Who Are the Guilty?

The dead lie deeper as Allied troops advance towards Germany. With every island taken on the way to Japan, the dead pile up. Fallen on the plains of Poland, the valleys of Italy, the Normandy beaches, Salpaan and Guam, the dead have no nationality. They belong now to the brotherhood of ashes. Their rotting corpses are like yesterday’s forgotten slogans: Lebensraum, Asia for the Asiatics, the Four Freedoms, the New Roman Empire. Like the slogans, the dead have outlived their usefulness, their possibilities, to the State.

God, they said, was on their side—on each side. From the churches and temples came prayers for the legions of Mussolini and Hirohito as well as the ranks of the Allies. However, God was impartial. They are all dead and dying now, innocent and guilty alike.

But who are the guilty? Recently, this mass murder mystery has received much attention from various government spokesmen who are still very alive. It’s no mystery to them, these learned gentlemen who are experts on everything, from Iowa hogs to Franco’s Spain. What a question! Why, of course, the Germans and Japanese are responsible for all our ills...“every last one of Wotan’s hordes”...“every yellow son of the devil”! According to them, the important topic concerns the punishment of the guilty; what to do to the Germans, Japanese, Italians: Versailles II. In this regard, Signor Bonomi’s embarrassment over Italian peace terms, still secret, indicates that Versailles I was a picnic compared with what’s coming.

Who are the guilty? Rather ask, who are the innocent?

Certainly not the State. Not any State. By its very nature, centralized and based on force, the State is always a criminal, a criminal whose activities are sanctioned by law. In fact, war...“the health of the State,” as Bourne put it...is not a crime among nations. How could it be? That’s when the State is most powerful, when its activities extend into every corner of a nation, and woe to those who don’t bow before the Almighty Criminal! Labor is hostage. The press put on its best behavior. Even business must watch its step. When the State thieves fall out, the dead lie deeper, but the State lives and grows.

With the State, its bureaucrats are guilty, too...from Mussolini and Hitler to Roosevelt and Churchill. These “innocents” were not interested when the Spanish people were fighting fascism, when the Germans—starving after the last war—grappled for bread and freedom, when Italian workers seized the factories in an attempt to save the country from Mussolini. Then, Roosevelt and Churchill stood for a “hand off” policy towards Spain...Hitler would keep German labor in line...Mussolini was a great statesman...oil and scrap iron to Japan. (Newspapers of yesterday are more instructive than those of today.) Stalin’s game was, if possible, even less innocent. Embargo? No...rather business as usual—with everybody. Guns for the Spanish people, yes, at a cash settlement and power for Soviet hirelings in Spain; also trade with the fascists (see Soviet trade statistics for those years in their own bulletins!) There was a little matter of a pact with the Nazis, too.

The profit system is guilty. Unemployment, inflation, monopoly, imperialism, the diseases of capitalism, are at the bottom—along with the State power—of fascism and war. The Thyssens of Germany, the Vickers of England, the tickertape watchers of America share the guilt...

There are others...the Socialist, politicians of France, of Germany, who betrayed the workers when they came to power...the labor leaders, the Bevins and Hillmans, who played into the hands of the State and profit system...these are the guilty also.

We are all guilty perhaps in a different way, but guilty nonetheless. We are guilty of inertia, stupidity and cowardice. We, the workers, the revolutionists, the men of good will are guilty. Stupidly, we stood by as the labor politicians snuffed out union democracy and turned our only effective weapon into a pawn of the State; the Spanish workers, the Germans, the Russians...when there was still hope...turned to us for solidarity but we were stupidly silent; we listened to the Siren cries of patriotism. Cowardly, when war came, some forgot

(Continued on page 10)
WHY?

PHILADELPHIA: Ignorant and Discontented

With Apologies to LINCOLN STEFFENS

It is rather pitiful to see hundreds of Philadelphia street-car and subway workers use the strongest of labor's weapons, the strike, for a purpose that is stupid, wasteful and injurious to the cause of all labor. The papers tell the sad story of hundreds of white transportation workers on strike to protest the hiring and upgrading of Negro workers. In the words of one of the strike leaders, they are on strike because, "this is a white man's job—put the niggers back where they belong."

It is a sad story, not only because so much energy is wasted in an orgy of hatred, street fights and riots, but because it seems to show that only race prejudice can arouse Philadelphia's workers from the lethargy that has been with them since the days when Lincoln Steffens uttered the now classic remark, "Philadelphia, corrupt and contented." The utilities companies in Philadelphia know that they do not have to bother repairing sewers, gas mains, or water mains. What if they are so rotten that they are falling apart? No one in Philadelphia will complain. Not even when a gas main that had not been repaired in over twenty years exploded and destroyed a whole block of houses, killing eleven persons, did anyone complain. Year in and year out Philadelphiaans contentedly drink "chlorine cocktails" from their water taps. Year in and year out the source of Philadelphia's water supply is the Schuylkill River—you should see that river at low tide. The black snot and dirt from the coal breakers up north have slowly accumulated in its bottom along with an assortment of filth that it is almost impossible to describe. It is not at all unusual to see big rats, dead dogs and cats in the waters of the Schuylkill. But the people go on drinking that filthy concoction without a murmur of complaint.

But let their white superiority be threatened and you will see them fight, just as they proudly send their sons 'over there' to maintain the American Way of Life.

The transport worker's strike has shown that when a sizable number of workers act together they are strong beyond comparison. In two days, they have nearly crippled production in the Philadelphia area. If the strike had a worthy purpose it would be a beautiful lesson to the rulers. Unfortunately the strike is teaching the rulers a lesson, but one that will ultimately mean greater discomfort for all workers. For there is something more than just race prejudice which acts as the driving force behind the strike. There is fear and uneasiness. Fear, for the workers know that industry swollen to dizzy proportions by the war will shrink with peace. With the shrinking of production there will be unemployment. Raised and educated in an environment of ignorance and prejudice, and on the American philosophy of "take what you can wherever and whenever you can", the workers cannot see that their only hope lies in concerted action. So, in fear of losing a job, and in the hope of maintaining his own job, the worker turns on that group in the community that he has learned to attack whenever things go wrong. Fools! They do not see that even if there are no Negro workers on the transportation lines, hundreds of workers, nevertheless, will be released with the slowing up of war production. So the workers strike to injure a group of fellow workers. The result is intense hatred, street fights, restlessness and riots, lack of unity and understanding. Fertile ground for fascist growth!

Somewhere 'over there' a Negro Engineer crouches low while repairing a road or bridge while enemy planes strafe and bomb him. A white soldier twists his bayonet into the belly of a Hun. Know what they are doing? They are fighting to maintain the "American Way of Life."

VIDA.

AS WE GO TO PRESS...

We hesitate to call the Philadelphia flare-up a strike. Reports reaching us seem to show that the "strike" was engineered by the company and its stooges, or else was a political maneuver. In either case the affair has ended on a sour note, for Uncle Sam's Army has broken the strike in a manner that is typically fascist. The Army has taken over complete control of the transit system—ordered workers back to their jobs under threat of permanent blacklisting, draft-induction and jail. The "strike" was a spectacle of the prostitution of labor's mightiest weapon to prejudice. At the same time the government used its vilest means to break the "strike" not because of sympathy for the Negroes but simply because production for the imperialist war must go on.

While we have nothing but condemnation for a "strike" that should never have been, we feel that the government's handling of the case has set another and firmer totalitarian precedent which in the future will undoubtedly be used against any attempt on the part of the worker's to strike for worthwhile ends.
THE AIR IS NOT FREE

If there were people on Mars, and if they had some remarkable device to tune in on American radio stations, their impressions of life in the United States would be rather fantastic. Americans, it might seem, are a race of imbecile apes who never evolved into human beings. Judging from the morning and afternoon serials, the Martians might conclude that life here is an endless domestic crisis relieved only by one stranger or another drooling over some particular soap or headache pill. The Americans, taking the radio's word for it, though they did have their romantic troubles, never had to worry about the humdrum problems of Martians and other folks... like trying to live and be happy in a world of dictators, depressions and war. Oh, no... not Americans!... even their daytime domestic sorespots disappear with night's advent, revealing radio's galaxy of feeble songsters, squealing adolescents, half-wit comics and still more commercial drievlers.

Fortunately for the Martians, there doesn't seem to be any life on Mars or any sign of some remarkable interstellar radio. However, true or not, American homes, in fabulous numbers, continue to welcome this perverted travesty peddled by the country's stations.

Along with the movies, radio is taking over some of the waning power of religion, that "opium of the people" which has been restored lately to official favor in Stalin's Russia. Like religion, radio serves to bamboozle the people for the benefit of the ruling class. Like the movies, though, there are some added features. Besides the distorted picture of American life, an escapist pipedream which distracts people from their humdrum lot, radio is always ready to beat the drum for the authorities whenever needed, in war or peace. Radio also sells soap, insurance, and capitalist "good-will."

On occasion, radio does pretend to some maturity. There are roundtable discussions, serious drama and good music. However, this is merely a sop to the more advanced elements in the listening audience. What's more to the interest of the stations, when the time given over to such noble pursuits isn't definitely unsalable, some sponsor (a patron of the arts, who can trim the expenditure off his income tax) foots the bill. And music can serve the interests of the station's business, too. Just recently, Shostakovich, the Soviet's Titan Noisemaker, received a fabulous check from the Columbia Broadcasting System for the premiere rights to his latest composition. A great to-do was made in the network'spublicity as to how wonderful Soviet-American relations are and what a glorious institution for the public good is CBS!

Public good, however, goes out the window when their much heralded serious commentators get too serious. A case in point is that of Cecil Brown, the veteran war correspondent, who found himself without a job at CBS when he tried to buck the station's censorship staff. In general, though, the broadcasting companies work smoothly; they make sure beforehand that their clique of commentators are a "safe" bunch who will never forget to point with alarm at strikes and bury their heads, ostrichlike, when facts and figures come along, detailing the incomes of our business world bigwigs.

The political circus gets an elephant's share of network time, and the donkey isn't hungry either. Candidate Windbag and his opponent, Incumbent Bloat, have all the air at their disposal for the slightest platitude. On Sundays, priests, itinerant soul-savers and even rabbis get their chance at the mike, hour unto hour. All these are safe, you see, good for business, but should a labor union or cooperative demand some time, even if they offered to pay for it, the networks turn a deaf ear to their pleas. If these "agitators" persist, and the FCC (the government's regulating bureau) shakes a finger, perhaps Norman Thomas or someone will be given a quarter of an hour on another network opposite Bob Hope. Rest assured, they know most people will listen to Hope. He's funnier than Thomas.

The network's high-handed tightness with time is complemented by its miserly rate of wages paid to all but the most highly skilled workers in the industry. With profits running into eight and nine figures, radio's little fellows... white collar workers, technical men, pages, porters... average salaries of from 15 to 40 dollars per week — the last to workers who have put in years at the job. Wage ceilings keep the pay low, at such a subsistence level, in fact, that one company (CBS) has supplied each of its workers with three supplementary vitamin pills a day!

True, radio does pay some high salaries...to actors, directors, writers and, of course, company officials. In the case of directors and writers, the good ones (good meaning good commercially) are relatively scarce, so supply and demand keeps their incomes high. As to the actors, almost radio's only union, the AFL's American Federation of Radio (Continued on page 11)
SACCO AND VANZETTI: Two Anarchists

Amidst the turbulent events of the last decade the remembrance of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti is becoming very dim. Those who do refer to them (James Thurber, "The Male Animal," or Maxwell Anderson, "Winterset") very obligingly overlook the fact that these men were not only "labor martyrs" but that they were, above all, anarchists.

Unfortunately, Sacco was not so prolific a writer as Vanzetti, nor did he master the English language sufficiently well to express himself. But excerpts from his letters definitely establish him as a profound lover of liberty. His incarceration made him very unhappy and he never could reconcile or adjust himself to prison life. This maladjustment was not emotional unbalance but a very rational protest against a system that he opposed. He persisted in his refusal to sign his name to petitions to legal personalities for clemency as he knew that officials of a capitalist society could not mete out justice. He died with a "long live anarchy" and a farewell to his family and friends on his lips.

Vanzetti, on the other hand, from the moment of his internment devoted himself to study. His education in prison was wide and varied. Not only did he learn English so well that some of his writings are considered, by the more enlightened, to be great masterpieces of literature, but he read texts on science, history, psychology, etc. This study helped Vanzetti to think and to record his thoughts logically and coherently, which before, as a poor fish pedlar, he could not do.

Apart from his own writings on aspects of the legal case, his collected letters are the only available material in English which give us an understanding of the extent of his knowledge.

As a literary critic, he excelled. When he read, he appreciated not only the beauty of language and style but he searched for meaning; for an awareness of social problems. Thus, he found Dante brilliant and stimulating while Tagore (the Indian poet) was beset by social limitations which did not allow him to reach those heights of greatness.

His anarchism was of no one school. He was not a pure individualist, communist, or syndicalist. He took the best of each and combined them into his own philosophy. This he often refers to as "voluntarism". He greatly admired Proudhon; in fact, he translated "Peace and War" into English. But his teachers were all the great writers of anarchist thought, Bakunin, Reclus, Kropotkin, Malatesta and Galleani, the last unknown to the English world.

Needless to say, Vanzetti was opposed to Fascism. The anarchist is the greatest opponent of fascism for no other philosophical doctrine diverges so widely from statism. The basic tenet of fascism or totalitarianism is the belief in the desirability of an all powerful state with a centralized governing body which will forcibly control every aspect of life; the basic principle of anarchism is the belief that only voluntary associations of individuals and groups will lead to effort for the common good. Vanzetti spoke out against Italian fascism when today's anti-fascists were lickspittles to the Mussolini regime. He condemned fascism not merely in the political and economic sense but morally as well for he considered fascism a criminal phenomenon. The methods of fascism are good for tyrants and not for the liberators of humanity. Vanzetti alive today would need to reiterate his statements very loudly for tyrants are fighting tyrants and human dignity is suffering.

Just as he condemned the fascist set-up so did Vanzetti realize what had become of the Russian Revolution. In a letter to Leonard Abbot, November, 1926, he says as follows:

"...In Russia, this happened: The Caissm was destroyed by a revolution; part of the owners were expropriated; a party took the power, stopped the continuation of expropriation and appropriated to itself that part of the social wealth which had already been expropriated by the people. From that moment the revolution began its regression and few leaders of a small party became the only and real rulers of Russia. They were immediately compelled to form a national army, and build a policy worse than the Caissm's one; to uphold a new church, not better than the old one; and, given the conditions, to be more reactionary and tyrannical than the dethroned autocracy itself...

"So that it is now experimentally, historically proved what the "damn fool anarchists" are saying from a half a century at least: The proletariat cannot become a ruling class; it can dethrone the actual ruler and place its leaders in their place, but in so doing the revolution would be in vain and the workers exploited and oppressed as before, if not worse...

"...Hence, the fascism and the bolshevism compelled to the same policy, same means—though their opposite aims—and damned to same results. It is so perceivable that it seems idle to say that both of them are not only utterly unable to eliminate the social evils, but that they make them
LABOR'S WEAPONS

Organized labor today is rapidly approaching the status of a conquered army. Reduced to thralldom and imbued with a feeling of servility, labor is losing the last vestiges of its individuality and is beginning to adopt the trappings and habits of the masters. Back on the now almost forgotten battle fields of labor's youth lie its weapons, the strike, industrial sabotage, the slow-down and, best of all, the social general strike, gradually accumulating the miasma of things fallen into disuse. Forgotten are the working class heroes and martyrs who used these weapons to wrest from the master class the very same gains which labor today has blithely returned for the asking. Forgotten are the murdered workers at Everett, Centralia and Chicago who paid for their militancy with their lives. Forgotten is the free-speech fight, and the class war that won the eight-hour day. Who indeed remembers that organized working men once believed that the conflict between the ranks of labor and capital would be terminated only when labor would sweep capitalism into the trash heap of history.

A while ago Harry Bridges, the head commissar of the west coast longshore-men, talked one of his locals into issuing a statement that not only will they forego the use of the strike for the duration of the war, but that they will extend their no-strike pledge indefinitely. They believe the strike as a weapons is outmoded and has no place in modern society.

R. J. Thomas, the president of the U.A.W., and vice-president of the C.I.O. has been so alarmed by the number of wildcat strikes that have broken out, that he issued the following statement in an endeavor to bolster his control over some of the more militant elements of the rank and file. "There can be no such thing today as legitimate picket lines. Any person who sets up picket lines is acting like an anarchist, and not like a disciplined union man. Such picket lines should be ignored..." Thus has "brother" Thomas given his blessing to "unionized" strike-breaking and scabbing. However, when he refers to workers who strike as anarchists, he is complimenting them. For he recognizes that such workers have not been fooled by the phoney anti-strike propaganda being distributed by the state in the name of the "Holy" war. Instead the strikers have acted as militant workers, taking direct action by collectively exerting their economic power to attain their demands. The disciplined union man admired by Thomas is one of the marionette-like workers who sing and dance to the string-pulling of their leadership.

Except for the sporadic outbreak of wildcats, the outlook for labor in the United States is very dismal. The one time understanding of the economic and social might of the worker on his job is growing ever dimmer in the minds of the laboring class. More and more of the workers' strength is being dissipated on the field of bourgeois politics. It appears that the conquest of labor, unaccomplished to far by the industrialists' brute force, is taking place today, through insidious propaganda. Cunningly, labor has been induced to take up the capitalists own weapons and join in a contest, the end of which has been pre-determined by its originators. Like a rube being taken at the old army game, Labor has jumped with both feet into the old game of politics.

The immediate outcome of Labor's participation in politics is the organization of the Political Action Committee of the C. I. O. There should be great rejoicing among the capitalists over this event, even though the P.A.C. may make it slightly uncomfortable for some of the Masters' hired stooges. In the P.A.C. have been snared a large portion of the working class under the smothering toils of "demo-

* ED. NOTE. In future issues we hope to print translations of Vanzetti's writings from L'Adunata.
If one were to believe the advertisements which fill the pages of our magazines and newspapers, the post-war world will be a thing of beauty and well-being such as man has never seen in all his long history. Dust-proof houses built of plastic and glass will be air-conditioned so that they will be cool in summer, temperate in winter. Giant flying liners, floating tear-drop automobiles, super-highways, peace, contentment, well-being, will be ours the day after victory.

It is a pleasant prospect, but how much is truth and how much is fantastic dreaming? There is no doubt that man has, here and now, the technical and engineering ability to achieve such a world. As a matter of fact, it was possible to achieve these things even before the war. We did not have this kind of world because, as Leo Cherne says, "...there were a number of other factors, which for some reason we call problems, that made them inadvisable. Well, unless we find that the war has somehow or other solved these problems, or broken the barriers, what reason is there to expect the floating tear drop any sooner?" And Leo Cherne seems to agree with us that the war has solved none of these problems.

Leo Cherne, as the executive secretary of the Research Institute of America, acts as prophet and guide to thousands of business men in the United States. In his book, "The Rest of Your Life", he has tried to show what are some of the problems of the post-war world. He remains faithful, or else gives lip service, to the idea that capitalism in America will survive the holocaust of peace. Yet on every page he piles evidence upon evidence to show how impossible it is for capitalism to survive in its classic form. He seems to think that fascism will not develop in these United States, but, in the next breath gives startling examples of the strides made by centralization.

Here we must clarify our terms. What do we mean by fascism? Do we mean simply brutality, prejudice and hatred, or do we mean a new social order? Fascism is brutality and violence, but it is also something else. It is a social order characterized by state ownership or control of the economic machinery of the nation (sources of raw materials, production, and distribution); regimentation and conscription of labor; the creation of huge military forces; control of foreign markets; the destruction of the civil rights of the individual.

Using Cherne's own example, let us see how far the United States has progressed in the direction of a centralized economy. He admits that the United States government during the war has "acquired almost one quarter of the industrial machinery and manufacturing capacity of the entire nation." In plain words, we have today "one fourth of the Nation government-owned." True, this is the result of the great need for war production, but even if the government were to give up its holdings, the chances are that they would fall into the hands of a small clique, big business. The war has greatly increased the power and profits of big business. The government needed war production, and the group prepared to deliver the goods was big business, so, they got the fat contracts. This growth of big business spelled the destruction of free enterprise, that is, unrestricted competition among business concerns. Monopolies, cartels, and huge financial organizations now rule the American economic scene almost completely. Mr. Cherne's point is that these same monopolies will continue to dominate the post-war world. They are private, capitalist and profit-making, and therefore, not fascist.

But let us go further. These are the facts: monopoly has grown tremendously; big business has profited and will continue to profit; small business is decreasing and whatever small business remains is almost wholly dependent upon the large corporations for subcontracts; government owns one fourth of the economic machinery and has increased its control and regulatory powers over industry and production. Moreover, government control or ownership of key industries such as aluminum, tool making, and magnesium gives it undisputed control over the greater part of the industrial life of the nation. This is the set-up with which capitalism must face the holocaust of peace, and peace will be a holocaust to the champions of the profit system. Production of war materials has soared to unprecedented heights and at the same time, the total production for civilian use has in many instances increased. The end of the war will also mean the end of war contracts and reconversion to civilian production. To guarantee "prosperity" at today's level means producing and consuming as much goods as is now being used up both for the war and civilian uses. It is fantastic to hope this possible. Fantastic, not because the peoples of a war-torn world could not use the goods, but because the goods must be sold at a profit. Then too, there are the technical problems which arise because of the need for physical reconversion of war plants to civilian uses. Out of this will come capitalism's big headache.

Unemployment will be the biggest problem facing
TOMORROW

the nation. Mr. Cherne predicts that it will reach the unprecedented totals of from fifteen to seventeen millions before the economic crisis is past. In a manner that lacks conviction, perhaps even sincerity, Mr. Cherne foresees a period of great economic crisis, then success for the capitalist system. His timetable runs something like this: immediately following Germany's defeat, unemployment will reach several millions and in a short while grow to about ten millions. Private enterprise, big business, will try to grapple with the problem. Though success will not be certain, he feels that a great depression may be averted because the conditions which lead to inflation will be counteracted by those forces which make for deflation. Ultimately, government "will begin to pump money into the stream." The crisis will be met and the march to stability, which may take the rest of your life, will begin. "After the crisis the economy will still rest on the base of private enterprise, but it will have accepted government as an ally in producing employment."

Now, Mr. Cherne, let us not kid ourselves. Since when has a fascist economy been exclusively government-owned and operated? In Russia, yes, but in Italy fascism was based on private enterprise. The Party ruled for, and with the consent of, aristocrats, big business, and the monarchy. The Party did not own the economic machinery. It simply decided what to produce, when, and how. It decided how, where, and whom to employ. It remained a profit-making privately owned economy. How else but by a centralized economy, can the problems, which the author himself has admitted, are great, be solved under an economic system which can produce only for profit. Mr. Cherne is in the know on these things. Leon Henderson is one of his associates; and the Research Institute has offices in Washington, and the unofficial rumors say that it is close to, and almost a part of, the Washington bureaucracy.

Thank you, Mr. Cherne, for some dependable facts on the extent to which fascist centralization in the hands of a small clique of monopolies, financiers, and government bureaucrats has progressed.

The second characteristic of a fascist state is total regimentation of labor. Mr. Cherne makes a very interesting statement in regard to organized labor. "Labor isn't sure where it's heading, except that the road directly ahead is retreat. It will be right." How perfectly this fits the pattern of labor under any fascist state! Labor will retreat right into the lap of monopoly and government. Labor organizations have become a business and a political machine. They will lose even their political strength for unemployment will lead to a drop in union membership. Nonetheless, the economic crisis will mean an increase of strife and strikes in the rank and file of labor. But strikes are dangerous for those who rule. The workers must be pacified if "order" is to be maintained. Social security, old age pension, and other measures will be in use. But, compulsory collective bargaining will be the main feature of capitalism's new labor policy. Mr. Cherne does not openly express his own opinion as to what constitutes the best labor policy, but undoubtedly, he favors something like the system now operating at the Research Institute where labor and management arbitrate their problems as one big happy family. The use of free milk and cookies, ice cream in the summer, a free company magazine edited by Irving Stone, and other devices will keep labor happy. At R.I.A., one calls the president by his first name, but a statistical clerk still gets 22 to 24 dollars and will willingly work until midnight while R.I.A. reaps the profits. Of course, if this system doesn't work, disputes will be settled by labor, management, and government in a "friendly" discussion. The workers will be hoodwinked and rendered inert. You know, Mussolini had collective bargaining too.

In the chapter discussing demobilization, Mr. Cherne warns against over-optimism in anticipating the early return of men in uniform. Firstly, because of the technical difficulties in transporting millions of men; secondly, because troops and a large war machine will bring returns at the peace conference. "The post-Armistice disposition of Europe and Africa will require substantial troops, not so much for policing, as for 'protection' or 'bargaining.'" Protection from whom? Bargaining, for what? America will have a great stake in the political and economic future of all the countries in the world. This situation presents a problem, but Mr. Cherne does not deal with its implications. Yet this problem, too, will influence events that will affect us for the rest of our lives. America needs to maintain and expand its foreign markets. To do this, it will have to be on friendly terms with whomever will play ball with the American diplomat. But there is a fly in the ointment. The peoples of Europe have suffered and bled. They have learned to know fascism in its many forms. Many of the men and women who risked their lives in the undergrounds of Europe have learned that the moral and economic bankruptcy of capitalism made fascism's growth possible. They know and re-

(Continued on page 12)
WHY?

TOWARDS ANARCHY

(Continued from last issue)

Therefore, all authority in the final analysis proceeds from the threat of violence. Violence is the foundation of all economic monopolies which enslave men through exploitation. Violence is the basis of all creeds, political and religious, which exact obedience through fear of punishment, temporal or eternal, in this world or the next. Sometimes it is claimed by Priests and religious Orders which pretend to Divine authority, that their commands are recognised and obeyed through love, but if this is true then such so called authority is not authority at all, but invitation. For if any man obeys another, or conforms to the rule of any Order because of love for that man or that teaching, his action surely springs from personal desire. He responds freely to invitation, his devotion is sustained voluntarily, and no compulsion prevents his withdrawing his allegiance at will. This sort of submission to discipline proceeding from love is an act of self-surrender and cannot be considered subjection to authority. With such a misinterpretation of authority we are not here concerned, though often these exalted sublimations contain powerful deceptions. Tradition and superstition can command respect and secure loyalty in this manner without the subject being conscious of their terroristic origin. However, if there is no physical force ready if need be to enforce such respect in the event of experience revealing its falsity, it cannot rightly be termed authority. Thus authority, correctly understood, is really the possession of power to enforce rule. This being so, anarchism denies the validity of the State which could not exist without force, is opposed to militarism, the bodyguard of vested interests, and repudiates the juridical law system which has legalised the robbery and exploitation of the common people in the interests of selfish privilege.

Believers in the necessity for authority often assert the stupid notion that a state of frightful societal disorganisation would result from anarchist liberty, owing to the lawlessness of individualism. History reveals however, that the authoritative systems so far experienced have been productive of little else but poverty and war. Illustrative of this is the present world scene, in which powerful governmental regimes drive their long-suffering populations into international fratricide. Nation is arrayed against Nation, mechanically equipped to slaughter on an unprecedented scale, each fighting to monopolise for their masters the resources of the earth which naturally belong to all mankind. No, the anti-social characteristics of individuals within our present society do not demonstrate the necessity for governmental order, for they are in reality the result of the criminal conditioning which men have received through the operation of authoritative forms of rule. Surely it is childish to imagine that a man given liberty will use it to destroy society and thereby deprive himself of the necessities of life, which are obtainable only in social activity. On the contrary, destruction of life and poverty of necessities are attributes of government. Man is subject to natural law and to exist at all he must conform to the natural law of self-preservation through the preservation of his species, and this is possible only by association for mutual aid. Even the present societal horror would have no cohesion at all without the workings of this principle of mutual aid. Anarchists wish to see it extended beyond the limitations imposed by reactionary authority, to the inestimable benefits of all humanity.

Also false is the idea that this very organisational necessity implies hierarchical government. Why so? The utilisation of the resources of the earth in common effort according to everyone's ability, is necessary for the fullest enjoyment of life by the individual, and this co-operation in the production of commodities and amenities in no way restricts individual freedom, but extends it. Freedom implies prosperity; an abundant age is a period of great potential freedom, and only in community can abundance be provided. The slavery of labor from dawn to dusk is necessary for the isolated individual to secure even a primitive existence. Now society being essential for individual freedom, rules of conduct and regulations of behaviour are necessary, but they need be in no sense formulated by governmental authority, since such regulations are the result of a common recognition of mutual advantage, and do not require violence to enforce their acceptance. To claim the necessity of the use of violence to compel men to do that which they wish to do of their own free wills, because of manifest advantage to them, is to talk nonsense. Just as it is to maintain that governmental violence operates in the interests of those violently used. This is to say that the government knows best what is good for the governed. Those abused, however, are incapable of recognis-
ing this, unless they are aware of the advantage to be gained, in which case the need for violence disappears.

ANARCHISTS AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

Anarchists are so convinced of the rightness of their principles, that the slow progress which libertarian ideas make upon the people as a whole is a constant cause of bewilderment and dismay. It seems to them so obvious that liberty and authority cannot co-exist, and that for future progress authority must be surrendered. They do not understand how it is that men can still subscribe to beliefs which history is forever proving false.

But the basic and most vital principle of anarchism—the abolition of governmental coercion; i.e., the dominion of man over man—so fundamental to the creation of a libertarian society, is an idea too profound to be comprehended by a people for centuries devoted to the service of authority. It must be remembered that our society is a slave society and that the ideas of the slaves are the ideas of their masters, and it is not to be expected that the workers shall question the principle of authority when everywhere they daily observe its power.

Nevertheless, it is clear that if the problem of the emancipation of men from economic slavery and superstitious bondage hinges upon this conflict between authority and liberty, it will not be solved by any organisation or political party which adheres to the principle of authority. Should the force of conditions cause any such party to grow powerful enough to command the support of the masses and to seize supreme power, even so it cannot achieve the liberation of the workers, nor solve any major problem such as war, poverty, education or disease. All such organisational efforts are wasted efforts, for authoritarian methods are inadequate, since they do not possess the correct principles to apply to the tasks. We have seen this clearly demonstrated in Social Democracy, Trade Unions, Bolshevism, etc., all of which have had large and powerful followings, much enthusiasm and unselfish idealism in their ranks, and some of which have eventually achieved political power. None has succeeded in any degree in leading the workers towards socialism.

Thus, whilst anarchism appears to make little headway against the prejudices and errors of authoritative systems, the reasons are clearly understandable and in no way militate against the purity and reasonableness of anarchist ideas. If it is true, as anarchists maintain, that liberty is a positive expression of human nature, then the progress of mankind towards civilisation is indissolubly linked up with anarchist endeavour.

Anarchism exhausts its purpose in the liberation of mankind from slavery into freedom, and anarchism must eventually reach the goal of Anarchy, or humanity perish. That is the strength and ultimate invincibility of the movement called anarchism.

FREDERICK LOHR

BETWEEN THE LINES

"Matthews' Scoop"

The New York Times recently published a "startling" expose of the Matteotti murder by its Rome correspondent, Herbert L. Matthews. Matthews revealed that the confession of Filippelli, a fascist editor, which definitely linked Mussolini to the crime could have stopped fascism if it had been disclosed in 1924. This so-called scoop has been common knowledge with radicals for the last twenty years, and it can be found in the Italian book, "Matteotti—Facts and Comments," published in 1926 by the Editorial House "Exoria" of Tolosa. Mussolini was kept in power not because anti-fascists were unwilling to make use of Matthews' "scoop" earlier, but because the forces behind fascism... big business, the church and the monarchy... wanted to keep him in power. The Times and Herbert Matthews are trying to smear true anti-fascists with the responsibility for fascism in order to restore to popular favor those who are really to blame, Churchill's and Roosevelt's friends in the Vatican and the Quirinale.

Turkey Wants a Drumstick

As the Allies' drive for the "liberation" of Europe enters its final stages, Four Freedoms, Inc., seems to be about to pick up a new partner, reactionary Turkey. Hitler's boy, Von Papen, has gone home in a huff, and Turkey is now angling for a place on the bandwagon. The Islam dictatorship figures it won't be lonely at all in the great democratic fold what with such other democrats as Joe Stalin, Dictator Vargas of Brazil and the Greek politicians-in-exile.
WHY

A NEW DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE
By EMMA GOLDMAN

When in the course of human development, existing institutions prove inadequate to the needs of man, when they serve merely to enslave, rob, and oppress mankind, the people have the eternal right to rebel against, and overthrow these institutions. The mere fact that these forces—inimical to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—are legalized by statute laws, sanctified by divine rights, and enforced by political power, in no way justifies their continued existence.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all human beings, irrespective of race, colour or sex are born with the equal right to share at the table of life; that to secure this right, there must be established among men economic, social and political freedom; we hold further that government exists but to maintain social privilege and property rights; that it coerces man into submission and therefore robs him of dignity, self-respect and life. The history of the American kings of capital and authority is the history of repeated crimes, injustice, oppression, outrage and abuse, all aimed at the suppression of individual liberties and the exploitation of the people. A vast country, rich enough to supply all her children with all possible comforts, and insure well-being to all, is in the hands of a few, while the nameless millions are at the mercy of ruthless wealth-gatherers, unscrupulous lawmakers and corrupt politicians. Sturdy sons of America are forced to tramp the country in a fruitless search for bread, and many of her daughters are driven into the streets, while thousands of tender children are daily sacrificed at the altar of Mammon. The reign of these kings is holding mankind in slavery, perpetuating poverty and disease, maintaining crime and corruption; it is fettering the spirit of liberty, throttling the voice of justice and degrading and oppressing humanity. It is engaged in continual war and slaughter, devastating the country and destroying the finest qualities of man; it nurtures superstition and ignorance, sows prejudice and strife and turns the human family into a camp of Iahmaelites.

We, therefore, the liberty-loving men and women, realizing the great injustice and brutality of this state of affairs, earnestly and boldly do hereby declare—That each and every individual is and ought to be free to own himself and to enjoy the full fruit of his labor; that man is absolved from all allegiance to the kings of authority and capital; that he has by the very fact of his being, free access to the land and all means of production, and entire liberty of disposing of the fruits of his efforts; that each and every individual has the unquestionable and unbridgeable right of free and voluntary association with other equally sovereign individuals for economic, political, social and all other purposes, and that to achieve this end man must emancipate himself from the sacredness of property, the respect for man-made law, the fear of the Church, the cowardice of public opinion, the stupid arrogance of national, social, religious and sex superiority, and from the narrow puritanical conception of human life. And for the support of this Declaration, and with a firm reliance on the harmonious blending of men's social and individual tendencies, the lovers of liberty joyfully consecrate their uncompromising devotion, their energy and intelligence, their solidarity and their lives.

Published in "MOTHER EARTH," Vol. IV—1909-10.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT Vol. 3 No. 3

BALANCE 7-13-'44: $65.97

CONTRIBUTIONS:

NEW YORK: collected by B. B. 25, D. A. 1.60, Nicksyville A. F. 1.50 ........................................ 28.10
CALIFORNIA: Vista, A. B. 2.00, Santa Clara 23.00 .............................................................. 25.00
PENNSYLVANIA: Mauch Chunk, Pittsburgh, by C. B. 30.00, Jessup, M. G. 5.00, Farrell, P. M. 2.50 .......................................................... 37.50
CANADA: Toronto, 32.00 ...................................................... 32.00
MICHIGAN: Detroit Group 144.40, D. O. 1, T. E. I. G. I. E. P. 1 ........................................ 119.40
MASSACHUSETTS: Arlington, M. M. 40.00

EXPENDITURES:

TOTAL $345.47

Postage .................................................. 25.00
Printing ........................................... 90.75

BALANCE $229.72

WHO ARE THE GUILTY (Continued from page 1) the revolutionary ideals of their youth; cowardly, sat back on their big plattitudes. We took things easy, busied ourselves with daily trivialities, fretted and grew dispondent because it's a hard journey from ideals to realities.

Yes, it's a hard journey. The State and property must go before the society of free men is a reality. Stupidity, inertia and cowardice must go, too. The dead are piling up. Unless men act, there will be many more.

—W.O.C.
LABOR'S WEAPONS
(Continued from page 3)

cratic" political action. Samuel Grafton, the columnist in the New York Post, recognized the significance of the P.A.C., in an article in that paper June 5th, 1944. He sees in P.A.C. the final abandonment of any revolutionary ambitions on the part of the American worker. He points out that when labor chooses to play the game according to the rules it must then uphold and sustain the rules and the institutions they protect. He lauds the formation of P.A.C. as a step along the "American Way" of ballots and representative government, and not revolution.

Gradually the picture takes form. At last the master class has induced the slave to work by its side and forge upon the same machine the chains and bonds with which the slave can be placed on the rack and there broken.

In all this foreboding scene there is but one ray of light, just one crack that can expand and smash the whole rotten machine; it is the fact that so far the only ones actively collaborating with the capitalists and their tool, the State, are the so-called labor leaders. It is these higher ups who are throwing themselves into the political cesspools. And of course, they try to drag their membership in with them. However powerful they may be, they still haven't complete control over the rank and file. The very bureaucratic set-up that the American unions have copied from their government may yet defeat their aims. In the present organizations the membership has become an unwieldy body difficult to stir into active participation in anything that does not directly concern its stomach.

The outstanding cause for the eventual defeat of the growing threat to the workers' independence will be the fact that in the drive for power and affluence, the leaders of the unions have lost real contact with the rank and file. In some sectors of this otherwise mute body, a rankling against the leadership has already begun to appear. Expressing itself increasingly in the form of wildcat strikes and spontaneous demonstrations, there seems to be a growing awareness among the workers of the traps into which the labor leaders are leading them.

The wildcats are so far isolated and seemingly unrelated. However, the increasing tempo of their occurrence is starting to draw howls of displeasure from the bosses and labor leaders alike. When one examines the reports of these strikes the chief characteristic of many of them seems to be a great spirit of solidarity coupled with spontaneity of action. This tendency manifests itself in strikes such as the following:— The Norge division plant of Borg-Warner Corporation at Muskegon Heights, Illinois, was shut down when 1200 workers walked out in protest at the discharge of a shop steward of local 404 U.A.W.; 600 workers at the Chicago Dodge plant pulled a combined sit-down and walk-out to protest disciplinary action taken against two fellow-workers who refused to do war work that was assigned to them; 150 riveters and roofers started a wildcat that is spreading in the Pullman Company plant in Michigan City because they were being asked to drive too many rivets; about 300 employees of the Worthington Pump and Machinery Corporation staged an unauthorized stay-in strike in protest against a Navy Department production cutback that would result in the dismissal of 1500 workers.

Although these strikes are usually quickly broken by the concerted efforts of union leaders and government agents, nevertheless, they seem to hold promise of an awakening proletariat. Indeed, the only hope for a decent and free existence in the future rest upon the re-awakening of the working-class to its own strength. For until the workers realize the pitfalls of political action and all its attending evils there can be no progress. When labor once more asserts the use of its economic power and wields it at last to reconstruct society, then shall man taste freedom; and cast away on the debris of the present society will be found the bigots, opportunists, lackeys, and reactionaries; at the bottom of the heap will be the "Leaders of the Labor Unions".

D. K.

THE AIR IS NOT FREE (Continued from page 3)

Actors maintains good wage rates and high dues. That's about all it does maintain... though that's enough of a rarity among the groveling-to-the-boss unions of today. The union's interest in the present standards of broadcasting with its warped picture of American life and the commentary of capitalist dummies, is practically nil. Money speaks, and money controls radio.

The air is not free. The air, radio's domain, belongs to those reactionary groups which are always ready to block the people's quest for truth and freedom. Until society is controlled by the free organizations of the people, this menace will remain... or grow worse under the totalitarian set-up of a State system.

Until then, there's always the consolation of a switch which shuts off the contraption.

—W. O'C.
A BRIGHT TOMORROW

(Continued from page 7)

member and aim to do something about it. American and Allied troops, guns, and planes can do much towards controlling these elements. Look at what has been done in Italy and Greece.

In fact, there is another reason why many of the boys in uniform will not be home so soon. An army can draw many men from the ranks of the unemployed. Mr. Cherne does not mention the possibility of a permanent peace-time conscription. But Congressman May and Eleanor Roosevelt and many others are certainly fighting hard to have Congress pass such a measure.

And what of the individual in this bright tomorrow? Many of us will be out of jobs, others in the army. Some chosen few will succeed in achieving the shiny world of the advertisements. But slums will still be slums, the rich, rich, and the poor, poor. The army will send us back the cripples, the men with patched up arms, legs and torsos. Psychiatry will be sorely needed. The veneer of civilization will have worn thin. The war will reap its harvest of prejudice, disease, and intellectual infantilism, and the man who will subsist on social security funds or on a wad received for his work in a plant where organized labor, government and management call each other by their first name, will go on mouthing the Declaration of Independence. This then, is the bright new world that the prophets of the new capitalism proclaim. But is this the bright tomorrow that you want? You, the clerk in a city office, the sales clerk at Macy's, the miner in Pennsylvania, the farmer in Iowa. If it is, you will be sorely disappointed. For you will be not only an economic slave, but a moral slave whose only future is the third world war.

Yes, Mr. Cherne, we start the rest of our lives with "no real enemies except ourselves." We continue to drug ourselves on the opium dispensed by the rulers of the earth, we are fooled by your plans and your promises, we vegetate in a state of moral and intellectual torpor while the super-capitalist strips us of the last vestige of human dignity.

But we libertarians have another concept of a bright tomorrow. A world in which ignorance, prejudice, discrimination and exploitation will be destroyed together with the master plan of the fascist-capitalists. We are few in number, but unafraid. Therefore, we indict your system whether you call it fascist, capitalist or communist, as rotten, unjust and morally bankrupt, in the hope that human intelligence will see through your schemes, and win its emancipation and liberty. We will face your violence and

WHY?  William Young, Editor

OFF THE PRESS

We have available for those interested a few copies of the following pamphlets:

- Trade Unionism or Syndicalism?, by Tom Brown .10
- The British General Strike, by Tom Brown .10
- Vote, What For?, by Erich Malatesta .10
- Selections From Political Justice, by William Godwin .10
- The Russian Myth, Freedom Press .10
- Slaves to Duty, by John Badcock .10
- The State: Its Historic Role, by F. Kropotkin .05
- Unabridged .25
- Revolutionary Government, by Peter Kropotkin .10
- The Wage System, by Peter Kropotkin .10
- Peter Kropotkin: His Federalist Ideas, by C. Berneri .10
- Cooperative Decentralization, by James F. Warbase .10
- New Life to the Land, by George Woodcock .10
- Railways and Society, by George Woodcock .10
- Social Reconstruction in Spain, by Gaston Leval .10
- Three Years of Struggle in Spain 1936-1938, A Freedom Press Publication .05
- Objections to Anarchism, by George Barrett .10
- This is not a new pamphlet but the stereotyped "objections" are so ably dealt with as to make this little book a must for those interested in the subject.
- The Issues of The Present War, by Marcus Graham .10
- We also have on hand current and back issues of War Commentary.

VOTE WHAT FOR

The election circus is with us again. The jackass and elephant are on the loose. Oh, yes, Norman Thomas is running, too. We haven't the space to waste on the political carnival. What Malatesta wrote years ago in his pamphlet, "Vote—What For?" still holds true today: "... We have to propagate real socialism, and instead of spinning yarns about trusting politicians, and voting for people, getting people to despise the parliamentary racket, and the whole political machine. Let the rich do the electing by themselves... When the workers lose faith in the ballot-box swindle, they will see the necessity for the social revolution."

ERRATUM

In the last issue of WHY?, June-July, page one, we stated that the Dumen boys were members of the Socialist Labor Party. This should have read Socialist Workers Party.

hatred, weak in numbers and physical strength but strong in our love of liberty, strong in dignity and intellectual independence.

A. D. ADAMS

P. O. Box 208, Station D, N. Y. C.