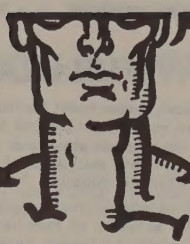


MAN



"Man is the measure-
ment of everything."

A Journal of the Anarchist Ideal and Movement

Vol. 1 — No. 10

Oakland and San Francisco, October, 1933

On news stands FIVE CENTS

To You Soldiers and Sailors!

The people of Cuba have for scores of years been exploited and robbed of their produced wealth by the Rockefellers, Astors and other American devouring human sharks. Their lot has become so unbearable that they have at last revolted. They have begun to seize the plantations that they have been robbed of with the aid and under the protection of the American government of capitalism. They are turning their General Strikes into a genuine Social Revolution. The capitalist thieves of America are at last to be ousted from their long seated thrones of exploitation and spoilation. The only danger for the failure of the Revolution in Cuba lies with the government of American capitalism.

By the order of the capitalist government of America more than twenty battleships which you man are now in readiness at the shores of Cuba. The stolen wealth by the American capitalists is to be safeguarded and retained at all costs. So decrees the sanctimonious liberal hypocrite and office boy of capitalism, that now occupies the White House—Franklin D. Roosevelt.

You the soldiers and sailors will be soon asked to loosen the machine guns that will drown in blood men, women and children that are committing but

one crime—that of attempting to free themselves from economic and political slavery. This dastardly act against the people of Cuba can be stopped—if



Linoleum Cut by D. Chun.
The Cowardly Pay-triot Behind Wars

you but will it! If you are men who can think for yourself as to what is right and wrong you will undoubtedly reach the conclusion and determination to refuse in carrying out the orders of your commanders when it will be issued. You might even tell them in no mistaken terms:

"We have no grievance whatsoever against the oppressed people of Cuba. We refuse to raise a single rifle or bayonet against them! They have as much right to rise in a revolution to free themselves from the American exploiters as our forefathers did from English domination. If the Rockefellers, Astors, Mr. Roosevelt, war minister Dern or any army officials have any monetary grievance against the people of Cuba—we will not stop them from going there to fight it out with them. The same applies also to all those editors and reporters of the press and preachers of the pulpit who favor the invasion of Cuba. We the soldiers and sailors have no kind of grievance against the arisen people of Cuba. On the contrary, we now realize fully that our calling is but one of murder for the protection of stolen created wealth from the people. If we are to do any fighting at all it shall be on the side of the arisen people in Cuba."

Such ought to be your answer—soldiers and sailors—to any order of invasion that the army officials will give to you!

Imperialist Exploitation and the Way Out

What seemingly strange things are now so rapidly transpiring in Cuba? If one is to judge by the number of executed natives, human life there is not highly valued. Why? Are the Cubans so much in love with death that they invite it upon themselves?

The answer to these queries could only be decidedly in the affirmative were one to adjudge the events there solely in the light of the reports one reads in the daily press. Luckily, the deliberative mind has grown to distrust, with good reasons, nearly everything that appears in the Kept Press.

The Cubans are no more in love with guns, bayonets, shootings and deadly battles than you, I, or any one else. They are first of all human beings. They want to live. They have a natural born right to do so. They want to enjoy all the bounties that nature holds in store for them. The Cubans, as all the human beings of the more tropical zones, are even in a more fortunate position than the rest of humanity. Nature is so much kinder to man in the tropical zones. The food of man—the most healthful kind such as fruits grown wild,—is nutritious, sustaining and abundant. The climatic conditions are such that very little clothing or shelter is required in the tropical zones. As a result, the body of tropical man is superior to the body of man living in the colder zones of the earth. Thus it can be seen that the man of the tropical zone could thrive in health and plenty, and could be care-free and joyful. In fact this was so for centuries until the vampires of the human race—the exploiter and ruler—set out deliberately to destroy these most fortunate surroundings of nature by enslaving the natives to specialize in limited production of foods for exploitation purposes.

Investments by American exploiters in Cuba alone are distributed as follows:

Sugar \$800,000,000; government bonds \$150,000,000; real estate \$150,000,000; railroads \$120,000,000; utilities \$110,000,000; industrials \$50,000,000; tobacco \$50,000,000; commerce \$40,000,000; mining \$35,000,000; banks \$25,000,000; miscellaneous \$15,000,000. Total \$1,545,000,000.

The Platt amendment is but a virtual affirmation that Cuba is a vassal state of American capitalism and its government. The Machado regime was set up by them in order to continue the subjugation of the Cubans. When the sugar barons no longer wanted him, their spokesman, Mr. Welles (ambassador) ordered Machado to go, despite the fact that the latter held a dictatorial grant of rulership by the very same Welles & Co., for another three years.

After Machado was forced out, these "gentlemen" thieves and murders in official and unofficial garb re-installed a former henchman of theirs as dictator. But this was too much for the Cuban people. So they rebelled against the brazenly open act of deceit. No sooner did this become known—and before there was even a chance to realize it—the government of American capitalism had already dispatched scores of battleships ready to invade and drown in blood the people of Cuba—lest they attempt a genuine social revolution. The voice of Cuba, the ruled and exploited, received a most formidable expression in the following statement attributed to a girl "in teens" by a Universal News reporter on September 10th:

"The revolutionary government is a new instrument of Yankee imperialism and doesn't voice the sentiment of the people. . . . The presence of the Yankee Fleet constitutes armed intervention. The Cuban people are

oppressed by foreign imperialism which makes us work long hours for little pay."

The "Gabriel" of the white house stands now as completely disrobed as the 14 point hypocrite Wilson—when the latter ordered the attack upon Vera Cruz in 1915. Unashamed in the least, Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt, like Mr. Wilson, has proven his readiness to obey the masters who placed him where he is now, in order that he might, when desired, command the cold-blooded murder of any human being that might arise to endanger the present system of vampire rule—imperialistic exploitation.

The plight of Cuba is the plight of every Central and Latin American country. It is the plight of the exploited and ruled of every corner of the globe—be they living in Havana or Bombay, the Congo or Vera Cruz. Neither does it matter whether the exploiters and rulers who hold the greater part of the human race in subjugation are those of America, France or Great Britain.

It is the plight of the human race that it permits itself to be exploited and ruled. The solution to the sufferings of the human race of the entire globe does not and can not, lie with this or that party, with this or that ruler. The real solution lies only with the people themselves. They, and they only, can throw off the fetters that bind them. Their solution lies only along the road of social revolution against every form of authority. As long as a single exploiter and ruler remains on the face of the earth the achievements of social liberation will remain in danger.

Imperialism—embracing every form of human exploitation
(Continued on Page Four)

The Burning of the Reichstag Trial

On September 21 there opened in Leipzig, Germany, the trial of five men on the charge of having set fire to the Reichstag, early last February, when Hitler was about to assume full reign over Germany. The accused are three Bulgarian Communist refugees, Wasil Taneff, Georgi Dimitroff and Blagoi Popoff; Ernest Torgler, former communist floor leader of the Reichstag and Marinus Van der Lubbe, said to be a youthful Dutch Communist. The fire succeeded only in burning part of the interior of the Reichstag. The first four named denied any responsibility in the act. Van der Lubbe not only didn't deny the accusation, but proudly assumed sole and full responsibility for the act.

Wilhelm Buenger, the presiding judge, declared that the accused are charged with:

" . . . having attempted partly and co-jointly in one and the same continued act to overthrow the German constitution by firing the Reichstag with malice aforethought, as preliminary to starting an insurrection."

The Communists and Socialists alike were first to come forward and renounce any responsibility for the act. Furthermore, they charged that four of the arrested Communists were framed by the Nazis, and that Van der Lubbe

was nothing but a spy. This accusation was taken up by nearly the entire Socialist, Communist, Labor and Liberal press throughout the world. It also figured prominently at the semi-trial in London before a commission of 9 impartial lawyers of Europe and America. Their report cleared the first four and accused Van der Lubbe as not having been alone in carrying out the deed, but having the backing of the National Socialists.

Despite the avalanche of abuse and slander that the above named press has been carrying on against him, Van der Lubbe has not changed his uncompromising position. As the trial opened he refused any sort of legal defense, went on a hunger strike, denied that he was a communist or nazist, and again reiterated his declaration of full responsibility for the act.

The action of the Communist, Socialist, Labor and Liberal press against Van der Lubbe cannot be passed over by sheer condemnation alone. First, if Van der Lubbe is a spy—why has he steadfastly assumed full responsibility for the act? Second, could any one of Van der Lubbe's present traducers point to at least one instance in the annals of any revolutionary movement where spies have not, on all such

occasions, done their utmost to incriminate as many other active revolutionists as possible? As the trial goes on, and especially when it is over, the present malingers of Van der Lubbe will need to do a lot of explaining for their nefarious, treacherous slanders that they have been broadcasting against him.

It is bad enough when the political "saviours" prove themselves, over and over, the compromisers and destroyers of every genuine attempted struggle for social liberation. At least they might show sufficient decency by keeping their silence in the absence of the courage and sincerity to greet and applaud revolutionary acts of such magnitude as Van der Lubbe has attempted.

• • • • •

(An International Committee in behalf of Van der Lubbe has been formed in Holland. (L. Lopes-Cardozo Borseburg, plain 8, 3rd etage, Amsterdam, Zuid). This committee ought to receive the moral and material support of all such who have no use for the shameful slanderous action that the followers of the Second and Third International of the Socialist movement have displayed towards Van der Lubbe.)

ANARCHISTS:

William Godwin began his long laborious life at Wisbech, Cambridge County, the third day of March, 1756. He lived over eighty years, during which great events took place and the old civilization was practically renovated from its roots both in Europe and in America. He knew the glory of success, the plaudits and admiration of apostles of liberty, domestic happiness, the sublime harmony between life and thought—and then, persecution, ostracism, poverty, oblivion, suffering and humiliation.

His parents—devoted brethren of the Calvinist dispensation—raised him to be a churchman, as his father and grand-sire had been. So his education was of the most pious nature and when, in his twenty-third year, he left Hoxton College, he was fully versed in theological and metaphysical matters. From nature or, rather, from early and earnest application, he had acquired a great facility of speech, and his eloquence, rich in latin reminiscences, was at once solemn and convincing.

William Godwin lacked the christian virtue of humility. He was too conscious of his mental powers to be a good Calvinist. And his mind was too restless, too anxious of research and knowledge, to make of him a complacent custodian of absurd dogmas, a satisfied curator of souls in a country parish, far from the engaging adventures of thought and study. The Reformation, at which Calvinism has rested, soon appeared to his inquiring mind as a point of departure for wider and greater aims. In his own times great and wise men—whose works he had ardently followed—were renovating old philosophies, elaborating new ones. The "Encyclopedists" had particularly appealed to his sensitive and receptive mind in such a way that in a few years he was forced to admit that his opinions on Trinity and eternal expiation and such other accepted dogmas, had undergone a fundamental change.

In 1783, following a scramble with his parishioners, he decided to leave the parish and the clergy for ever, and to establish himself in London where his intellectual gifts could find more congenial application. He was not yet an atheist—this he became about 1787, after having considered himself a Pantheist for five years.

In London he took to journalism. His liberal opinions brought him in contact with the more radical elements in politics, who were then revolting against the personal policies of King George III. They were noticed also by the leaders of the Whig Party, who tried to secure his services to their own cause. They failed because William Godwin had no petty political ambition. His ambition, his thirst for glory had no mercenary cause. The success he aimed at was purely intellectual, and his field of action was moral rather than political. The consciousness of his mental powers urged upon him the natural desire to accomplish great things not for his personal benefit, but for all human beings. Thus he worked hard all his long life and was always poor. The lure of success in the political field failed to impress him. He needed money very badly most of the time; but more than money, he felt the need of personal liberty to express himself at all times according to the dictates of his conscience. And he had of the dignity of his conscience such a lofty opinion, that he would never consent to subordinate its judgment to the interests of a Political Party. To him loyalty to any Party spelled abdication of one's "private judgment," and quest for political success, nothing less degrading than outright prostitution. Of the Westminster election of 1788, he wrote: "Scandal, pitiful, mean, mutual scandal, never was more plentifully dispersed. Electioneering is a trade so despicably degrading, so eternally incompatible with moral and mental dignity that I can scarcely believe a truly great mind capable of the dirty drudgery of such vice, I am at least certain no mind is great while thus employed." Godwin's moral scruples and righteousness made him unfit for the political market—they reserved him for higher and nobler achievements.

The French Revolution had been at its inception enthusiastically acclaimed by English Liberals and Radicals. Godwin, who had absorbed the teachings of its philosophical prophets, now found himself swayed by the rapidly succeeding steps of the great upheaval. Truly, here was a living example of man resurrection through his own efforts, an incontestable proof of boundless "Human Perfectibility." All liberty loving Britishers suddenly opened their generous hearts to great hopes of social and political renovation at home. The literary world was soon aflame with learned and impassionate discussions. Edmund Burke's pamphlet "Reflections on the French Revolution," published in 1790, gave dignity and authority to the debate, which continued through several years until minister Pitt's furious persecutions and the war against France submerged the last vestiges of freedom of expression.

To Edmund Burke's denunciation of the revolutionary "excesses" in Paris, many answers appeared in short succession, among others Thomas Paine's "The Rights of Man"; but none assumed the literary and philosophical proportions of William Godwin's two imposing volumes published in 1793 under the title of "An Enquiry Concerning Political Justice."

Sudden success crowned Godwin's painstaking effort. The first edition was soon exhausted and two more had to be printed before the end of the century. Here was an earnest book, by an earnest man who had left no social problem untackled or unsolved for all times—a complete sociological treatise which in form and substance was more than anything else apt to educate a new generation of liberty loving men and women. One hundred and forty years have passed since the day it was issued, but it has lost none of its freshness and power: it remains one of those rare books that young and old alike may read at all times and in all places with great profit to themselves—as long at least, as the social system founded on economical privilege and political authority endures.

"Political Justice" traces, for the first time in history, a scheme of Society without government. Godwin, to be sure, does not call it Anarchy—he uses this word anarchy in the

William Godwin

vulgar sense of chaos—but his "Genuine Society" is nevertheless based on complete political freedom and economical justice, on the absolute absence of oppression and exploitation of man by man, and is to all purpose what we would call an Anarchist Society.

Modern anarchist writers and students of Anarchism have been at pains to find for William Godwin's system a place among the several Anarchist theories produced by the nineteenth century, and it has been variously classified as a Communist or as an Individualistic system. To my mind he can hardly be rated as an Anarcho-Communist in the modern sense. He conceived the social unit as a communal entity, but the sense of individual freedom and self-expression was so vigilant in him and so fundamental in his system, that his social unit seems to be more akin to Stirner's Association of Egoists, than to Kropotkin's Commune. Philanthropy had a conspicuous place in Godwin's doctrine, but his universal love and altruism is dictated by the notion that what is best for each is best for all members of Society; and what is best for the individual is to be determined by the individual himself and by no other extraneous authoritarian power. Each human being is to be his or her own legislator, the only regulator of his or her own behaviour. Reason is the supreme ruler of human conduct and "private judgment"—individual conscience—its only law. Therefore Godwin's altruism and philanthropy do not proceed from the christian or statal suppression of self-charity and authority assuming the false pretense of serving others—but from the fullest expansion of one's self that seeks higher satisfaction in the happiness and well-being of others.

Godwin's theory has also been classed as a reformist doctrine as against later revolutionary doctrines. Reason—the force of persuasion—is in fact the keystone in his conception of progress. He claims—and rightly so—that reason, untrammelled by violence—could alone realize "Genuine Society." He believes that every man's mind is open to truth, the more so that truth and utility are one and the same thing, and that being in possession of truth men could—if left to the operation of their feelings and reasonings—attain the more civilized goal of Society. Nevertheless, he is fully aware that vested interests and blind forces exist which are violently opposed to the peaceful progress of reason and truth among men, and formally declares that insurrection—no matter how bloody and painful it may result—must be welcome if it is bound to eliminate these forces of regress, ignorance, error and oppression. In this light had he seen and exalted the French Revolution.

William Godwin was above all a philosopher. His power of abstraction was enormous. The world he created in his imagination may have been Utopia, but to the construction of his Utopia he carried solid elements and proved facts taken from the real, historical and contemporaneous life of mankind. So his sweeping condemnation of violence as an instrument of progress includes all violence that bars the free processes of reason. It is to the credit of reason that some progress has been accomplished by humanity, all the violence used to oppose it notwithstanding. How much more rapid might not the work of reason be, were it not hindered by such violence. Godwin would not object to the forceful abolition of such violence—and in this he would agree with the Anarchist Revolutionists of our time. If such a social condition existed in which reason could be free to fully express itself—to rely unhindered on its supreme force of persuasion, nobody, not even the most militant iconoclast would feel the need of violent revolt. All he would have to do to impress his views on others would be to persuade them, through arguments and practical demonstrations that his views are better than theirs. But such a social condition does not exist anywhere because of vested interests and deeply entrenched monopolies, which oppose to the arguments of reason, the organized violence of the State to make all practical demonstration impossible, and to the welfare of all, the private advantage of a privileged few. So that a social revolutionary movement springs from the necessity of resisting and finally suppressing the swaying power of such violence, and aims at the realization of such social condition as Godwin had in mind, which shall permit the free operation of reason and persuasion. William Godwin was therefore no more of a reformist than modern anarchists generally are.

Godwin was first in the history of human thought to scientifically demonstrate that Anarchy is desirable and possible. But this is not his only contribution to the social science. His intuition of Anarchy would have been something akin to a brilliant dream, had he not arrived at it through a logical and thorough process of reasoning at each and every stage confirmed by the acid test of known facts.

During the nineteenth century other conceptions of Anarchy have appeared, more or less independently from his. His book retains undying worth, nevertheless, because of its critical part, which is really a monument of erudition, of sound reasoning, of impassioned eloquence in the search of justice. It took him years of diligent work to write it; he put in it the very best that was in his highly trained mind and in his noble conscience; but finally succeeded in presenting to the inquiring mind a masterly piece of work in which the political past of mankind was studied, analyzed, debated from all angles, and repudiated with righteous indignation as the surpassed heritage of a savage epoch in the human rise to civilization; and the future ably sketched as the enticing goal of every human hope.

As the title of his two ponderous volumes: "An Inquiry Concerning Political Justice and Its Influence On General Virtue and Happiness," amply indicates, Godwin sets the quest of justice as the goal of human society, and of his labors, as a loving student of mankind. History, which he followed diligently, shows at all stages of its developments, that Power and Faith, State and Religion have failed to attain this supreme goal: justice among men. His reason tells him that they will fail for ever, because the realization of justice implies a perfection of individual faculties

and freedom of action, which neither State nor Religion—feeding on submission and ignorance, acting through armed or revealed authority—are able to promote, which they are only bound to hinder and suppress.

In the light of historical experience and under the corroding arguments of Godwin's powerful logic, the foundations of the State crumble to utter ruin. His review of all possible and experienced forms of government is so destructive that even Rousseau's principle of "Social Contract" as the basis of government, then in its first large scale application through the French Revolution, is dismounted and so crushed that nothing of its claims to freedom, equality and brotherhood remains, but the mocking mask of the last refuge of tyranny and exploitation.

It is more than a coincidence that even at the moment when the French Revolution was, with its Jacobinism, operating the absolute restoration of State power and the consequent annihilation of individual autonomy, such a remarkable vindication of the individual and lasting denunciation of the State should appear. It is a universal law of social phenomena that all extreme calls for the opposite extreme. Likewise, half a century later, when utopian socialism—so called—was contemplating the emancipation of mankind through a conventual communism, Max Stirner appeared to sing in strange tunes the immortal psalm of the individual, eternal and universal.

"An Inquiry Concerning Political Justice" met with results that surpassed even its author. It was for several years the talk of intellectual England. It was the inspiration of a whole generation of students and young poets: Coleridge, Southey, Wordsworth—whom glory and fame lay waiting—drank generously at its source. Byron, later, and above all Shelley whose whole life and work were inspired by it.

William Godwin was then under forty years of age. Hard worker, he continued to work hard till the end of his life—but nothing more quite so excellent did he ever produce. His genius had reached its peak. Now that the prophet had spoken, the problem was how to make his ideals come true.

Very few are at the same time men of thought and men of action. William Godwin's deeds were his words. As long as words had any influence, his could be matched with those of any. As long as the awakening of public life and the debate of problems of public welfare brought about by the sweeping revolution that was setting in France the foundations of a new world, had a hold in England, Godwin's pen could be counted upon to defend the cause of liberty with unparalleled advantage. This was seen on the occasion of the trial of 12 members of the "Corresponding Society"—a very mild radical organization which was calling just then for universal suffrage—for high treason. Godwin came to the defense of his friends with a masterful letter published by a London paper "in which"—writes Mr. Brailsford—he analyzed the Chief Justice's charge and brought to the light what really was latent in it, a claim to treat as high treason any effort, however peaceful and orderly, to bring about a fundamental change in our institutions." The argument was irresistible . . . and the prisoners were acquitted soon after . . . But then Pitt's reaction spread all over England, the war against France envenomed it to destruction, and words and arguments ceased to have any effect on the so called public opinion.

The times called for action on a different plane. William Godwin was a great man of thought, but not a man of action. Thus after having given to the world the best theoretical creation his mind and, possibly, his times could give, he was condemned to live over forty more years in the consciousness of his impotence to pass from words to deeds—which came not only from the hostile conditions of his environment, but also and principally from his academic personality. He was a civilized man in a savage world.

Unable to act, he continued to write. But of his many contributions to literature, only a few survive, among which "Caleb Williams" a story in which he attempts to apply the principles of Political Justice to everyday life, and an answer to Malthus' reactionary theory of population.

In 1796 he married Mary Wollstonecraft, a woman of remarkable talents whom modern feminists regard as their first apostle, and with whom Godwin experimented his ideas on marriage. A year later when Mary was about to become a mother, their marriage was legally celebrated; but it had short duration as Mary Wollstonecraft died giving birth to a girl who was named Mary after her, and who, about twenty years later, became Shelley's wife.

The death of Mary Wollstonecraft marks the end of whatever happiness William Godwin may have known in life. He married again but the sun of content never shone again in his home. Long years of strife against poverty ensued—long years of delusion, persecution, ostracism from the most pharisaical public the world has ever known—because of his strange theories, because of his atheism, because he would never recant.

With the help of friends he founded a book shop which lived under perpetual menace of bankruptcy up to 1825, the untriving work of his pen proving inadequate to save it. Godwin's poverty, his constant need of money to feed his large family and save his publishing enterprise, has become a kind of byword for those orthodox writers who do not consider beneath themselves to pay their homage to the well-known English refined stupidity that sneers at poverty.

Be it said to Godwin's credit, that work was one of the fundamental tenets of his creed concerning individual behaviour; and work he did, hard all his life, trying against terrible odds, to preserve his independence and dignity. That he succeeded amidst so unfavorable circumstances is only enhanced by what his detractors call his tardy "capitulation." In 1832, in fact, at the venerable age of 76, when most of the ardent liberals of his youth had long since found a comfortable place for themselves in the exist-

(Continued on Page Three)

UNDER THE REIGN OF LAW AND ORDER

Those Who Take

Within the last fourteen months (up to June) the legislators of capitalism have loaned to the railroad magnates the pitiful sum of \$365,782,843!

George W. Hill, President of the American Tobacco Co., allotted himself in 1930—\$1,283,000 and in 1931—\$2,600,000.

Charles E. Mitchell head of the National City Bank loaned himself (through the use of his wife's name)—\$2,400,000. (He also unloaded \$31,000,000 of worthless stock.) A jury of twelve "upright" citizens—found him—not guilty! Madame Justice can always be bought by those who have enough to blind-fold her.

The officers of the five principal life insurance companies received higher salaries in 1932 than in 1929. One received \$200,000, three \$125,000 each, and the fifth \$125,000. Nineteen other officers received from \$30,000 to \$125,000 each.

John Jacob Aster III—at the age of 21 is estimated to be worth \$40,000,000—left to him by his father—who in turn—gained it through legalized theft under the present order. Vincent Astor, half-brother to John is said to have received \$89,000,000.

The New York Journal of Commerce reports that interest for the first quarter of 1933 amounted to \$1,125,943,000. In the same period of 1932 it was \$1,121,707,000. When the banks closed in March the interest was ten million more than in 1932.

The Bank of International Settlements at Basle, Switzerland, set up to facilitate German reparations payments made in 1932 a profit of \$3,200,000—although having in its treasury but one 25 cent gold piece.

Kuhn, Loeb & Co., made \$3,000,000 on defaulted Chile bonds, Otto H. Kahn, the "opera" prop of New York's Metropolitan hadn't paid any income tax for the last three years. Neither did the just mentioned firm of which he is a member.

William H. Woodin, secretary of the treasury contributed \$40,000 to the campaign of the Democratic party in 1932. Jesse Strauss, ambassador to France gave \$10,000, and Robert W. Bingham, ambassador to Great Britain gave \$5,000. No complete list is available as to how much each "esteemed citizen" appointed to big jobs paid for the "honor" bestowed . . .

The House of Mammon—Morgan

When this country was engaged in a death struggle over the question of human slavery, Junius S. Morgan, accredited representative of the Northern Government at London, was secretly aiding the South. It was during these five years of slaughter and struggle that he amassed the fortune upon which his son John Pierpont Morgan built up his powerful control over the world. In 1861 one A. M. Eastman made an offer to purchase five thousand guns needed by the Government at \$3.00 each. The guns were found useless. The old Morgan appeared as the principal in a trial against the Government for payment, and was awarded \$13.00 per rifle, originally having been billed at \$22.50, instead of \$3.00 each.

The Young Morgan learned a plenty from his father . . . In the great crisis of 1895 under the Cleveland Administration, precipitated by the calling in of credit by Wall Street at the command of Morgan, a bond issue turned over to Morgan at 104 brought in 120 and netted Morgan 18 millions in twenty seconds.

The banking investigation by the U. S. Senate Committee in June revealed that by crooked manipulations and transfers in the books Mr. Morgan saved himself ten million dollars in taxes.

O. P. Van Sweringen couldn't "remember" how the House of Morgan came to loan his railroads the sum of \$40,000,000 for expansion purposes, when they themselves had only about two millions on—paper. . .

The House of Morgan made \$300,000,000 profits within the last seventeen years. The midget lover, Mr. Morgan, got out of it \$75,000,000.

The House of Morgan was careful not to bribe outright. It would sell for instance Alleghany Corporation common stock to "favored" public men at \$20 per share at the very same time when it was selling at \$32 to \$37. Thus C. F. Adams, secretary of the navy under Hoover, received 1000 shares. C. N. Bliss, treasurer of the Republican National Committee, 1000 shares. Charles D. Hilles, chairman of the same committee, another 1000. Henry E. Machold, speaker of the house, 2000 shares. The "democrats" weren't forgotten either. J. J. Raskob, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, 2000 shares. R. C. Leffingwell, under secretary of the treasury under McAdoo, 13,500. William Woodin, present secretary of the treasury under the "new deal" regime, 1000 shares. The army was also thrown a bone via 500 shares to General J. J. Pershing.

Anarchists

(Continued from Page Two)

ing order of things, some friends, to relieve him from the state of dejection in which he was living, persuaded him to accept a position as usher in the establishment of the Chancellery of the Exchequer.

To this day this is celebrated by reactionary scribblers as a capitulation of the old revolutionist, although at the time a complete recantation of his beliefs was demanded.

No recantation came however, and when, on the seventh day of April 1836, death called on him, his pen was found lying on a manuscript of "Essays" concerning religion and its nefarious influence on the development of human character, which were posthumously published by his daughter, Mary Shelly.

On June 9th Senator Neely of West Virginia made this significant comment:

"The naked truth is that so far as Morgan and his associates are concerned, the giving of millions of dollars in purchase rights is a brazen attempt to bribe on a Nation-wide scale those most influential in the industrial, financial and political life of the nation . . . No matter which party wins an election, the House of Morgan wins."



From a Painting of George Frederick Watts by D. Chun.

MAMMON

Hail, puissant god, lord of all the gods,
The pillars of the world uprear thine hall;
Nations supply thy loaded table's feast
And thou, O pitiless, devourest all.
What meat thro' ages has not filled thy maw—
Brave glutton—sweeter for men's agonies?
O Mammon, thou hast many sacrifices.
The smoke of thy altars overwhelms the skies.

The groan of starvelings and the sweat of toil,
Success and failure; centuries of strife;
Drink, death, disease, and every rottenness;
Joy, beauty, strength, the flower, the weed of life;
Round up thy nostrils, water thy foul lips;
Go to thy pot and steam thy swollen eyes.
O Mammon, thou hast many sacrifices.
The smoke of thy altars overwhelms the skies.

Thy feet are planted firm in hell; thy head
Pillows the stars; thy tongue licks up its prey.
Thy swart legs straddle over all the earth.
We are thy slaves; we tremble and obey.
Who shall withstand thee, O implacable,
Or crowd thy belly till it putrifies?
O Mammon, thou hast many sacrifices.
The smoke of thy altars overwhelms the skies.

HAROLD MASSINHAM.

(From "An Anthology of Revolutionary Poetry")

* * * *

The New Deal at Work

Richard B. BeVier cannot complain that the Unemployment situation has "done him wrong." After speaking fifteen minutes with Louis McHenry Howe, secretary of capitalism's new saviour—Mr. Roosevelt, he walked away with a contract for 200,000 toilet kits, at \$1.40 apiece, for men in the conservation corps. Afterwards it was proven that the price was 55 cents apiece too high, or over \$100,000 overpaid. The sages of the U. S. Senate are still trying to find out why it was done, and who did it . . . Why not ask the "holy" man himself—F. D. Roosevelt?

In a special syndicated news letter of May 12 Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen state:

"Very quietly and with few people realizing what he is doing, Franklin Roosevelt is preparing to build up the biggest army and navy this country has boasted since the war. The navy, for instance is being slashed, just as every other department is. But at the same time it is preparing to build 20 destroyers, five light cruisers, four submarines and one airplane carrier—more than the navy ever had under construction even in the days of Coolidge prosperity."

Four and a half million families or about eighteen million people are now living on charity.

Factory employment was 67 per cent of 1923-25 period. Pay rolls 49 per cent. Factory production—97 per cent!

On June 19, the American Dictator—Roosevelt—decreed that the government lease 10,000,000 acres of cotton and pay for them \$150,000,000, so that the government may destroy the cotton which the millions of workers could turn into clothing for their own need. This is, if you have for-

gotten it by any chance, part of the (?) "new deal"—against the workers and farmers!

Chicago courts grant injunction against 300 leathergood strikers.

The governor of New Mexico declared martial law against the striking miners of Gallup.

State troops attacked and wounded scores of farmers in New York State during the milk strike.

William Sentner of East St. Louis was indicted on "conspiracy to incite to riot" for criticizing the National Recovery Act as a fraud.

Police brutally attacked unemployed workers of Oklahoma City when they demanded 40 cents per hour on the relief construction work given to them.

Two striking workers were murdered by bullets and twenty others seriously wounded when armed scabs—protected by the police—attacked the first while picketing the Cambria Hosiery Mills at Philadelphia, Pa., on August 31st.

T. E. Barlow militant unemployed Communist of Fort Worth, Texas, who was arrested with H. W. McComb and E. L. Hardy, was found dead in his cell. His eyes and cheekbones crushed, electricity burns were noticed on his soles, and his body was all bruised up. A comrade from Texas writes:

"Barlow was taken to the fifth floor of the jail and placed with thugs, dope fiends, sexual perverts, and every other type of degenerate imaginable. Saturday night (September 2nd) they ganged up on him and killed him. Jail officials are trying to hide their crime by calling it a usual jail fight. He (Barlow) was the leader of the Fort Worth Unemployed Council, and one of the 29 jailed in July on charges of "unlawful assembly." He refused to be released on bonds until all of his comrades had been released. Thursday night he and two other comrades were again arrested on charges of "unlawful assembly" after saying in an address before the Unemployed Council that drastic measures would have to be taken by the unemployed if they expected to get relief. It is the first time in Texas that a radical has been murdered, although others have suffered beatings."

Strikes and lockouts are strangled by the Labor Judases, who act as the assistants to the Military henchman of Capitalism—Mr. Johnson. The miners are already fully aware of this. For, on August 7th, they issued forth a declaration at Brownsville, Pa., wherein it was said:

"Over 70,000 striking miners are being betrayed by Lewis, Fagan, Feeney and Company. President Roosevelt, who was trusted by the miners, is leading the betrayal through an arbitration board, which will never decide in favor of the miners."

Crime and Its Victims

There were 135,000 victims in state and federal prisons during the year of 1931. This number had increased to 150,000 in January, 1933. The number of prisoners received from the courts was about 69,000 in 1930 and nearly 80,000 in 1932.

Reports from 511 principal cities in United States, having a total population of 16,458,401, shows the following listed crimes and sentences imposed:

Of 1145 homicide arrests 892 were freed. Rape offenses, 904; freed, 795. Assault, 7264; freed, 5337. Robbery, 13,055; freed, 4828. Burglary, 51,607; freed, 14,516. Larceny, 122,911; freed, 31,698. Auto-theft, 54,637; freed, 7767.

The American Year Book for 1932 states: "It is estimated that there were 11,000 deaths from homicide in the entire United States during 1930, except Taxes."

Eight human beings, mostly negroes, were lynched in 1932 in the United States.

The New York Times, reported 371 suicides for the first six months of this year. A report from France states that suicides have been on the increase for the last six years. Similar reports have come from Austria and Germany. Present "civilization" can rightfully be proud of its achievement—if one is to judge by the constant increase in suicides all over the world.

U. S. Senator Copeland estimates that between \$10,000,000,000 to \$15,000,000,000 is being paid out to the racketeers every year. Senator Copeland calls them "the scavengers of society." They are as much the scavengers of society as the bankers, exploiters and rulers of the country and the world that carry on the very identical same nefarious work—only in a legalized manner.

SCHEMES [No. 3]

The Natural Development Association, originating at Salt Lake City, has misled many naive and well meaning people into following the ever ready wolves who have been waiting for such a scheme as the Barter System. So far, it has become a most active charity-begging outfit and a competitor of legitimate labor employment. In many instances it has even made wages for labor an impossibility. The sincerity of the schemers is to be gleaned from the following gem—a resolution adopted at the 1933 convention:

"Rather would we see the continuation of the present, almost intolerable social conditions than to feel in any way responsible for the shedding of blood or the inciting of violence of any kind in the establishment of an equitable system. However, we must stand firm for the principles of Justice, Truth and Right."

No one need guess twice as to how "firmly" these new schemers will fight for "justice, truth and right." The history of every struggle for liberty has cost humanity blood—always shed because of the reigning oppressors of mankind in renouncing such needful struggles, these schemers reveal the hypocrisy of their pretentious claims.

A SACRED MYTH

Marcus Graham

In his social essays on "The Slavery of Our Times," Leo Tolstoy gave the most striking description of the ways and means which capitalism, through its State institution, is employing in order to subjugate and enslave one by one, the remaining "barbaric" tribes. A particular, conquering State presumes to have been deeply insulted; one of its "esteemed" citizens, traveling for curiosity or for purposes of exploitation, has been injured or the proper respect for its cowardly "shield," the flag, was not shown. A force of soliders enters the country. The "barbaric" natives are agast at first; they fail to comprehend it all. Desiring to live at peace with everyone, they even show themselves ready to apologize for a "crime" which they fail to understand as such.

But capitalism isn't out for an apology. It knows very well that the tribe doesn't even know of the existence of money. For that very reason it demands a ransom of money from them as "compensation" for the supposed "insult." Shrewd capitalism, through its lackey, the State, smiles on "condescendingly" and with seeming innocence. So, their "barbaric" ignorance reaches so far as to exclude knowledge of the existence of money! How uncivilized! Well, well, we are not so cruel after all. We will teach them the game. From their many leisure days they shall give us each year so many days of labor. For this labor we will pay them in cold cash. We will establish our mints and banks. The mints will fabricate money of all denominations. The banks will handle it. The tribes shall choose spokesmen who will sign with us a treaty by which they will agree to pay us "Indemnities" for a period of years, and not to allow any one else to fabricate money. The "barbaric" tribe that has been living until now happily, free care, and in full joy, is thus forced to become "civilized." Detesting blood-shed and ever desiring peace, it submits.

There have been also instances in the world's history when some of these "barbaric" tribes refused to thus become "civilized." Thousands of such paid with their lives, while resisting the dastardly invasion of their liberty and happiness by the "civilized" States.

Such in brief, is Leo Tolstoy's masterful description of the introduction of money fabrication in country after country.

Those to whom the above account may appear as a fictitious tale of olden pirate days, I advise to go into the library of any city in every country and look up the treaties arranged and written up by the dictates of Wall Street or Lombard Street, via the United States or the British Government. Every such treaty will only bear out in full, the description given by Leo Tolstoy. Backed by every form of destructive power, capitalism has ridden over the bodies of millions, until it has by now grasped almost the entire globe within its ruling claws.

Wherever a State (Government) established its rule, along with it came the establishment of sacred rights, chief of which has been, and remains to this very day, the sacred right of fabricating money. The fabrication of money by the State has become a sacred, so-called moral right. Such it became with the help and support it received from preachers of religion, teachers and professors of schools and universities, writers of the press, police, judges, soldiers and jails. With the help of this forceful array of moral and physical backing, the State succeeded in having the great masses of people trained into recognizing the fabrication of money by the State as the State's sole sacred right.

Notwithstanding the assumed sacredness, history books reveal how every rebelling opposition within a country against the State, never hesitated for a moment in resorting to its own fabrication of money as the quickest effective means by which to defeat the existing rulership. It should be remembered, though, that no sooner did an opposition become successful, in the sense of itself assuming the reigns of the State, and it immediately proclaimed the fabrication of money as a sacred right of its own. This bare-faced farce has been committed by every State that has come into being, and wherever its rulership domains extended. The latest and most up-to-date example as to how this fraud is perpetrated has been furnished by Russia.

As is commonly known, no capitalist State makes any serious pretensions of existing to uphold righteousness, justice, freedom, and equality. On the contrary, its existence is the safest bulwark for preventing such lofty things from ever becoming realities. As revolutionists, the present rulers of Russia secretly employed the fabrication of money in its combat of the czaristic regimes. Assuming the reigns of the Government, the Socialist State pretended to be the crusaders and liberators of the enslaved. Yet, one of their first acts was on par with the identical acts of all successfully established capitalist States. They proclaimed their right to fabricate money as the sole sanctified one. Their second act went one better on the capitalist States. Every sincere revolutionist was denied the right to express himself by oral or written word, if he happened to disagree with the newly created State. This alone, however, was not assuring enough to the ultra-revolutionary State. It denied

the opposing revolutionists even the right to sell their labor in order to exist!

It was but natural that such oppression should yet more strongly arouse the ever existing spirit of rebellion. The rebels found themselves in need of the very same thing that made it possible for the new rulership to keep itself in power. They needed money. They had to get printing materials and also feed themselves. Money was the access to it. The rebels didn't hesitate. They resorted to the same method that was employed by the present rulers of Russia, when these rulers were yet a secret opposition. The rebels began the secret fabrication of money. By this act their voice of rebellion made itself heard in no mistaken terms.

The Socialist State, as every capitalist one, became alarmed. It immediately put to work spies to uncover the rebellious forces. When the Socialist State succeeded in discovering part of these rebels, it immediately ordered them shot, as Anarcho-bandits.

The truth of the matter was, that those shot down revolutionists were as much "bandits" as the present Socialist rulers were, when they were accused and sentenced for exactly the same offense by the czarist rulers. The ten who were shot were in reality well known active Anarchists. The action of the Socialist State only emphasized in no uncertain terms, that as long as States (Governments) will exist, they will continue to act alike, though they may call themselves a monarchy or a republic, a capitalist or a socialist rulership.

A few things stand out quite clearly and emphatically: first, that the strongest prop of every State that ever came

* The "official" charges preferred by the Bolshevik Government against a Group of Anarchists appeared in the "Izvestia" of September 30, 1921. These charges appeared weeks after the following Anarchists were secretly murdered by the Bolshevik regime: Paul Duitrevitch Turchaninov (better known by his pen name of Lev Tchorney), Ivan Nikitish Gavrilov, Tichon Kashirin, Thopis Pavlovitch Silontiev, Fannie Ansimovna Baron, Vicketi Ivanovitch Feiler, Feodor Semionovitch Tchubranov, Michael Nickitish Romanoff, and Vladimir Sergeievitch Potiechin.

SPARKS

The "dean" of the prostituted press of America—William Randolph Hearst, has a new ally in the chief of the United Press, Mr. Roy K. Howard. They are now both united in a campaign for the increase of armaments for destruction in which the masses alone will, as in all past wars, be the main sufferers. The human vultures constituting the exploiting and ruling class who are the chief beneficiaries of wars—are no doubt rejoicing in their acquisition of a new inmate of the House of the Prostituted Press. Thus comes to an end the now meaningless phrase that adorns the Scripps-Howard chain of newspapers: "Give Light and the People Will Find Their Own Way . . ."

Georgia, the State made most infamous for its inhuman chain-gangs, is not at all satisfied with its achieved laurels. It sentenced the 19-year-old Negro, Angelo Herndon, to 20 years imprisonment in the chain gang for the crime of attempting to organize an Unemployment Council of Whites and Blacks. The law used against him was first passed in 1861 by the slaveholders who were then alarmed at the uprising among the Negroes.

The Maryland Court of Appeals has decided that Ennis Coale, a student in the University of Maryland, cannot legally be exempted from compulsory military training through a conscientious objection plea. What else could have been expected from an institution that acts as the legal whip of capitalism against any act that challenges or threatens the rule of injustice? Self-respecting students might prove their sincerity by leaving en masse all the colleges of capitalism.

The Weekly Bulletin of the American Civil Liberties Union announces that the organization has petitioned Governor Lafoon of Kentucky to remove the jailer, C. Jones, who surrendered a prisoner, Walter Merrick, to a lynching mob last June at Princeton, Ky. Shades of the John Browns, Russells, Emersons, and Whitmans!—what would they say at viewing the utter lack of any fighting spirit in the Civil Liberties Union of today?

Mr. Haldeman Julius is a Socialist and excellent business man. He starts magazines and kills them soon as they have coined in whatever their pretentious cloak is able to absorb. He is in short the prince racketeer of the radical world. Not satisfied with this alone—he is beginning to espouse Fascism in the open. In the August, 1933, issue of his "Militant Atheist" he gives over a malicious distorting story of the Anarchist inspired uprisings in Spain and adds: "As to the recent riots, if the Spanish authorities cared to use, even in moderation, the methods of Fascist states, these local troubles would not occur . . . firmness could hardly be called tyranny." Mr. Haldeman Julius should prove a most efficient henchman to any Fascist regime. Mussolini's or Hitler's not excepted.

The San Francisco "News" (which calls itself the "white newspaper"), gave exactly seven lines to reveal the news, on July 12th, that "800 artisans at Columbia motion picture studios were on strike." Up to the present one knew what was meant by a "yellow newspaper," but now a "white" one of Scripps-Howard seems to match it in full. The artist, and pseudo-artist, is usually very reluctant to associate with social movements. The mistreatment and almost complete suppression of their strike by the Prostituted Press—which is always so ready to give them pages of write-ups in return for cash advertisements of their managers—should prove a most beneficial lesson to the cinema world.

into being, from the most reactionary to the most revolutionary, has been the fabrication of money. All these States did and are doing their utmost by every conceivable means imaginable is to sanctify themselves as the sole ones who have a legal and moral right to fabricate money; second, that every rising reactionary or revolutionary opposition never hesitated from secretly fabricating money in order to successfully combat the particular rulership. Most certainly does the fabrication of money by a rebelling opposition create chaos, instability and uneasiness, thereby actually breaking down the entire structure of the particular existing society, via the State. For, the exchange of commodities represented by money denominations become valueless the very moment it ceases to be looked upon as a sacred limited right of the State alone. In no other feasible manner has any rulership ever been destroyed.

The history of the world tells of numberless brave heroes and martyrs who have raised the battle cry and even paid with their lives for daring to rise against, expose, denounce, and combat every form of political, literary, social, scientific, and religious myths. Yet, there has remained one myth, the most gigantic of any that has ever been fostered upon the human race. A myth so powerful, that by its very existence, it succeeds in keeping the entire human race in bondage, servitude, submission, and slavery. This most fraudulent myth of all, the State's right to fabricate money, for the benefit of its employers—the exploiters of mankind—has remained to this very day unchallenged. The reason as to why no continued rebellion against this most fraudulent of all myths has not as yet come to light becomes in turn quite a challenge to the intelligence of the human race.

Whenever the time arrives and the rebels of the human race begin its battle against the money fabrication myth as effectively as it has done against every other conceivable myth, at that very moment the death-knell will have been sounded for every existing form of economical as well as political rulership. Delivering such a death-blow could and would open wide and afar the pathway to man's liberation into the realms of genuine freedom.

Writes Mr. Arthur Brisbane in the Hearst press of July 23, about Peter Kropotkin:

" . . . he took an interest in science, in the life and misery of the Russian peasants and, eventually, turned to Nihilism, which became successful under Lenin and Stalin . . ."

For willful distortions and misrepresentation this gem fits to a Z the highest paid pen harlot of Mr. Hearst's House of Pen Prostitutes! I mean of course confusing Kropotkin's Anarchist idea with that of Lenin and Stalin, and referring to is as Nihilism, instead of Anarchism.

The drive of the "pay-tribes" to militarize colleges and schools continues unabatedly. 100 seniors of the Samuel J. Tilden High School at Brooklyn, N. Y. have refused to sign the "loyalty" pledge to the federal and state protectors of Exploitation and Robbery.

Despondent over the present system of capitalism, a farmer who was forced to plow up his fifty tons of cabbage, announced that he will henceforth vote socialist. Comments the "New Leader": "That is a sane act in a crazy world." Is it? Not at all—if one is to judge by what Socialism has achieved for the exploited in Germany, Italy, Great Britain, Russia and other countries . . .

"I thank Providence I'm in California. I sit down and think things over and spent the rest of the day laughing and laughing and laughing."—Herbert Hoover.

At whom and whose expense can the great engineer be laughing? Can it be by any chance the citizenship of the country who gave him the legal chance to fool and skin them? . . .

Imperialist Exploitation and the Way Out

(Continued from Page One)

—must go down to perdition. Government of every description and form—under whatever label it attempts to sail and hide—must be destroyed. For government is the forceful upholder of humanity's enslavement. Without government exploitation could not continue for another single day. The road to social liberation is a clear-cut one. It entails no compromises with political jugglers who promise everything except to get off the backs of the exploited and ruled.

The day after the social revolution has triumphed a NEW AND DIFFERENT KIND OF SOCIETY IS TO COME TO LIFE. Whether human beings live in the tropical or non-tropical zones, the New Society can no longer aim to centralize production and distribution—but to DECENTRALIZE it. Production at the staggering sacrifice of human life, as we witness it today, is criminal. The maddening rush of today goes hand in hand with exploitation and rulership—but can have no place in a free society. Export and import—the basic artificial commerce props of exploitation—shall be discarded. Every vicinity shall raise all the needful products of its inhabitants. There is hardly a place in the world where man cannot with the aid of nature create one's needs for life and happiness. Man shall go back to the sane and safe course of life where each can become an artisan in whatever one does. Man shall once again learn to rely on his own ingenuity. When man embarks upon this road of the New Life, health, joy and the real desire to want to live and create will replace the chaotic disorder of strain, struggle, strife and uncertainty that now encircles each and all of us alike.

MAN!

A Journal of the Anarchist Ideal and Movement
ISSUED BY THE INTERNATIONAL GROUP
OF OAKLAND AND SAN FRANCISCO

Editor, Marcus Graham

Free Subscription Voluntary Contributions

MAN! will be sent to any individual and library upon request. It intends to submit solely upon what the readers find it worth. Whenever it begins to fall in receiving the voluntary support that now makes possible its appearance, it will be discontinued.

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AUTHORITY and ANARCHY

F. Walker

Anarchism is fundamentally a philosophy of individualism or egoism. The essential ideas involved in this philosophy may be derived from the naturalistic theory of man's creation and development. Assuming that man is nothing more nor less than a particular manifestation of natural phenomena, rather than a creature created by some supernatural power or god, we can say immediately that he has no super-imposed purpose or objective to fulfill. This idea can be substantiated by saying that "purpose" is only an idea and, as such, can only exist in a conscious being. Not being aware of any form of a conscious being other than ourselves—a disbelief in god in other words—it follows that the idea of purpose can only exist in the mind of man and could not have existed before he came into being. Having no external or imposed objective then, man is left to choose one of his own.

Now the logical biological choice of a motive will be the satisfaction of the normal physical and mental appetites and desires. The objection that this idea places man on the same level as the beast may be met with the following argument. It is assumed that, for some reason, a man should be good, generous, honorable, altruistic, etc. It may be pointed out then that our conceptions of "right," "good," "true," etc., are largely determined by our desires. We call those things "good" that can be used to satisfy our balanced desires, those ideas "true" which leave us mentally satisfied and vice-versa. With this conception of desire, which is a combination of the mental as well as the physical appetites, we find it can be applied to every aspect of life. Even our emotions are usually experienced in the form of an intense desire. The intelligent man will weigh and evaluate his desires and select those which afford the greatest amount of satisfaction as the ones that shall constitute his purpose in life.

The next step is where he encounters difficulties. He tries to apply these principles to living and finds himself surrounded with man-created obstacles that prevent, or at least hinder him, from achieving his purpose. Living in a world filled with other men it is necessary for him to live as they live and as a result he finds his activities limited to the accepted emotions of the time. That there is an unnecessary amount of hardships and misery needs no proof. He is forced to share these undesirable conditions—at least mentally if not physically. The Anarchist seeks a solution to this tragically ridiculous situation.

He finds a solution in the thought that man has allowed himself to become the slave of various ideas, which bring about a condition that prevents him from reaching the only logical goal he can have. This conclusion is reached by reasoning that the form of the social structure takes its shape from the ideas that are held by those within the structure. Customs and institutions exist only because they are supported by people. People only support those things which they are convinced are good or necessary. Hence the fundamental factor in any social institution or custom is the idea which makes that condition possible. Obviously then, if a condition exists that is not desirable its cause may be traced to a prevailing idea. Let us examine some of these ideas.

Perhaps the most vicious of these enslaving ideas is that of authority. It has its roots in religious concepts, where man has long been trained to serve the whims and desires of a god, that exists only as an idea, instead of serving his own needs and appetites. The idea of authority, or the idea that one must serve another without choice, fosters the idea of privilege; since once authority has been established, it is only natural for those who have it to use this power for their own benefit. Privilege means that some men must cater to the desires of those who are "privileged," rather than to their own—as was the case where man worshiped the idea of a god. Now the Anarchist condemns these ideas of authority and privilege on the basis of his original postulate—that is the natural, free and equal origin of all men.

Why any man should have the privilege of using any other man's life and labor to satisfy his desires is beyond the comprehension of the Anarchist. He can only conclude that such a state of affairs exists because those who serve do so as a result of their worship of the ideas of authority and privilege. They have been trained to believe that these ideas are right and good and that, for their own welfare, they must suppress their own desires and serve instead these god-ideas. He decides then, that man's social difficulties are directly traceable to his indisposition to evaluate his ideas on a logically egoistic basis rather than on a basis of tradition and custom. He believes that if man would accept the responsibility of arriving at his own conclusions, instead of accepting, without analysis, those ideas that are handed down to him by tradition and those handed out to him by those who would like him to serve them, the ideas of authority and privilege would disappear. This because all men are, by nature, egoists and would naturally choose only those ideas that give them the freedom necessary to satisfy their desires.

This constitutes the foundation of the Anarchistic philosophy. An Anarchist is simply a man who wants to do what he wants to do, rather than one who allows himself to believe that there is some mystical reason why he ought to submit to the desires of others. He is one who believes that his desires are his only reason for living and that unless he has the liberty and freedom to abide by them life is meaningless and of no value.

We come now to the practical problem of transforming the social system from one that is desirable for the few to

one that is logical for the many. The relation between ideas and the form of the social structure has already been discussed. The task to be accomplished then, consists of breaking down the popular faith in those ideas that are restraining man from living in a reasoned manner. Or, to be precise, to induce all men to think for themselves in place of depending on either custom or authority to evaluate their ideas for them. The revolution that the Anarchist looks forward to is, primarily, a revolution that will take place in the minds of men. His fight is fundamentally a process of education.

His logical point of attack will be against those institutions that are dependent upon, and hence strive to maintain, those ideas that are contrary to man's natural desires, namely authority and privilege. He sees government as the most important of these institutions. Every form of government is an authoritarian institution that enforces its edicts with power. The individual then, must abide by its laws—he has no choice in the matter. This situation contradicts the first principle of Anarchism, namely that the idea of authority is contrary to the idea of freedom, which is such an essential factor in the achievement of man's

Is the Present System Doomed?

M. Acharya

The world is watching the capitalist dictatorship experiment of adjusting prices and wages to suit each other. It is a dictatorship like any other dictatorship, bound to fail and destroy everyone.

But it is not necessary to see and wait for the effects. Any one with open eyes can see in advance it is bound to fail—much earlier than the most pessimistic can think. Prices and wages can never be adjusted to SUIT each other, both are inimical to each other. One may as well go on mixing oil and water into one compact mass.

The total amount of money paid as wages—to some or all—can never be enough to rebuy all the goods produced; it can only buy a part of the goods because it is only a part of the money put into producing the goods. Hence the wage payers, be they state or private persons, must sell a part of the goods at the total cost incurred to produce all the goods. That will make the prices unattainable to the wages paid to the workers. This holds true as much under the capitalist order as under the bolshevik one.

It is easy for any one to understand that the higher the wages paid, the higher the prices must be, will be. To suit the wages to prices, wages and prices must be increased with every production. To increase wages and prices is tantamount to reducing the purchasing power of money. Every reduced purchasing power of money will necessitate further increase of prices—or reduced consumption and sale, and therefore less employing chances. The only way capitalists or State can recover costs without increasing prices and reducing employment is by reducing wages AND selling abroad a large part. And selling abroad means there must be money and no restrictions should be placed upon import of goods and export of money into other countries. That is exactly what is not possible now or hereafter even with inflation money. If only other planets can buy and pay, it is possible to work the price

purpose. For this reason the Anarchist condemns the idea of government.

He also has other reasons for this attitude. The principle function of government is to make and enforce laws for the protection of private property. This leads directly to the existence of a privileged class since it protects those who "own" and control the vital resources of the world. With this protected control, these "owners" are in a position to force all other men to work for their benefit. This is obviously out of harmony with the ideas of the Anarchist. He sees government as an institution that makes property, hence privilege, possible. Without government privilege could not exist since no man would willingly tolerate it. With government he is forced to submit to the protected power of the privileged owners.

The Anarchist then, employs every available method to break down the faith that people have in the idea that government is either desirable or necessary. He reasons that once the worship of the idea of authority—and its offspring, privilege—has been abandoned, man will have no duty to serve other than himself. He will have evolved from a tool to a being—from a slave to a man.

and wage system. Let them wait for this—meanwhile dwindling down trade. That is what is going to happen due to this impossible experiment.

It requires no experiment, for it can be calculated on paper to find it is impossible. Why make such experiments or let others make it unless all mankind is idiotic. Today only what is hundred per cent certain can work and will work, if that is not understood, the collapse will come with a crash upon the heads of all—manufacturers, traders, peasants and workers alike. And it will come as inevitably as dawn after night.

Such a hundred per cent experiment is only one without prices and wages—just production for direct consumption. That can only be done by decentralist, non-dictatorship, democratic arrangement—through control by all equally. It is the only arrangement that is possible and therefore bound to come after the crash.

Under such an arrangement, all will have a say as to what shall be produced, what not, and under what conditions. Under such a system or anarchy food, clothing, housing and comforts for all will form the preliminary basis for all other activities not luxury first as now for a few.

It is nonsense to say that ANY MONEY system with its inevitable prices and wages can be controlled by any form of state or by all. Money will control all by the laws and impossibilities (contradictions) which ruin all first and itself afterwards. There can be no elastic money with or without gold, which can include the lives of all. That is why money fails and business becomes impossible. Every money system is defective. Yet they try what is obviously impossible to maintain.

Either mankind lives without money, prices, wages and state—and trade, or will learn to do so after going through all sorts of hells.

Where's Our Freedom?

Charles H. Moore

The word freedom may have several meanings. Most of them are limited; the private conceptions of individuals. It is my intention to speak of one phase of freedom and to define it clearly. My definition is not less important because it is confined to a part and not the whole. You will be more enlightened if I do not generalize and so evade the entire question. What I shall say is vital; it has to do with making a living.

You wage earner, have you ever asked yourself, "How have they dared, fine gentlemen, to take an entire world for themselves, tree, ocean, beast and man and sell it shamefully at retail?" Is it not most sadly absurd that the world is so bountiful, that there is hardly any actual scarcity of all things needful, and yet you starve in rotted leather and ragged patches; that you have worked and produced this food and yet cannot eat it? Can you, if you stop to think, really believe that this is so? and are you a man who will continue to support this wild cruel jest? Listen, my strong slave, I will whisper a word; it is Freedom! And you do not start? No, for every day you have heard it. You learned it at school; they said it had been given to you, that it had been won for you by revolt and blood. So you learned, they said, its meaning, you learned to pronounce it and to spell it. How fine a thing and a gift, moreover, from noble life giving men so long ago! As you grew up you heard it again, it came convincingly from pulpit and rostrum, book and paper. You hear it still, but conviction is weak and panic is strong. They are becoming afraid, strong slave, that you can think and they know that if you CAN you can also doubt. And they fear that if you can think and doubt you can disbelieve too and they KNOW that you can fight.

Do you know, by this time, strong slave, that while you can pronounce the word freedom and spell it that you haven't had it at all and have not till now stopped to think what it really is? It is such an astonishing thing, but deadly true. Until lately this was not your fault. For your father and mother and their fathers and mothers and all your ancestors were strong slaves as well and their chains were tight and they had no experience with freedom from which you might benefit. But times have changed; you can read and reading can free the mind and give it power. Yes, you are wiser now and must, if you have a man's pride, use that wisdom. You won that wisdom—now win its use! When the masters saw that nothing could prevent their strong slaves from learning to read and

write—and you may be sure they opposed it, with all their power—they set themselves and their most stupid slaves to writing; stuff that a slave could be trusted with, stuff that would even convince him his status was fortunate and enviable. But you have grown wiser anyway, it has taken you long but here you are—wiser; too wise your masters are thinking and the old flattery may no longer be used. I am one of you, I will tell you truly what in part our freedom should and shall be. It depends on us now to get it; it is not given.

The earth is wide and fruitful; it extends far beyond the dung heaps of the rich upon which we are permitted to squat. WE SHALL HAVE FREEDOM WHEN WE CAN GO ABROAD UPON THE EARTH, EACH DOING HIS PART TO MAKE IT GOOD AND KEEP IT SO; PRODUCING FOR ALL OF US BREAD, MEAT, RAIMENT AND ITS HONEST PLEASURES. Work is needed, there are thousands of tasks. If we do them wisely our reward will be sure. But we have always done this work, we ARE doing it; all that we need and want is here; we have made it. Isn't it ours? No? Then we have not freedom! When there ARE scraps we are thrown scraps to eat and cheap rags to wear. We do not use—we are used. We buy our own goods and we buy them dearly. We must have that freedom which permits us to work, to take and use that work's good yield.

Do we not demand a world wherein each may earn by work all that he may desire? We do not ask, as some may think, that apples shall fall ripe from the tree into our mouths, but we will lift ladders willingly and climb them for our fruit. And this is "right," this is the freedom we would have.

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AN OPEN LETTER TO A YOUNG SOCIALIST FRIEND IN AMERICA

It was with great interest that I read your letter and learn from it that you are a member of the Young People's League and also a member of the Socialist Party of America. The latter case I do not consider as a compliment to your intelligence and energy. Because it is about time that the young and new generation of the proletariat should learn from the experiment which we are making in Europe and recognize, that by virtue of wrong theoretical and tactical principles of Marxism, the entire socialist movement of Europe has been running adrift and is at present being wrecked by Fascism, which may be called a direct consequence of the wrong notions which Marxian "Socialism" has planted in the minds of the working class.

What do I mean thereby? I mean this:

Marxian "Socialism" teaches the toilers that in order to achieve Socialism they must conquer the government and achieve a conquest of power. It teaches the workers, that either by parliamentary methods and suffrage or by violent action, this aim must be gained. To this is added a series of historical, philosophical, and economical notions, which are altogether as wrong as the Marxian expectancy of the disappearance of the middle classes has proved to be.

The above contentions of Marxian "Socialism" are wrong. Long before the present break-down and doom of Social-democracy in Europe and Bolshevism in Russia, it was proved by Anarchism, as conceived by Bakunin and Kropotkin, as well as by Tolstoi, that it is not the mission of the working-class to conquer government, but to dissolve it. This can never be achieved by gaining power, but by wresting power from the bourgeoisie and the governmental classes by means of an economical and industrial action on the part of the workers organized in industrial units, and withdrawing all economic support to governmental authority and the economic thralldom of capitalism, at the same time reorganizing industrial and agricultural life on a basis of absolute liberty and thereby annihilating all conceptions of encroachments and all authority whatsoever.

Unfortunately we are not yet so far advanced that the young Socialist generation recognizes these truths of Social-democracy in England, Germany, and Austria, and the utter incapacity of Bolshevism to bring about any sane economic system, much less free communism. There are still young, energetic, and intelligent people, who adhere to those stale and outworn principles of Marxian "Socialism," not learning from experience, but believing still in the phraseology of the intellectually bankrupt leaders and wanting to repeat again, what after 70 years has proved a failure.

You must therefore not take it amiss, dear young friend, if I am looking with great askance at that which is going on in America just now. I certainly do see the great turmoil, the economic crisis, and even the great strikes, nay, even civil war activities, which are shaking the whole country from East to West. But I put this question to all: Is it only a striking against starvation-wages or an attempt to put an end to wage-slavery as such? If it is not the latter it is of very little avail, because the ruling classes will grant higher wages and will even give work also to many sections of the unemployed (in the form of slave-work as it is done just now in Germany and partly in Austria) and thereby overcome the present unrest. This, the more so if they can limit production at the cost of the lives of the laborers, as they are now doing already. In short, if there is not a clear-cut aim for which the workers of America are striving, all this social unrest will fail to solve the social problem. This aim must be the abolition of all monopoly, the abolition of all monetary rule, as upheld solely by authority and government, power and violence. If these forces are overcome, then Socialism, even Communism, will become a matter of voluntary expediency and feasibility. Technically there is no other economical system under liberty possible save Communism, but no Communism or Socialism will ever be brought about unless the working-class becomes first of all anarchistic in its aspirations and aims.

Thanks very much for the clippings out of the diverse local newspapers, which you have sent to me, but they all prove my standpoint. The workers are clubbed down because they lack, also in America, the comprehension of how to combat government and capitalism. They lack this comprehension, because in their vision and their conception of what should be put in the place of the present system, they are very unclear. On the other hand, the farmers who know what they want and who keep their economical superiority in their hands, wielding it alone as a means of resistance, are winning victory over the aggression of government. This is so because the farmer does not bother about any political achievements or changes, but goes direct for his goal, emancipating the earth and himself from the fetters which the law, i. e. governmental monopoly, is placing upon him in the form of mortgages and so forth.

While I am thus seeing that the American people have become much dissatisfied with the present system, I, at the same time, recognize it to be the more paramount to enlighten the workers and the people about their real aim in the social struggle going on. It is therefore of the greatest importance that a young man, like you of 24 years of age, should swiftly acquaint himself with the writings of Kropotkin, etc., which you can get from our Anar-

chist journals in America, and which I request you to read regularly and to aid as well as to spread the idea as much as you can do among the dissatisfied masses. Thereby alone you will promote the advent of a new day of liberty and devote your energies to some real purpose.

Most fraternally,

Pierre Ramus

Edit. Note: The ideas of "wrestling power from the 'bourgeoisie and government classes'"—and the rendering over of such power to the "organized industrial units" are most erroneous. Anarchy aims at destroying every kind of power employed to exploit, to rule or to subjugate. Whether such power be wielded by capitalism and its political henchmen, socialism and its statesmen, or labor syndicates and their leaders, makes very little difference to the exploited and ruled masses. The two score of years past have furnished the most formidable substantiation of this

assertion. Whereas capitalism has proved itself everywhere, the unashamed defender of everything that is unjust and dishonest, the socialist and labor movements throughout the world are still attempting to hide their similarly deceitful acts against the true interests of social liberation, by becoming the strongest bulwark in the path of every genuinely attempted social revolution. To mention only the Socialists in Germany and Italy, the Laborites in Great Britain and Spain, the Bolsheviks in Russia, will suffice to bluntly bring forth the fact that in all these countries Man has remained an exploited and ruled human being as hitherto under the reigns of capitalism and feudalism.

Anarchy, the ideal of genuine liberation, not only challenges every form of existing rulership, but likewise puts forward Man, every living human being, as the sole master of one's own destiny. The dawn of triumphant Anarchy will usher in an era of creativeness and voluntary cooperation that will give back to mankind the Joy of Wanting to Live—a thing that is most absent today.

Books

(The Untried Case, by Herbert B. Herman. The Vanguard Press, \$2.00.)

It is six years since the two Anarchist martyrs, Sacco and Vanzetti, were framed and murdered by the State powers of Massachusetts for a crime that a professional gang had committed. This gang was known as the Morrelli gang of Providence, R. I. According to the confession made by Castellino Madeiros, one of the gang who took part in the South Braintree hold-up on April 15, 1920, where a paymaster and a guard were killed for which Sacco and Vanzetti, innocent victims, were executed.

On August 22, 1933, six years after the legal lynching of Sacco and Vanzetti, Ehrmann, one of the defending counsels that were assigned to investigate the Madeiros confession, for the first time tells the real inside story of the South Braintree crime to the public. On reading this book that is full of so many facts, names, dates, names of gangsters, etc., pertaining to this gangster murder, one wonders why it is that the legal defenders of Sacco and Vanzetti withheld the story from the International Working Class and intellectuals who demanded freedom for Sacco and Vanzetti. The answer is, in Ehrmann's own words, found on the last page of the preface, "Until Governor Fuller's decision was released on August 3, 1927, Mr. Thompson and I refrained from any public comment. We believed that it was contrary to the ethics of our profession to try our case in the newspapers. The legal aspect of the case, however, has been closed by death, and our duty now is to the record of history." This shows that Thompson and Ehrmann, although liberal lawyers, did not understand that the Sacco and Vanzetti case was a "class" case. Their clients understood it very well. The lawyers, did not want any public demonstrations or protests. This they imagined would hurt their clients' case.

Furthermore, Mr. Thompson interviewed Vanzetti in the death house a few hours before the execution. He tried to persuade Vanzetti to issue a public statement "advising his friends against retaliating by violence and reprisal." Vanzetti replied that he desired no personal revenge for the cruelties inflicted upon him; but he said that, as he read history, every great cause for the benefit of humanity had to fight for its existence against entrenched power and wrong, and that for this reason he could not give his friends such sweeping advice. This interview shows why the defending lawyers kept silent for six years.

The murder of a shoe-worker and a poor fish-pedler stirred the International Proletariat to strikes, and demonstrations the world over. Liberal lawyers are first and foremost respectable citizens. It would be unethical to the profession to stir up trouble and hate. The idea is to wait until everybody is cooled off in order that "violence may not be followed with counter-violence." This must be the reason why the book was not published before. After all Liberals are not interested "in a change in society" they are only interested "in good citizenship for society."

However, this book published recently gives an interesting story of how the South Braintree murder was actually committed. From Madeiros' confession we see that the crime was committed by six professional gangsters. Their names are all given. According to Madeiros' story two cars were used to do the job. He tells how the gang went from Providence to Randolph in a Hudson car and changed later to a Buick brought by another Italian. They left the Hudson car in the woods and took it again after they did the job.

Mr. Ehrmann shows how Madeiros made his confession. He was in Dedham jail at the time together with Nicholas Sacco and he smuggled to Sacco a note on November 18, 1925, saying: "I hereby confess to being in the South Braintree Shoe Company crime and that Sacco and Vanzetti were not in the said crime." The same note was sent by Madeiros to the Boston American. The note reached Deputy Sheriff Curtis but got no further. It shows how even subordinates knew that the State was determined to frame Sacco and Vanzetti.

This note started a long and tortuous journey, traveled by the defense attorneys, that led to the exposure of the Morrelli gang. This gang was then out on bail awaiting trial for a series of robberies from freight cars in Providence. Ehrmann, himself, shows that a gang is most desperate when they are out on bail awaiting trial, and money is necessary for counsel fees, etc. Ehrmann shows conclusively how this situation motivated the crime. The author found by careful investigation how Madeiros worked in the Bluebird Inn and told the proprietor of the crime. But more convincing is the story of Madeiros' wife who told how Madeiros went South with his girl in 1921 after serving five months in jail. He then had \$2,800 in his possession. If there were six, in the hold-up, as Madeiros claimed that would

have been about the share of each in the \$15,776 South Braintree job.

Moreover, the police of New Bedford, suspected the Morrelli gang of the South Braintree job. In an interview with Sergeant Jacobs, who brought out his 1920 notebook, an entry was found "154-E Buick touring car Mike Morrell." This Buick disappeared for ever since April 15, 1920. The license plate was later attached to Morrelli's Cole-8. Frank Morrell excused this by falsely stating that he was in the automobile business. After this Sergeant Jacobs continued, "However, Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested, and as I had no definite evidence, I dropped the matter."

As soon as Ehrmann had established the facts of the gang murder, he telephoned to the assistant district attorney prosecuting the Sacco and Vanzetti case, Ehrmann continues, "He has been a classmate of mine at college and I felt I could talk frankly to him. To my surprise he showed no interest in the news from New Bedford and Providence. I concluded my narrative by suggesting that the investigation of the Madeiros story would probably end by his not pressing the case against Sacco and Vanzetti (dismissal by prosecuting officer). The sudden hostility of his tone and the finality of his reply sent me away from the telephone flushed angry and disillusioned. For the first time a fear began to come over me that perhaps the usual rules of the game were not to be applied to Nicholas Sacco and Bartolemeo Vanzetti." Nevertheless, the defense lawyers kept to the rules of the game. They went ahead on their legalistic path of appeal to official murderers. The defense attorneys presented the case against the Morrelli gang to a court they knew didn't give a damn who committed the murder, a court determined to murder their innocent clients. In spite of the evidence filed by the defense with the State Supreme Court nine motions were denied. A new trial was denied. Madeiros, the gangster and confessed murderer, was given a new trial by the court. After all a gangster is a product of our present system of society; he is not as dangerous as radicals are.

The author describes how Judge Webster Thayer "listened impassively to the arguments which lasted for five days. He was uniformly courteous and engaged in an occasional pleasant." It was the same judge who denied every motion for a new trial, the same judge who called Sacco and Vanzetti "anarchist bastards" and asserted his "intention to get them"; the same judge gave his decision on October 23, 1926, which denounced the chief attorney, Mr. Thompson, as "suffering from insanity and charged in substance Madeiros had been corrupted." This clearly shows in reality what to expect from the "impartial" courts of Capitalist Justice.

What does this signify? That the whole State apparatus, Governor Fuller and his Commission containing a Liberal Professor like Lowell murdered two workers, not for a crime they committed but for their Anarchist ideas. The only crime Sacco and Vanzetti were guilty of was that of being unusually loyal to their class. They were agitators. They did not believe in patriotism and war; nor in any government. They organized strikes. Sacco evaded the draft. They were also on defense committees for helping fellow Anarchist victims of the "red" raids and deportations, after our Liberal President Woodrow Wilson saved the world for Democracy. It was in these days of high passion that Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested by the blood-thirsty justice of Massachusetts State. No wonder they were tortured and almost driven insane for seven years and then finally executed by the Fullers, Lowells and Thayers. Isn't this a worse murder than that committed by the Morrelli gang in South Braintree? This is not the only frame-up in the Class War. There is the frame-up of Mooney and Billings who have already been in jail for 17 years, the Scottsboro Boys, the Haymarket Tragedy, etc., all victims of the Capitalist State.

Throughout the whole book there is no hint of a connection between this case and a thousand other frame-ups that have occurred in the Capitalist day today struggles. It is evident that Ehrmann did not understand this frame-up of Capitalism as Sacco and Vanzetti understood.

The book, however, reads like a detective novel and is a useful document for future historians to refer to. It shows very simply how Capitalist courts will reject every proof of innocence no matter how convincing if it favors the frame-up victims. The book is full of facts and evidence that conclusively proves even to the intelligence of a child that Sacco and Vanzetti were murdered though innocent.

Sam Fisher

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"Fascism," the 58 page pamphlet by Scott Nearing, is an attempt to review the origin, growth, and cause of the blackest reactionary movement in modern history. The impartial student, however, feels at once that although (Continued on Page Seven)

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Burn O Torch!

It is hard to withhold the torch.
Diurnally, the fat priests
Rob the body and chain the soul.
Outside glazed portals
Hungry children view the feast;
Down the streets
A scarlet army haggles love for gold,
And we who walk alone
Eat the dust of the heaven,
The husks of the corn.
Burn, O Torch,
Sear alike master and priest;
Burn, O Torch,
Unflickering in winds of greed.

Harold Preece

Parasite and Man

Gold is the king of the parasite.
Man is the cousin of dynamite.

Charity

Sparrows
Are given crumbs
When food is plentiful
That they may keep their place.

Truth

To call the truths of living sin
To shield a shallow, tinsellic lie
Is sheathing gold in drapes of tin
In painting rainbows in moon-lit sky.

The cant of lies precedes the dawn
In dark and formless shades of night
To terrorize the timid faun
And foster awe and shadow-fright.

The flimsy tales of Santa Claus
Are filmy spider webs of mind
Supporting vicious man-made laws
Enacted for the blind

Irl Morse

To live!—
To walk with the stars, bow
In lithe obeisance with the grain, unfold
Into joy with iris-flowers clustering about the green stalk like
butterflies waving their wings!

To live!—
To repose with the hills, breathe
With the massive waters bending under the moon, dream
With the pines bathing their uppermost cones in the moonlight
while the night is heavy with spring!

Thanks to the giver of life for the day and the night,
Thanks to the maker of man for the heart and the brain:—
Let us offer thanks, and bow
In soft obeisance with the grain by which we live . . .

But how?
How can we offer thanks for the day and the night
When the sky is a millstone of toil crushing us down,
And the sun—
The sun is a scarlet cloak dripping with blood?
How
Can we sing under the weight of the sky,
Laugh in the dank sarcophagus of night scribbled with the
sulphurous hieroglyphics of space?

What
Shall we be thankful for the scorpion
Sting of the lash? Take
With a fawning smile the kick,
The mockery, the insult, the scorpion
Lash of the overseer crazy with power?

No! We cannot bend,
For our spines are stiff and our shoulders
Are taut and our fingers are abyss like predacious talons rushing
through the whistling beyond under the clouds.
We cannot sing, we cannot
Laugh while the bubbling volcano in the breast
Hurls thunder after thunder, and our teeth
Flash in protest like the fangs of a leopard hurtling down from
ambush in his hunger, his outraged power.

Overture of Life

We cannot bend like the grain—No!
But we can mass like the pines.
We cannot sing like the birds—No!
But we can roar like the pines
And louder than the pines and louder
Than the blast furnaces, the locomotives screaming into the wind,
Louder than machinery or the mechanical
jiggling of jazz. Shout!
Till we drown the voice of the pines. Shout!
Till we drown the victorious chant of the machine—

No, pretentious steel upstart cogs and wheels, not
Like Bel Marduk, not
Like a god, not like a conqueror upbraiding man,
Not so shall we tolerate your voice. Moderate
Your stupid fury, do not roar at us,
O upstart cogs and wheels, do not roar . . . whisper
Like a slave offering bread and wine . . . Cringe
You hulks, under the intelligent finger of man.

Massed like the pines, our backbones
Straight and our arms taut and our voices
Louder than aught else but the thunder of the cyclone whirling,
whirling—

We stand, so many that we dwindle over the horizon-line like
waves diminishing into
Curvature . . . We march
And the earth trembles and the parasites
Who have preyed upon their brothers since the pyramids,
Tremble, and the machines
Tremble, waiting until we give them voice
To whisper like a slave
Offering bread and wine . . .

Not yet—our time is not yet, not yet—
To live, to walk with the moon and the sun,
Laugh with the lakes that sparkle under the sun
And dream with the winds that wind under the moon
And love with the trees that clasp under the moon . . .
Bow with the grass that bends into the east,
Worshipping . . .
Not yet—our time is not yet—

But soon!

Jacob Hauser

Crazy Joe

The kid was born and reared in a shot gun house in North Fort Worth, back of those big packing houses that stand like blood thirsty killers on the nude hills of the brooding Texas city. They called him Crazy Joe and his gal was known along East Twenty-second street, that part of North Fort Worth where Washington should send an American consul, as Sidewalk Jane. She had been a chippie since she was fifteen, Crazy Joe, being a mulatto, almost white, had curious ideas in his head.

He knew that his dad was a white man and that his mother was a whore in old Hell's Half Acre, that cesspool of crime, where once the lights burned red in old Fort Worth and social outcasts, like maggots, swam in the seething pool of damnation.

When a white man said to Crazy Joe "Get off the sidewalk," Joe got infuriated. He, too, had white blood in him and the white man in him spoke right out. But his docile mother, African to the core, also came to life and Joe obeyed although there was a death glint in his eye. At length he got a job at Armour's knocking steers in the head with a sledge hammer. One day a straw boss, who was a bastard son of a Mex mother, got drunk of rot gut booze and Joe was fired. Joe hurled a hammer at the straw boss and got juggled for six months on a charge of assault.

When Joe came out of the jail, where he had lots of nice cockroaches for pals, he determined to trail a different path. He met Sidewalk Jane, white girl, although there was a drop of nigger blood in her veins. Joe became a pimp—Sidewalk stayed in an upstairs hotel and Joe did the salesmanship.

William Allen Ward

Meanwhile social workers entered the hell-holes and tried prayer on Crazy Joe but he hissed in a drawl that told of a deep hatred; "Yep, my dad wuz a white guy who prayed every Sunday . . . a deacon in the church . . . but he slipped down in the 'Acres' and brought me into life . . . my ma wuz a black . . . so I'm just a bastard and a nigger one at that . . . I don't want yore kind of religion."

"Don't argue with him," a welfare worker said in a tone indicating she had the inside dope. "He's disease ridden . . . you know social diseases go right to the brain . . . don't argue with him."

Meanwhile Sidewalk Jane developed a funny sounding cough. The docs came in and, of course, said she was eaten with syph and that now her lungs were going . . . t. b.!

Crazy Joe always was sort of a nutty fellow. He didn't seem to give a damn what happened to him. One day he hijacked a suburban bank, taking a cold five grand.

"Beat it kid," Crazy Joe told Jane. "Take this jack and try the desert . . . New Mexico . . . Arizona, somewhere . . . start over again. . ."

The cops grabbed Crazy Joe.

"Life," the judge said, as he read the sentence.

Crazy Joe, victor, according to his view, walked away smiling.

"Always was sorter crazy," a deputy sheriff, who didn't understand the case at all, said as Joe walked to jail.

Music as a Language

From the earliest to the latest civilization there has been a place apart for music. The cannibals and savages have their chant and society has its symphony. Within the human heart and soul there has always been the urge for sound expression. Indeed the history of music is as old as civilization itself!

Music has been highly valued and esteemed in the myths and legends of early Greece and Rome. The most beautiful and attractive specimen of young manhood among the residents on Mt. Olympus was the Greek God, Appollo. He was the god of song and music, of prophecy, and him who gave help and turned away evil. The rest of the elements in the combination with music might at first be thought to be included perhaps by chance, but on reflection one may see that these other qualities are those influences which music controls; prophecy and inspiration are together; and music does bring help and cheer while it turns away gloomy and evil moods.

In music the primary aim and objective should be expression; next, harmony; and then rhythm and the minor talents.

Much of the current music is devoid of anything except rhythm. In it there is no expression which appeals to the finer emotions of man: nor is there sufficient harmony in most "Jazz" to justify its existence. Many of the bars in some pieces have been filched from other songs which do have a language and a message, but in this patch work the different bars make up a work deserving of ridicule and disgust.

But music is not for the enjoyment of human beings alone. It has charms for all who have the ability to hear it. One of the most beautiful stories in ancient literature is the story of a harpist named Orpheus, whose playing was like magic for it transformed and transfixed even the trees and stones. There is no feeling perhaps, except the

Frank L. Coniglio

extremes of grief and fear, that does not find relief in music.

Now, what music means to me is difficult of expression. I can but merely suggest its potency over me by a reference to the emotions it incites by my imagination. Music enables me to enjoy the satisfaction of dreams I could hardly hope to fulfill; it produces results which any other external factor could never stimulate; but from all real music the inspirational power is by me counted chief. That power which makes dreams live, and which conquers poverty and misfortune; it rests me when I am tired and soothes me when I am troubled; it quiets an ache and soothes a pain; it is a foundation for my air castles and a pillow for my prayer. What more can I ask of music?

A Morning Reverie

The road from Thompson Ridge has a general descent, traversing three lesser ridges. There is a down grade into the valleys and an up grade to the summits of the ridges. From each summit there is a wide view of the Schawangunk mountains. The most extensive sweep of view can be seen from the highest ridge. As the descent precedes the mountains seem to decline in elevation, and the extent of the view is lessened.

As I made the trip back from Thompson Ridge yesterday I felt the elation of the view at each summit. It seemed to be in part an emotion induced by the elevations of the summits. I felt that the appreciation of the beauty of the whole scene was a real experience. I felt the desire to communicate that feeling. If Eva had been there she would have shared in the experience. In the feeling of the beauty of the scene we would have been one.

I loved the scene. I would have loved to communicate

what I felt in a description of the scene.

A loved one is she (or he) to whom one can communicate those deepest feelings and joys, (and it may be sorrows) that would not interest others.

That is the impulse to companionship that makes it an art and a culture. Love or friendship is a relation of sympathy that induces the expression of our intimate feelings.

We are in love when we have some one to whom we can tell these feelings and be sure of a sympathetic response.

The future society will be one of lovers.

Reuben Sullivan

BOOKS

(Continued from Page Six)

Nearing has filled the pamphlet with important data and charts, he has at the very same time proven his utter bias as well. He asserts:

"Fascism had its beginnings long before the War of 1914. Theorists trace its origins in the writings of Saint Simon, of List, of Sorel and of the syndicalists whose ideas gained such widespread support in Italy, Spain and Latin America. Syndicalism is a theoretical neighbor of fascism, involving a form of society akin to the corporative state of the Italian fascists."

Had Nearing wished to be fair, he would have never attempted to make of Syndicalism the scape-goat of Fascism. As a matter of truth, the student of social history is well aware of the fact that Karl Marx has taken some of the main ideas of Saint Simon and incorporated them in his "Das Kapital." Furthermore, the student likewise is fully aware of the claim of Benito Mussolini, the former fiery Socialist, that he is doing in Italy the identical things that Lenin and Stalin have done, and are doing in Russia. The newly enthroned Fascist of Germany, Mr. Hitler, is also a former disciple of Karl Marx. Nearing will find it a difficult task to bring forth as many present and would be dictators who have not gone through the schooling of Marxian Socialism, as one could name—such who did. What Nearing has attempted in the pamphlet was to hide the outstanding fact that the agent which has breathed life into the blackest of reactionary movements, is none other than the ideal of Marxian-Socialism. For, even if one is to grant that Syndicalism, as Nearing desires it, is the origin of Fascism, he cannot deny that Syndicalism is but the economical interpretation of Marxian-Socialism, just as the Socialist and Communist movement is its political interpretation.

The reason for Nearing's attempt to conceal the responsibility of Marxian-Socialism for Fascism becomes quite apparent when one reaches the end of his pamphlet. To Nearing there are two roads open now to the proletariat: one is Fascism, the other is Bolshevism.

As to whether or not there is any difference at all between the two doesn't seem to concern Nearing at all. After all is said, Mussolini or Hitler act in unison with the invisible owner of the State—capitalism in their respective countries. Stalin, plus the Communist party, and in cooperation with capitalists from abroad and quite a few from within, is doing the very same thing in Russia. Fascism's real father is none other than Karl Marx. Undoubtedly he is a scoundrelous child. Nevertheless, he is a brother of yours, monsieur Nearing.

The *Anarchists*, compiled and edited by Li Pei Kam, Shanghai, China.

An album of the most renowned Anarchist exponents and martyrs, accompanied by brief notes in the Chinese language. Beautifully printed, a work that comrade Kam should be proud of.

Marcus Graham

OPINIONS and DISCUSSION

If There Is Anything That Cannot Bear Free Thought—Let It Crack! —WENDELL PHILLIPS

Experience

My life has included at least three periods, marked by a change of attitude. Born and brought up in the Christian church or superstition, for some ten years I was an active church worker. Then falling upon the Social Crusader and becoming acquainted with Socialist literature, for another decade I was active in the Socialist movement. By degrees it dawned upon me that the state was founded upon conquest, militarism, and tribal superstitions, I formulated the concept that religion and politics are twin superstitions. This became the more evident to me as I observed the course of the war and by the thoroughgoing digest of Norman Angell's book, "If Britain Is to Live"? Now I am sixty-five years old, with little physical strength, and only moderate abilities. But I am formulating the conclusions of my experience by a study of the nature of individuality, as it exhibits its behavior in reverie. The proposed title of the little book is "Reveries, Revised, and Rearranged." One description of it might be that it is "The Ego and Its Own" brought down to date.

So much to indicate that I stand upon my own experience and insist that others must do also, and that we must come to understand each other by learning the processes by which our experiences are fabricated into concepts and sentiments. A knowledge of history and anthropology is essential to our efforts to emancipate our selves from traditional superstition and useless ceremonies. And I do not believe that we can build up a movement adequate to overthrow present institutions or carry on an artisans' commonwealth without a great increase of sympathetic fellowship in learning and an eagerness to remodel and reorganize our individual lives as a process of adjustment.

I am decidedly critical toward all movements, including the Cooperative and Anarchistic, although I am in sympathy with the last two. It would be a delight, I'm sure, to be present for a visit at your meetings. To achieve my ideals I want comradeship very earnestly.

Thos. J. Lloyd.

Commonwealth College

In your Retrospect in the July MAN! you make the following observation:

"Schools that should approach each social and literary question from every critical angle would be a welcome achievement. Regrettably, this is just what Brookwood and Commonwealth College never were."

I am forced from this statement to assume that you never knew Dr. Wm. E. Zeuch, the founder of Commonwealth, and that you never visited Commonwealth during his administration. Your observation will come as a great surprise to all who know him and the facts. Dr. Zeuch was at all times an educator who insisted upon exploring every approach to social and literary questions as the Anarchists who were at Commonwealth during his directorship will testify. He steadfastly kept the college a free forum, and when I say free I mean free, for all ideas despite the many and varied attempts of factionalists and partisans to make the school the seminary of a sect. He tried to get representatives of all points of view on the staff and in the student body so as to insure every point of view finding adequate and competent expression.

Dr. Zeuch himself was too independent and too much the educator to become a sectarian. He belonged to no faction and was a constructive critic of them all. At Commonwealth he was the intellectual anvil upon which all the hammers of the sectarians beat and I assure you that it was most stimulating to sit in one of his discussion groups or in his remarkable Friday evening seminars just to hear the hammers beat on that anvil. It was the truly non-factional character of Dr. Zeuch that led to the plotting of the factionalists to oust him while he was in Europe, a proceeding as illegal as it was dishonorable. As you know there is a faction to which such things as principles and ethical considerations are just bourgeois prejudices.

Recently I had a long talk with Dr. Zeuch at his cabin on Ruth Mountain of this state. I assure you that no one could have a more withering contempt for the factional force that Commonwealth has become than he. He has not publicized his point of view because he feels that people would misunderstand his motives. But I never heard heartier laughter than his in recounting tales of "education" as now carried on at Commonwealth. The student strike at Commonwealth last fall threw "the fear of God" into the little fatuous clique that now plays at conducting a labor college. The strikers evidently did a good job of "advertising" the school as no one has appeared to take advantage of their much publicized summer school and camp.

But in justice to Dr. Zeuch you should distinguish between Commonwealth under his administration and the thing it has become since which he despises as much as you do.

J. A. Smythe.

It is safer to beg than to take, but it is finer to take than to beg.—Oscar Wilde.

FREE FORUMS

(Questions, Discussion and Free Admission prevails at all listed forums.)

San Francisco, Cal. Friday Night Forum. (Auspices Jack London Guild), 1057 Steiner St., near Golden Gate Avenue Clubrooms International Group, 2787a Folsom Street, San Francisco, Cal.

Freedom Forum. Lectures every Thursday at 224 So. Spring Street, Hall 218. Los Angeles, Cal.

Chicago, Ill. Free Society Forum. Fourth year lecture season. Every Sunday evening at 1241 No. California Avenue.

Roseland Educational Forum. (Chicago, Ill.) Lectures every Sunday at 2:30 p. m. Dutch Hall, 233 111th Street.

Cleveland, Ohio. Libertarian Forum. Every Sunday evening. Garment Workers Hall.

The Beginning of a Trail

As a fraternal hand has mailed me copies of MAN! and as two visits to U. S. A. (1911 and 1913-14) framed pleasant memories, especially of American and Negro children, it seems not unnatural that I should offer some friendly comments, even though I do not class myself as Anarchist. But to me, a Humanist who left God's house, never to return, in 1879, the claimant title MAN! appeals profoundly.

A few years ago, in an English cooperative magazine, I wrote articles on modern "Social Apostles," speaking appreciation in each case. The names of the Apostles were these: Rousseau, Thomas Paine (whose life I have written in 1924), Saint-Simon, Fourier, Auguste Comte (whose life I have written in 1920), Robert Owen, Lassalle, Proudhon (who sympathetically attended Comte's funeral, 1857), Mazzini, John S. Mill, Blanqui, Bakunin, Leplay, Louis Blanc, Marx, Charles Bradlaugh, Stepniak (whom I heard at a London meeting), William Morris, Liebknecht, G. I. Holyoake the cooperator (a friend of mine), Bebel, Jaurès, Keir Hardie (whom I knew personally), Kropotkin (whom I heard at a London meeting), Henry M. Hyndman, the Social-democrat of London (Whose life I wrote in 1928), and Lloyd Garrison. It will be noticed that I gave due place to the eminent Anarchist, Bakunin. I specially praised his view that:

"Life, not science, creates life; the spontaneous action of the people themselves alone can create liberty. . . . Science is only a means for the realization of a much higher object, that of the complete humanization of all the real individuals who are born, who live, and who die on earth."

And though I am not a Christian, I supported Bakunin's idea by a reference to the tentmaker, Paul of Tarsus, who thus expressed a simple gospel of Anarchy:

"The law was our schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ. . . . But after faith is come, we are no longer under a schoolmaster. . . . Stand fast, therefore, in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free."

This does not mean I see a liberty-value in the church of popes, bishops, and fundamentalists. It means that I detect, centuries back, a tendency in certain minds, away from the rod, the sword, the sceptre, the commandment, the dull bureau of prigs, prudes and puritans, the thin-lipped moralist. Indeed, I collided painfully with Christianity when, marked as a heretic-teacher by the London School Board, I had to go out of a class room every morning during the Bible lesson time (about 1500 mornings, in 1888-1896). In some ways, the experience was worse than a quiet prison.

I have deeply valued the positivist philosophy of A. Comte, who said we must "Reorganize without God or king by the systematic cult of humanity," and whose noble maxim—"Act from affection, and think in order to act"—will serve the future Anarchy. Comte would certainly not have called himself an Anarchist, yet his doctrine of the Religion of Humanity was a splendid emancipation from the Gods, and an impulse towards a world of music and joy. Most of his disciples have failed to appreciate the logical results of his Humanist re-construction. He himself did not perceive the full significance of his own work.

My friend, Hyndman, the real pioneer of British Socialism (1881-1921 was his pioneer period), was a Rationalist. He admired Marx, with whom he had intimately conversed. But I told Hyndman he was a greater man than Marx, and he truly was so in his breadth of historical view and his social sympathies. Hyndman was not tied up to a crude "nationalization" and officialdom. The last words he uttered in public were a plea for a "full, free and cultured life for all."

Today, as I approach the age of 80, I honor all the Apostles whom I have named. But I express my emphasis in my own way on three plain lines of effort and ideal:

1. The Economic. In effect, this is expressed in the Social Credit movement (initiated in London by Douglas, 1919), which finally abolishes taxation, and which implies the use of the communal wealth for all citizens, "dividends" (decent minimum income) apart from "employment," extra money for communal service, and regulation of prices by public authority.

2. Education, joyous, beautiful, scientific, and for useful service and bright leisure; and this education is for all youth up to the ages 18-21, and for all races and colors.

3. World unity, naturally unfolding from these economic and educational values.

I have not the faintest intention of presenting this program as a contrast with the ideas embodied in MAN! But I think that the readers of MAN! will see in my program the beginning of a trail that will lead the human race to a future of health, fellowship, freedom, vision, and continual forwardness.

Frederick J. Gould.

Ed. Note: The Social Credit System according to Douglas is to be materialized through Government. No genuine free life can therefore ensue from it. Thus point 2 and 3 that are dependent on point one are lost as well. The beginning of a trail that shall lead to freedom, cannot embrace an anti-libertarian basic materialization-method.

On Breaking Laws

I've not got through your magazine yet, but I like "Lemontay's Prophecy." Quite a prophecy! And true. He was seeing a long time ago.

I suppose you wonder why I have never said much about the Anarchist Ideal. To tell the truth I never knew much about Anarchy until I got your magazine. I, then read up about it in the Britannica, and have perhaps a general idea of what it means. It had always seemed to me that we needed a government, or there would be no order anyplace, everyone would do as they pleased. But thinking it over, everyone does as they please, anyhow. I know I do, excepting where I think I might be caught, and even then I take long chances. If I had to conform to all the laws (and conventions), my life would be an empty and useless thing. So I suppose my actual behavior is Anarchistic. I've tried to be friends of everyone, no matter what their opinions might be. We are all humans together on this planet, and should work together for our common good. But it seems to me so many of us forget that the other fellow is a human being too. I told you I was in the World War. I'd call war the height of human folly, the supreme human insanity. My personal life is quite unusually agreeable and happy; I'm able to live out most of what I think. My frontal appearance is quite usual, merely a small clerk. But in back of that front are broad areas where I live and see real life.

I thought that Nudism was Anarchistic enough for you to print. I surely appreciated your remark on the postal that time that you admired my struggle of bringing back into life Naturalism. You understand.

William Sheppard Sparks.

Replies

Melville Kress: I have nothing to square up with Dr. Wm. J. Robinson. Your defense of his act only places you in the same category. Lest any one should remain in the dark as to what Dr. Robinson did write about Mussolini, I give an excerpt from the "Critic and Guide" for April, 1933, (page 102) and will let the matter rest at that. Here is the excerpt:

"Uncompromising dictator he remains, but at the same time, you see a man of wide culture, familiar with the world's literature, earnestly striving not only to make Italy great, but to render the Italians materially comfortable."

Harry Block: You are welcome to show through MAN! as to why the editorial note "Traitor, Liar or Clown"—applied to G. B. Shaw's willful distortion and attack upon the Anarchist ideal was unjustified. The same holds true to the footnote poem to which you object. "Anarchism" you say "will be taken care of by new blood"—and you sign yourself "a cashed-in one." Why was there then any need for you to write? Your wish not to send you MAN! will be carried out.

Thomas Mahon: Your communication would only corroborate the serious charges made against the officials of the Progressive Miners of America who ousted Allard. The assertion you make that Local Union No. 1 did not vote to support but to oust Allard is very questionable—since the very same Local has forwarded a statement and resolution from which excerpts were given in the previous issue to the very contrary. Any change that could have taken place—will have to be made known by Local No. 1 itself. Even if this happens—it won't lessen a bit the serious charges previously made against the official clique that now holds sway in the Progressive Miners.

Financial Statement

(August 15th to September 15th, 1933)

INCOME

P. Ziano 3.00; C. B. Watkins 1.00; S. Tideman 1.00; S. Dettori 2.00; A. Fuld 1.00; H. Norantonio 1.93; J. O'Dell 1.00; Sanazzaro 1.50; Secco 1.00; H. Johnson 1.00; Net. Nick 5.00; P. Paolini 1.00; J. Andio 1.00; H. H. Hennacy 2.00; Cleveland picnic of August 20, 1933 (share) \$6.00; J. Gauzzi 1.00; A. De Santis 2.00; A. Bogat 3.00; E. Schutto 1.00; F. Gila 5.00; Ella's paper sale 65c; P. Paolini 1.00; Butte, Montana paper sale 27c; Youngstown's picnic (share) \$3.25; Seattle, Wash., paper sale \$4.50; Typographer 50c; Santa Clara, Calif. gathering of Sept. 4th, 1933 \$12.05; R. Cortopassi 1.00; F. Giustini 2.00; A. Belenky 1.00; P. Sterlichio 50c; F. Scotto 50c; Mason's paper sale 65c; Gus Telich 1.00; Manongahela, Pa., picnic of August 13, 1933 (share) \$10.00; H. Williams 1.00; N. Padovan 2.00; Gilbert 1.00; Janel 1.00; W. L. Rautsangk 1.00; A. Leonov 50c; Ignored 25c; J. Vercellino 3.00. Total \$81.95.

EXPENDITURES

Cards, stationary, postage, additional to printer \$ 8.21
Issue No. 10, printing 82.21
Issue No. 10, postage 25.00
Issue No. 10, Express 5.00

Total expenditures \$120.42

Total Income \$ 81.95

Cash on hand August 15, 1933 103.20

Expenditures Grand total \$185.15

Expenditures Issue No. 10 120.42

Cash on hand Sept. 15, 1933 \$ 64.73

For any errors or omissions, please notify MAN!

We believe in an age when unnecessary things are our only virtue.—Oscar Wilde.

Financial Report

(Of the International Workmen's Association, Chicago section, to aid the exiled and imprisoned Anarchists and Anarcho-Syndicalists of Russia.)
From June 9, 1931—till February 21, 1933

GENERAL INCOME

From "Freie Arbeiter Stimme" \$199.75
Subscribers and Unions 169.75
From Workman's Circle Br. 27.72
From Spanish Comrades \$397.22

GENERAL EXPENSES

Postage (4150 letters) \$ 83.12
Printing 76.48
Registered Mail 67
Exchange on Checks 7.80
Returned Checks 3.75 \$171.82

Net Profit \$225.40

Sent to Russia through Berlin 213.65

Balance on Hand \$ 11.75

Auditing Committee: J. Levine, Sam Kofan, Chicago, Ill. B. Telensky, Secretary.

First Indoor Affair This Season

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MAN!

Saturday Evening, October 14, 1933

At Bonita Hall, 24th and Folsom Street
San Francisco

The well known social play "Viva Rambolet!" by G. Damiani will be produced in the Italian language by a group of capable well known players. After the Play there will be Singing, Dancing, accompanied by a good orchestra and eats aplenty.

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