

WHY?

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Conscription and American Fascism

A distinguished American pacifist recently reproved his fellows for behaving more like anarchists than pacifists, because they were more vigorous in their opposition to conscription than to war. By their vociferous disclaimer, the objects of this criticism showed that they failed to recognize the implications of their stand. In the fight against conscription, begun on the anti-war field and now widening its scope, we are losing one of the most important battles against totalitarianism.

In one form or another, conscription has existed from the beginning of history, but the dismissal of its threat to the workers by reference to military conscription during the American Civil War and Woodrow Wilson's War ignores its special historical significance in the present moment. The battering down of the capitalists' anti-labor fortress by the labor movement—a fact recognized in the "labor" legislation of the past decade—and the gradual transfer of real power from the capitalists to the State, bring the phenomenon of conscription into a new perspective.

In "normal" capitalist times, economic pressures do the service which total conscription performs for the Fascist and Stalinist States. Economic laws, the rules of bread and butter, force the workingman to sell his labor to a capitalist exploiter; dependent on the capitalist for the means of existence, the worker toils for another's profit. Without the certainty of a sufficient supply of economically-forced labor, capitalism could not have been a stable, profitable institution; it could not, for that matter, have developed.

But there are dangers in allowing economic laws to do all the work. On occasions impossible to count, the workers have jointly withdrawn their labor. True, they have done so too infrequently, under betraying leadership, by wrong tactics; but they often succeeded in paralyzing, at least temporarily, the economic machine, and in forcing concessions from their economic rulers. The economic process of starving the rebels is in the long run successful, but it has too often resulted in the bankruptcy of the capitalist and in

the temporary breakdown of the delicately integrated capitalist machinery. Now conscription offers to put an end to all this.

If an employer can't attract enough wage-slaves because he refuses to offer adequate wages, hours and conditions of employment, then he can appeal to the State. The State will order the required number of workers to go to their posts of duty—where their nation needs them. If workers strike, the State will order them back to work; if they won't go back, others will be ordered to scab on them. Defiance of government edicts will be punished with all the power of the State: the rebels can be imprisoned, perhaps ordered into the army and court-martialed, and certainly black-listed. How much better is this than waiting for the workers to starve or having to frame up strike leaders to put them in jail! The State, seeking above all else unwavering allegiance from its subjects, is more than happy to apply conscription, the highest form of compulsion.

That total conscription—men and women, military and non-military—is certain to come in America cannot be doubted. In important ways, non-military conscription is already here. We have had the example of the half-effective government efforts, largely sanctioned by cowardly, self-seeking union leadership, to freeze the metal miners and lumber workers to their jobs. By determinedly ignoring these experiments in involuntary servitude, the miners and lumber workers made the regulations virtually inoperative. But the same "silent contempt" would hardly be as effective now on a national scale. Again, by threats of induction into the army, workers are forced to remain at their jobs; job-deferment is a club over the heads of potential strikers; men in so-called non-essential jobs are forced by threat of army service to betake themselves to war plants; employers are instructed to refuse to hire men quitting "essential" jobs.

True, conscription in 1943 is as yet little more total than in 1918. But in 1918 we did not have, as now, total conscription in every single belligerent European country. Nor had capitalism yet

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LABOR CONSCRIPTION BY SEPTEMBER!

Management Journal Spills the Fascist Beans

The April, 1943, issue of *Factory Management and Maintenance* confidently assures corporation executives that Congress, working under a veil of silence in the face of unanimous labor opposition, is preparing to pass the Austin-Wadsworth job-conscription bill or an Administration compromise before harvest time.

This means registration of women from 18 to 50, to be thrown into a labor pool with the men already registered by Selective Service, and shuttled around the country under a quota system administered by that agency. Refusal to accept any job at any location when so ordered carries a penalty of six months in jail, \$1000 fine or both.

Representative Wadsworth, who sponsored both the present bill and the Selective Service Act in the House, feels confident that the passage of this blueprint for industrial slavery will follow the legislative footprints of his previous brainchild. The Selective Service Act also aroused a storm of protest, some Congressmen reporting a deluge of mail which ran 97 to 1 against the bill. That did not prevent its passage, nor did it prevent one voluble Senator from exclaiming to a committee of flustered lady pacifists, "I don't care to hell and a brown mule what you want; I'll do as I think best!"

Both Roosevelt and McNutt have allowed themselves to be headlined in opposition to the Wadsworth bill. "No Civilian Draft Now—F.D.R.," said the papers on March 19. On March 2, the *N. Y. Times* headlined a story, "McNutt Fights Bill For Labor Draft." This in spite of the fact that McNutt came out for a manpower draft as far back as October 21, 1942. This lying method is being used to take the heart out of the labor opposition and sneak the bill through quietly.

As for the executives, *Factory Management* reassuringly tells them not to fear the ruthless shoving about which will be the lot of the working man and woman. "The average management man," states the article, "if he himself is satisfied that he is employed to his fullest skill in a war or essential job, can go to sleep each night with full confidence that he will awake to find himself in the same job the next morning."

It is high time labor took a lesson from the

workers of Uruguay, and stopped writing damn fool letters to Congressmen. When the politicians and industrialists prepared a conscription bill for Uruguay, the labor unions simply plastered the country with posters proclaiming an immediate general strike effective upon the passage of the bill. The Uruguayan bill was not passed.

—WILLIAM YOUNG

One Year of Publication

Much to our astonishment, and thanks to our supporters, *WHY?* has come through one year of publication and is still going strong. Your continued interest and sincere encouragement has made this possible. Contributions from Seattle to New Orleans emphasized the need for a hard-hitting libertarian bulletin.

We can find no better words to express our hopes than these of Alexander Berkman, editor of *THE BLAST*, on trial for opposing conscription during the first World War:

"*THE BLAST* preaches no dogma. Its mission is more revolutionary: to arouse independence of feeling, thought and action, without which there is no road to human freedom.

"Freedom is primarily a state of mind. It can neither be chained in a dungeon nor heralded from the throne. There is no royal road to it, though the pathways are many. *THE BLAST* proposes to discuss them.

"*THE BLAST* has no time to split hairs over policies.

"If an institution has the elements of slavery within it, we shall grill it, no matter how respectably moss-grown it has become with age.

"If *THE BLAST* can aid in sweeping away the cobwebs of tradition, and call to life the vision of a better, freer world, without oppression and legalized theft, without soldiers and bloodshed, without priests and superstitions, without politicians and graft, plutocrats and paupers, we shall not have worked in vain.

"We are but workers with a passion for Freedom and with the determination to express it in the face of all difficulty and danger.

"If you are with us, now is the time to prove your interest and solidarity."

THE FORGOTTEN PLAN

Last year, a plan to arm occupied Europe for revolt against Hitler was published by Andre Cheradame, French military analyst now in this country. It was discussed briefly, pigeonholed and forgotten.

Cheradame's plan called for parachute delivery of "guerrilla packages" to the inhabitants of Nazi-controlled territory. He pointed out that a bomber capable of carrying 2,000 lbs. of explosives could drop 200 packages of small arms, ammunition and incendiaries for guerrilla use.

With the recent British development of the Sten gun, weighing only eight pounds fully loaded and carrying 22 rounds in the magazine, Cheradame's idea became immediately practical. Here was a dismountable street-fighting weapon accurate up to 300 yards. But, except for a few odd pieces parachuted to irregulars in the French Alps, no quantity worth mention has found its way into Europe. Why?

The answer is found in the comment of *Fortune* magazine on the original proposal of Cheradame. "It is possible," says *Fortune*, "that the Cheradame plan might plunge Europe into complete revolutionary chaos from which it would take generations to recover." In other words, when you drop guns from the air, they might not get into the hands of the right people.

This all-important fear of "complete revolutionary chaos" has been expressed more than once by the master class, whether in their dollar-a-copy magazines or the confidential newsletters from Washington. It was this very fear which caused French statesmen such as Reynaud, Blum and Daladier to enforce with a vicious thoroughness all laws prohibiting civilian possession of firearms. Again, it is the same fear which is back of the statutes in the American states making it unlawful to carry small arms without a permit. When a clique of industrialists and politicians is engaged in robbing the bulk of the people (the universal custom) they very naturally take precautions to prevent the expropriation of their stolen goods.

The French workers, disarmed by the 200 families and their lackeys, were incapable of offering effective resistance on their own behalf. The

French police and professional militarists find a closer identity of interest with the Gestapo and Reichswehr than with the radical workers of their own nation. In the instance of the 5000 workmen in the French Alps trying to escape the German labor draft, United Press tells a charming little tale of smooth cooperation between the French gendarmes and German authorities to round them up.

This is the same old deal that was put across during the Spanish Civil War, when the Prieto-Negrin government kept 40,000 well-armed *Carabineros* behind the lines in Barcelona, while refusing even the most antiquated weapons to the workers holding the Aragon front. The reason? The carbines in the hands of the Barcelona police could be trusted to point in one direction: at the revolutionary workers. The Aragon front was manned by syndicalists and anarchists who would probably have used the guns to stimulate a certain little change in property rights which they advocated.

Who but the wildest dreamer would expect Imperial Britain or dollar-mad America to push the scheme of Andre Cheradame? Those who know how to use guerrilla weapons are not the eminently respectable people whom the rulers would like to see in control. When you hear of sabotage directed against the Germans in occupied Europe, you can bet your last quarter-pound of butter that it isn't perpetrated by a French magistrate, a successful lawyer, a department store executive, or a former big shot of the Chamber of Deputies. The fellow who lights the fuse is the same social rebel, the same idealist, the same adherent of the "lunatic fringe" who is hated and hounded by the politicians of all lands.

No, the Manufacturers of Law and Order won't drop Sten guns indiscriminately over the fields of Europe. More likely, they'll come in handy to shoot down workers who decide to take a few freedoms. Not the lace-paper freedoms of Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt, but the freedom to take a piece of unused farm land if you want it, the freedom to help yourself to a pair of shoes if you need them, the freedom to live a creative life in comradeship with your fellows.

CALL ME CASEY

Jones is my name. Casey Jones—the American Railroad Man. By nationality I'm an Irish-German-Swedish-Dutch-Slovak. By nature I'm a goon. My best friends and buddies are the fellows who run the American Association of Railroads.

I'm an Elk, a Moose, a Mason and a fink. Foremost I'm a white man and a Christian. And I belong to a white man's union. Ladies Auxiliary, beefsteak dinners, beer kegs, clam bakes, insurance, insurance and more insurance. Man, that's what I call a Union!

Yes, Casey, we know you. There was a fellow named Gene Debs who told us all about you. Here's what he said: "Taken in the aggregate there is no division of the working class more clannish and provincial, more isolated from the other divisions of labor's countless army than the Railway Employee. Nor is there a group or department in the entire working class that outside of its own sphere of activity is more ignorant of the labor question, or more oblivious to the class struggle and the fundamental principles and objectives of the labor movement."

The Railroad Brotherhoods are utterly incapable of waging a real industrial struggle, and the contrast to the old militant rail organizations in Europe makes this the more painful. Debs pointed out that, "Considered in any militant sense they are not labor unions at all." The whole history of the railroad organizations clearly shows that they are today neither more nor less than what they have always been—company unions.

When Warren Stone was Chief Engineer of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, he pledged his word—as he publicly admitted—to the American Association of Railroads that the B. L. E. would never strike while he was head of it. This same Warren Stone is known to have threatened J. J. Hannahan, then Grand Master of the Firemen (B.L.F.&E.) with keeping the Engineers working on the Northern Pacific and scabbing on the Firemen if the B.L.F.&E. went out on strike.

The Railroad Brotherhoods have always had the aid of the organized capitalist interests. In return they have supported all legislative bills designed to increase the power and profits of the railroads. They have always played politics—corporation politics of the dirtiest kind.

The Railroad Brotherhoods have worked together with the Corporation in discriminating against the Negro. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers does not admit Negroes to

membership. Neither does the B. L. E. nor the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, Northern locals. In the South, the B.R.T. was forced to admit them because of a shortage of white men to go braking. There is not and has never been a Negro engineer in the United States on any first-class road.

There have been no Negro firemen in the North. In the South, where they couldn't find a white man to hand fire, a Negro could be a fireman but never an engineer. Now that the automatic stoker and the Diesel have replaced the hand-fired engine, the Negro is being replaced by white men; no new Negroes are hired.

Thus we see the Negro condemned to slave at the hardest, dirtiest, and worst-paid jobs. He's the gandy-dancer, porter, laborer, engine wipe, oiler and firecleaner. And there he stays with no chance of ever getting union representation or a decent job, taking the sneers and abuse of all. Down South they are even forced to ride a Jim Crow caboose, where the Negro workmen are herded behind a partition.

The false divisions between races and crafts, with the further alienation of the railroad unions from the balance of the working class, has played havoc with the few half-hearted attempts at action into which the Brotherhoods have been forced. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers has never won an important strike. It probably has the most perfect record of failures to be found in union history. As for the educational work in the Brotherhoods, their publications are about as meaty and revolutionary as a cream cheese sandwich.

Among all the colorful characters of railroad legend, Eugene V. Debs stands out as one who realized what the railroaders needed, and went out to get it. It was Debs who, while referring to the railroad craft unions, coined the term, "Aristocrats of Labor."

Debs started on the roads as a fireman, and was editor of the firemen's magazine from 1880 to 1894. He voluntarily resigned from the post of Grand Master of the firemen when he started to build a completely industrialized railroad union. In June, 1893, Debs and others formed the American Railway Union. He organized the workers on the Great Northern. The company tried to put through a wage cut, and the A.R.U. immediately threatened to take out every worker on the road. Faced with a young, energetic union which includ-

Conscription and American Fascism (Continued)

passed through the phase marked by the 1929 catastrophe and the general emergence of fascism. Because of the changed historical perspective it is vain to hope that conscription can have its brighter side; vain to hope that if capital is also conscripted we shall enter into that glorious period of "revolution by consent" of which we heard so much from any number of starry-eyed liberals as long ago as 1940 and as recently as 1941.

Not only do we know that conscription of capital—whatever the politicians may have meant by

it—is still not in sight in America or England, but, far more important, we know that conscription of capital assures us of nothing at all except the omnipotence of the State. If nothing else did, the Stalinist and Fascist tragedies should have brought home to every worker the fact that the "democratizing" of conscription is no solution. That the sons of the wealthy served in the army would have been a sign of democracy not so many decades ago; today it is meaningless. At that time the capitalist class was the privileged class ruling the world by force, through the instrument of the State. Now the capitalist class is becoming merely an agent of the State. Forty years ago, the expropriation of the Morgans and the Rockefellers would have been highly significant, not to say impossible. Today it would be only a symbol of the increasing power of the State.

CALL ME CASEY (Continued)

ed everyone from the gandy-dancer to the engineer, the Great Northern came across on all points for one of the greatest bloodless labor victories on record.

The A.R.U. grew like a downhill snowball, and in 1894 the great Pullman Strike was fought and won. The union was getting too strong for the bosses. At the instigation of the Federal Government, the corporations used the courts and soldiers to imprison the leaders and crush the strikers. The railroad companies took the Federal action as their cue to jump in and annihilate the A.R.U.

Debs was indicted for numerous crimes. The railroad corporations demanded that he be prosecuted for conspiracy, treason and murder. After serving six months for contempt of court, Debs brought proof that the railroad corporations were actually guilty of all the crimes they had charged against him. One of the jurors conveniently fell ill, and all charges against Debs were suddenly dropped. He was, however, kept in prison for eighteen months on various pretexts to prevent him from reorganizing the A.R.U. Although the American Railway Union finally went to pieces in 1908, its victories were the only railroad strikes of any size won in this country. As the forerunner of industrial union organization, it provided labor's answer to an industrially-organized employing class.

Ed. note: *While we cannot but agree that the author of this article knows his railroads and his railroaders, we must challenge his implication that the rottenness and feebleness of the rail unions is unparalleled in the American labor movement. To show that there are others just as bad, perhaps even worse, will be the object of a series on important American trade unions by Frank Lanham.*

Happily, there is little confusion among the workers about the benefits of conscription. The worker who has felt the force of conscription, who has been ordered from his home to a job hundreds of miles away by one of the officious civilian 90-day-wonders produced by the economics schools, can disillusion the liberal who sees in conscription the germ of a beautiful socialist dream. But the workers are failing to realize that by seeking shelter under the State, by begging it for favors and protection against the still undisarmed capitalist class, their leaders are aiding the development of total conscription and all that it implies. It was sad enough when the leaders of labor time and again betrayed the workers' struggles against the capitalists; more treacherous yet is their action in leading the working class directly into the camp of totalitarianism.

Blinded by the peculiar ferocity of European fascism into a complete misconception of fascism's realities, so that they do not recognize the developing American fascism, the American workers are fighting back only instinctively and in isolated actions of desperation. They must learn the simple difference between capitalism and fascism, a difference not based on such superficial characteristics as racialism (as Negroes can well testify). The difference is that capitalism rules by starvation, fascism by the concentration camp. Total conscription succeeds military conscription as a link in the chain from exploitation by Henry Ford and DuPont to exploitation by The Leader.

—FRANK LANHAM

I Am the People, the Mob

I am the people — the mob — the crowd — the mass.

*Do you know that all the great work of the world is
done through me?*

*I am the workingman, the inventor, the maker of
the world's food and clothes.*

*I am the audience that witnesses history. The
Napoleons come from me and the Lincolns. They
die. And then I send forth more Napoleons and
Lincolns.*

*I am the seed ground. I am a prairie that will stand
for much plowing. Terrible storms pass over me.
I forget. The best of me is sucked out and
wasted. Everything but Death comes to me and
makes me work and give up what I have. And I
forget.*

*When I, the People, learn to remember, when I, the
People, use the lessons of yesterday and no longer
forget who robbed me last year, who played me
for a fool — then there will be no speaker in all the
world say the name: "The People," with any fleck
of a sneer in his voice or any far-off smile of
derision.*

The mob — the crowd — the mass — will arrive then.

—Carl Sandburg

From An Anthology of Revolutionary Poetry,
Edited by Marcus Graham

Fascism, we must remember, is not distinctly German or Italian. It does not matter what you call it or what language you use, when you lift the mask of Fascism and look at it critically, it is the suppression of trade unions, the destruction of minority political parties, the paralysis of co-operative movements, the suppression of a free press, and the illegality of strikes. The essence of fascism is the domination of the many by the few in the interests of the few.—The People's Business. J. K. Bolles.

Amid the thunder of bursting bombs and bullets, the mob, the mass, the people are being led to the slaughter once again. They go, satisfied that they are fighting the tyranny and oppression of fascism, for they have listened to the "liars who lie to the nations". They have forgotten the lessons of the past, the identity of their real enemies.

What is fascism, this phenomenon of our time? It is but another example of the extreme to which the international capitalists will go to maintain themselves in power. After the last carnage, the peoples of Europe were fed up with the death, destruction and hunger of war. The mob, the mass, the people growled and flexed its great muscles. Europe was swept by revolts. Russia, Germany, Middle Europe, Italy—all felt the fury of the people. The masters trembled, and desperately looked for someone or something to restore their old rights and privileges. They discovered that the war had produced fanatical demagogues interested only in getting personal power. The masters beamed and poured money, guns and power into the laps of fascists like Mussolini, Horthy, Mannerheim, Pilsudski and Company.

The full history of these few decades has not yet been written, but clues are leaking out. There is the sordid story of Richard Washburn Child, who as United States Ambassador to Italy also acted as agent between Mussolini and the House of Morgan. Who can deny that he was doing his job well, safeguarding American interests?

Governments, democratic or otherwise, always safeguard the interests of their "citizens". That is why the American government smiled benevolently while the DuPonts sold armaments to Hitler; while I. G. Farben (largest Nazi trust) shared patents and world monopolies with Standard Oil; while General Motors (DuPont) built enormous

tank factories in Russelsheim, Germany; while Ford built huge plants in Cologne. The "citizens" were making money by the bushel and helping to drown in blood the aspirations of the people of Europe. Everything was perfect and the politicians could concentrate on graft and swindles at home.

Today, the cry is that we should forget the past. The allied governments may have erred, but they are now great forces for liberty and freedom. The war and these governments are the only hope of mankind. The mob, the mass, the people have listened, believed, and obeyed once more. As they fight and die, the "leaders" are preparing "democracy".

The prostitution of labor unions; the end of the forty-hour week; centralization of political power in Washington; growing bureaucratic tendency in government; national compulsory labor drafts; income taxes; "voluntary censorship" of press and radio; the use of employees of hospitals, libraries and other public institutions as informers against draft-dodgers—all, if strictly enforced, will guarantee democracy at home.

And the aim of these governments is the establishment of democracy, not only at home, but throughout the world. Giraud, Peyrouton and their thugs will guarantee democracy in France. They will use concentration camps, anti-semitic decrees and the destruction of all personal freedom to prepare the people for a free election. Otto of Hapsburg, King George of Greece, and perhaps the Italian House of Savoia will all be great factors in achieving freedom. Where these gentlemen cannot suffice, specially trained military detachments will take over.

Enough! We must see through these stupid schemes. The governments have played this game before. Liberty will be brought to Europe at the point of a bayonet, but the people will have no hand in its achievement. The economic rulers of Fascist Germany, Italy and all of Europe will want to have a say in post-war governments. Their interest, and that of all governments today is in retaining political, social and economic control in the hands of the privileged few. To achieve this end, they are prepared to do as they did in the past: establish another dictatorial regime.

The people have forgotten these things—the lessons of history. They have forgotten that no government, no war can give them liberty. Liberty lies in the realization of their strength. It can be achieved only by the destruction of all tyranny at home and abroad, regardless of the banner it flies.

DD

GEOPOLITICS: Science of the Super-State

American trade with Nazi Germany has not been stopped by the war. During the last three years we have imported from Germany peace-time conscription, ever-broadening forced labor, an Executive Department of two million, and the Cult of the Leader. Now American university campuses are sporting the new and sinister product of Nazi theoretician Karl Haushofer: Geopolitics.

"In a world that is slowly beginning once more to recognize the inevitability of the struggle for existence," writes the systematizer of this newly-recognized science, "only two elements of self-preservation take front rank." These elements are a country's potential production of food and of the raw materials indispensable for heavy industry. Coupled with an increasing birth-rate, control of food and raw materials gives a State the "natural right" to bring pressure to bear against "owners of great spaces who lack the capacity to develop their reserves of space."

Prior to 1900 geopolitics was known simply as imperialism, taking the form of a free-for-all struggle of the major powers for undeveloped colonial territory, particularly in Africa. By the time the shooting stopped, the three most successful imperialist pirates had added (1870-1900) the following territory and population:

Sq. Miles	Territory	Subjects
Britain	4,754,000	88,000,000
France	3,583,000	36,553,000
Germany	1,026,220	16,687,100

From 1900 on, the witches' brew of imperialism was boiled down into a "science" by the German Ratzel, the Swede Kjellen, and the British Mackinder. In this period of accelerated application of State piracy to China, the Ottoman Empire and South America, Ratzel's "laws" of the necessity for permanent territorial expansion by a virile State played an increasingly important role in Germany's Middle European policy. Control of inadequate space foreshadowed, according to Haushofer, the decline and fall of "the nucleus countries of the Belgian and Dutch colonial empires, to say nothing of Portugal . . . Denmark, the Baltic States, Switzerland and Greece: all of these, in view of their extent of area, are no longer capable of really independent world politics."

The European policy of the United States clashes directly with Germany's aspirations. Professor Spykman, in *America's Strategy in World Politics*, emphasizes that American domination of the West-

ern Hemisphere has always been guaranteed by the division of Europe into a number of small States—a favorable condition German policy tends to destroy. Thus, geopolitical research provides still another crushing answer to the myth that the present war is a conflict of rival idealisms. Geopolitics frankly recognizes the insatiable, clashing will to power of rival States.

An important aspect of geopolitics is the study of the development of military tactics and their relation to the geographical unit controlled by the super-state. In the days when sea power was the determining factor in wars of empire, Spain's colonizing strength was shattered by a greater sea power in ascendancy: England. The plundering of Spanish possessions started by Drake's defeat of the Armada was completed by the rising sea power of the United States in 1898, when Admiral Dewey sank the antiquated Spanish fleet in Manila Harbor.

Based on naval strength, Britain's empire concentrated on keeping its sea lanes open through the heavy fortification of such points as Gibraltar and Suez. British naval policy was on the defensive side—big guns and heavy armor-plating; Germany specialized in submarines and pocket battleships. While Britain struggled to retain control of the seas, industrial development passed her by and placed the initiative in the hands of a land power. Rapid steps forward in highway construction, armored cars, high-speed tanks, and a motorized artillery and infantry gave Germany the necessary striking force. Supported by the Luftwaffe, German land power rolled over Europe—and the British Navy was powerless to stop it.

The initiative has gone from sea power to land power, and seems to be passing into the hands of the strongest, most strategically-based air force. As this possibility looms larger, the cobwebs of a phoney idealism are being gradually cleared out of international relations, to be replaced by a frankly-avowed allegiance to ruthless power-politics. The spoils of future wars will consist not merely of economic advantage, but also the possession of areas which become geopolitically strategic.

Should air power continue to bound forward in line with the expectations of American airline executives, we can expect intense post-war interest in the fate of Iceland, Greenland, and potential air bases in Northeastern Asia. Reykjavik, Nome

Cooperative Workers Are Human, Too

With each passing year it becomes clearer that the cooperative movement cannot continue to ignore the increasingly urgent problem—can co-op employees be denied the right to effective organization for their protection against over-zealous and profit-minded cooperative managers?

In the past, co-ops have depended largely on their idealistic program to provide a basis for reconciling the conflicting interests of the workers and their employers—with the acknowledged result that the workers have been exploited. In the old small-scale cooperative enterprise, where the employee shouldered partial responsibility for the success of the venture, and where the society admitted him into its councils as a matter of right, even exploitation was less oppressive than in an organization designed only for profit. At least one of the things a worker fights for was realized: recognition with a voice in his own destiny.

With the growth of the cooperatives into large-scale enterprises, changes which may be expected to continue have begun. In many co-ops today, the employee-employer relationship is almost identical with that in a private business. More and more, cooperatives have had to draw on personnel not trained in the cooperative tradition. These new workers have demanded decent wages, hours

and working conditions, but they have not understood too well the idealistic nature of the consumer owned and controlled cooperative movement. Since the American movement is largely middle class, these new workers have not felt themselves a part of it.

In addition—and this is perhaps more important—with expansion have come impersonality and problems of competition and efficiency, making the employee just a cog expected to turn automatically and not to control the machine. In an expanding co-op movement, with a large personnel not directly concerned or benefitted—a personnel that continues to have its own distinct problems of wages, working conditions and recognition—can that movement insist that it is purely a consumer's movement? Can it call itself democratic if it insists that it must be controlled entirely by consumers or their representatives, without granting co-op employees even nominal recognition?

The cooperative movement needs a well-developed and vocal labor union, recognizing the value of consumer's cooperation in developing abilities of self-government and self-support, and realizing that decent and significant employment can only be had in a non-profit-seeking cooperative society. Workers are human, too. Unless the cooperative movement realizes this, many of its promises will never bear fruit. It must allow participation by, and full utilization of the experience of all its components, labor among them.

It can do the movement no good to pretend that, "of course, the success of cooperation will assure all elements equal benefit." The cooperative movement must meet its day-to-day problems in a manner befitting its high resolve and declaration or principles. It cannot afford to side-step issues.

To quote from an occupational investigation by C. W. Failor in *Consumer's Cooperatives and Their Workers*:

"Although fair treatment of labor is a principle to which cooperatives subscribe, in terms of general applicability, it is more of an ideal to be attained than a present existing practice . . . no evidence is available to prove that they have developed either a policy or a practice in advance of that obtained in many industries and regions."

The fact is that we do have reactionary boards of directors, bureaucratic officials, narrow and i

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GEOPOLITICS (Continued)

and Fairbanks are the probable outposts of Yankee air power in its race to dominate the world market.

Geopolitics—the new science of systematic thievery, suggested by a Briton, developed by a Nazi and preached by Clare Luce as the latest religion of American capital—points to unceasing and violent remapping of the world as the areas controlled by the super-states lose or gain importance by reason of industrial development and changing military tactics.

Slaughter will follow slaughter, betrayal and duplicity will be the groundwork of the New Morality. The bones of Machiavelli will rattle in gleeful approval at the spectacle of a world victimized by the military needs of the super-states. In geopolitics we have, clothed in an academic vocabulary, only a new version of the "White Man's Burden"—an apology which soothed the consciences of 19th Century liberals.

—Martin Thorne

THEY FOUGHT

On July 9, 1917, Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman were sentenced in United States District Court for conspiracy to defeat military registration under the conscription law. Both refused to retain counsel, or to take part in the legal farce. Here are portions from the statement of Emma Goldman, every word confirmed by the experiences of the last twenty-five years.

In their zeal to save the country from the trouble-makers, the Marshal and his helpers did not even consider it necessary to produce a search warrant. After all, what matters a mere scrap of paper when one is called upon to raid the offices of Anarchists! Would the gentlemen who came with Marshal McCarthy have dared to go into the offices of Morgan or Rockefeller without a search warrant? They turned our office into a battlefield, so that when they were through with it, it looked like invaded Belgium, with the only difference that the invaders were not Prussian barbarians but good American patriots bent on making New York safe for democracy . . .

Now, who and what is the conscientious objector? Is he really a shirker, a slacker, or a coward? To call him that is to be guilty of dense ignorance of the forces which impel men and women to stand out against the whole world like a glittering lone star upon a dark horizon. Poor indeed is the country which fails to recognize the importance of that new type of humanity as the "ultimate base of our existence and liberty." It will find itself barren of that which makes for character and quality in its people.

Never can a new idea move within the law. It matters not whether that idea pertains to political and social changes or to any other domain of human thought and expression—to science, literature, music; in fact, everything that makes for freedom and joy and beauty must refuse to move within the law. How can it be otherwise? The law is stationary, fixed, mechanical, "a chariot wheel" which grinds all alike without regard to time, place and condition, without ever taking into account cause and effect, without ever going into the complexity of the human soul.

But, says the Prosecuting Attorney, the press and the unthinking rabble, in high and low sta-

tion, "that is a dangerous doctrine and unpatriotic at this time." I for one cannot believe that love of one's country must needs consist in blindness to its social faults, to deafness to its social discords, of inarticulation to its social wrongs. Neither can I believe that the mere accident of birth in a certain country or the mere scrap of a citizen's paper constitutes the love of country.

We, too, who know America, love her beauty, her richness, her great possibilities; we love her mountains, her canyons, her forests, her Niagara, and her deserts—above all do we love the people that have produced her wealth, her artists who have created beauty, her great apostles who dream and work for liberty—but with the same passionate emotion we hate her superficiality, her cant, her corruption, her mad, unscrupulous worship at the altar of the Golden Calf.

Verily, poor as we are in democracy, how can we give of it to the world? We further say that a democracy conceived in the military servitude of the masses, in their economic enslavement, and nurtured in their tears and blood, is not democracy at all. It is despotism—the cumulative result of a chain of abuses which, according to that dangerous document, the Declaration of Independence, the people have the right to overthrow.

Whatever your verdict, gentlemen, it cannot possibly affect the rising tide of discontent in this country against war which, despite all boasts, is a war for conquest and military power. Neither can it affect the ever increasing opposition to conscription which is a military and industrial yoke placed upon the necks of the American people. Least of all will your verdict affect those to whom human life is sacred, and who will not become a party to the world slaughter. Your verdict can only add to the opinion of the world as to whether or not justice and liberty are a living force in this country or a mere shadow of the past.

Whatever your verdict will be, as far as we are concerned nothing will be changed. I have held ideas all my life. I have publicly held my ideas for twenty-seven years. Nothing on earth would ever make me change my ideas except one thing; and that is if you will prove to me that our position is wrong, untenable, or lacking in historical fact. But never would I change my ideas because I am found guilty.

I may remind you of two great Americans, undoubtedly not unknown to you, gentlemen of the

CONSCRIPTION

Excerpts from address by Alexander Berkman, United States District Court, 1917.

Liberty of conscience is the most fundamental of all human rights, the pivot of all progress. No man may be deprived of it without losing every vestige of freedom of thought and action. In these days when every principle and conception of democracy and of liberty is being cast overboard under the pretext of democratizing Germany, it behooves every liberty-loving man and woman to insist on the right of individual choice in the ordering of his or her life and actions.

I believe that conscription is wrong. I believe that conscription is tyranny. I believe that if the people had more intelligence and courage, the law would never have been passed. According to your own conceptions, gentlemen, government derives its powers from the consent of the governed. The people of the United States have not been asked whether they want conscription. They have been dragged, they have been forced into conscription. And therefore I say that the people have the right either to repeal conscription or to resist conscription.

Will you say by your verdict that people shall not dare express an opinion? And if you say "We

have war," I say to you, because of the war it is necessary for you to show that we do have liberty, that we do have some democracy here. Will you proclaim to the world that you who carry liberty and democracy to Europe have no liberty here, that you who are fighting for democracy in Germany, suppress democracy right here in New York, in the United States? Are you going to suppress free speech and liberty in this country, and still pretend that you love liberty so much that you will fight for it five thousand miles away? Charity begins at home, gentlemen of the jury.

We have spoken for liberty all our lives. Now you are put to the test as men who believe in liberty. And let me tell you, whether you think that we are right or wrong, one thing you know: the spirit that animates this woman, the spirit that animates these defendants, is the spirit that has in the past emancipated the bondman. It is the spirit that will in the future emancipate the slave from his slavery, the tyrant from his tyranny; the spirit that will abolish war, make us all brothers of one family, without the evils and crimes that darken the world today, without oppression and monopoly, and make the world a fit place to live in, with a real motto, actually applied: Liberty for all, well-being for every one, and happiness for humanity.

EMMA GOLDMAN *(Continued)*

jury; Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau. When Thoreau was placed in prison for refusing to pay taxes, he was visited by Ralph Waldo Emerson and Emerson said: "David, what are you doing in jail?" and Thoreau replied: "Ralph, what are you doing outside, when honest people are in jail for their ideals?"

ANARCHIST ALPHABET

Defense:

What you do to the other guy before he gets a chance to do it to you.

Europe:

An unheeded object lesson in the futility of nationalism.

Free Speech:

Say what you please, but keep your mouth shut.

COOPERATIVE WORKERS *(Continued)*

active memberships. An intelligent and effective union of co-op workers would offset and overcome these forces. If the co-ops want intelligent, hard-working employees, then they must be prepared to recognize them as union men with a definite stake in the co-ops. The more hard-working and intelligent the worker, the more demands he will make, not only for working conditions and wages, but for fuller and more important participation in the joint cooperative effort.

G. G.

THE STATE: Its Historic Role

We have received a number of these pamphlets for distribution. Kropotkin's history of state development is timely reading for your friends. From one to ten copies sent on request.

AS THE CHAINS TIGHTEN

From time to time, news items such as that in the St. Paul Dispatch of March 17 prove that the Military Police are being coached in strike-breaking and anti-labor activity of the most vicious sort. The St. Paul paper tells of a demonstration of military efficiency in which M.P.'s with drawn bayonets charged "strikers" and scattered them with the aid of an armored car.

One of these demonstrations—usually pulled out of the military hat to reassure a fearful Chamber of Commerce—didn't turn out quite right. The Commanding Officer, looking for a touch of realism, put a soldier whom he knew to be a radical in charge of the group simulating the strikers. Under his leadership, the "strikers" turned in a very, very realistic job of disarming the M.P.'s and routing them completely!

Training in the suppression of labor movements, protection of scabs and policing of struck plants is and has been an essential part of U.S. Army policy. It is for this purpose that a carefully-selected stream of officers is diverted to the Army Industrial College in Washington, D.C.—an institution of which you hear absolutely nothing in the daily papers.

The Typographical Unions have been trying to crack the Donnelly plant in Chicago for many a year now. In desperation, they finally appealed to the Teamster's Union to refuse to truck material to the plant. The news report tells us that Dan Tobin and the executive council of the Teamster's Union, meeting in Miami, ordered the truckmen to go through any picket line of the Typos outside Donnelly's.

Harts Island, New York City's antiquated penal institution in the East River has been turned over to the U. S. Navy for use as a prison. The damp, 19th-Century buildings have been used as insane asylum, reformatory, and in recent years as a lockup for vagrants and narcotic addicts. Now the moldy cells and dormitories will house Navy men guilty of insubordination and other charges arising from efforts to make democracy a reality instead of a beautiful abstraction.

From the N. Y. Times: Ottawa, March 20—The intricate problem of the relations of the United Nations was raised indirectly in the House of Commons this week when, in answer to a question regarding Canada's foreign policy, Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King defined Canada's position as "a nation dealing with other nations on these international matters."

Skidroad Observer writes us from Seattle, Wash., that: WHY? and other anarchist literature was distributed to Boeing Aircraft workers at a protest meeting 5,000 strong in the Civic Stadium there. Among other things, Skidroad tells us that "the county politicians being forced to close King County unemployable camp at Carnation, Wash., have lost the boodle from that feudalistic dump. The unfortunate inmates have been scattered through Seattle in various phoney rest homes and other soup lines. Many have been forced to work at The Goodwill Industries, Inc., sorting nuts, bolts, and parts for Boeing Aircraft at a salary of two dollars for a six hour day." According to Skidroad, many of the lumber jacks are quitting the camps because of a serious food shortage.

From the Danbury, Conn., Federal Prison comes word that the hunger-strike-for-freedom of conscientious objectors Stan Murphy and Lou Taylor continues in full force in its third month. The first C.O. story in many months to achieve nationwide publicity, the hunger strike pushes to the fore the rising discontent among the more than 6,000 objectors in camps and 1,000 in prisons over the generosity of the American government in isolating C.O.'s in forests and jails. While savage prison sentences continue to be meted out to objectors in federal courts all over the land, from California comes the news that a Jehovah's Witness has been court-martialed and sentenced to life imprisonment for refusal to salute the flag.

Wisconsin cheese makers petitioned the State Dept. of Agriculture to permit them to change the size of Wisconsin brick cheese. According to the Journal of Commerce, "Amendments regulating the size of box... will also be considered." We await with interest the forthcoming Federal and State specifications regulating density and temperature of the air we take into our lungs.

Worth remembering in the midst of all the shooting, is this piece from The Conquest of Violence, by Bart de Ligt, a Dutch comrade:

"The greater the violence, the lesser the revolution, even where violence has deliberately been put at the service of the revolution. The greater the revolution, the less there will be to deplore of violence and destruction. To create a really new order, violence can never be anything more than . . . a counsel of despair; it is never, from the revolutionary point of view, essential to change."

War workers in Ohio, quite a number of them, have refused to pay their income taxes. Their attitude is: Come and get it. The price ceilings don't hold; the wage ceilings are being enforced rigidly. It seems there is a breaking point when the worker is confronted with the choice of either paying taxes or eating. Then the food has got it all over the taxes.

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