a flourishing democracy, the world was ruled by a series of despotic kings. They took all they could get from their subjects in as ruthless a manner as possible; they taxed them for all they were worth and spent the money on lavish luxuries; they accumulated riches that assumed fairylandish proportions. This kingly era culminated with the elimination of the French King, Louis XVI during the French revolution.

With the advent of "democracy" a la France and the U. S. A. in the end of the eighteenth century the denizens of the western world were constitutionally guaranteed and assured that they were part of the governing bodies. "L'etat c'est vous." We, the legislators, carry out the will of the people. We, the executors, merely carry out the will of the legislators. We, the judiciary, work on impulse and interpret the elastic clause of the Constitution.

The modern capitalist state is defined by many as a service state. Very true! From the moment you or your dog is born until the day of death, there are any number of services you receive from your government. Of course, there is a slight fee: birth certificates, death certificates, dog license, marriage license, alcohol tax, victory tax and sales tax. Yet it is a service state. Think of our postal system, our public education, our slum clearance projects, the W.P.A., the N.L.R.B., etc.

Education is all clearcut, patterned and routinized; the child in a public school in Kalamazoo studies the same subjects the Canarsie pupil does. Deviations? Send your child to a high fee private school for that, but it must be recognized by the Boards of Education. We must be sure our children will learn to be good American citizens.

As for slum clearance and relief, why are there slums and unemployment in the first place? Secondly, let us not forget for one moment that every little so-called service performed by the state is paid for by us. The only source of income any government has is our money collected in various forms of taxes. Thirdly, we have to fight for all help; it is only when our representatives see that we are desperate that they hold out a trembling hand.

In all these rules and regulations, even in pre-war days, did you or I, the average person, ever have anything to say? Yes, we know all about the "write to your President and Congressman" movements. But the passage or failure of bills is almost

always pre-arranged before the people hear of them by the Washington lobbies and log-rollers. The little pressure that could be put on the lawmakers has vanished now. Wartime allows the real face of government to show itself. All the pressure is from the top down: rules, regulations, taxes and more taxes.

Whether we live or die, because of direct participation in the war, overwork in defense industries, or malnutrition has already been decided for us in the back chambers of our government. Paul McNutt of the War Manpower Commission, Mr. Hershey of the Selective Service System, Nelson of the War Production Board, and the successor to Henderson of the OPA (whoever he may be at the time of publication) control 130,000,000 Americans directly. Indirectly, they control the whole world. What has happened to Democracy and to no-taxation-without-representation? What rights do we have with all the congressional committees and sub-committees?

The vast majority of us go our way without realizing that there is a daily government interference and that we actually pay to keep people in soft political jobs to bother us. Stop to think for a while—think of the taxes you pay every day, of the many ways 'your' government and law influence your daily life and you will see a clear picture of the service state.

Isn't it, in reality, an all-grasping, all-enveloping superstructure, a veritable network of paid officials and red tape manufacturers? The wonderful group of people that is supposed to help us! We pleaded with them for a mere pittance during the depression, when there was plenty of food, clothing and shelter. If it were not for the basic education and training received from state schools that government is our guardian angel, the hungry would have taken their own food; they would have used the uncultivated land and the empty factories and started an economically democratic production for use movement.

It seems to us that the only way to break the grip that the state or established authority has over us is to counteract it with our own form of education. People must be taught not to hold government in reverence. After all, our rulers and leaders are only part of mankind and they usually are not as competent as many of those whose rights they are usurping. We must learn to respect our own abilities and our right to pursue our own course through life. Only a determined, freedom-loving people can see such a plan through to its logical conclusion: complete political and economic emancipation.

G. A.

War in the Making

"The only way to save our empires from encroachment by the people is to engage in a war and thus substitute national passions for social aspirations."

Very honestly spoken are these words of Catherine the Great, Czarina Cadi of Russia. At least she called a spade a spade, and made it clear that in order to preserve the present slaughterhouse system, it was necessary for the slaves of all nations to butcher one another. There is the mystery of why the little people of the world are murdering one another on the universal battle field.

It is interesting to see the way our intellectual witch-doctors are spouting about the causes of this war, who is to blame, who is to be exonerated, and how different things will be—afterward—if one gives his last penny and last drop of blood—now—to help crush fascism.

One remembers clearly the day when the late General Smedley Butler, after having one "heaven-head" too much, made a nasty crack about Il Duce being a "baboon and a tyrant." That was in peace time, and Il Duce was then the darling of the world bourgeoisie. They used to sing hosannas to the tune that he had pulled Italy out of "chaos and anarchy", and—he made the trains run on time.

Sure, one remembers how the State Department told General Butler to shut his yap, stick to his soldiering and stop insulting a friendly nation, if you get the idea; although that "friendly nation" was tortured by the fascist henchmen and fed a daily ration of castor oil because they would not accept "Il Duce ha sempre ragione" (Il Duce is always right). So much for Italy.

What happened in Germany? If you take the trouble to look over the newspaper files of 1931-1932, you'll find the social democratic politicians viewing with alarm the totalitarianism of Moscow and Munich and calling upon their followers to vote for Hindenburg as the lesser evil. Then the Stalinists gave lip service to Hitler by voting in conjunction with the Nazi deputies in the East Prussian Diet for the confiscation of Jewish property. Hindenburg was elected President—and appointed Hitler Reich Kanzler.

With Hitler's appointment the labor politicians took to their heels or turned coat by offering their services to Shickelgruber. Oppression of labor unions started. Murdering of Jews was a daily occurrence in German concentration camps—but business was going on as usual, because Germany was still a "friendly nation."

The gentlemen of the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms gave fascist Germany all the leeway in the world. They even said Hitler saved Germany from the brink of revolution. He abolished unemployment and—he made the trains run on time. "You've got to give them credit," was the cry, and Credit they gave them, in cash and otherwise.

In the U. S. A., with the knowledge of the State Department, Standard Oil made all kinds of deals with the German Farben and Dye Trust while Mr. Miller wrote a best-seller, "You Can't Do Business With Hitler." To the last day of the pre-war period American and British capital was flowing into Germany, greatly helping German Junkerdom to gear its war-machine.

And even now, while at war with fascism, the gentlemen with the high hats are hob-nobbing with fascist Franco, giving him credit, cash and otherwise. For Franco is another man, who though not sharing the sentiments of the Atlantic Charter, proved himself an able statesman by murdering the union movement in Spain and also—making the trains run on time. These accomplishments are looked upon as virtues by the gentlemen in high hats.

The terrible animosity among these gentlemen is dropped the minute their power is threatened by their subjects; regardless of color or nationality these political fakers are all sharing the same pot of stew. You will never read in the pages of history that on the day of so-and-so in the Year of Our Lord, Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt encountered Mussolini, Hirohito and Hitler, and a bloody battle occurred with casualties on both sides. Oh, no! These gentlemen do not kill one another—only their subjects do that.

As for the little man whose father in the last war was out to get the Kaiser, he is out this time to get Hirohito or Shickelgruber. He'll find himself sadly disappointed. When this war is over those responsible for the catastrophe will find asylum some place in Switzerland or on the Riviera writing their memoirs. Such was the case of Kaiser Wilhelm, who died of old age at Doorn, Holland, outliving ten million suckers who battled for or against him.

It might be a good idea to stop dreaming about the day after tomorrow, and take a good look at what we have NOW. Give a little thought to what Catherine the Great said: "The only way to save our empires from encroachment by the people is to engage in a war and thus substitute national passions for social aspirations."

LEAD LINE

Plans for a New World Order

II. THE GHOST WALKS

Several months ago, Britain and the United States were buzzing over the "Union Now" plan of Clarence Streit, aimed at preserving peace through Anglo-American federation and domination of the world market. Now the buzzing has died down to a polite murmuring of nice old English ladies over their afternoon tea and crumpets; and Mr. Ely Culbertson, American authority on contract bridge, steps forward with a plan of world organization whose shrewd base in mass psychology, power politics and the best interests of Yankee capital make it the logical successor to the late League of Nations.

Mr. Culbertson calls his system The World Federation, and points out that it differs from other plans primarily in its provision for a world police force whose recruiting is based on rigid quotas. These quotas, expressed in percentages, include not only the trained man power, but also the armament plants and heavy weapons allowed each national contingent of the world police. Following the hoary principle that "to the victor belongs the spoils," the plan allots 20% of the world total to America, 15% to the British and 15% to Russia. Germany gets 4%, Japan gets 2%.

Seeds of Future War

Although this suggestion does not approach the attempt at total disarmament of Germany following the last war, it contains the identical elements of national humiliation and restraint by a superior power which plowed the psychological ground for Hitler. As to the restrictions on armament manufacturing, Germany found that commercial planes could be designed in such a manner as to be readily converted into pursuit ships and bombers despite the Allied prohibition against development of German air power. In the case of Japan, that nation had probably passed the 5-5-3 ratio even before negotiating for naval parity. Any attempt at world organization based on armed force for the suppression of the vanquished will crumble before the intrigue of secret diplomacy, imperialist statesmanship and the fierce nationalisms unleashed and encouraged by this war and the last.

Under the World Federation Plan, Germany, Italy and Japan are forced to take membership, just as membership in the League of Nations was forced on Germany as a part of the Versailles Treaty following the last war. It's a mighty nice

day's work when you can steal a man's shirt, then invite him along to the pawnshop to watch you dispose of it.

India is to remain under British control, with British troops based on Indian soil, and the Indian contingent of the international police under British command. At the same time, the World Federation Plan is played up as the one sure means of ending armed aggression between states. Is it armed aggression, or is it ping-pong, when a British soldier smashes a non-resisting Hindu across the face with a bambooo lathi?

There is a grand swapping of colonies, with Britain getting Ethiopia and the balance of Italian East Africa. Where frontiers have changed, 1936 is taken as a basis for territorial adjustment. Mr. Culbertson does not mention the status of Burma, though it should be crystal clear (even to the British House of Lords) that the Burmese do not have an oversupply of love for their former masters.

Defining Aggression

The purpose of the Culbertson plan, ostensibly is not to guarantee the spoils of war to the victors, but to prevent further armed aggression. The difficulty of defining aggression has been one of the rocks on which so many plans for world peace have foundered; Mr. Culbertson's system is no exception. Who, for instance, was the aggressor in the Spanish-American War? Was there any aggression involved when the Harding Administration browbeat Denmark out of the Virgin Islands? Or, to come right up to date, who was the aggressor in the Gran Chaco dispute: Bolivia, Paraguay, the British Shell Oil Co. and American Standard Oil, who were pulling the strings, or the American munitions firm which sold ammunition to both sides? Aggression is no longer the simple matter of pulling a trigger or marching across a frontier. In the complex world of today such a grouping as the British Isles, dependent on imports of vegetables, meat and even dairy products, could be blockaded or boycotted to starvation without a single "frontier incident." Armed aggression today is almost always the result of a long series of mutually aggressive economic acts by both sides.

While dividing the world into regional federations, Ely Culbertson manages to squeeze the entire Western Hemisphere into the American Federation, with the United States as the dominant power. This contortion to fit the Plan into the

corset of the Monroe Doctrine is only one of the provisions that give grounds to the suspicion of Mr. Culbertson's complete understanding of the rules of imperialist state-politics. Thus, when he states that the Good Neighbor Policy in Latin America is based on a "great ideal," we are sure he doesn't really need the local Chamber of Commerce to tell him it is nothing less than plain business necessity resulting from the closing of the usual markets for American products.

Insurance Against Revolution

British diplomats will be pleased to note that the World Federation Plan aims to return to power the various Governments in Exile now infesting London. These assorted politicians and monarchs, being preserved as England's insurance policy against a revolutionary Europe, are to control their states until a Constitutional Convention is called within one year. Anyone who has had experience with political machines knows how difficult it is to unseat the group in control. American and British interests find common ground in their fear of revolutionary upheaval in Europe. Post-war American foreign policy will undoubtedly be that expressed so clearly by Herbert Hoover back in 1921:

"The whole of American policy during the liquidation of the Armistice was to contribute everything it could to prevent Europe from going Bolshevik or being overrun by their armies."

The ticket agents for the Heavenly Express get the green light with the provision that a program of education will be carried on in all countries by teachers "from secular schools and religious institutions of all denominations." English is to be the world auxiliary language until a better one is found. A new St. Thomas Aquinas charging forth with holy cross and English dictionary to Anglicize the world!

The hell of it is that Mr. Culbertson's plan, particularly that part of it dealing with total American sovereignty in the Western Hemisphere and Britain's grab of Italian East Africa, is precisely the line along which the victorious financial and industrial groups will direct their power. That is not to say that even Culbertson's mathematically precise brain-child could long survive the discovery of new processes, uneven regional industrial development, and the ever-renewed battle for re-division of the raw materials and cheap labor power of the world.

Even assuming that there is a certain amount of honest idealism involved in such proposals for world control, they invariably smash their heads

against the wall of exploitation of men and materials for private profit, going the way of the League of Nations, Nine-Power Treaty, Kellogg-Briand Pact, and the Locarno Treaties.

Solid Foundations Needed

Wasting new roofing on a termite-ridden house is senseless, whether the shingles are supplied by Culbertson, Clarence Streit or the League of Nations Association. The only lasting type of world federation will be one based entirely on voluntary association, providing for the abrogation of all debts, private, national and international, and allowing no restriction on trade other than supply, demand, and transportation facilities.

To expect anything of this nature from the present rulers of the world, or from any group invested with autocratic power, is like asking a chicken to lay cornerstones. The whole setup of arbitrary frontier arrangements disregarding geography, cultural patterns and economic necessity, together with the slavish worship of man-made law serves only to perpetuate the power of political cliques. The answer lies in the break-up and decentralization of industrial power, return to the producer of the full value of his labor—and, above all, a healthy nose-thumbing for violent authority.

The greatest piece of work American labor, radical and pacifist groups can do following the war, is to do so much work for a free society right here at home that Yankee capital will have no time to clamp the lid on a revolutionary Europe and a forward-moving Asiatic people. There is no better way of showing our solidarity with the French, German, Italian and Japanese radicals who had the guts to say "No!" to war.

—Martin Thorn

DEVELOPING A FREE SOCIETY

In this pamphlet, Howard L'Hommedieu shows the process of thought and action by which ordinary people work out the details of political and economic justice, with their common sense unobstructed by illegal censorship and their actions unhampered by organized violence. It is a brief, clear outline of necessary changes, with an excellent guide to further reading.

This booklet will open up new vistas of thought to many. It presents and offers solutions to the practical problems of a social order which regards violent coercion as an evil, unnecessary thing. Although the author advocates the Henry George system of ground rent collected by the community, he does not present it as the one-and-only guaranteed patent remedy of all social ills.

DEVELOPING A FREE SOCIETY may be obtained for 15c from the Fellowship of Reconciliation, 2929 Broadway, N. Y. C., or from the author at 1637 Estes Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

—W. Y.

IN MEMORIAM: LIBERTY

HOLLYWOOD (United Press)—Paramount studios Thursday said release of the film version of Ernest Hemingway's "For Whom the Bell Tolls," dealing with the Spanish Civil War, awaits a U. S. State Department decision on toning down certain sequences at the request of Spain's Generalissimo Francisco Franco.

Prior to filming the anti-Fascist novel, the script was submitted to a Franco representative for scrutiny. During production Director Sam Wood shot each controversial scene two ways: Franco's way and as Hemingway wrote it.

In addition to the Pope, the Hays Office and the Legion of Decency, the American people now have a new censor to guard their morals in the person of Francisco Franco. The U. S. State Department, working in collaboration with the Spanish Fascists, has succeeded in holding up this film since last November. We have no particular love for Hemingway, whose version of the Spanish struggle follows the Party Line slavishly in heaping mud on the revolutionary workers. We have still less love for a State Department censorship, particularly when the Spanish Butcher heads the Committee on Morals.

A LETTER FROM PORTLAND

One of the biggest heroes of American industry today is Henry Kaiser, advertised as the miracle man of shipbuilding. The manner in which he achieves apparently record-breaking results is sketched in this note from a worker in Kaiser's Portland, Oregon yards.

Dear Bill:—

You want to know about the shipyards, the union, the type of working man. What an order!

The yard itself is beautifully laid out, with the best of everything mechanical in prodigious quantities. But it isn't made full use of or even efficient use of.

Mr. Kaiser gets his spectacular results in two ways: (1) Prefabrication of sections of the boat. This saves a lot of labor time. (2) Inefficient use of labor. Don't think I'm crazy. Kaiser's policy is to hire ten men to do the work of one. It doesn't get done ten times as fast but it is faster.

Even if a man does nothing all day long but pick up a tool and hand it to a mechanic two or three times, he is saving perhaps fifteen minutes of the mechanic's time. Multiply by 10 and you have two and one-half hours. Multiply by 10,000 and it becomes "spectacular."

Kaiser is building the most expensive boats in the world—but he doesn't care. He gets 10% of the labor costs each week. We're paying for it—so the more the merrier.

The union is owned by Mr. Kaiser. He doesn't get 10% out of the dues—yet—but after the check comes from the Maritime Commission, he doesn't need it. Rumors are the main source of information about labor doings here.

JIMMY

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

WAR COMMENTARY. Semi-monthly, inspiring publication of our English comrades, dealing with day-to-day questions in Britain and the world, without neglecting libertarian education in all fields. Outspoken in its stand against the war and for a constructive anarchist movement. **WHY?** has current and some back issues on hand, or they may be obtained from Freedom Press, 27 Belsize Road, London, N. W. 6, England.

NOW. This fine little magazine is, in the words of George Woodcock, "a forum of unpopular and minority views, ... edited from an anarchist point of view." Published by Freedom Press, London, at 50c.

RETORT. A quarterly of social philosophy and the arts. Hand-set and printed by Holly Cantine, Jr., at Box 7, Bearsville, N. Y. Current issue contains a good article on "The Myth of Automatic Progress," a write-up on "The Doukhobors" by Ammon Hennacy, material on "Marx: Prophet of Fascism?", short story, poetry. 25c single copy, \$1.00 yearly.

ENQUIRY. A journal of independent radical thought. Current issue devoted to the topic, "Political Labor and the Statist Trend." 10c from Box 257, 207 East 84 St., New York, N. Y.

THE DECENTRALIST. Organ of the School of Living. An occasional publication devoted to subsistence agriculture as a way of life, favoring decentralization of industry and opposing concentration of state power. 50c yearly from the School of Living, Suffern, N. Y.

BROTHERHOOD. Published in mimeographed form by Paul Beeck, 242 East 14th Street, New York, N. Y. A libertarian and syndicalist bulletin which does not follow the beaten path. Write for a copy.

CULTURA PROLETARIA. Spanish anarchist weekly. Box 1, Station D, New York, N. Y.

L'ADUNATA DEI REFRATTARI. Italian anarchist weekly. Box 71, Roseville Station, Newark, N. J.

INDUSTRIAL WORKER. "A strictly union paper." 2422 N. Halsted Street, Chicago, Illinois.

To Our Readers

This issue is late in going to press. The reason is not primarily a financial one; we have had to wait until the articles were received. It is hardly necessary to tell you what has happened to the young writers on whom the publication depended.

We have received many letters of encouragement from you, and we know you want the paper to continue. You can help write and distribute **WHY?**

If there is some particular subject in which you are interested, why not send in an article? We are glad to edit and print all vital material: clippings, bulletins, papers, news items. We can use them all.

You can help get **WHY?** to the individuals and groups who would be interested in it. Can you distribute a bundle of five, ten, twenty-five? Just ask for them.

Do you know of an individual or group who would like to receive **WHY?** If you are unable to get to them, we'll be glad to mail it. Send us the addresses.

Don't forget to comment and criticize. There's only one way we can know what you think about the bulletin and the ideas it presents: write us. Tell us what you like and what you don't like. If you have any ideas, share them with us.

WHY? William Young, Editor

Please make all checks and money orders payable to A. GOODFRIEND.