

WHY?

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WHAT ABOUT THE MINERS?

On May 1 the American coal miners—quite unconsciously—celebrated International Labor Day by inaugurating a national strike. Before this forceful demonstration of solidarity and determination, the government, kept press and “public” quailed in terror. All the monster forces of publicity and pressure, including mobilization of federal troops to back up seizure of the mines, were set in motion to break this threat to the American government's security and authority.

We wish we could report the happy and decisive outcome of the great strike. Unfortunately, we cannot, for United Mine Workers' chief John L. Lewis used the strike only to enhance his prestige in the labor and political world. He was still playing a political game, by political methods, behind closed doors. Having shown his strength, facing the government's stubborn resistance—clearly manifested in the seizure of the mines and in Roosevelt's fireside threats of May 2—Lewis withdrew to allow words to be forgotten, feelings to heal, and the government to make concessions in more privacy than prevailed in the heated days of early May. That Lewis allowed himself to be betrayed by promises of speedy adjustment of the miners' demands—as conceded by close observers—simply shows that he was using the miners' economic power only for demonstrative purposes.

Now Lewis has added to the confusion and bewilderment of his enemies by applying for readmission to the A. F. of L. Lewis' reasoning and purposes are rarely clear. He loves the abstruse, the deep game, magnificent and eloquent intrigue. While none can know yet just what Lewis' game is in regard to the AF of L, we can speculate that he is making another of those spectacular jumps from the limb to the trunk of the tree for which a N. Y. Times correspondent complimented him after the 15-day truce of May 2. Finding that UMW District 50 cannot become the Third Labor Movement which he hoped to make reality, Lewis is turning his attention back to the AF of L, the leadership of which he sought more than 20 years ago.

But though Lewis has drawn in his horns on

one sector—on which exaggerated news reports and the CIO leaders' premature shivers caused his power to be overrated—the retreat is deliberate, made in prospect of advantage: he was not forced back into the AF of L. Playing the lone hand on the outside, able to ignore the no-strike policies of the AFL and CIO, he was able to make a play for millions of workers discontented with rocketing prices, stabilized wages, and spineless union officials. Lewis is certainly not giving up these advantages without compensation; we can't know yet just what he will get from affiliation with the AFL, but it will be substantial.

Lewis is shifty, with more tricks than a magician. He is an opportunist par excellence—a gambler for high stakes not tied to any credo or man. He need not worry about what he said yesterday, or about what the Democratic Party, Roosevelt or the Catholic Church will say today. He just bulls ahead, doing whatever he thinks will help him—and of that he has become a very shrewd judge. In the past 10 years he has become the master politician—he isn't making the mistakes which once wrecked his union.

The strike dispelled a couple of current myths about Lewis. Labor leaders and professional pacifiers of labor had repeated so often that he was in the land of the politically dead that some had come to believe it; worse, they convinced other people. With each overwhelming success of the miners' chieftain, the prophets of his disaster retired into their bomb-proofs, only to emerge immediately after the storm with a “new,” and this time irrefutable, proof of his doom; he supported Willkie. His support of Willkie showed, these labor “analysts” alleged, that (a) Lewis was undoubtedly a fool; (b) the UMW did not win the 1941 captive mine strike in the face of the opposition of the government, press and labor movement; and (c) Lewis positively lost control of his union. To those of us who want Lewis' hide as a matter of principle rather than politics, it occurred that were his political death fact rather than fancy such prolonged and eloquent funerals would be unnecessary. But there were stubborn

WHAT DO WE THINK?

Our readers may have remarked that WHY? has been negligent in drawing up blue-prints to remedy society's ailments. This neglect is intentional, for our basic purpose has always been to provoke thought in those individuals who are beginning to question the world-enveloping statism and regimentation. If we can persuade these sceptics to see at last the uselessness and injustice of all governments and all ruler-ruled societies, and to realize that only voluntary cooperation can provide an equitable basis for the reorganization of society, then our task will be well accomplished.

Our distrust of pat panaceas does not, however, prevent our holding to basic principles we consider essential to libertarian thought. Our trust in independent thought and action, applied to history, politics, religion, economics and education, differentiates us from all other schools of political philosophy. We discard as destructive of creative thought all belief in a leader, a super-politician or any kind of super-being. Neither in institutions nor in God do we place any trust.

History has shown us the futility of parliament-

ones who nursed the hope that the miners were anti-Lewis.

If nothing else, the strike demonstrated how the miners feel about Lewis. We cannot regret the fact too much, but they are behind him. Any opinion to the contrary is plainly the worst of wishful thinking. Though the miners have always held Roosevelt in high respect, when he told them—nay, ordered them—to go back to work they stayed home. They would have continued to stay had not Lewis beaten Roosevelt to the punch by ordering the first truce. He has such a background and reputation of success that the miners' string along with him. He is the only miners' leader most of them remember—certainly the only one they recognize. Right or wrong, they follow him, as they must if they are to have leadership for he has broken all militant independent rank and files.

True, there are coal miners who don't like Lewis. The wildcat strikes in the anthracite last winter indicated substantial opposition not only to the government's wage and price policies but also to union dues-increases and tyrannical union administration. But neither was this anything new (revolt has been going on in the anthracite for 20 years), nor is the anthracite a critical region. The key to the union lies in the chain of mountains running from Western Pennsylvania down through

(Continued on page 7)

tarianism. Though the governments of the world have made more laws than any one can read in a lifetime, none of the existing inequalities among people has been eliminated. Attempts at social legislation have resulted only in strengthening the hold of the powers-to-be on the individual. The poor are still with us—and so are the rich and the powerful. Governments have not been able—or, more likely, have not cared—to eliminate war from the world. War is plainly inherent in organized class societies. Opposed as we are to governments of all kinds, we oppose all wars governments may undertake, however much they may be dressed up in fancy democratic language. Because they symbolize total regimentation for the sole purpose of death, enslavement and destruction, we are unalterably opposed to militarism and armies.

Our disagreements with Marxism and Marxists are basic and principled. The economic interpretation of history fails to offer an adequate tool for historical analysis, for psychology has demonstrated that economic motives are not even the most important, much less the sole, driving motives in individual behavior. How, then, can we expect them to be the most important factors in society? Economics can explain neither the deep religious fervor which led millions of people to leave their families and homes to redeem the Holy Land from the Infidel, nor the pure lust for power which drives our Mussolinis. As we cannot accept the mystical Marxist dialectic, so can we not claim to be the elite of the elite, or the political vanguard to lead dumb masses to eternal salvation by the road of "proletarian" dictatorship.

On the contrary, we recognize the fundamental struggle between the ruler and the ruled — and extend our heartiest approbation to every expression of rebellion. Above all, we strive for independent action—which means, to us, free combination for specific objectives. Into what channels such action will flow cannot be prescribed in advance, but we hope that this activity will lead to the by-now-almost-legendary general strike—a stoppage of all work of brain or of brawn—the eve of the new society. Toward this objective we favor the local economic organization of workers; the federation of local groupings for purposes of information and solidarity, with maximum autonomy for the component elements; and the continuing responsibility of elected representatives to the men at the point of production.

Keep 'Em Sailing

Save the world for democracy, cry the patriots. Keep 'em sailing, cry the trade unions; sacrifice your right to strike—give your lifeblood that free men may again walk upon the earth. Give to your government—90% of your earnings if necessary—cries the Communist Party.

The lawmakers are beginning to slash the whip on the workers' back by decreasing war bonuses, while reminding us of our no-strike promises. Trade union leaders tell us, sit tight, everything will be taken care of *after* the war—these trade union leaders who are too damned scared to talk out for fear of their draft boards!

But express your free thoughts aboard American ships, defend your rights as free men and you are

Although fully aware that solidarity culminating in the general strike is not just around the corner, we object to falling back on parliamentary and political action. Direct action is our watchword. Fight—singly and in concert with your fellow-workers—only struggle can be the basis for such far-reaching revolutionary change as will completely transform the economic and political structure of the world.

Accomplishment of such revolutionary changes will require the elimination of centralized authority. Neither centralization nor authority is essential to society—on the contrary, they strangle it. Cooperation by force and conscription will be replaced by voluntary cooperation for the administration of things rather than the government of people. Free from external pressure, voluntary combinations will function only as long as their members deem necessary. No longer will organizations and institutions be perpetuated for the benefit of leaders.

We see examples of voluntary cooperation even in our present highly centralized society. Given a classless, and therefore free, society, cooperation will be entirely sufficient. Force is conceded to be an instrument of oppression. No society based on the sacredness of the individual can permit its use. Voluntary cooperation, together with an economy for use, forms the basis for a libertarian society.

There are no shortcuts to the world we envisage. We cannot hope to achieve our ends by following the blind hysterias of the moment. By direct, consistent struggle alone can we reach the final goal with its total change and universal results.

guilty of mutiny. Defend your union contract, and lose your right to sail. Shore leave forbidden American seamen in American ports by Navy orders, enforced by marines on the gangway! On all American ships the right of paid guards to go through your personal belongings, to search your private mail—in the name of freedom—is the order of the day. They try to force you aboard ship without your consent by getting you to sign the rotary system, permitting you limited time on the beach—and failure to live up to the ruling means army induction.

The union preamble says—it is the right of the American seaman to receive employment through his own union hall, without interference from crimps, shipowners, finkhalls or government shipping bureaus. And what have the trade unions done in the last year to protect the union halls from the flood of "maritime boys" coming from the government finkhalls? If the trade unions were sincere in their claim to benefit the workers, they would protect us from the flood of "maritime boys" by tearing down the sacred race barrier; then we wouldn't have to fill our ranks with potential strikebreakers.

The trade unions boast that they organize for the benefit of all workers regardless of creed or nationality—but not race. We have thousands of experienced seamen who, because their color is a bit dark, are forced to remain in the menial jobs of cooks for their white brothers-in-union.

On the other side, we're faced with a union dominated by a political party following a zig-zag line of intrigue and dishonesty in their attempt to sell their wares to the workers. They donate \$60,000 to the United Seamen's Service Club, financed by the shipowners, which may well be used as a crimp hall to smash union labor. They are wooing every reactionary section of the capitalist class with the Comintern's line of unity between Capital and Labor. The phoney dissolution of the Comintern won't change things any—Stalin didn't say anything about dissolving the G.P.U.

On every side, the American seaman is trapped between the reactionary forces of C.I.O. and A.F. of L. Trade unions very cleverly help the master class tighten the chains of slavery by holding to their pledge of no strike for the duration.

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We supplement this report from New Orleans with one from one of the Maritime Commission schools.

How A Scissor Bill Fed Two Economists

A FANTASY

With apologies to M. Y. Saltykov.

Once upon a time, there were two Economists in the Bureau for the Reclamation of Rationed Points, Mid-Atlantic Division, a section of the Home Office of the Department of Surplus Foods. They were both empty-headed, and so one day found themselves transported, as if by magic, to an uninhabited island. Having been born, bred and aged in the Bureau, the two Officials' sole skill was in the art of making the simplest plans and proposals assume the proportions and complications of a major economic operation. In all fairness, it should be added that they did know that theirs was the best government in the best of all possible worlds, and that their pensions must always multiply; for these were the indisputable laws of nature.

When they had overcome their natural bewilderment at finding themselves on an uncolonized and uncivilized island (of which there were then still a few off the Colorado coast), the Economists looked at one another and to their amazement discovered that they were clad only in their pyjamas and their pensions; they had not even had time to stick a few unused ration points in their pockets. One despairingly asked: "What are we to do? No points and nothing to buy with them. Even if we drew up a memo to the Director, what good would it do?"

The other proposed that he go West and his associate East, and that they bring back whatever they found to eat. Unable to locate either East or West, one surmised that East is necessarily to the right of North, and that they should therefore first find North. Perhaps they would still be arguing, had not one, whose 42 years' experience as a Junior Economist in the Territorial Claims Section naturally made him a bit cleverer than the other, suggested that he set out to the right and his colleague to the left.

One Economist found trees full of the most alluring fruits; but the fruit was so high that all his efforts to reach it resulted only in torn pyjamas and wounded pride. He saw a brook swarming with trout; "Wouldn't it be wonderful to have all this fish in Pennsylvania Avenue!" he mused, but it is not recorded that he caught any. The woods abounded with partridges, rabbits, squirrels and deer, but the Economists returned to the appointed spot empty-handed.

The realization that human food in its native

form flies, swims and grows on trees both amazed and saddened the Economists; neither their bridge-partners nor their wives had told them that before a pheasant could be eaten it had to be caught, killed, plucked and roasted. Nor had any of the memoranda of the Bureau for RRPMD, HO of the DSF, ever suggested such economic barbarities. As the day passed, the Economists' hunger hourly grew more desperate, for they had not eaten since the Bureau-cratic banquet the previous evening, and it is common knowledge that the head of DSF never permits Officials to take food away in their pockets. Enfamished by finding in every edition of The Times only article after article devoted to food conferences, shortages, surpluses and rationing, the Economists were all but ready to devour each other, when inspiration came.

"I've got it!" the clever Territorial Claims expert shouted. "Let's find a Scissor-Bill!" A Scissor-Bill? the other asked; what kind of a Scissor-Bill? "Why, a plain ordinary William Shears, a Scissor-Bill like all other Scissor-Bills. A common, dumb working-stiff who knows he couldn't live if there were no capitalists and, of course, Economists. He would make us an omelet right away, and he could catch turkeys and caviar for us." But where are we to find a Scissor-Bill? "All you have to do is hunt for him. The lazy fellows are everywhere. There certainly must be one hiding here somewhere to get out of working."

One who has never been an Official cannot picture the satisfaction the Economists derived from their happy thought. After hours of fruitless search, they finally feasted their eyes on a real Scissor-Bill, lying under a tree fast asleep with his hands in his pockets. He was plainly an absentee who, to escape his duty to toil, had wilfully, maliciously and criminally withdrawn to this island. The just indignation of the Economists knew no bounds. Startled from his slumber by their shouts, Scissor-Bill's first thought was escape, but in a trice he was so entangled in the maze of Rules & Regulations the Economists instinctively drew up that he had to submit to fate. He had to work.

First, he climbed a tree and picked several dozen delicious apples for the Economists (sur-reptitiously keeping a spoiled one for himself, they later discovered). With almost miraculous speed,

he discovered potatoes, asparagus, cauliflower, artichokes and all manner of vegetables; with snares made of his own hair, he trapped bears and other forms of edible animal life. The Economists gaped in disbelief at Bill's ability to produce food without even the most basic ration books. Over the bright fire he started by rubbing sticks together, he cooked so many kinds of food that the Economists wondered whether they shouldn't give this idler some. But they summoned their resolution and stuffed themselves so that Bill should not grow fat and slothful.

After their hearty meal, the Economists' spirits were revived, their worries ended, their confidence restored. "What a good thing it is to be a Bureauocrat," one belched as he puffed at a big black 50c cigar furnished by their provider; "nothing really bad can ever happen to an Economist of the BRRPMAD, HO, DSF." They were so happy that when Bill asked to be allowed to rest they immediately granted the request, requiring only that he first complete his work by making a good, stout rope. Bill gathered wild red tape, laid it in water, beat it and broke it, and toward evening he had a good, stout rope ready. After binding Bill to a tree so he should not run away, the Officials lay down to a contented sleep.

The days passed in happy tranquility. Since Bill was a real Scissor-Bill, the thought of suggesting remuneration for his work never occurred to him. The Economists now took pleasure in examining the files of The Times to read about food conferences, shortages, surpluses and rationing. They analyzed, in terms of the writings of Malthus, Ricardo and Marx and of the recorded experiences of their predecessor, R. Crusoe, the economics of desert-island life. But for us to attempt to dis-

cuss the statistical, economic and sociological data and conclusions compiled by the Officials would be presumptuous; these are, in any event, available in a concise 900-page summary later published by the DSF.

But the Economists began to grow homesick for the busy, buzzing life of the little wing of the great Tempo where they worked. At heart industrious Officials who realized they were not properly serving their country by idling on uninhabited land, they importuned the Scissor-Bill to find a way to get them back home. Strange to relate, Bill knew just where their Tempo was, for he had helped build it many years before. This fact provided such a bond of friendship between them that Bill was overwhelmed to serve the officials, who had so gladly accepted his humble labors. To show his devotion and appreciation, he actually built a ship—not much of a ship, understand, but nonetheless a sound, seagoing vessel.

How frightened the Economists were on the homeward voyage, how sick they became during the storms, how they berated the Scissor-Bill for his idle habits, are Naval Secrets. But Bill just pulled on the oars, and fed his Economists on herring. After many long days at sea, they at last caught sight of the dear old City and then their Tempo. Next morning, everyone rejoiced to see the well-fed, round and happy Economists, who related droll tales of their daring adventures on an uninhabited island. How much backpay they collected is an Official Secret.

But, in the general celebration, their faithful servant was not forgotten. The Economists bought him a drink and gave him a tailor-made cigarette.

Now, Scissor-Bill, rejoice and give thanks.

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.

We have several back issues of War Commentary—Anarchist semi-monthly from England for distribution. All interested communicate with us.

Please make all checks and money orders payable to A. Goodfriend, P.O. Box 208, Station D., New York City.

WHOM SHALL WE BELIEVE?

"As head of the Polish Government I assure the Polish Jews that they will benefit fully from blessings of victory of the United Nations, in common and on equal terms with all Polish citizens."

General Wladyslaw Sikorski, Prime Minister, London, October 29, 1942.

"The spokesman of Polish reactionaries in London writes in the Polish paper MYSL POLSKA, 'It is about time to destroy the legend of the unhappy life the Jews used to have in pre-war Poland.' He goes on to say that the Jews have no real pro-Polish feelings, speak Polish only for business reasons, and are concerned only to cheat and profiteer. He maintains that there is no such a thing as a friendly relationship between Jews and Poles." War Commentary. Mid-April 1943.

"When I, the People, learn to remember, . . . who played me for a fool."

Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau Jr., before the House Banking and Currency Committee, on price control legislation, opposing wage ceilings:

"It has been suggested during these hearings that this price control bill should include a ceiling over wages. I should like to go on record as not sharing this view. In free countries labor is not a commodity, human beings are not property, and they should not be treated as such.

"I fully appreciate that wages affect the cost of production and the general level of prices. However, I feel very definitely that if we can, on the one hand, keep the cost of living from rising, and, on the other hand, impose adequate taxes on excessive profits, then we will have removed the major causes for demands for general wage increase."

New York Times, Sept. 25, 1941.

Price Administrator Leon Henderson, appearing before a New Jersey and New York Manufacturing Conference, sponsored by the N.A.M., said that, wage controls are not included in pending price control bills because workers cannot sit idly by while their living costs go out of sight. "In Fascist countries wage controls are accompanied . . . by direct control of the movement of labor among industries and occupations, control of hours of work, control of hiring—and mark this—control of firing, and indeed, control of almost every phase of human life, with a shadow of the Gestapo and the concentration camp in the background."

N. Y. Times, Sept. 30, 1943.

Just as we went to press we received a post card bearing the following statement:—

"F. M. Kirkendall, Dayton, Ohio, Principal Winchester Academy, 1893.

"The house has passed a bill to take from the school children their lunch. The senate, we hope, will have more sense. Do they not know that half these children do not yet get milk except at the school lunch? Do they not know that these children will be called into the service for World War III?

"If we fail to feed the children of today, how can we hope for physical fitness for the fight due in 1963?

"Wars of the past have been just cross-current events. Now war's streamlined and will continue to occur every two decades. Wise people can envision possibilities and would prepare, but the

status quo leaders do not even sense danger until stabbed in the back."

We presume that the writer is being ironical, but do we detect a sinister connection between his words and some plain statements made by Henry A. Wallace and Winston Churchill, who were not being even facetious?

"One of the most sombre anxieties which beset those who look 30 or 40 or 50 years ahead, and in this field one can see ahead only too clearly, is the dwindling birthrate. In 30 years, unless the present trends alter, a smaller working and fighting population will have to support and protect nearly twice as many old people: in 50 years the position will be worse still. If this country is to keep its high place in the leadership of the world and to survive as a great Power that can hold its own against external pressure, our people must be encouraged by every means to have large families.

QUOTE

For this reason well-thought-out plans for helping parents to contribute this lifespring to the community are of prime importance. The care of the young and the establishment of sound, hygienic conditions of motherhood have a bearing on the whole future of the race which is absolutely vital. Side by side with that is the war upon disease which, let me remind you, so far, as it is successful, will directly aid the national insurance scheme. Upon all this, planning is vigorously proceeding."

Winston Churchill, Radio Broadcast, March 21, 1943.

"America will not have made her contribution until nine out of every ten of the adults of the world can read and write, until all the children of the world can have at least a pint of milk a day, until education brings with it a sense of responsibility that all of the people of the world can be trusted to take part in democratic government."

Henry A. Wallace, Vice-President, Washington, July 23, 1942.

* * *

THE TRUTH AT LAST !

"This is more than a war of mechanical monsters clashing in the night . . . more than a war of production.

"It is a war for markets — your markets! The Axis wants your business—wants to destroy it once and for all."

From an ad by the U. S. Treasury Dept. in "Institutions,"

COME TO THE CORONATION !

"The Socialist Workers Party, splinter offshoot of the American Communist Party and made up of the followers of Leon Trotsky, today endeavored to pick up the torch of the international revolution which the Communist Third International said it had thrown aside.

"The party, which has an infinitesimal membership, said the place of the dissolved Comintern 'has been taken by Trotsky's Fourth International.' The headline over the 11-page pronouncement read:—

**"THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL IS DEAD —
"LONG LIVE THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL."**

New York Post, May 1943.

* * *

WHY BURY THEM AT ALL ?

"London, May 17th. (U.P.) — Stephen Easter was fined \$400.00 today for 'misusing' teakwood, which the government has restricted to ship-building. Mr. Easter had used the wood to build two coffins — one for his wife, who died last June, the other for himself."

* * *

FROM SUCH A BASIS WE COULD DO WONDERS

"... In matters economic and social we should build from the roots — a task that is unhappily simplified by the fact that everyone in Poland has now become a pauper. The former possessing classes have had everything taken away from them. It is from that basis that we shall rebuild a worthy and a free world."

General Wladyslaw Scharski, Prime Minister, Poland, London, August 10, 1942.

—UNQUOTE

ALERT F.B.I. NABS "FIFTH COLUMNISTS"!

"Baltimore, May 25th. Harley Brastus Miller, 20, was sentenced in federal court yesterday to 18 months imprisonment after being convicted of violating the National Sabotage Act by performing improper welding on a liberty ship. Miller, a former welder at the Bethlehem Fairfield shipyards, pleaded innocent. George Arnold Steele, another former welder at the yard, was convicted in federal court on the same charge and also sentenced to 18 months imprisonment."

New York Post, May 26, 1943.

What About the Miners? (Continued)

West Virginia and Kentucky all the way to Alabama. That's Lewis domain; the Communists haven't cracked it, and Lewis critics are not welcome there. So long as Lewis controls that area of key coal production, revolts on the periphery of the industry (be they in the anthracite or Nova Scotia) cannot vitally affect his power.

In Lewis' absolute control, in the lack of militant rank and file leadership, lies the essential tragedy of the situation. Trusting Lewis implicitly, knowing their economic power but accepting his judgment of when to use it, the miners are in the hands of a man who has time and again proved himself a false Messiah. The most intelligent, alert and militant industrial group in America, the miners must rely on Lewis because they are tied up by an undemocratic union, closed shop contracts, and coal companies which have fought to the death to prevent their changing their union. Lewis no longer uses the mailed fist against the miners—but only because the necessity is past. After a decade and a half of iron rule, he entered the CIO period with his union all tied up in a neat package—so neat that even the careless administration of miners' affairs when the whole official force was concentrated on organizing the CIO failed to produce mass revolts. Men accustomed to being led adjust themselves only with difficulty to leading themselves—and such is the effect of centralized unionism, trade or industrial.

Lest it be forgotten in the rush of current events, it should be mentioned that Lewis has a record—a record which did not begin, as many suppose, with his support of the Wavering Wonder, Wendell Willkie, nor yet with the formation of the CIO. Lewis' history goes way back into the reign of Sam Gompers, King of the Crafts. It is a record black with conspiracy, betrayal, slugging, murder, convention-packing, padded expense accounts, high salaries, a wrecked union, and everything in the book but highway robbery. He has risen high enough now not to need to sell out to the employers in the literal sense of the word, but he will betray the workers economically for his own political advantage. That's the kind of a labor leader Lewis is.

We can derive grim satisfaction from Lewis' boldness in casting back in the President's teeth the Little Steal formula and the fascist WLB. But we will keep both eyes open for the betrayals to come. We know John; the coal miners of 15 and 20 years ago knew John; the miners of today will wish they never had.

—Frank Lanham

Our Chinese Allies

Making an heroic liberal of Churchill, a martyr of Darlan, and a democrat of Joe Stalin were no small accomplishments. But the most disgusting spectacle of all is the canonization of the intrepid leader of Our Chinese Ally—not to mention his saintly Christian wife. The repaint job on Mr. Chiang Kai-shek was one of those masterful re-decorations engineered by the Stalinists, who have done a similar service for a number of other shady characters. For the sake of Chinese and other unity, even those who have a vague recollection of a slightly more colorful—in a bloody way—Chiang Kai-shek have been persuaded to keep silent.

Mr. Chiang is a man of mystery. Most of even our younger friends have heard dark hints about this worthy, but few know just why the heroic leader of the Chinese people needs apology. Chalk it off to our skeleton-rattling tendency, if you must, but we have to let you in on the secret of the ugly rumors.

Our other great ally, the Stalin version of Tsarist Russia, can give us a little of the inside on the leader of the Kuomintang. The Comrades ought to know; they buried enough of Mr. Chiang's Chinese victims. A leading Chinese Communist wrote in 1932: "According to conservative estimates, within one year and a half (summer of 1927 to spring of 1929) the Kuomintang slaughtered over half a million workers and peasants. During four months in 1931 over 100,000 were butchered." Uncounted thousands more died in the Communist-suppression campaigns of 1930-1936, in which the gunboats and destroyers of all imperialist nations participated.

Of the period after 1927 Nym Wales, wife of the Chinese authority Edgar Snow, writes: "The Kuomintang allied with the feudal landlords and with the foreign powers on the coast, establishing a one-party military dictatorship at Nanking headed by Chiang Kai-shek and carried on a war without quarter against all insurgent peasants, workers, intellectulas, writers, artists and students—against Communists, Social Democrats, Democrats, anti-Japanese groups, and all revolutionary elements, denying even the nationalist principle on which it was founded." As late as 1936, the year of Chiang's "conversion," Miss Wales speaks of "Chiang Kai-shek's Blue Shirt secret police, modeled after the Gestapo."

So that Miss Wales' reference to Mr. Chiang's pro-Japanese sentiments may not be lost, let us refer to his declaration in 1934: "While there is the slightest hope for peace we will not abandon

it; so long as we have not reached the limit of endurance we will not talk lightly of sacrifice." When Japan occupied Manchuria, attacked Shanghai and established footholds on the mainland, Mr. Chiang's government offered at best token resistance, concentrating its bombing planes against revolutionary elements on the home front.

If we are talking about ancient history, it is only because the Communists, the Chiang government and the Allied newsmen permit to leak out only news favorable to Mr. Chiang—for the understandable reason that Americans have sufficient inclination to group the Chinese and Japanese together as Yellow B.....s without the encouragement of Allied propaganda. But ancient biography, unlike much ancient history, has a sad way of repeating itself. A lot of people imagined Joe Stalin changed when he signed the Nazi-Soviet pact, and again when Hitler forced him into defense of civilization and his country, but it should be clear by now that Joe has been pursuing an even, consistent policy. These boys don't change—people just make the mistake of thinking they do. If Mr. Chiang ever was the Butcher of Canton—and we are sure he was—then he is still the Butcher of Canton, however you fumigate him.

We want Mr. Chiang shown up for what he is and was because we believe the Chinese are capable of leading themselves. Mr. Chiang's China is one of famine-ridden, landless peasants, exploited industrial workers, and submission to foreign imperialism. The Chinese people don't want independence from Japanese imperialism for the sake of substituting instead the savage exploitation of the pre-invasion Shanghai sweatshops and slave-markets, but to permit them to rid themselves of the exploitation of all oppressors—landlords, war lords and industrial lords. These are not Mr. Chiang's aspirations.

That Mr. Chiang fights—or that his soldiers fight—against Japan does not signify a conversion to democracy. The heroic Russians died by the millions in those tragic years from 1914 to 1917—and on the same side as England and America. Did that improve the regime of Nicholas II? Hardly, since it became necessary to overthrow and execute him and his corrupt retinue. We must be careful not to draw false conclusions from these mesalliances. Remember, many hoped, before the war, that Mussolini would side with the Allies. And many still hope that some of the less-known Black Shirts will take over Mussolini's reins and turn Italy into one of the innumerable United Nations. Then let sneer who dare at Italian fascism!

The Definition of Anarchism

(From Memoirs of a Revolutionist)

... We saw that a new form of society is germinating in the civilized nations, and must take the place of the old one; a society of equals, who will not be compelled to sell their hands and brains to those who choose to employ them in a haphazard way, but who will be able to apply their knowledge and capacities to production, in an organism so constructed as to combine all the efforts for procuring the greatest sum possible of well-being for all, while full, free scope will be left for every individual initiative. This society will be composed of a multitude of associations, federated for all purposes which require federation: trade federations for production of all sorts—agricultural, industrial, intellectual, artistic; communes for consumption, making provision for dwellings, gas works, supplies of food, sanitary arrangements, etc.; federations of communes among themselves, and federations of communes with trade organizations; and finally, wider groups covering the country, or several countries, composed of men who collaborate for the satisfaction of such economic, intellectual, artistic, and moral needs as are not limited to a given territory...

There will be full freedom for the development of new forms of production, invention, and organization; individual initiative will be encouraged, and the tendency toward uniformity and centralization will be discouraged. Moreover, this society will not be crystallized into certain unchangeable forms, but will continually modify its aspect, because it will be a living evolving organism; no need of government will be felt, because free agreement and federation can take its place in all those functions which governments consider as theirs at the present time, and because the causes of conflicts being reduced in number, those conflicts which may still arise can be

We have nothing but the deepest faith in the common people's ability to survive the cowardice, stupidity and betrayal of their leaders. But we frankly have nothing but cynicism of the deepest hue in regard to the self-constituted saviors of mankind, be they Prime Ministers, Fuehrers, Dukes, Presidents, Premiers or Generalissimos. And we're more than usually cynical about the amazing transformations of character which we gullible Americans are expected to accept.

Ten thousand years to the Chinese people! Death to the running-dogs of all imperialism!

—JACK HIGH.

submitted to arbitration.

None of us minimized the importance and depth of the change which we looked for. We understood that the current opinions upon the necessity for private ownership in land, factories, mines, dwelling houses, and so on, as a means of securing industrial progress, and of the wage system as a means of compelling man to work, would not soon give way to higher conceptions of socialized ownership and production. We knew that a tedious propaganda and a long succession of struggles, individual and collective revolts against the now prevailing forms of property, of individual self-sacrifice, of partial attempts at reconstruction and partial revolutions would have to be lived through, before the current ideas upon private ownership would be modified. And we understood also that the now current ideas concerning the necessity of authority—in which all of us have been bred—would not and could not be abandoned by civilized mankind all at once. Long years of propaganda and a long succession of partial acts of revolt against authority, as well as a complete revision of the teachings now derived from history, would be required before men could perceive that they had been mistaken in attributing to their rulers and their laws what was derived in reality from their own sociable feelings and habits. We knew all that. But we also knew that in preaching change in both these directions we should be working with the tide of human progress...

We understood, at the same time, that such change cannot be produced by the conjectures of one man of genius, that it will not be one man's discovery, but that it must result from the constructive work of the masses, just as the forms of judicial procedure which were elaborated in the early mediæval ages, the village community, the guild, the mediæval city, or the foundations of international law, were worked out by the people...

For myself, placed as I was in favorable conditions, I gradually came to realize that anarchism represents more than a mere mode of action and a mere conception of a free society; that it is part of a philosophy, natural and social, which must be developed in a quite different way from the metaphysical or dialectic methods which have been employed in sciences dealing with man. I saw that it must be treated by the same methods as natural sciences; not, however, on the slippery ground of mere analogies, such as Herbert Spencer accepts, but on the solid basis of induction applied to human institutions. And I did my best to accomplish what I could in that direction.

WHO ARE THE FASCISTS?

Who is going to be The Man on the White Horse? Who is going to lead the American Fascist Movement? Lindberg, MacArthur, Wheeler, Gerald Smith, who? These are the questions incessantly propounded by those who modestly feel themselves compelled to help stop the Coming American Fascism. In their blindness, they are dragging a brown-shirted herring across their own trail.

Ever since Hitler seized power in Germany, political-minded Americans have been hunting the Man on the White Horse. Because everyone so miserably underestimated Hitler before, and even after, 1933, there is a wide-spread belief that we must root out and expose the future leader of the American Fascist Movement. From time to time, such prominent citizens as Huey Long, Father Coughlin, Smedley Butler and Lawrence Dennis have received the dubious distinction of nomination for that position.

The search for the Man on the White Horse stems from a complete misunderstanding of the background and development of European fascism. When challenged, almost all the fascist-hunters admit that certain elements of fascism existed in at least embryonic form in pre-Hitler Germany. But they continue to seek the men who are going to execute a fascist coup d'état, while ignoring the increasing fascization of the American economy and State.

Instead of looking for the future fascists, we must look for the future fascism. A poll of the American people would disclose that very few would have any idea what to look for. Even in "radical" circles, the sadistic racial policies of German National Socialism are considered the essence of fascism. From this derives the common practice of pointing to an anti-semitic, of however small ability and following, as the future American Fuehrer. But racism is obviously not necessary to fascism, for it is only recently, after 20 years, that Jewish persecution has been charged to Mussolini, while there is no evidence of persecution of Jews, as such, in Russia. Yet these facts hardly make Russia and Italy the less fascist or (to use the more exact word) statist. The absence of racism does not exclude fascism, nor does its relative unimportance in America signify that fascism is distant here.

How, then, can we recognize fascism? In general, fascism means a totalitarian State controlling

all phases of the life of a nation as a whole, as economic, social and political groups, and as individuals. In addition, fascism has more particular recognizable features. Those are present, in greater or less degree, in all statist countries; naturally, German fascism, a transition stage to full statism, and Italian fascism, a yet more primitive type, lack features characteristic of Russian Stalinism, the highest known form of statism. In selecting the criteria of fascism, we must be careful to disregard nonessentials, and to exclude institutions, which exist in similar form in "democratic capitalist" countries.

On this basis we can make the following generalizations about the fascist state:

1. Control or ownership by the State of the means of production, and control of foreign trade and the financial structure. Ownership is typical of Russia; a combination of the two, with emphasis still on control, exists in Germany, while in Italy even the control is lax.

2. Total conscription, including fixing of wages, hours and conditions of labor by agencies of the State—a cornerstone of statism. With this goes cradle-to-grave security.

3. A huge military establishment, not necessarily primarily for offensive purposes, accompanied by exaggerated nationalism. Such countries as Russia, with small need for additional land or natural resources, use military action only defensively or strategically. In fascist expansionism, unlike capitalist imperialism, economic motives may play only a small part.

4. Government-controlled labor unions, characteristic, in varying forms, of Germany, Italy and Russia. Too wise to destroy the control-apparatus constructed by the Social-Democratic unionists, Hitler and Ley have put it to good use. Although the Russian trade unions were, contrary to common opinion, powerful forces in Tsarist Russia, they were immediately transformed by the Bolsheviks into puppets of the "Socialist" State.

5. Total absence of "civil rights" or any other kind of freedom. This, again, is common to all fascism, even such less thorough imitations as the Spanish and French varieties.

Like every other economic transformation, fascism is preceded by years of gradual changes whose significance is not realized until too late. Fascism comes not as a bolt from the blue, but as the dramatic climax to years of slow modification

of the country in the general directions outlined above. Pre-Hitler Germany offers complete demonstration of this fact.

Not for many years had the owners of German industry drawn profits; coal and other mineral deposits were owned by the State; the railroads had always been government-owned; "rationalization" of industry, an idealized totalitarian control of industry by the State, had been tried, and had been the subject of hopeful studies by economists; radical patries frequently suffered from government disfavor and ban; the basis for the reconstruction of the Reichswehr had been laid; the trade unions were already subservient to the State; old-age and unemployment insurance, the "security" fascism represents, dated from the 19th century. By carrying to their logical conclusions measures undertaken in the name of necessity and progress by Socialist and bourgeois politicians, Hitler and his party established fascism.

Fascism does not come to a country; the country slowly becomes fascist. Once we realize that fascism is not a mysterious, irrational eruption of storm troops and steel, we are able to recognize the encroachments of fascist economics and the fascist way of life in the "democratic" countries. The more Britain and America adopt the elements of statism, the closer they are coming to fascism.

Thus far, developments in America and Britain have been roughly parallel. The trend to fascism in these countries is marked by increasing progress toward total conscription; toward alliance between the State and the unions (NLRB, WLB and all other instruments of government interference in the guise of protecting labor); toward suppression of free speech and press (begun in both countries) and the abolition of elections (such as the frozen British Parliament); toward permanent conscription, unlimited armament expenditures, and post-war policing of the world; toward further control of the economy by the government (WPB, OPA, WMC and the rest of the administration of production, distribution, consumption, export and import).

Let us not delude ourselves by thinking that our rulers are inventing anything. All their "innovations" are the product of many years of German experience. In a few wartime years we are telescoping decades of German development. The real fascists are those who advocate or tolerate these changes as wartime "necessities." Behind their adoption is the frank philosophy that it takes fire to fight fire and a thief to catch a thief, and that if the price of Victory is American

(Continued on page 12)

NOTES FROM A U.S.M.S. SCHOOL

One of the little known schemes of American Capitalists for the dominance of post-war trade is bound up in the Maritime Schools that have been set up at Sheepshead Bay, Catalina Island, St. Petersburg and elsewhere. These training stations are nothing more than factories of fast-moving machinery for the wholesale production of ersatz seamen, who are intended, eventually to oust the old union-conscious seamen who have been such a sore spot to the ship owners in the past.

In order to see this plan working in full swing let us take a look at the Maritime Commission (Shipowners) School at Sheepshead Bay. At this center there are approximately 10,000 trainees and 2,000 ship's company and officers. About three quarters of the trainees are from the south and mid-west, with a few from the west coast and New England. Their average age is 18: they are typical American boys, jitterbugs, movie-goers, boys who like to have a drink and listen to swing bands. They were, for the most part, living quiet, uneventful lives. Then comes the draft board to make them sit up and take notice of what is going on around them. They finally spotted the poster of the very virile, aryan looking character saying "You bet I'm going back to sea." Their impulses, having been patterned by Hollywood, immediately responded to such a romantic stimulus. Edging closer, they read and swallowed the bait that the Maritime Commission has spread throughout every inland small town and village.

After enrollment they soon found that in spite of the talk about "civilian service" they were really in a military institution. They must wear a military uniform. They must obey a set of rules similar to the navy's. Private expression is "verboten." They must parade as a military unit at least once a week, correctly attired. Then they are taught about guns. Great life for a civilian, isn't it? They soon find out that the officers are mostly career men, who don't give a rap how tough they make it for the trainees as long as their (the officer's) advancement is assured.

Our small town boys find a caste system set up which elevates some, apparently like themselves, to the mythical position of Trainee Petty Officers. The Negro boys are accorded outward equality with the white—but—they are earnestly advised not to join the classes of higher training such as Radio, Pharmacy, and Ships Clerk school, the excuse being that although the administration has no objections they will find it very difficult to find ships. The colored boys are also discriminated against.

DUMDUM BULLETS

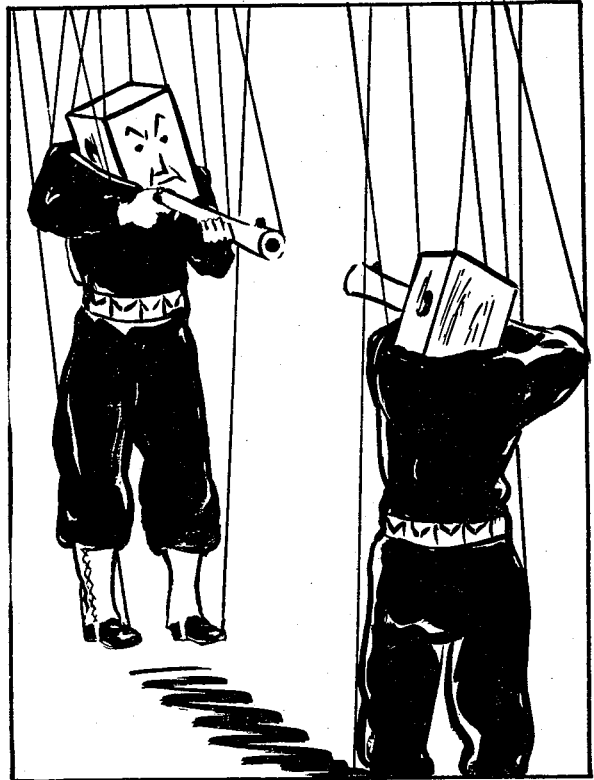
*A working man, a little dumb,
Made for his boss a little gun,
A cartridge and a bullet
With point sawed off to dull it.*

*Another worker, just as dumb,
Made for another boss a gun,
A cartridge and a bullet
With point sawed off to dull it.*

*One day the poor, dumb workers met,
Aimed at each other's wooden heads
And each one sent a bullet
With point sawed off to dull it.
Two bullets fled and said*

*"Dumb dumb,"
Two dummies tumbled over dead—
Never knew what the bullets said.*

Oscar Ameringer, October, 1914



gainst in Ships Company. There is only a handful of them and most of them are assigned to the more menial tasks of warehouse worker or kitchen help.

All individual thought is discouraged and the boys soon fall under the complete disciplined control of the military-minded sect that controls the joint.

Unionism is not encouraged at the base. On the contrary many anti-union ideas are imparted by various instructors. The boys have not the privilege to sail on a ship of their own choosing. The Maritime Commission picks the ship for them.

This is complete victory for the Maritime Commission, for they have finally reestablished the fink hall against which bloody waterfront strikes of 1937-1938 were fought. All ordinary seamen are now shipped through these fink halls without any opposition from the unions. No seamen can refuse to ship out on a ship to which he is assigned by the Maritime Commission.

These are our new seamen. After three months of strictest discipline any natural initiative they may have had is knocked out of them. These are the men being turned out by the thousands, every week, by the Maritime Commission. These are the hopes of the money-hungry, trade-mad shipowners. A semi-military bunch of men taught to take orders without any back-talk, so that their masters can over-run the world in the scramble for trade power that will surely follow this war. Already we hear that America is rapidly attaining a sea power unparalleled in history. These Maritime

Commission schools are the shipowners' insurance of a cheap, plentiful supply of labor that will cause them no trouble.

Who Are the Fascists (Continued)

fascism, then—well, that's the price.

Let's stop looking to the Economic Royalists and Tories for American fascism. The leader of American fascism may come from their ranks, despite the fact that they represent unrestricted private capitalism, the direct opposite of fascism. But before the day the American Fuehrer is discovered, fascism may already be here in all its fury.

Yes, fascism can still be stopped. But you can't stop it by jailing or shooting fascist-minded Nazi-admirers. You can't stop it by talking about it or deploring it. We can stop it only by molding the working class into a fighting organization to resist fascism in its every insidious form; only by breaking the tightening chains of our disguised American fascism; only by waging unceasing and militant struggle against exploitation, oppression and tyranny, whether exercised by finance capital or by power-hungry bureaucrats. —F. L.