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## The Background of Kidnaping

Once again California is the talk of the entire world. A boy, named Hart, the son of a wealthy family, was kidnapped and his body was afterward found floating in the bay. Another boy not of a wealthy family, named Thurmond, was arrested by the police as one of the kidnappers. The latter claimed that Thurmond confessed to the kidnapping and killing of Hart. (That the police are often capable by their brutal secret third degree methods to extort "confessions" even from innocent people is a long well known fact.) A few days later another boy of a non-wealthy family, named Holmes, was arrested and the police likewise claimed that he had confessed to participation in the crime.

On Sunday, November 26th, 1933, 11 p. m., an assembled admittedly instigated half-drunken mob surrounded the San Jose jail where the two youthful boys were being held, broke down the door, was given the cell keys, took out the two boys Thurmond and Holmes, manhandled them beyond recognition and afterwards lynched them by hanging both in a sadistic orgy of cannibalism and gruesomeness that most reporters of the press could only describe in terms of contempt and disgust. Thus "society" thought that it rang down the curtain upon the tragedy that untimely ended three youthful lives.

We live under a society pretending to be ruled by "law and order." But, both Law and Order were very absent in the city of San Jose, California, on and preceding the Bacchanalia of November 26th, 1933. In the enactment of the orgy lynching, the police were either acting as participants or presumed not to see what went on. The firemen refused to stop the maddening debauchery. The soldiers were never called out. In fact it was the sheriff who pointed out the two victims of the lynching. For, the man who swore to uphold the reign of Law and Order in the State of California had flaunted at his own oath. He refused to aid by any shape or form to stop the lynching, although forewarned of it. Nay more than that, he actually aided in its enactment. And, on the very night after the drunken orgy of the lynching, he congratulated "those fine patriotic citizens of San Jose" who participated in it!

According to Anthony Catalbi, self-admitted 17 year old leader of the lynching-mob, he was the one who went around in a machine calling upon every speakeasy and saloon, inviting everyone to the "lynching" party. He also admitted having given pints of whiskey before being willing to perpetrate the act, as were also the other participants. He didn't reveal though who paid the bill. And these were the "fine citizens" that the Governor thanked and addressed his congratulations to!

What a fine exhibition of Law and Order by the "chief" of the State! Some of the more careful pillars of the present order have raised a protest against the Governor's condoning the bestial lynching. But the president of the San Francisco Chambers of Commerce revealed the real face value of all these protests when he said: "I hold the same opinion as the Governor, but he should not have said so in public."

There is no use for the "finer spirited citizens" attempting to picture Governor Rolph as an imbecile, idiot, fool or demagogue. He may be all this and more. But, he is only the symbol of a system which is solely responsible for the deaths of all the three boys.

On November 28th, 1933, "The San Francisco Chronicle" admitted:

"The Chronicle had prepared for the lynching. It had advanced information of the forming of the vigilante committee. This it printed making reference to the plan day after day. The expected flash came from the bridge (where the body of Hart was found) shortly after 9 o'clock Sunday morning. Almost immediately afterwards mechanical crews whose work it is to put an extra on the streets were on their way to the Chronicle office."

On November 27th the same newspaper wrote editorially:

"The two miscreants who were lynched in San Jose last night 'deserved' all they got and worse . . . The feeling that inspired the mob is easy to understand. We all share it."

It was this spirit of the Poisoners of the minds of the people that made possible the repugnant lynching at San Jose. And if "justice" would ever be applied according to the prescribed statutes of the present society of "Law and Order"—there might not be enough trees in St. James Park for to hang all deserving scribblers of the Daily Kept Press, and the brigade of hypocrites carrying badges of "Law and Order!"

Could any one imagine what these Press Liars and Law purveyors would do if thousands of outraged workers would exclaim: "To Hell with your hypocritical Law and Order Society! We know what Justice is!"—and would at once descend upon San Quentin and Folsom prison and attempt

to force the release of two innocent workers—Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings?

It was just the fear of such acts, resulting out of Governor Rolph's condoning (indirectly) the negation of "constituted authority," that was responsible for the artificial but insincere cry against reverting back to "anarchy." No one knows it any better than these pillars of "law and order" that the real Anarchy of the Anarchist does not imply chaos as they try to make every one believe, but on the contrary, it stands for the negation of all authority, including that of government, and for self-responsibility, which implies also self-rule.

Back of the fraudulent "law and order" phrase stands the sinister scheme to perpetuate the prevailing system of wrong and injustice. And in the background of creating a lynching spirit by the Kept Press, as well as the indifference of the pretentious "law and order" brigade towards such mob lynchings lies in the motive of aiming thus to safeguard the life and property of the exploiting and ruling class.

Nothing could illustrate this more clearer than the Hart drama.

How did two seemingly sane boys come to enact such a deed? Was it for any other motive but that of obtaining money wherewith to find personal love and the happiness in life which they saw themselves cheated out of by families such as that of Hart? Didn't these two boys also have the right to want to live as they saw the Hart boy living? The Hart family had plenty—in fact more than they could use—most of it accumulated in an unjust man-

ner in a society based on exploitation and speculation of every sort for the sole motive of profits. (Undoubtedly, if the Hart family, as also the Lindbergh family, had been more interested in saving the lives of their children than in secretly preparing to have the police capture the abductors both kidnappings would never have ended in death.)

The Kept Press is of course not desirous of admitting that every crime committed, including that of kidnapping, is but the harvest of the very seeds that the present system of capitalism has sowed. The accumulation by the few, through legalized theft, of the wealth produced by the many, cannot result in anything but the continued breeding and constant increase of all sorts of so-called crimes.

Not, of course, through the road of crime can the present wrongs of society be put an end to. This could only be achieved through a direct rebellion, ending in a social revolution, by all the exploited and oppressed masses. Nearly every one of those individuals who conceive and attempt to carry out an act of "crime" against a really criminal society, refuses to listen to radical ideas. Most of them seek to follow a short-cut to fulfill their desires and needs via a road on which they are often entrapped and their lives cut short by the present system that allows only legalized theft and crime.

Whenever humanity begins to realize that all its children upon earth have an equal right and opportunity to live and create their own happiness, then and not before, shall we witness the disappearance of every sort of crime. Such is the society that the Anarchist is dreaming about and fighting to bring into materialization.

## A New Ally of Capitalism

It was Maxim Litvinov who at the recent Economic Peace Conference held in London, made the challenging offer to assembled representatives of the present capitalist system of the world: either you all accept our offer to deal with us commercially, or your entire system is doomed to be enveloped in Revolution. Litvinov was of course addressing his challenge chiefly to the capitalist government of the United States. And Litvinov was right. If the regime of the infamous demagogue, charlatan, thief, and butcher, Benito Mussolini, as well as that of the idiotic modern scourge, Adolph Hitler, could have its representatives sit at one table and transact business with the "r-revolutionary" Bolshevik government—why couldn't then the "liberal" government of American capitalism sit at the very same table?

Thus Litvinov made open acknowledgement of the fact that the Bolshevik government is willing to aid capitalism throughout the world to maintain its system of exploitation. The promise of the Communist regime to work for a world revolution was forgotten. It became a government as every other reigning dynasty.

At first most of the capitalist governments were very loath to do business or have any relations with the Bolshevik government. They were of course all in dreadful fear of aiding a government that came to power through slogans that spelled the doom of commercialism of any sort in Russia, and of aiding to bring about the same condition in every other capitalist country. Soon enough the capitalist governments began to learn their mistake. Not only was the Bolshevik government ready to sign agreements that gave franchises of exploitation to foreign capitalists, but it also introduced a wage system and bonus reward scheme—just as every other capitalist regime had done. One by one the capitalist governments established commercial and governmental relationships with the Bolshevik regime. Only one capitalist government remained adamant—not for principle—but for cash owed to American financiers by the Czarist and Kerensky regimes. It (the U. S. government) allowed commercial relationship at all times. Governmental recognition has now come—via the same Litvinov—upon the Bolshevik governments promise to pay the Czarist and Kerensky debts, and the promise to cease its threatening "revolutionary propaganda" in this country.

The mind of the ordinary Bolshevik and sympathizer is something to marvel at. When the capitalist governments were ordered by their employers—the exploiting magnates—not to have any relationship with the Bolshevik government, the cry of these Bolsheviks was: "You see how revolutionary the Bolshevik government is—no capitalist government wants to recognize it. They all want to war on it and destroy it." As capitalist governments, one after another began to recognize and deal with it, the very same

Bolshevik reversed their phraseology of defense and apology. It became: "The Bolshevik government is so powerful that the capitalist governments are forced to deal with it." Sancta Simplicitas!

The truth of the matter is this: The people of Russia, eighty per cent of whom are peasants, and who, after having rid themselves of Czarism and the land baron sharks, could easily have fed and clothed themselves by their own bare hands and the use of the simplest of tools, were prevented from doing this; they were and are forced to undergo famine, starvation, pestilence, death from malnutrition, and sufferings of every description—all for the sake of experimenting with the madly conceived industrial scheme of mechanization that was born in the brain storm of a Karl Marx, and which the Bolshevik government is determined to carry out, may it cost, as it has already done, the lives of thousands and the happiness of 130 million people!

If recognition by the American government, the last capitalist government to accord recognition, means anything at all, it means that the destiny of the people of Russia to achieve genuine liberty is foredoomed by the peace and business relationships established by the Bolshevik government with all the capitalist governments of the world. The only recourse left to the people of Russia is Revolution, the overthrow and destruction of every form of government and rulership which obstructs the path to genuine liberation from all forms of slavery.

Marcus Graham.

## The Measurement of Civilization

The importance of the Russian revolution as a fundamental change in the social and economic history of the nation, has been grossly exaggerated. The upheaval of 1918 has made a considerable difference in the outward manner of life of the Russian people, but it has not made a basic change. The masses of Russia have always been oppressed, and I think it is safe to say that they will continue to be oppressed for several centuries to come, and perhaps for much longer. The change has not been from slavery to freedom, (nor from freedom to slavery, as the reactionaries would have us believe); it has been nothing more than a change of masters, and the old masters and the new differ only superficially. The Communists are no less selfish than the Czars, and quite as relentless, though their simpler personal tastes may serve to camouflage the fact. The aristocrats had a passionate desire for pomp and luxury; the soviet rulers as passionately seek the realization of the ideas. The latter may tend more surely to raise the standard of living of the country, but that will mean a change in degree, not in kind. The measure of the civilization of a people is not in their material circumstances, but in their standards of liberty and justice.

Janet Newton



# IDEAS of ANARCHISM:

## God and the State

Michael Bakunin

### The Background of the God Idea

The social world, properly speaking, the human world—in short, humanity—is nothing other than the last and supreme development—at least on our planet and as far as we know—the highest manifestation of animality. But as every development necessarily implies a negation, that of its base or point of departure, humanity is at the same time and essentially the deliberate and gradual negation of the animal element in man; and it is precisely this negation, as rational as it is natural, and rational only because natural—at once historical and logical, as inevitable as the development and realization of all the natural laws in the world—that constitutes and creates the ideal, the world of intellectual and moral convictions, ideas.

Yes, our first ancestors, our Adams and our Eves, were, if not gorillas, very near relatives of gorillas, omnivorous, intelligent and ferocious beasts, endowed in a higher degree than the animals of any other species with two precious faculties—the power to think and the desire to rebel.

Jehovah, who of all the good gods adored by men was certainly the most jealous, the most vain, the most ferocious, the most unjust, the most blood-thirsty, the most despotic, and the most hostile to human dignity and liberty—Jehovah had just created Adam and Eve, to satisfy we know not what caprice; no doubt to while away his time, which must weigh heavy on his hands in his eternal egoistic solitude, or that he might have some new slaves. He generously placed at their disposal the whole earth, with all its fruits and animals, and set but a single limit to this complete enjoyment. He expressly forbade them from touching the fruit of the tree of knowledge. He wished, therefore, that man, destitute of all understanding of himself, should remain an eternal beast, ever on all-fours before the eternal God, his creator and his master. But here steps in Satan, the eternal rebel, the first freethinker and the emancipator of worlds. He makes man ashamed of his bestial ignorance and obedience; he emancipates him, stamps upon his brow the seal of liberty and humanity, in urging him to disobey and eat the fruit of knowledge.

We know what followed. The good God, whose foresight, which is one of the divine faculties, should have warned him of what would happen, flew into a terrible and ridiculous rage; he cursed Satan, man, and the world created by himself, striking himself so to speak in his own creation, as children do when they get angry; and, not content with smiting our ancestors themselves, he cursed them in all the generations to come, innocent of the crime committed by their forefathers. Our Catholic and Protestant theologians look upon that as very profound and very just, precisely because it is monstrously iniquitous and absurd. Then, remembering that he was not only a God of vengeance and wrath, but also a God of love, after having tormented the existence of a few millions of poor human beings and condemned them to an eternal hell, he took pity on the rest, and, to save them and reconcile his eternal and divine love with his eternal and divine anger, always greedy for victims and blood, he sent into the world, as an expiatory victim, his only son, that he might be killed by men. This is called the mystery of the Redemption, the basis of all the Christian religions. Still, if the divine Saviours had saved the human world! But no; in the paradise promised by Christ, as we know, such being the formal announcement, the elect will number very few. The rest, the immense majority of the generations present and to come, will burn eternally in hell. In the meantime, to console us, God, ever just, ever good, hands over the earth to the government of the Napoleon Thirds, of the William Firsts, of the Ferdinands of Austria, and the Alexanders of all the Russias.

Such are the absurd tales that are told and the monstrous doctrines that are taught, in the full light of the nineteenth century, in all the public schools of Europe, at the express command of the government. They call this civilizing the people! Is it not plain that all these governments are systematic poisoners, interested stupefiers of the masses?

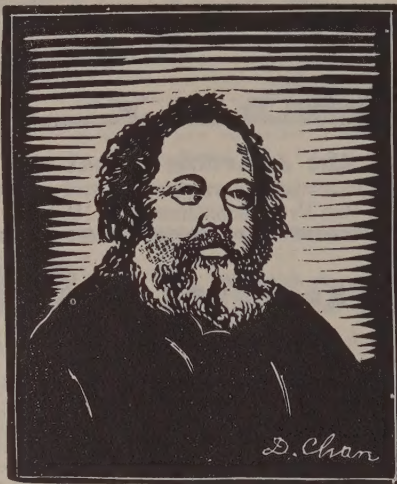
Let us disregard now the fabulous portion of this myth and consider its true meaning, which is very clear. Man has emancipated himself; he has separated himself from animality and constituted himself a man; he has begun his distinctively human history and development by an act of disobedience and science—that is, by rebellion and by thought.

Three elements or, if you like, three fundamental principles constitute the essential conditions of all human development, collective or individual, in history: (1) human animality; (2) thought; and (3) rebellion. To the first properly corresponds social and private economy; to the second, science; to the third, liberty.

Nothing is more natural than that the belief in God, the creator, regulator, judge, master, curser, savior, and benefactor of the world, should still prevail among the people, especially in the rural districts, where it is more widespread than among the proletariat of the cities. The people, unfortunately, are still very ignorant, and are kept in ignorance by the systematic efforts of all the governments, who consider this ignorance, not without good reason, as one of the essential conditions of their own power. Weighted down by their daily labor, deprived of leisure, of intellectual intercourse, or reading, in short of all the means and a good portion of the stimulants that develop thought in man, the people generally accept religious traditions without criticism and in a lump. These traditions surround them from infancy in all the situations of life, and artificially sustained in their minds by a multitude of official poisoners of all sorts, priests and laymen, are transformed therein into a sort of mental and moral habit, too often more powerful even than their natural good sense.

There is another reason which explains and in some sort justifies the absurd beliefs of the people—namely, the wretched situation to which they find themselves fatally condemned by the economic organization of society in the most civilized countries of Europe. Reduced, intellectually and morally as well as materially, to the minimum of

human existence, confined in their life like a prisoner in his prison, without horizon, without outlet, without even a future if we believe the economists, the people would have



MICHAEL BAKUNIN  
(April 30, 1814—July 1, 1876)

the singularly narrow souls and blunted instincts of the bourgeois if they did not feel a desire to escape; but of escape there are but three methods—two chimerical and a third real. The first two are the dream-shop and the church, debauchery of the body or debauchery of the mind; the third is social revolution. Hence I conclude this last will be much more potent than all the theological propaganda of the freethinkers to destroy to their last vestige the religious beliefs and dissolute habits of the people, beliefs and habits much more intimately connected than is generally supposed. In substituting for the at once illusory and brutal enjoyments of bodily and spiritual licentiousness the enjoyments, as refined as they are real, of humanity developed in each and all, the social revolution alone will have the power to close at the same time all the dream-shops and all the churches.

There is a class of people who, if they do not believe, must at least make a semblance of believing. This class, comprising all the tormentors, all the oppressors, and all the exploiters of humanity; priests, monarchs, statesmen, soldiers, public and private financiers, officials of all sorts, policemen, gendarmes, jailers and executioners, monopolists, capitalists, tax-leeches, contractors and landlords, lawyers, economists, politicians of all shades, down to the smallest vendor of sweetmeats, all will repeat in unison those words of Voltaire:

"If God did not exist, it would be necessary to invent him." For, you understand, "the people must have a religion." That is the safety-valve.

There exists, finally, a somewhat numerous class of honest but timid souls who, too intelligent to take the Christian dogmas seriously, reject them in detail, but have neither the courage nor the strength nor the necessary resolution to summarily renounce them altogether. They abandon to your criticism all the special absurdities of religion, they turn up their noses at all the miracles, but they cling desperately to the principal absurdity; the source of all the others, to the miracle that explains and justifies all the other miracles, the existence of God. Their God is not the vigorous and powerful being, the brutally positive God of theology. It is a nebulous, diaphanous, illusory being that vanishes into nothing at the first attempt to grasp it; it is a mirage, an *ignis fatuus* that neither warms nor illuminates. And yet they hold fast to it, and believe that, were it to disappear, all would disappear with it. They are uncertain, sickly souls, who have lost their reckoning in the present civilization, belonging to neither the present nor the future, pale phantoms eternally suspended between heaven and earth, and occupying exactly the same position between the politics of the bourgeois and the Socialism of the proletariat. They have neither the power nor the wish nor the determination to follow out their thought, and they waste their time and pains in constantly endeavoring to reconcile the irreconcilable. In public life these are known as bourgeois Socialists.

### Liberty versus God

I have stated the chief practical reason of the power still exercised today over the masses by religious beliefs. These mystical tendencies do not signify in man so much an aberration of mind as a deep discontent at heart. They are the instinctive and passionate protest of the human being against the narrowness, the platitudes, the sorrows, and the shame of a wretched existence. For this malady, I have already said, there is but one remedy—Social Revolution.

In the meantime I have endeavored to show the causes responsible for the birth and historical development of religious hallucinations in the human conscience. Here it is my purpose to treat this question of the existence of a God, or of the divine origin of the world and of man, solely from the standpoint of its moral and social utility, and I shall say only a few words, to better explain my thought, regarding the theoretical grounds of this belief.

All religions, with their gods, their demigods, and their prophets, their messiahs and their saints, were created by the credulous fancy of men who had not attained the full development and full possession of their faculties. Consequently, the religious heaven is nothing but a mirage in which man, exalted by ignorance and faith, discovers his own image, but enlarged and reversed—that is, divinized.

The history of religions, of the birth, grandeur, and decline of the gods who have succeeded one another in human belief, is nothing, therefore, but the development of the collective intelligence and conscience of mankind. As fast as they discovered, in the course of their historically progressive advance, either in themselves or in external nature, a power, a quality, or even any great defect whatever, they attributed them to their gods, after having exaggerated and enlarged them beyond measure, after the manner of children, by an act of their religious fancy. Thanks to this modesty and pious generosity of believing and credulous men, heaven has grown rich with the spoils of the earth, and, by a necessary consequence, the richer heaven became, the more wretched became humanity and the earth. God once installed, he was naturally proclaimed the cause, reason, arbiter, and absolute disposer of all things: the world thenceforth was nothing, God was all; and man, his real creator, after having unknowingly extracted him from the void, bowed down before him, worshipped him, and avowed himself his creature and his slave.

Christianity is precisely the religion par excellence, because it exhibits and manifests, to the fullest extent, the very nature and essence of every religious system, which is the impoverishment, enslavement, and annihilation of humanity for the benefit of divinity.

### God, Reason and Man

God being everything, the real world and man are nothing. God being truth, justice, goodness, beauty, power, and life, man is falsehood, iniquity, evil, ugliness, impotence, and death. God being master, man is the slave. Incapable of finding justice, truth, and eternal life by his own effort, he can attain them only through a divine revelation. But whoever says revelation says revealers, messiahs, prophets, priests, and legislators inspired by God himself; and these, once recognized as the representatives of divinity on earth, as the holy instructors of humanity, chosen by God himself to direct it in the path of salvation, necessarily exercise absolute power. All men owe them passive and unlimited obedience; for against the divine reason there is no human reason, and against the Justice of God no terrestrial justice holds. Slaves of God, men must also be slaves of Church and State, in so far as the State is consecrated by the Church. This truth Christianity, better than all other religions that exist or have existed, understood, not excepting even the old Oriental religions, which included only distinct and privileged nations, while Christianity aspires to embrace entire humanity; and this truth Roman Catholicism, alone among all the Christian sects, has proclaimed and realized with rigorous logic. That is why Christianity is the absolute religion, the final religion; why the Apostolic and Roman Church is the only consistent, legitimate, and divine church.

With all due respect, then, to the metaphysicians and religious idealists, philosophers, politicians, or poets: The idea of God implies the abdication of human reason and justice; it is the most decisive negation of human liberty, and necessarily ends in the enslavement of mankind, both in theory and practice.

Unless, then, we desire the enslavement and degradation of mankind, as the Jesuits desire it, as the monks, priests, or Protestant Methodists desire it, we may not, must not make the slightest concession either to the God of theology or to the God of metaphysics. He who, in this mystical alphabet, begins with A will inevitably end with Z; he who desires to worship God must harbor no childish illusions about the matter, but bravely renounce his liberty and humanity.

If God is, man is a slave; now, man can and must be free; then, God does not exist.

I defy anyone whomsoever to avoid this circle; now therefore let all choose.

### Accomplishments of Religion

Is it necessary to point out to what extent and in what manner religions debase and corrupt the people? They destroy their reason, the principal instrument of human emancipation, and reduce them to imbecility, the essential condition of their slavery. They dishonor human labor, and make it a sign and source of servitude. They kill the idea and sentiment of human justice, ever tipping the balance to the side of triumphant knaves, privileged objects of divine indulgence. They kill human pride and dignity, protecting only the cringing and humble. They stifle in the heart of nations every feeling of human fraternity, filling it with divine cruelty instead.

All religions are cruel, all founded on blood; for all rest principally on the idea of sacrifice—that is, on the perpetual immolation of humanity to the insatiable vengeance of divinity. In this bloody mystery man is always the victim, and the priest—a man also, but a man privileged by grace—is the divine executioner. That explains why the priests of all religions, the best, the most humane, the gentlest, almost always have at the bottom of their hearts—and, if not in their hearts, in their imaginations, in their minds (and we know the fearful influence of either on the hearts of men)—something cruel and sanguinary.

None know all this better than our illustrious contemporary idealists. They are learned men, who know history by heart; and, as they are at the same time living men, great souls penetrated with a sincere and profound love for the welfare of humanity, they have cursed and branded all these misdeeds, all these crimes of religion with an eloquence unparalleled. They reject with indignation all solidarity with the God of positive religions and with his representatives, past, present, and on earth.

The God whom they adore, or whom they think they adore, is distinguished from the real gods of history precisely in this—that he is not at all a positive god, defined in any way whatever, theologically or even metaphysically. He is neither the supreme being of Robespierre and J. J.

(Continued on Page Three)



## THE VINDICATION OF A REVOLUTIONIST

At a time when the socialist, liberal and communist world has made an almost unanimous "united front" against Marinus Van der Lubbe, and when the greater part of the Anarchist press has rallied to his defence—not because he is an Anarchist—but for the brave and revolutionary stand he has assumed from the very first moment of his arrest, at such a time Rudolph Rocker has chosen to join the slanderers and vilifiers of Van der Lubbe!

In an article appearing in the October-December issue of "Dielo Trouda" and in the N. Y. "Freie Arbeiter Stimme" of October 13th, Rocker repeats all the baseless accusations hurled against Van der Lubbe, and already well known to the readers of MAN! by the editorial and article that has appeared in the two previous issues. Rocker's conclusion reads:

"There is therefore not the least doubt, that this queer 'terrorist' Van der Lubbe is nothing else but an agent or tool of the Nazis."

There can be no apology or defense for the act of Rocker, unless he is able to come forward and prove his accusations against Van der Lubbe.

It is interesting to note that whilst Rudolph Rocker, the Anarcho-Syndicalist, found it necessary to join the "united front" of slandering Van der Lubbe, the well known English Communist E. Sylvia Pankhurst came forward with a most significant statement that has appeared in "The New Leader" of London, England, September 29, 1933. No more fitting reply could be given to the "united front" campaign of vilification against Van der Lubbe by the liberals, socialists, communists and Rocker than is contained in the above statement which is reprinted here in full.

"From the day of the firing of the Reichstag I never for a moment entertained the idea that the fire could possibly be the work of the Communist Party.

"That it was a plot of the Nazi I always doubted. That the Nazis used the fire as a pretext to unloose the repression already prearranged is proved by the issue during the night of the fire of previously prepared warrants for the arrest of 1,500 persons, including well known writers and public persons, most of whom were personally unknown to each other and of mutually opposed views. The official communications respecting the fire obviously contained many false statements.

"That the Nazis took advantage of the fire does not, however, compel the conclusion that they were its originators.

"We cannot ignore the personality of Van der Lubbe, the self-confessed incendiary. The motives he alleges for his

deed are, whether we agree with them or not, a logical result of his opinions, of which there is abundant testimony from those who have worked with him.

"He is an anti-Parliamentary Revolutionary. From his known opinions and the statements he has made, one must deduce that he fired the Reichstag as a protest against a subservient Parliament which permitted the Nazi-Nationalist combination to take power, not by the votes of the electorate, but by the menace of their private armies. Van der Lubbe's protest was also directed against the policies of Socialist and Communist Parties which, after promising Social Revolution, did not, for one reason or another, offer effective resistance to the Nazis. Many of his utterances prove that.

"One need not share Van der Lubbe's views to understand them.

"The evidence offered at the inquiry held in London to build up a case that Van der Lubbe was a homo-sexual and on that account was the tool of the Nazis, after listening to the four witnesses who gave it, I find wholly unconvincing.

"As a member of the German Relief Committee, which took over from the Paris Committee the arrangements for the inquiry, I have felt specially called upon publicly to state my opinions after hearing all the evidence.

"Evidence sent by Van der Lubbe's own comrades who are working to vindicate him, remove all doubt in my mind. I consider it my duty to state my belief that the man on trial for his life is no provocative agent, no tool of the Nazis, but has acted from conviction.

"E. SYLVIA PANKHURST."

On October 7th, the New York "Daily Worker," organ of the Communist Party, published across its entire front page what purported to be a secret document emanating from the office of the New York Nazis in which they advised the Nazis of Germany to dispose of Marinus Van der Lubbe (after the trial ends) by placing him on a steamer and then cast him overboard. In this manner the communists of the world are attempting to justify themselves in the campaign of slander that they carry on against Van der Lubbe. The pity of it only is that the contents of the "document" furnishes the strongest proof of its obvious fabrication!

The Nazis regime of Germany, which has secretly murdered scores of its political opponents, and who behead such legally as well, have to wait for instructions from their American "compatriots" as to how they should dispose of a political enemy! The man who conceived this document deserves to receive the "Lenin Legion of Honor Cross" which the Bolshevik government now hands out to its most "faithful" disciples.

Unluckily for the Communists, Werner Haag, Nazi representative in America, whose signature was attached to the "document" printed in the "Daily Worker," came forward in the N. Y. "Times" of November 16th with the following proofs: 1. The document bears the seal of "Bundens nachrichtenstelle" (Information Bureau) instead of "Bundestelegraph" (Organization Leader) as the real Nazi seal reads. 2. He produced the handwriting, of his, attached to the automobile driving license that is not at all like the one on the document. 3. The stationery used for the document was part of stolen stationery no longer used by his office since July, whereas the document is dated: September 23, 1933.

Are there any comments needed upon this exposure that brands the Communists as a party capable of the lowest and vilest dishonest acts in order to maintain their cowardly and slanderous position against the outstanding heroic revolutionary figure of Marinus Van der Lubbe?

The New York "Times" correspondent wired on November 24th a most interesting account of what happened on the resumption of the trial at Leipzig. It stated in part:

"Marinus Van der Lubbe the sphinx of the Reichstag fire trial, literally lifted the judges of the German Supreme Court and the entire court audience out of their seats today when in the midst of the proceedings he suddenly burst into speech and demanded the end of the trial with the acquittal of the four Communist co-defendants.

"This trial has now lasted two months, once in Leipzig, then in Berlin and now again in Leipzig. I don't agree to that. I burned down the Reichstag. . . This thing has now been going on for eight months. I want something to happen. . . What is happening now is a betrayal of human beings, of the police, of the Communist party of the National Socialist party. I demand that I be sentenced either to prison or death. . ."

"Van der Lubbe's lawyer explained that he understood the Dutch word used for 'betrayal' means 'false accusation'."

Van der Lubbe also protested against having been put in chains.

The declaration, comments the correspondent: "Was wholly consistent and precise, and in its essence it repeated Van der Lubbe's previous insistence that he had set the fire alone and that no one had instigated him or helped him."

What will all the vicious bestial tongues and blackmailers of Van der Lubbe say now to this frank and courageous stand of the man they have slandered as a spy and tool of the Nazis?

M. G.

### Ideas of Anarchism

(Continued from Page Two)

Rousseau, nor the pantheistic god of Spinoza, nor even the at once immanent, transcendental, and very equivocal god of Hegel. They take good care not to give him any positive definition whatever, feeling very strongly that any definition would subject him to the dissolving power of criticism. They will not say whether he is a personal or impersonal god, whether he created or did not create the world; they will not even speak of his divine providence. All that might compromise him. They content themselves with saying "God" and nothing more. But, then, what is their God? Not even an idea; it is an aspiration.

It is the generic name of all that seems grand, good, beautiful, noble, human to them. But why, then, do they not say, "Man." Ah! because King William of Prussia and Napoleon III and all their compeers are likewise men: which bothers them very much. Real humanity presents a mixture of all that is most sublime and beautiful with all that is vilest and most monstrous in the world. How do they get over this? Why, they call one divine and the other bestial, representing divinity and animality as two poles, between which they place humanity. They either will not or cannot understand that these three terms are really but one, and that to separate them is to destroy them.

They are not strong on logic, and one might say that they despise it. That is what distinguishes them from the pantheistic and deistic metaphysicians, and gives their ideas the character of a practical idealism, drawing its inspiration much less from the severe development of a thought than from the experiences, I might almost say the emotions, historical and collective as well as individual, of life. This gives their propaganda an appearance of wealth and vital power, but an appearance only; for life itself becomes sterile when paralyzed by a logical contradiction.

This contradiction lies here: they wish God, and they wish humanity. They persist in connecting two terms which, once separated, can come together again only to destroy each other. They say in a single breath: "God and liberty of man," "God and the dignity, justice, equality, fraternity, prosperity of men"—regardless of the fatal logic by virtue of which, if God exists, all these things are condemned to non-existence. For, if God is, he is necessarily the eternal, supreme, absolute master, and, if such a master exists, man is a slave; now, if he is a slave, neither justice, nor equality, nor fraternity, nor prosperity are possible for him. In vain, flying in the face of good sense and all the teachings of history, do they represent their God as animated by the tenderest love of human liberty: a master, whoever he may be and however liberal he may desire to show himself, remains none the less always a master. His existence necessarily implies the slavery of all that is beneath him. Therefore, if God existed, only in one way could he serve human liberty—by ceasing to exist.

A jealous lover of human liberty, and deeming it the absolute condition of all that we admire and respect in humanity, I reverse the phrase of Voltaire, and say that, if God really existed, it would be necessary to abolish him.

Law has always been wrong. Government is the fundamentalism of the soldier, bigot, and priest.—Wendell Phillips.

### Spark Plugs

The situation in Germany, writes P. Mallon in the "Detroit News" is amply illustrated by a letter from a Berlin Jew to his cousin in New York. The Jew said:

"Hitler is a fine man. Everything is fine here. We are all very happy. P. S.—Brother Isadore held a contrary view. We buried him yesterday."

The Holy Trinity of America: Baseball, football and prize fights. Whenever the Americans get over this disease there might be a chance for another "Tea-Party," so badly needed these days.

Why Antisemitism? As long as this present legal highway robbery system exists, what is the difference whether I am robbed by a Christian or by a Jewish exploiter?

"Why is patriotism so popular? It does not require brains, being 99% sentiment. (A Genck.)

Fools have a perfect right to their religious notions, but they have no right to make us pay for their foolishness.

The Socialists and Communists in their papers expose everything under the sun, except religion. They ignore the subject, but ignoring it does not do away with one of the greatest evils. They have a reason for, to attack religion means to lose votes. Well, if votes are going to decide the social question let me quote Wilhelm Liebknecht. About 1870, before he had become a socialist politician he said: "Der beste Stimmzettel ist ein Gervehr." (The best ballot is a bullet.) This reminds me of his son Karl Liebknecht who in 1913 told some socialists in Detroit: "It is better to be too radical than not radical enough." Carl Nold

### One Year of MAN!

When the first issue of MAN! made its appearance in January 1933 these statements were made:

"MAN! offers no programs, platforms of palliatives

. . . MAN! shall have ideas to place before those who

are willing to face the truth and act for themselves

. . . Every social question will be met consistently,

without offering any quarter to compromise, the doom

of so many ideals and idealists . . . Its continued

appearance as a monthly will depend upon the support

given voluntarily by the readers . . . If it does not

succeed in accomplishing this, it will have failed to

win for itself the right to exist."

The contents of all the issues that have appeared so far speak for themselves as to how far MAN! has fulfilled the expectations of those who have given it moral and financial support.

MAN! knows that it has shortcomings. It is far from perfect, (if there ever was or can be perfection within the realms of journalism).

MAN! has succeeded in reaching hundreds of people to whom the Anarchist word has become a new hope and dream worth fighting for and living for. It shall continue to bend every effort in reaching out for new recruits. For, Anarchy is the ideal in which not the few, but the whole of humanity can and should find freedom and happiness.

The moral collaboration that MAN! has been given by many of the old ever-young and the new comrades, as well as the material support given by comrades and sympathizers from every part of the country, and of the world, has been magnificent and encouraging to the Group that issues it.

There were those who contended that a free-subscription Anarchist Journal was doomed to a quick death. Nevertheless, despite the terrible economic depression, MAN! has survived the first year (even if it had to omit a few issues) and intends to continue appearing on the same voluntary basis.

To give each reader an opportunity to celebrate the first anniversary of MAN! and likewise to aid in its continuation, the International Group of San Francisco has arranged a Creative Art Bazaar for Saturday and Sunday, February 23 and 24, 1934, to be held at Equality Hall, 145 Albion Street, San Francisco, California. Every gift donated will be used to insure the continued appearance of MAN! on the same basis and in the same spirit as it has appeared heretofore.

The trade of governing has always been monopolized by the most ignorant and the most rascally individuals of mankind.—Thomas Paine.



# THE ISSUE OF ANARCHIST PRINCIPLES IN SPAIN

## The Controversary

In the March issue of MAN! appeared a letter that comrade Giuseppe Gueffi had sent from the Barcelona prison of Spain, to "L'Adunata dei Refrattari." In that letter was described the spontaneous rebellion of January 8, 1933, in various parts of Spain, and the inspiring attempts of the masses to establish free communes in the most genuine Anarchist spirit. It also admitted that most of these heroic attempts were drowned in blood by the coalition republican-socialist State. Comrade Gueffi concluded as follows:

"In the face of such serious events the Confederation of Labor (C.N.T.), self-styled 'anarchistic in spirit,' did not even have the courage to proclaim a general strike which would have moved its members, evidently subjected to a syndicalist dictatorship, to the intensification of the violent action initiated by Anarchist groups.

"This is not our revolution," the journals "C.N.T." and "Solidaridad Obrera," organs of the Confederation, wrote on January 10th. And I believe every comment is superfluous.

"Let us salute our dead and defeated ones and let us salute the vanguards already ready to start it over again tomorrow with more enthusiasm, and more determined than ever to fight and win."

Onofre Dallas immediately forwarded to MAN! a reply to comrade Gueffi's letter, couched in language that no self-respecting journal could set to print. After he agreed to omit the venomous terms, his letter, self-captioned "In Defence of Truth," (which was very far from being such) was printed in the April issue of MAN! As an answer to his vindictiveness against comrade Gueffi, an article by comrade L. Bertoni followed Dallas' article. In view of Bertoni's complete substantiation of Gueffi's statements, MAN! asked Dallas to prove his sincerity by withdrawing his malicious accusations against Gueffi. Instead of doing this, Dallas forwarded a new apologetic and lengthy defence for the C.N.T. of Spain, backed by many quotations as to what the C.N.T. organs had written aside from the editorial of January 10th. MAN! advised Dallas that it stands ready at any time to print proofs that would refute the charges made by Gueffi and enlarged upon by Bertoni, but sees no need for reprinting a repetition of his defence already printed in the April issue. Dallas then forwarded another abusive and insolent invective, now addressed to me, accusing me of being "boss" of the journal, and adding the sinister slander, and at the same time the contradictory accusation, that I am the "dupe of someone who is unusually interested in hurting the Spanish Anarchist movement."

When comrade Max Nettlau wrote an article in the New York "Freie Arbeiter Stimme" of June 30, 1933, wherein he gave his own recent opinion of the Anarcho-Syndicalists of Spain and that also of comrade Federico Urales and Federico Montseny—I printed lengthy excerpts of all three. In justice to the Anarcho-Syndicalists I quoted in substance the main line of defence put forward in behalf of them by O. Dallas, and added an editorial comment. Dallas was still not at peace. He wrote to the C.N.T. (National Confederation of Labor) of Spain, asking them to refute the charges. (Their statement follows this brief review of the whole controversy.) In the meantime Dallas printed his second repetition of defence in behalf of the C.N.T. in the N. Y. "Freedom," accompanied by all sorts of abusive and insulting insinuations and baseless accusations against MAN! and against me. To these I make no answer. (As for "Freedom" printing such charges, it cannot be taken seriously, since it already has proven itself unreliable on other occasions.)

Dallas' questioning my right to place Urales and Montseny as opponents of the C.N.T.—since they are both members of it—proves very little. Their membership doesn't in the least nullify their critical appraisal of the Anarcho-Syndicalist action in the revolution of Spain.—Editor.

## The C.N.T. Statement

To the Editing Group of the Anarchist Paper MAN!  
Oakland, Calif.:

Greetings!

Dear Comrades:

We learn that charges have been made in your publication against the National Confederation of Labor in connection with the January 8th uprising. It is necessary, therefore, that you know once and for all that the National Confederation of Labor is following the Anarchist path and ideas in the face of all the attacks and repudiations.

The worst part of the whole affair is that our own Anarchist publications should print articles which apparently are not written in good faith. It is not Gueffi, from jail, the one who can say what happened on January 8th, nor is he familiar with the attitude taken by the comrades of the C.N.T. in that movement which was supported by this National Committee as it will support all movements having an Anarchist aim or content. One may write or speak anything he may like, but no one should say things that are untrue and which are fully contradicted by facts.

The C.N.T. has never gone back on any revolutionary movement and nobody can say that in its long history it has acted cowardly on any of the aspects of the struggle. We have always done all that we could and have sacrificed our freedom whenever it has been necessary. We are not afraid of repudiations; we are used to them! and we can say with pride that we continue firmly to defend our Anarchist ideas. We could offer innumerable proofs showing that Gueffi knows nothing of the movement of January 8th, and that he is totally ignorant of what the postulates of the C.N.T. of Spain are. To say that this organization is "under the dictatorship of the syndicalists" is trying to deceive the readers of

MAN! Nobody has a right to bring confusion into the ranks of International Anarchism, for everybody knows that the C.N.T. of Spain follows the Anarchist postulates, that the syndicalists have left our organization and many of them have been expelled from it. The Spanish syndicalists say that the Anarchists are exerting an Anarchist dictatorship over the C.N.T. and foreign Anarchists say that the C.N.T. is under a syndicalist dictatorship. That is paradoxical. You may roundly and absolutely deny that the C.N.T. has placed itself against the January 8th movement, and that it has ever abandoned those comrades who so nobly exposed their lives in the defense of Anarchy. We enclose a note which was published by the National Committee of the C.N.T. three days after the movement began and a "manifesto" which we published after the first moments. From them, you will understand that the C.N.T. could not and would not place itself against a movement of a pure Anarchist nature, although the syndicalists accuse us that it was a chaotic and irresponsible movement. This letter will show to you that we are not pure syndicalists and that we don't believe in that hybrid conception of syndicalism. We are Anarchists and we fight for Anarchy. The C.N.T. marches also towards Anarchist Communism and those who try to defame it know nothing of its history.

It is true. There was a "C.N.T." editorial from Madrid which said "This is not our revolution." We are sincere and hide nothing. This was the work of the editor of the paper who was under the impression that it had not been possible to attack the barracks and at a moment when there was nothing going on in the capital. This comrade ignored what the movement was and his writing reflected this impression.

The National Committee was the first to recognize that the above editorial was inopportune and so stated before the regional Plenum. The organization, in the meeting, agreed that the above comrade should continue editing the daily, as it was recognized that he had not acted in bad faith or with ill motives. The editor offered his resignation, but was persuaded to remain in the direction of the C.N.T. organ. So the editorial in question was discussed and explained in the Plenum and everything was satisfactorily settled. But, first of all, we want you to know that the C.N.T. met the January 8th uprising and did nothing but solidary with it, to the extent that there were some regionals of the C.N.T. that openly joined the movement and offered their cooperation for the furtherance of the ideas that were its moving spirit.

You may make whatever use you may deem proper of this letter, and please bear in mind that we do not want to be branded as "pure syndicalists" for we have been enemies of "pure syndicalism" from time immemorial.

Yours for Anarchy  
For the National Committee of the C.N.T.  
Manuel Rivas,  
Gral. Secy.

## Our Reply

To accuse Anarchist publications of acting in bad faith, and to accuse comrade Gueffi of writing untrue things without any semblance of proof, is indefensible.

In attempting to prove that the C.N.T. (National Confederation of Labor) "is following the Anarchist path and ideas," the above statement puts forward a line of defensive argumentation that demands close scrutiny and comparison with the essential facts available.

The statement asserts that the "syndicalists have left our organization and many have been expelled from it . . ." This sounds very well. Only, it fails to mention that Pestana and his associates were tolerated as C.N.T. leaders over one year after the April revolution, and that they were really acting as electioneering agents for the Catalan Nationalist Party of Macia, and it was also these people who signed the "counter-revolutionary" appeal of the 30. When one thinks of the fact that the first year of the Republic has proved itself decisive in the development of the revolution, one can then understand comrade Malatesta's asking:

"Why do they tolerate such people at their head?"

The statement of the C.N.T. boldly asserts:

"You may roundly and absolutely deny that the C.N.T. has placed itself against the January 8th movement, and that it has ever abandoned those comrades who so nobly exposed their lives in the defense of Anarchy . . . the C.N.T. could not and would not place itself against a movement of a pure Anarchist nature . . ."

How close did the C.N.T. live up to this unequivocal stand in real life? Let the facts that follow give the answer.

First, in the very same statement the C.N.T. admits that the leading organ of the Confederation, the "C.N.T." (and MAN!) is informed also the other C.N.T. organ "Solidaridad Obrera" did publish an editorial repudiating the uprisings of January 8th. Thus, the very same statement of the C.N.T. furnishes the strongest proof that the organization as such was placed by its organ, or organs, against the January 8th movement, and thereby did abandon "those comrades who exposed their lives in the defense of Anarchy."

What is even more important is to bear in mind when this editorial made its appearance. It was in the most critical moment of the spontaneous outbreak of the admittedly Anarchist inspired insurrections in many parts of Spain, and in which many of our most valiant comrades participated, including many regional C.N.T. groups who evidently paid no heed to the central body's stand. Nor should it be forgotten that the editorial of repudiation didn't only state "this is not our revolution," which would in itself be condemnatory enough. But it was even worse than that. It read:

"This is not our revolution. That is simply a trap set for the workers. The whole affair has been put up by the government itself in order to justify its campaign of alarm and repression measures. There is nothing in common between the present events and our revolutionary tactics, which are always based on the Syndicalist mass action."

This editorial alone nullifies the entire defense put forward in the C.N.T. statement. For its leading organs not only failed to support the January insurrection, but actually aided in its assassination by the slanderous and indefensible libel that:

" . . . the whole affair has been put up by the government . . ."

Of course, the statement of the C.N.T. points to the fact that its Plenum (executive) having (not in print) at one of its sessions repudiated the editorial writer in question. The manner in which this was done will be dealt with in the later course of this reply.

Since the statement of the C.N.T. and the articles of O. Dallas attempt to create the impression that the editorial of January 10th was the only unfavorable pronouncement by the C.N.T. against the January insurrection, it becomes

imperative to bring forth other statements made by the C.N.T. during those critical days.

Here follows one issued by the "El Comité Nacional" (The National Committee of the C.N.T.) and dated "Barcelona, January 10, 1933":

"It is a duty for the National Committee of the C.N.T. to state hereby for the benefit of all federated workers, its opinion about the grave events which are taking place among the Spanish people.

"We have not been in the least surprised by the explosion of popular resentment that has taken place chiefly in Barcelona, in several villages of Catalonia and a part of Spain, and the proceedings of the government of the Republic are a continual provocation to the Spanish people.

"The National Committee, confronted with the calculated interest which impels the Bourgeois press and the government to disqualify the facts and to make the C.N.T. responsible of what has happened, deems it dutiful — in conformity with the situation and its duty to render satisfaction to the workers organized in our Syndical center, as well as to public opinion in general — to state that it rejects absolutely the arbitrary judgment which has been passed by men of the Bourgeois republic and the politicians of all shades, since said events have been of pure Anarchist character without any intervention of the federal organization. But even if we had no part in said events, we nevertheless inculpate nobody, and we give our solidarity to the revolutionary movement inspired by our Anarchist comrades.

"The government and all political intrigues should not forget that the C.N.T. continues its rising march towards the Social Revolution and when the appropriate moment comes it will meet the principles which inspire it.

"The present situation is hard for the proletariat but the proletariat will respond adequately on all fronts when the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo will mobilize them, since we can not endure the outrages which are daily committed against the working people."

The above statement is most important. It absolves the C.N.T. responsibility in the January insurrection, and at the same time admits that said "events have been of pure Anarchist character." When the statement also asserts that: "When the appropriate moment comes it will meet the principles which inspire it," it furnishes the most formidable proof that contradicts the assertion in the statement to MAN! "that the National Confederation of Labor is following the Anarchist path and ideas . . ." For, in one statement, the C.N.T. claims that it follows the Anarchist path and principles, and in another one it refuses to support an Anarchist inspired uprising because it, the C.N.T., evidently has other than Anarchist principles!

In another manifesto issued in Barcelona in January, the same El Comité Nacional (of the C.N.T.) states:

"Reactionists should remember that the working class has not been vanquished. The C.N.T. has not yet mobilized its forces; when the moment comes it will give orders to defend our rights, trampled upon by the Spanish social-fascism."

Another proof that whilst the insurrection was on the C.N.T. announced that it was not yet ready to give an order for a revolution! How close this attitude resembles the one of Lenin during the insurrectional attempt of the peasants and workers in Italy during 1920!

The "Press Service" No. 8, of the International Workingman's Association (A.I.T.) carried the following statement by the General Secretary of the C.N.T. Eusebio C. Carbo, concerning the January movement:

"At the beginning of December, 1932, the National Federation of Railwaymen, which adheres to the C.N.T., decided to make a general strike and asked the C.N.T. to support them. The C.N.T. accorded its support. Therefore the groups of comrades, members of the C.N.T. and consequently acquainted with decisions arrived at by the Madrid plenum, which had taken place with the participation of the Railwaymen, resolved to make the necessary preparations in order to be ready when the general strike would be declared. These preparations took place without any federal decisions, of course. Soon it became evident, however, that the National Federation of Railwaymen was not quite converted to the idea of a general strike for the immediate future. The official notice which the Federation was legally bound to present in advance, retarded. Instead, the 'explosion' materials seemed to accumulate rapidly. An incident arrived which put the police on the trail of one, and then on another deposit of explosive materials. It seemed as if all the preparations made with the anticipation of the R. R. strike were about to be lost. It appears that at that moment the various Anarchist groups, who held themselves ready for any occasion, fearing lest the favorable moment pass and leave them deprived of all means of attack, precipitated the movement, hoping probably that the Railwaymen and the C.N.T. would step in on time.

"It was a great mistake, because in this way the initiative was taken from the hands of the C.N.T. and also the direction and the efficient organization of the movement. The C.N.T. immediately declined any solidarity with the rebellion, although it gave its complete solidarity to the victims of the revolutionary attempt, which was irrevocably doomed to failure since the federal organization had not mobilized its forces." (See "Correspondence Internationale Ouvriers," 10 April 1933—Anne 11. No. 7. Page 1091.)

From this statement it is quite evident that Gueffi from his prison cell in Barcelona saw things better than Manuel Rivas would want all to believe.

Names and self-styled political affiliations are not sufficient to make Anarchists. Deeds are more appropriate. And Carbo states clearly what happened: In December the C.N.T. and Railwaymen syndicate, encouraged the militant Anarchist groups to get ready for a revolutionary movement in January, when suddenly the Anarchist groups are confronted with the necessity of choosing between immediate action or to lose their arms, and decided to act, the C.N.T. declared itself opposed to the revolutionary movement—although by doing so it knew it would doom it to utter failure—because the movement itself was not initiated, directed and efficiently organized by the C.N.T.

What more is wanted to qualify the C.N.T. as an authoritarian organization? What else do the dictatorial parties ask for besides arrogating to themselves the privilege to initiate, direct, and efficiently to organize—to the exclusion of any one else—all political and social movements?

Truly, if this statement by E. C. Carbo, is correct, the Madrid editor of the C.N.T. is to be commended rather than reproached for his frankness. His statement: "This is not our revolution," reflected the true feelings of the C.N.T. and moreover it faithfully described its attitude towards the January rebellion. According the C.N.T. diplomacy that statement was only "not opportune" but the fact that the C.N.T. has a diplomacy only goes to prove how far it stands from Anarchism.

We do not presume to be in a position to teach the

(Continued on Page Five)

## MAN!

A Journal of the Anarchist Ideal and Movement Issued by the International Group of Oakland and San Francisco

Editor, Marcus Graham

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Voluntary Contributions

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Corresponding Address:

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# NATURE and COOPERATION

Al Bristol

I think that the ideal state would be when we revert to the condition where there is no distinction between the producer and the consumer. We would all be producers as well as consumers, doing that which we could ultimately do best. This would be what we would want to do. We all receive happiness through praise, and if the false value of material property of our capitalistic state were removed and all property, including land and personal property, belonged not to one particular man but to all men, we would produce not to accumulate material goods but for the pleasure and personal satisfaction in the quality and beauty of the production. Our ego would guarantee this, it would seem, so our motive would not be to create or produce just in order that we might consume or trade for articles that we desire or think we need, but we would produce for the quality and beauty in production itself.

Anyone that observes will note that with the help of present day science Nature provides an abundance of material for the three necessities of life—food, clothing, and shelter. Therefore man does not have to struggle to provide for an existence as he has had to in the past. This allows time for him to spend in the quality rather than quantity of his productions. And to be able to do this, all we need is a free and natural condition—no authority, ruler, or master; no socialism, communism, capitalism or any "ism"; no highly complex organization—in fact no organization to stifle the growth of the evolving future; no organization to command and enslave. Only men that are free from the propaganda called education by an enslaved world—free from the superstition called religion by the masters that know better, and grasped by the slaves as an opiate—free from economic bondage forced on the masses by the privileged few in order that they might waddle in fat and gross materialism—free from any state organization that exists for such as democracy, monarchy, communism, socialism or dictatorships with their flags and armies and promises of well being to all who will believe as the rulers teach, and will work for the masters at their command—free from any organization that has outlived its original purpose or is on

the road to such a stagnate condition. Yes, all we need is an emancipated man to live and create and grow into his next stage of evolutionary growth.

I have believed that man is not an individualistic animal but is a class of which Nature has created which gains power through cooperative action and if all bondages were cut loose man would naturally cooperate. We would have a world of harmonious, free cooperative groups. We would still have all of our present knowledge of science, philosophy and the technicalities. For at the time when man invented the written word he started on the road of progress, for the written word allows man to build and grow from the point where the past leaves off. The written word prevents man from ever losing entirely any truth or value discovered. Can not culture with its knowledge and art be accomplished by a free state where nothing would be forced, where to live man does not have to play and work in a highly complex society?

The only thing we need a highly organized state for is to do things in a gigantic manner such as massive buildings, social service agencies that are so massive that their energy goes to the upkeep of the organization rather than to its original purpose. In fact those things are typical of mass production and million dollar organizations. But what has mass production given but standardization, plainness and an ever-changing style market where the style is not originality or beauty but merely a changed vest button on a coat of a suit of clothes or a new radiator cap on an automobile, etc.? Mass production in our competitive system will always lead to over-production. Of course, socialism says it can control production, but how much better would it be to let production be free? The only difference I can see would be that instead of a multitude of plain, common articles we would have a few well constructed and beautiful articles—a few but plenty. Instead of food being produced in such large quantities that the surplus is stored and allowed to decay we would only exert enough energy to produce food enough to satisfy our basic desires. Even

though food would be produced on a small scale with the elimination of the waste ensued through organizations, there would still be plenty for all.

I think I believe in what Kropotkin calls "communitistic anarchy" or what I would call the "free community." As I observe the plant and animal kingdom and as I observe the structure and laws of this universe I am struck by the infinite intellect, the profound beauty and the perfection that there is in it all. Each part, yes, each atom, even each electron or neurone of each element seems to utilize to the fullest extent all that Nature has to offer. For example, the bees make an eight-sided cell, and the mathematicians tell us that an octagon shaped figure utilizes the most possible space, in other words, there is no other figure that could be constructed that would hold as much honey without waste as does the octagonal cell. This same utilization goes on everywhere within Nature. The only exceptions are plants and animals that are merely surviving in their present environment which Nature had originally adapted for a different environment, and because of climatic changes or because of migration into different environments these plants and animals are not perfectly adapted to their present environment—remember they were adapted originally for a particular environment in which they survived successfully. If all of this is true of the life that depends upon instincts and other controls of Nature, would there be a limit to the potentialities of man, who is all powerful because of the power and reliability of his nervous reaction through stimuli with all of its mysteries which make up the electrical process we call thinking, if he were left free to cooperate with Nature? If all of the present conditions in which man is trying to combat the laws of Nature were alleviated and man were a free agent, I believe he would not be the self destroying, self devouring cannibal bug that he now is, but that he would be the super man, a super man using Eugenics in place of the law of the survival of the fittest. Yes, with the potential intellect of man he could build on all of Nature's laws in just this manner.

## The Issue of Anarchist Principles in Spain

(Continued from Page Four)

C.N.T. what it should do: neither have we done so. But according to the Carbo statement we believe that those, who from Spain, have criticized the C.N.T. attitude in the face of the January rebellion cannot be so lightly dismissed. The Carbo document, and all the others that are printed on this page exposes the C.N.T. as beyond the pale of Anarchism; as an authoritarian party which aims at assuring to itself the monopoly of initiating, directing and efficiently, of course, organizing the revolution in Spain, and is not prepared to participate in a movement which should not be under such control of itself, were it even initiated by Anarchists.

Such a revolutionary program may be called Anarchist according to the C.N.T. standards. It certainly is not according to ours. We think that revolutions degenerate into "coups-d'etat" when they are initiated, directed the efficiently organized by organizations excluding all independence of individual and group's initiative and action. And we think that as the scope of a "coup-d'etat" can but be the conquest of political power, it can never be the work of an Anarchist group or organization.

Revolutions, as we see it, are the work of all the unsatisfied and oppressed strata of the people, and once a revolutionary movement has started we see no other attitude for Anarchists, than to take part in the fight.

As far as we know, no one has ever accused the C.N.T. of having taken up arms against the January movement. It has been accused of having associated itself, condemned and deserted the rebellion, and this, grave as it is for Anarchists, is fully confirmed by the Carbo statement, as well as its own statement to MAN! The reason for the desertion, is yet more aggravated by the declaration that such desertion was determined by the authoritarian delusion of not having had full control of the movement. This is a serious admission because it implies that the leaders of the C.N.T. feel sure that no revolution is possible but under their absolute control, and furthermore, that no independent revolutionary attempt deserves their support.

Frankly this appears to our mind as a monstrous conception of Anarchism. And it is our modest opinion that the sooner our earnest comrades in Spain get rid of it, the better it will be for them, for the Anarchist movement and for the revolution.

Spanish comrades to a great extent have real physical courage, ignore cowardice, in the personal sense. So re-approaching the C.N.T. to have deserted the January rebellion, one must consider that it did not happen out of physical cowardice. Which means that the case is even worse. It was moral and political cowardice, a direct consequence of the methods which the C.N.T. has adopted. In fact, the C.N.T. method is utterly exposed as monopolistic and authoritarian. And that's all there is to it.

Trying to minimize the repudiated Madrid editorial is a vain effort. That editorial is confirmed by the whole attitude of the C.N.T., the essence of whose attitude is exactly this: "We are Anarchists and revolutionists, but this is not our revolution." Their revolution will seemingly be the one which will start at the hour and minute set by the C.N.T. Plenum and will proceed step by step according to the orders of its government. Those who approve of this way of understanding Anarchism may call themselves Anarchists, they may resent being called Syndicalists, but they act like Syndicalists and they do not think as Anarchists do.

They want all the revolutionary power to the syndicates, which is the Spanish equivalent of the 1917 "all power to the Soviets" and has nothing in common with Anarchism which claims that all powers be destroyed.

MAN!

## Vegetarianism

Setting aside the immorality of taking the life of another for unnecessary reasons—mere physical gratification—gluttony, the physiological aspect is to be considered from a scientific point of view. It has long been proved that the flesh of another animal does not result in either added strength or efficiency, but is a detriment instead. As examples of strong fleet-footed, enduring animals of the non-flesh eating order we have the reindeer, the gazelle, and that class fleet of foot—the camel enduring, the horse, the hippotamus, the elephant, powerful with a life-enduring memory, intelligent, noted for longevity. The gorilla who kills ruthlessly but never eats his "kill" as well as other animals that never eat flesh. Notable also are races who perform arduous tasks as the rice-eating Hindu messengers covering nearly a 100 miles in a day and doing this for months at a time. Russian peasants working 15 and 18 hours subsisting on black bread, vegetables and milk—if they can get it. Chinese porters carrying heavy burdens on their shoulders, live on meatless foods. The miners of S. America carrying loads of 200 pounds and more up steep ladders of over 200 feet, seldom eat meat. The powerful lithe Japanese wrestlers live on rice and beans. Meat is an expensive food, calling for condiments to be acceptable. It is a disease-producing food, conveying in each morsel poisons of the animal from which taken. Meat cannot be a spiritual developing food from the very nature of its ghastly origin—ignoring the principles of the "Golden Rule." If it is true, as acknowledged, that our food influences our physical and mental attitudes, what may be anticipated when another animal is murdered, deliberately and coolly robbed of its life that the human animal may eat thereof?

Justice demands that no life shall be sacrificed needlessly. The animals killed for food are harmless, friendly and give no reason for sacrificing them on the altar of man's perverted appetite. If this fact has failed to be sensed before, at our present crisis we realize its full meaning. And when one man violates natural laws or disregards ethical customs and necessary brotherhood, all the race suffers. So it is with the custom of slaughter and eating the remains of other animals. The mere act of killing; taking the life of another creature; which no man can restore; is in itself a violation of decency and stands as a crime; while those condoning it and taking part in the devastation of the creatures, mark themselves of a lower order and lacking ability to reason logically. Aside from the horribleness of the act of killing and preparing for feasting, stands the psychological influence far-reaching and devastating. It seems to us that the crime of killing is the foundation for the spread of all other crimes, an indifference to the rights and feelings of others, and the less protected and lower down the scale of evolution, the more violence and indifference is shown. It marks man as a degenerate and really inferior to the animals that he chooses for food, because none of them would eat him however hungry, except the hog and that by a superior race is considered out of the question as a food. Rightly so. Our point is that not until man rises above the blood-welter he now revels in, can we anticipate much improvement in sociological conditions. — *The Vegetarian and Fruitarian.*

## The Question of Health

I strongly believe that "Man!" will grow to be a healthy, red-blooded fighter, and spokesman for the Anarchist Ideal and movement. Courageous, broadminded, fearless and striking!

It will awaken the minds, and sow the seeds of human

## HEALTH and LIFE

liberation from the yoke of governments and political parties. It will also draw together all relentless, and ardent fighters into a huge movement for Freedom's cause.

The field for Anarchist propaganda and education is enormously broad at the present time.

Anarchism—A theory of life under which Society is conceived without a government. Harmony in such a society will be obtained by voluntary agreements, among individuals or groups, freely constituted for the sake of production, consumption, and other needs of a civilized being.

It is high time for us builders of fortunes for others, to wake up and begin to build a free society—Free from Masters and Slaves—The Anarchist Society.

The Anarchist movement must live, will live, if we will sincerely aid it.

Another valuable point of "MAN!" is that its interest and teachings are so varied—and the true, and thorough Idea of Anarchism, as regards every phase of human life—is embodied in its pages. It does not concern itself with just handing down propaganda (as most so-called, radical periodicals do), but also has on its pages food for the intellect as well as for the body. We must not only teach the people how to change the Economic and Social State of ours, but also how to improve the physical, without which no Society, no matter how ideal—can be thoroughly enjoyed. "MENS SANA IN CORPORE SANO" (a sound mind in a sound body).

I hail the appearance on the pages of "MAN!" of the vital question on health.

Nature has endowed us with the power of being healthy and happy. Sickness is only ignorance of the divine simple laws of Nature. To know these laws means a fuller and richer life.

Human ills are due to the artificial conditions of living which man has imposed upon himself.

With the teaching of the Ideal of Anarchism as regards health, art, literature, etc., "MAN!" cannot fail!

M. Weiss, N. D.

## TITHES

The waiter has gotten his tip  
Of ten per cent.  
The priest has gotten his tithe  
To turn the soul Hell-bent.

The beggar has met rebuff  
And a tight-clinched hand  
From those who tithe the waiter,  
And God, in a gesture grand.  
RAYMOND KRESENSKY.

## An Anthology of Revolutionary Poetry

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# DISCUSSION:

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

## Questions of a Single Taxer

Is not a ditcher who has two shovels and who hires a tramp to work for him with one of them as truly a "Capitalist" as the man who owns a flock of steam shovels?

How then is the Capitalist system in danger? "Capitalist" seems to be an alias for "Monopolist"; or Privileged person; but perhaps you have a definition that shuts out the man with the two shovels? (1)

Does the steam shovel owner want to monopolize the food at a dinner party, or to monopolize suitable clothing? It is doubtful whether many persons desire unfair advantages. People naturally wish to share with those in need as much as they feel that they can spare. Multi-millionaires are able to spare great sums. (2)

Are not all monopolies sustained by Laws? If so we could repeal all such laws, including the private appropriation of the unearned increase in land values. Then the rent of the land created by the people could be taken by the people for public use instead of taxes. (3)

It seems difficult to improve an earth where a few own eighty per cent of its wealth. Even if we could improve it and retain monopolies will not the benefit go eventually and mainly to the owners of the earth? (4)

BOLTON HALL.

(1) MAN! has never printed anything that would justify the question put by the writer.

(2) Every sentence in the above paragraph displays the queerest sort of thinking I have ever come across. First, the entire basis of the present order is the education and training of each and all into developing a desire for taking "unfair advantages". Second, the rich have furnished ample proof for decades that all they will spare for the multitudes is misery aplenty. Third, certainly multi-millionaires are able to spare great millions—but how have they acquired these great sums? Yes, the rich are most willing to spend millions on gambling, charity and pleasure, but are most reluctant to give even crumbs to those whom they have been robbing ever since their existence as a class. Whatever the rich have legal title to, they have plundered from the masses under the protection of "law and order."

(3) Of course all monopolies are sustained by laws. From his experience, Bolton Hall, more than any one else, since he is a lawyer, should have learned by this time that via the law, the people are always the losers. The single tax law will no more aid in abolishing monopoly and exploitation than can or will the "new deal" of Tammany Hall's president.

(4) With the Anarchist it is never a question of improving the earth by retaining monopolies. Man can only achieve genuine liberty when all monopolies supported by the laws of Government are disregarded forever, including the Single Tax Law of Rent.

## "An Anarchist State"?

I am reading "You Can't Print That" by George Seldes. You are probably familiar with the book. It is appalling to think such terrorism can exist, and that in this day and age man still has not won the right to free speech. I think we are rapidly approaching another dark age, in which the dictators will take the place of the medieval kings and emperors, while the gang leaders will become feudal lords. Naturally the conditions will be very different from those of Europe four hundred years ago, but the principle of the thing will be the same: a chaos of individual greed and the oppression of the weak by the strong. And when light comes again, I think it will be in the Orient. I don't worry too much about it, however, for time is vastly long, and it is comforting to remember that we are living in the very dawn of civilization. It is too bad that mankind can't work upward steadily, but it seems that it goes upward by spurts and downward in between. After all, we can't expect to attain Utopia in a decade or even a century. The harder the enlightened work, however, the longer the spurts and the higher they will go. Nothing is wasted. Every battle that we win will make it a little easier for posterity to spurt upward instead of sliding downward into an age of darkness.

I am not a thorough-going anarchist, I fear, for I believe that mankind is not yet capable of launching a successful anarchist regime. Practically speaking, I think such forms as socialism and communism are necessary steps. But the minute any form of government gets into power, it tends to become institutionalized and oppressive. Only in keeping government flexible can man hope to progress and be free. (1). Even a so-called anarchist state would soon belie its name and punish activities of the kind that brought it about. (2). Society, like nature, must go through a process of evolution and survival of the fittest. (3). That means an eternal struggle and revolution, I suppose. The secret of the whole matter isn't in the forms of society, anyway, it's in developing intelligence in a majority of the human race. (4)

JANET NEWTON.

(1) All the flexibility in the world cannot change the basic (fraudulent) foundation of Government. (2) Yes, an "Anarchist state" would do it as much as any other state. But—when an Anarchist starts believing in any kind of a state, he ceases to be an Anarchist. (3) According to this most fallacious Darwinian-Marxian theory, the last remaining human being on earth will be the ultimate achievement. The Anarchist takes the opposite view. There will be an end to injustice of every sort. The most beautiful in man will finally reveal itself in a blaze of glory, of which only the poets have as yet dared to dream. (4) Again erroneous. The forms of society that man is now subjected to, makes the growth of intelligence impossible. Only a genuinely free society can make this development a possibility for every human being.

## Industrial Workers of the World [I.W.W.]

I receive a copy of "MAN!" every month, and think it one of the best Anarchist papers in U. S. A.

I am not an anarchist, and have three good reasons why I am not:

(1) The anarchists preach Individualism . . . The Capitalists have taught Individualism, (1) and the result is that 16,000,000 workers are in the ranks of the Unemployed, bigger and better soup lines, and the workers, who are working, are working 10 and 12 hours a day. In Los Angeles one employer was fined \$100 for working women six days a week, 12 hours a day.

The workers must be shown the necessity of organization. (2). The Anarchists are, like the Communists, advocating that the workers unite with the farmers . . . The farmers are not concerned about the workers' interest, what the farmers want is to hold on to his farm, and like the petit-bourgeoisie, he wants to become a big Capitalist instead of a little one. (3)

Marx was right when he said, "The lower middle class, the small manufacturer, the shop keeper, the artisan, the peasant, all these fight against the bourgeoisie to save from extinction their existence as factions of the middle class. They are, therefore, not revolutionary, but conservative, nay more, they are reactionary, for they try to roll back the wheels of history." (4)

At the present time the I. W. W. have a strike on in the Yakima Valley, in Washington. The farmers there have been so nice as to pay the workers 12 1/2 cents an hour for 10 and 12 hour day. The workers, who have always remained individualists, responded to the I. W. W. call for Solidarity and have organized in their own interests, and the strike has resulted in large gains being made by organization. The workers and the farmers have absolutely nothing in common in spite of the Communist's slogan, "save the farmer," and the Anarchist Philosophy of "Individualism" and that has been definitely proven in the Yakima strike and also in the Mexican workers' strike in the berry fields here in Southern California.

(3) The Anarchists are opposed to the machine . . . The I. W. W. welcomes bigger and better machines. (5). It is true that under Capitalism the machine has become a Frankenstein. This is because of the workers accepting the individualistic theory, instead of organizing as a class. We, of the I. W. W., are workers, and we educate our class to organize industrially in a Revolutionary Class Industrial Union, instead of remaining individualists, and by so doing, by united action in One Big Union, we will some day inaugurate Industrial Freedom.

HARRY FORSS.

(1) To confuse Anarchy, which aims toward a society wherein every individual shall be free to choose how to live and what to create for the sustenance and enjoyment of life, with the present capitalist system, wherein nearly every individual is subjected to being exploited and ruled, is to display a complete lack of discernment.

(2) The workers have been organized in huge socialist and labor movements as in Germany and Great Britain. Workers have also been organized in labor unions in France and now in Spain—numbering millions of members. Are the workers in any of these countries any nearer to being free from exploitation and rulership than the workers here?

(3) The farmer who does not exploit any one has a common interest with the city worker. There are today millions of such farmers. No Anarchist has advocated the union of farm exploiters with workers.

(4) The artist and peasant can be and is exploited just as much as the worker. Marx's attempt to throw the artist and peasant into the middle class designation shows how little he knew what he was talking about.

(5) I must repeat: it is not work that is a curse, nor is artisanship at fault; it is the exploitation of toil that has brought mankind into the chaos in which it now finds itself. The price in human life demanded for the "bigger and better machines" seems to be of very little moral concern to Comrade Forss. Neither is he bothered much by the fact that the triumphant reign of the machine will also spell the end of any kind of artisanship in mankind.

## Life in a Future Society

I have read considerable of Tolstoi and agree with his attitude toward the state, but it seems to me that more information would be in order as to how it is proposed to organize economic life of the people in any future state or society which may replace the "state." I would like to get in touch with constructive matter in this line. Also literature from the Anarchist, philosophical standpoint, if you have any lists you could forward me I would be pleased and is there a cheap edition published of Godwin's "Political Justice." I am connected with the farmers' union here and might possibly introduce some literature into the library we have in connection therewith.

J. E. JOHNSON.

As to how the economic life of the future society will be shaped remains a problem for the people to solve when facing it. Only to the extent that each and all will be imbued with the understanding of freedom in its true essence, can the newly-to-be-built society evolve into a genuinely free one. All pre-conceived plans will only prove as boomerangs.

There is no cheaper edition of William Godwin's "An Enquiry Concerning Political Justice" than the \$2.50 one in two volumes. The list of books that appears from time to time in MAN! should prove an aid for getting further acquainted with the ideas of Anarchism. Some of the main city and university libraries carry books on Anarchism.

## Resistance and Rulership The Same?

I agree with you that we have about outlived the need of the state and its instrument, government. But it seems to me that to enter into a violent conflict with the existing state, (which governs in the name of society) even if you succeeded in conquering the present rulers, in order to keep would be rulers from asserting themselves it would be necessary for you to maintain rulership over them. And rulership, even in the name of "Natural Law" or of "Man!" would simply be a change in form of the king thing.—So it seems to me.

Your argument that your use of violence is only to resist aggression is just as logically used by those you call the aggressors—to them you are the aggressor.

It is not from any moral scruples that I do not care to join you in what you call "resisting government violence." It is because my interests do not seem to point that way. It is all right for you who feel that way. Anything is good enough for those who believe in it.

My feeling and my reason indicate to me that my interests are best served by my refraining, as much as I can from coining my fellows, either as an individual or by using or taking part in governmental activities.

Let government die from disuse. Of course, I may not understand your particular brand of Anarchy—a term that seems to be used and applied to many different and even conflicting conceptions of social life.

W. T. BETHUNE.

The writer erroneously asserts that Anarchists are out "to conquer the present rulers." Let us not forget that it is the rulers who are the conquerors over the enslaved, ever since rulership of man over man began. The Anarchist doesn't tire in continuing to expose and to attack these enslavers of mankind, as long as the enslaved have not risen to overthrow and to discard the usurpers in toto.

## Readers and Editor Exchange Thoughts

Resistance to usurpers of freedom and happiness doesn't imply the acceptance of rulership at all, for, the writer fallaciously assumes that resisters of violence are in the same category with the practitioners of violence—the present system of society. The very admittance of aggressors, justifies resistance by the aggressed.

The phrase, "let government die of disuse," is an empty one. It cannot, nor ever will, cease in that manner. The flourishing Bolshevik State of Russia certainly doesn't furnish any sign of "withering away" or being discarded.

There is only one kind of Anarchy: the natural right of each to live, to create, to enjoy, and to associate in any particular work, group, or society that appeals most to one's emotions and reason. The conflicting conceptions of Anarchy given by capitalist, liberal, socialist, and communist speakers and publications alike, reminds one of the well known phrase uttered by the crooked politician when caught stealing: catch the thief! Thus only can these distorted associations of Anarchy with chaos and disorder be explained. Wherever rulership comes into being, chaos and disorder are its part and parcel, nay its basic foundation. Anarchy, in its true ideal essence, is order, the natural order of self-rule, the fullest use of one's initiative and self-responsibility. Carried to its logical conclusion it can apply equally as well to the whole of humanity.

## Administration?

The State must eventually wither away; all radical roads lead to the no-state society! The spirit of Kropotkin is still alive. Communism leads directly to Anarchy. A government over people will be superseded by an administration over things.

Fraternally yours for philosophical Anarchism.

EDWARD JAMES IRVINE

The idea of the withering away of the state, fostered by the Marxians, doesn't hold out much hope if one judges by the rulership of the black, yellow, or red socialists. It is already quite evident that the states that have replaced the capitalist ones are not only refusing to wither away, but are turning into the most tyrannical, monstrous structure that the libertarian people will have to overthrow, before freedom is to come about. One is also forced to take exception to the suggestion of an "administration over things," as being the goal of Anarchy. Where there will be administrators, rulership will set in. Self responsibility of each and all is the only foundation upon which Anarchy can set in, and from which the best in man can bloom forth.

Disobedience, in the eyes of anyone who has read history, is man's original virtue. It is through disobedience that progress has been made; through disobedience and through rebellion—Oscar Wilde.

## OPINIONS

### Classes

I live on a great traveled highway, and almost every day I meet Men that nobody will hire—and they are hardly fit to join the bandits. Well, we are now under the Roosevelt gang. He is the nasty coward that sits in his den—like Calvin Coolidge—when we tried to get him to help save Sacco and Vanzetti from being Murdered. One would think if the Masses knew that there never has been a Millionaire executed or even sentenced, that the Class Idea would be settled for all time, and the fools would be class conscious. (But not so.)

Herbert J. Williams.

### From Australia

Dear Comrade: Your publication, February issue, was handed to me by Don Cameron, assistant secretary of the Melbourne Trades Hall Council.

Our members were very much interested in all of the articles but particularly in that from the pen of Professor Harold Laski.

I shall be very pleased indeed to receive further issues. Our Union has not yet produced a journal, but as soon as this is done, I shall be pleased to send you copies.

With every good wish.

Yours fraternally,

Herbert Oke,

Pres. Teachers' Industrial Union.

## Religion and War Treaties

"War is a business, divine in itself. . ."—Luther.

"For the Lord Jesus Christ is not only the Prince of Peace, he is the Prince of War, too. He is the Lord of Hosts, the God of armies. Be sure of it, for the Bible tells you so."—Charles Kingsley.

"I am the instrument of the Almighty."—Former Kaiser Wilhelm.

"Kultur is a spiritual organization of the world, and this does not exclude bloodshed and savagery."—Thomas Mann.

"I pray you to set up your banners in the name of Christ; for undoubtedly it is His cause."—Oliver Cromwell.

"International law is largely international humbug."—Rear Admiral Fiske.

"The League of Nations is a rope of sand."—Rear Admiral Wm. L. Rogers.

"Treaties amount to nothing."—U. S. Army and Navy Journal.

## A TALK BETWEEN 2 WORKERS

By Errico Malatesta

One of the most renowned works of Malatesta, for a long time out of print, has just been published in a beautiful pamphlet-form edition, 32 pages, by our comrades of Lynn, Mass. It is now obtainable through MAN!

Single Copies 10 Cents



# ART and LITERATURE

## Prehistoric

(From the Spanish by O. Dallas)

J. Martinez Ruiz (Azorin)

"We are at the beginning of the beginning."—Wells.  
"Good morning, my dear professor. How are you today?"  
"As you see, I am always on the job, in my laboratory, busy with my lifetime job."

"Are you speaking of your great book, that admirable work that we are all expecting—The Prehistory?"  
"That's it; I am very busy with it right now. It is practically complete and will soon be finished."

"Have you, perhaps, come to the boundaries of the modern ages, the historical ages?"

"Yes, I have just put the last lines to my description of the age of electricity."

"I should think that the age of electricity was very interesting."

"Right. It is the last stage in the development of the primitive man; from that time on begins a deep transformation which is known to historians, that is, there begins the age of the really civilized man."

"Quite so, my dear professor. And have you found any data regarding that obscure and mysterious age?"

"I have succeeded, in the first place, in finding how those strange creatures that anteceded us lived. I know, for instance, positively, that they lived crowded together in narrow and unsanitary dwelling places, in agglomerations that they called 'cities.'"

"It is really very interesting and strange what you are saying. And how could those human beings live in those agglomerations, in those narrow dwelling places? How could they breathe, move about, bathe in the sunshine, enjoy the silence, feel the exquisite sensation of privacy and solitude? And how were those houses? Were they all alike? Were they different and made according to the taste and wish of the maker?"

"No, those houses were not all alike; they were different; some bigger, some smaller, others narrow and uncomfortable."

"Have you said, my dear professor, that some were narrow and uncomfortable? Pray, tell me, how could that be? How could there be people who liked to live in those unsanitary, narrow and uncomfortable houses?"

"It was not through the caprice of the dwellers, but they were forced to live that way through the circumstances of the environment and the social state in which they moved."

"I can't seem to understand anything you say."

"I mean to say, that in primitive times there were some people who controlled all the means of subsistence and living, and others who, on the other hand, did not possess those means."

"It is very, very interesting and strange what you say. Why did those people not have the means?"

"They were what at that time used to be called poor."

"Poor." What a strange word! And what did those poor people do?"

"Those poor people worked."

"They worked? And if they worked, how is it that they did not have the means to live? Why was it that they had to live in the small and uncomfortable houses?"

"Those poor people worked, but they did not work for their own account."

"But how, my dear professor, can anyone work if it is not for his own account? I can't quite understand you. Will you kindly explain?"

"I mean to say, that those people who did not have the means of living, in order to earn for their daily needs,

would go to work to some buildings which, according to what I have ascertained, were called factories."

"And what did they gain by working in those factories?"

"There they used to get wages every day."

"Have you said wages? That must be a term of that age!"

"Yes, wages is a word the meaning of which we can not comprehend today; wages was a certain number of coins that they received every day for their work."

"Just a moment, my dear professor, pardon me again. You have said coins; what is this thing coins?"

"Coins were round pieces of metal."

"What were those round metal pieces for?"

"By giving those pieces to the possessor of any thing, that possessor would give away that thing."

"And that possessor would not give that thing unless he were given those pieces of metal?"

"It seems that such was the case."

"They were very odd people those possessors! And what for did they want those pieces of metal?"

"It seems that the more they had of that metal the better it was for them."

"It was better? Why? Didn't anybody who wanted had those pieces?"

"No, not all could have them."

"Why?"

"Because those who would take them without belonging to them would be locked up in a thing they called jail."

"Jail! What do you mean, jail?"

"Jail was a building where they used to put people who did things that the rest did not want them to do."

("Diversity of Darkness," by Jacob Hauser, 335 W. 28th St., N. Y. C.)

In this misnamed "Century of Progress," we have exchanged a blind and unreasoning faith for a fatuous optimism. The world may have expended itself in the pursuit of wealth, but incurable Pangloss, it hopes to soon recuperate and begin anew the profitless chase. Any disagreements with the social pack are merely superficial. The staunch defender of capitalism visualizes the nostrum of the N. R. A. as a universal elixir. His opponent puts forward as a substitute, planning under a different type of state and as Harry Seguin says, "a rule of the filing cabinets" instead of the proverbial machine.

We who distrust authority and despise regimentation of all types, who see that life is too fluid to be compressed within the limits of any flub-dub social system, have of necessity reverted to the inner sources of our own hearts. We view the persecution of genius in every age, we see that the proponents of every new order have promised salvation and delivered suffering. Even under this insane era of capitalism we have found it possible to develop a certain intellectual synthesis which, at least, has given us spiritual freedom.

To this little group, unmoved by the froth and furor of contemporary life, belongs Jacob Hauser. Forced by the exigencies of this present order to punch a time-clock and waste luminous hours in nerve-racking labor, Hauser has remained innately a poet—a poet who dispenses no universal elixir but whose slender volume, "Diversity of Darkness," is yet a catharsis.

This little pamphlet will be ignored by the lordly reviewers of the "slick-paper" magazines; it will be greeted with boos and catcalls by the intellectual thugs who have set themselves up as the mentors of proletarian literature in this country. But those of us who know Jacob Hauser and the generous motives which actuate him shall not be disturbed. Those who already have a natural kinship to this gifted youth will receive a glamorous first impression from the reading of this little book.

The author has tasted and spat out the be-jazzed, pseudo-realism of this glib age. To him the Realists Enthroned are the shabby purveyors of half-truths, fellows with threadbare minds lacking in the broad general culture which makes for urbanity and appreciation. In one paragraph, he tersely sums up their attitude:

"That which is sordid is most distinct; therefore he who is exiled into material or spiritual penury acquires a penetrating vision for details, which in some manner compensates him for his loss of beautiful illusion. The realists are an unhappy lot, doomed to a perpetual twilight of Siberia, but mitigation of their fortune depends upon their labor. Having no inward surcease, they throw themselves upon the flints and nettles of objectivity, and counteract sensation with science, their own misfortune with the chronicle of what others endure. The drab light in which they labor upon the quarries of experience is marvelously adequate to see by, as we have said, and yet it is a falsification of vision. It is like the X-ray, which reveals the glistens and the joints, but not the smooth limbs arrayed in loveliness; which reveals the caput mortuum, avoiding the countenance upon which the spirit is worn."

In the second section of the book, appropriately entitled "Anatomy of Melancholy," Hauser dissects the clinical frame of mind which would cure the sorrows of poets, only to turn those poets into plough-boys or bank cashiers. Artistically, may there not be far more beauty and drama in the spectacle of those lorn ships which never put into port, and which ever sail into more tortuous seas? What does humanity profit when the behaviorists or Freudians destroy a potential poet to produce what is dubbed a normal individual? If there be any such thing as progress, it is brought about by the constant conflict of the exceptional few with torpid institutionalism. A well-meaning friend made a decent man out of Swineburne—and also ruined Swineburne as a poet.

Therefore, Hauser says we are to leave inviolate that sweet, nostalgic sorrow which, at the auspicious moment, takes possession of us. Its outlet is not to be found in

"And why did they let themselves be put there?"

"They could not help it. There were other people with guns who forced them to submit."

"Did I hear right? Have you said 'guns'?"

"That is what I said, guns."

"And what is guns?"

"Guns were weapons that some men carried."

"And for what purpose did they carry them?"

"To kill the other men in wars."

"To kill other men! This is horrible, colossal, my dear professor. Men used to kill one another?"

"Yes, men used to kill one another."

"May I believe it? Is it true?"

"It is true. I give you my word of honor."

"You again astonish me. You have made use of a term that I don't know the meaning of. I can't understand your last few words."

"Have I spoken of honor?"

"Yes, you have spoken of honor."

"Pardon me: this is my present obsession; this is the weak point in my book; it is my great disappointment. I have repeated instinctively a word that I seen used profusely in the documents of that age, the meaning of which I have been unable to fathom. I have explained to you what were cities, factories, wages, coins, jails and guns, but I am unable to explain to you what was the meaning of the word 'honor.'"

"Perhaps it was the thing that made men commit more crimes and follies?"

"It is possible" . . .

## Books

the fetid crowd, but in the solitary creativeness of the poetic mind.

"The pandean pipes have nothing in common with ordered society; they refer to the sighing of the reeds and the sighing of pines, to spindrift hung up under the greenish moonlight—not to the laws of Solon, nor to white government buildings erected in crisp harmony. Aside from the pre-social suggestion of the wood-winds, there is also a hint of the anti-social. Pan plays in the depths of a forest, in emerald shadow, or else upon a hilltop under the crazy skies of March. And he plays in solitude. Like Diana whom we have taken for the goddess of melancholy, he is impatient of scrutiny. To hear him is all very well; the auditor of his songs is a poet and that is his reward and his punishment. But to see him is to become the bearer of panic contagion, to be infected with unreasoning fear, to run wild like the bounding rabbits or the intemperate clouds upon the windy sky. Melancholy is ever an air played in solitude, and he who is too good a citizen or a burgher is not qualified to hear it. One must dare to be alone to hear the pandean pipes."

I would, of course, not give the impression that Hauser is aloof from the trends of the present day. A true poet, he surveys critically our time, but in the perspective of historical recurrence. That humanity has always cherished a sickly monism of one type or another is painfully apparent to him. But as each age has produced its head-hunters, so has each age produced its heretics. And these heretics, he points out, have followed unconcernedly the bents of their particular egos, unaffected by commotion and conquest. Each in common has had the supreme virtue of Intelligence.

For intelligence cannot fail us. The love of one's heart may prove to be a whorish jade; one's solitude may be invaded by the raucous echoes of the radio; one may lack food to nourish the body. But intelligence, precisely because it gives us balance and understanding, enables us to live through the biting ironies of individual and social change.

Hauser may, of course, place too much faith in the secluded artist. Long ago, we poets would have had abolished authority and dogma, if we had possessed the power. Mass movements toward conformity cannot receive our support. But mass movements which are libertarian in objective are very much in accord with our own temperaments and we do well to encourage them.

Unfortunately, Hauser fails to distinguish between rebel and conformist journals when he says, "No, the press is not free." Certain rebel publications have recognized his genius and opened their columns to the products of his pen. This is not a rebuke to a competent young artist, but a fraternal reminder.

Hauser's intimate friend, Harry Seguin, is to be complimented on his introduction to the book. Nor would I forget B. C. Hagglund, who because of his rebel disposition, prints such booklets almost at cost.

It is regrettable that financial circumstances force the publication of Hauser's works in such meager form. Indeed, "Diversity of Darkness" is but part of an unpublished larger work, "Ego And All." The propensity of the masses for garbage classics forces Jacob Hauser to turn chapman. But, he is a chapman richly endowed with inspiration and vibrant with promise.

Harold Preece

## Pomp

Power  
Captain of our little brigade,  
Lust and envy  
Barter and trade,  
With fame and fortune to lead  
The parade,  
We march untiring, in the open,  
With sword and saber,  
Shot and shell,  
Against friend and neighbor  
Heaven or hell,  
To fields of glory . . .  
And a sorry  
Army brings up the rear,  
Hunger and fear,  
Wind driven . . . shadow clinging to shadow . . .

JEANETTE SELETZ.

## We Exchange With

- Azione Antifascista. J. Ascher, 16, rue Saint-Sebastien, Paris (8), France.  
The Anvil. Rural Route 4, Moberly, Mo.  
The British Columbia Clarion, 140 E. 8th Ave., Vancouver, B. C.  
The Brookwood Review. Katonah, N. Y.  
The Bulletin. San Quentin, Cal.  
Canadian Railway Employees Monthly. P. O. Box 395, Ottawa, Canada.  
Contempo. Durham, N. C.  
Citizen, 56 Albion Road, London, England, No. 16.  
The Council. 13 Burnbank Gardens, Glasgow, Scotland.  
Cultura Proletaria. P. O. Box 1, Station D, New York City.  
How to Live. 1007 Kirk St., Hugo, Oklahoma.  
Humanity. R. 1, Box 213, Arvada, Colorado.  
India Bulletin, 46 Lancaster Gate, London, W. 2, England.  
International Literature, Nikolskaya 7, Moscow, U.S.S.R.  
Italia e Liberta. Maipu 853, Rosario, Argentina.  
Jiyu Rengo Shimbun (Free Federation). Sha 8-8/7 Kobiki-cho, Kyobashi-ku, Tokyo, Japan.  
Llano Colonist, Llano, La.  
Left Front. 1475 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.  
The Maryland Leader. 1029 E. Baltimore St., Baltimore, Maryland.  
Masses. P. O. Box 212, Toronto, Ont., Can.  
Mother Earth. Crarville, Route 1, N. Y.  
The New English Weekly. 28 Cursitor St., London, E. C. 4, England.  
Nuova Humanidad. 17, Avenida Mistral 17, Barcelona, Spain.  
A Plebe. Ladeiro Do Carmo No. 7, S. Paulo, Brazil.  
Plus Loin. 2, rue des Haudriettes, 2, Paris, France.  
Santier. Str. Mantuleaza No. 31, Bucuresti, Roumania.  
Silhouettes. 303 Rosewood Court, Ontario, Cal.  
Socialist Review, 14 Rudyard Grove, Mill Hill, N. W. 7, London, England.  
Tierra! Lamparilla 59, Altos, La Habana, Cuba.  
Tierra Libertad. Calle Union, 19, 3. o. 1. a, Barcelona, Spain.  
The Vegetarian and Fruitarian, Lewiston, Idaho.  
Vegetarianism. Str. Dr. Istrate 10, Bucuresti, Roumania.  
The Vrije Socialist. Zandvoort, Post-giro 136659, Holland.  
De Wapens Neder. C 3 Bavoort Leidsen, Den Haag, Holland.  
The Workers Monthly, Brixam, The Mount, Guildford, Eng.



# STEPHANUS FABIJANOVITCH

On April 4th of 1868 this wanderer was born, in what is today called Yugoslavia, who on November 6th of this year wandered into the unknown, to the last hour faithful to his own, self-chosen mission. A son of the peasantry in heart and soul, he ardently loved his mother, earth, loyal to her to the bitter end, true to her exploited children cheated of their inheritance. Starved from the earliest age, bent under back breaking toil, devoid of schooling, he learned the miserably conditioned trade of a baker, passed through his military service, and then began his peregrinations which led him through four continents, at all times with his eyes wide open for every happening in that university of the hard knocks of life.

It was a time of great hopes for the world of labor, those eighties and nineties of the last century. The Bismarck incubus weighing down Germany, was about to fall with the end set for the Anti-Socialist epoch, the cessation of the one-sided pressure releasing undreamed of forces, with a greater emphasis upon the economic struggle in place of the decade of enforced struggling and thinking in political channels of expression and manifestation. And so were flaring up in Austria as well mass demonstrations in the face of the most brutal penitentiary rule of the masters in power. In the midst of these great events our comrade tried to find his way, what was drilled into him in the army transmuting in an ingenious way into a Spartan self-discipline in order to obtain and maintain his inner independence and freedom. His flashing eyes penetrated deeper into the kernel of the things happening than those of his enthusiastic fellow-demonstrators, and fate gave him a strange guide through the wilderness of human actions, Friedrich Nietzsche, whose works cast precious seeds into the rough hard soil of his peasant brain.

In those imposing labor demonstrations he sensed already in those years the indications of the inevitable decay to come, and upon his own body he felt the intolerant lash of the state to be, the state aspired whose one-sidedly applied and interpreted materialist conception of history already then tabooed different thinking, practically outlawing dissenters by denying a living, just like the professional had laid under ban his great master Nietzsche. Then when that spiritual giant was broken, they all came like maggots to build a cult, to claim his teachings to bolster up the privileged classes. Our friend viewed things different. He felt spiritual fellowship to the great outcast who became his companion in the great solitudes of wandering. Self-training and self-discipline furnished him the basis of an inner freedom which he maintained to his end.

Having become impossible in the homeland, he peregrinated through the European lands. In 1894 we met for the first time in Zurich. In 1897 I saw him again in London. In November of that year he came to America. The conditions prevailing in the baking industry were horrible, and the spiritual stagnation in the working masses could never be to his taste. And so he has crossed the country in every direction, ever studying, as occasion offered, working at his trade, belonging to its union to the end, serving it often in responsible positions of trust. Everywhere he was seeking answers to the fermenting questions on the individual and the state, mass and man, everywhere witnessing the gathering of the combustibles, leading up to world mass brother murder, to the gigantic bloodletting that was to establish again deep-rooted the shaky Papa State.

His many wanderings led him to Canada, Mexico, the Far East, and Australia, and wherever he went, he wrote down his impressions and interpretations in diaries of a rough, unpolished, expressive language, thirsty for truth, impregnated with primitive beauty. Only little of it has appeared in print. It was a privilege to be permitted to travel with him through that accumulated material and correspondence with all parts of our globe, drifting with him through arid deserts, thick virgin forests, over the Rockies under the glittering stars of eternity, through the unspeakable abodes of human misery and suffering. For over two decades he had a brave companion, also a child of labor's masses, who loyally and joyfully suffered and fought, with him the silent battles, and who within her innermost being still harbors him, a living spirit, though gone in the flesh. In Seattle he met her at a meeting of Emma Goldman. And in Los Angeles she faithfully looked for his coming home from occasional wanderings in search of more truths. Here they have suffered bitter hunger in the years of busted prosperity, but also read the best of books. And their humble home was oft the hospital roosting place of all restless free spirits.

Not the cold water, but the shakings of Mother Earth, affected him to the innermost. He had seen the breakdown of a cultural epoch come true, after having studied its

first symptoms at a time that held us all still spellbound of hope and dreams, unseeing, and hoping. When then, in addition, the earth began to rock, the whole structure seemed to break down upon him, the son of the soil which he loved with the peasant's strong instinct. These rockings hastened the extinction of the brilliant light he had nourished in a rugged body and primitive soul.

To the last conscious moment he rallied his will against the forces of decay, protesting against every symptom of threatening infirmity. On the last day, a few hours only

before the final stroke led him into coma, he said to his wife:

"Do not forget to bring my fountain pen and paper. I am going to write another book. Several pretty good books I have written already. But this will be my best book. I can do it. I have the power to do it."

Two strokes of apoplexy laid him low. Yet in the last comatose days, he rhythmically lifted and lowered the right leg, stopping when talked to, bravely marching on into the unknown.

## In Defense of Nicola Sacco

"FREEDOM" prints a panegyric, by T. H. Bell, of Fred Moore, recently deceased.

Since the panegyrist writes, and the "FREEDOM" prints, many a statement that we know to be untrue, we have asked comrade E. Coda, who has been an intimate friend of Sacco's and Vanzetti's, and from the beginning to the end of their martyrdom one of their staunchest defenders, what he thought of Bell's article.

Here is his answer:

"I don't know this Bell who writes in honor of Fred Moore, but what he writes reveals that he lives in absolute ignorance of facts and things, and that he is prejudiced in favor of that evil person.

"(1.) Moore was dismissed from the Sacco and Vanzetti case in October, 1924—so that Bell is greatly mistaken when he affirms that 'except for the last year or so of it, Fred was the leading counsel for the defense in the case.'

"(2.) I don't know of any of 'Sacco's closest friends' who have retained any consideration for Fred Moore.

"(3.) It is not true that Sacco dismissed Moore 'after long years of hard imprisonment.' The letter T. H. Bell refers to is dated 'August 18, 1924, Dedham Jail.' In it Sacco writes plainly of the 'last three years of infamous speculation.' Any lawyer possessing an iota of self respect would not impose himself for a minute on a client expressing such lack of esteem for him. Moore did for many months, as clearly appears from the same letter: 'I told you that from last May 25th—Sacco wrote . . . 'From that day I told you to get out of my case . . . ' As a matter of fact, all those who have had any connection with the case, know very well that Sacco wanted Moore dismissed from the case immediately after the Dedham trial, i. e. July 1921.

"(4.) It is true that Vanzetti never wrote a letter like Sacco's. But it is also true that following Mr. Thompson's assumption, as counsel for the defense, Vanzetti wrote to

Mr. Thompson: 'Had we had you from the beginning of the case, it would long since be over and we should be free.' T. H. Bell, and the 'FREEDOM' people, may read on page 187 of 'The Letters of Sacco and Vanzetti,' these words addressed by the latter to Mr. Thompson: 'Oh! to have known you 6 years ago! I would never have been a convict!'

"(5.) Moore might have been (and was) an able detective, but a very poor lawyer. This is not only my opinion but that of all the lawyers I have known who have been acquainted with the case.

"(6.) If, instead of lending his service to the powerful 'in showing rich corporations how to get around the law for a fat fee, etc. . . ' Fred Moore chose to aggregate himself to the labor movement, it is because he found out that among the workers it was very easy to receive a lot of money for little service, while among capitalists he would have had to give a lot of service for whatever little money would have been given him.

"This is, briefly, what I should like to say to T. H. Bell, the 'Open Forum' and 'Freedom' were it not better to let that carcass rot all by itself."

It may appear strange that such unpleasant things should have to be said of a man who is dead. But even stranger does it appear that people and papers that call themselves anarchist persist in slighting the memory of a comrade who has heroically died on the electric chair, in order to exalt the name of a lawyer who also being his legal defender—and royally paid for this purpose—consistently—and against his will—compromised his chances of obtaining justice from the courts. Besides, these things are nothing but the truth, and the truth must be told.

Moore himself, during his lifetime, guarded himself against the danger of the truth being hurled at his face by keeping a very prudent silence.

## A Conference on the War Danger

Comrades:—Another universal war is being prepared by the politicians, capitalists and governments of every country throughout the world. This war, WHICH WILL BE THE MOST HORRIBLE IN HISTORY, soon will be declared.

In order to come to an agreement for a collective declaration to the people of the world as to our stand in this so important a subject, we, the undersigned, "Spanish Anarchist Group," call upon all Anarchists, of every language, to the inter-language Anarchist Conference to be held at the Ateneo Hispano, 24 New Chambers Street, New York, on Sunday, December 3rd, 1933 at 4:00 p. m.

Taking into consideration the importance of this conference, we hope all the anarchists will be present.

Yours for Anarchy,  
The Spanish Anarchist Group  
CULTURA PROLETARIA  
Box 1, Sta. D., N. Y. C.

The above communication came too late for inclusion in the November issue of MAN!—Editor.

## "Dielo Trouda" Evades Reply

In the May-June issue of MAN! the question was asked as to what is the ideal for which "Dielo Trouda" stands, since it cannot support MAN!, a journal whose ideal is Anarchy. Instead of giving a straightforward answer, "Dielo Trouda" hides behind the vain, pretentious assumption of being broad-minded enough to have a (?) Syndicalist as its editor, and at the same time propagating the ideas of Bakunin and Kropotkin. The question asked of "Dielo Trouda" still remains unanswered.

## Anarchist Literature in Other Languages

A comrade inquires if any readers of MAN! know of the existence of any anarchist literature in the Hungarian language. It might therefore be of even more interest if the readers would in addition to answering this inquiry, also forward titles of any pamphlet or book that they know of in any other language but that of English.

## Financial Statement (Oct. 15th to Nov. 15th, 1933)

INCOME	
G. Green \$1, W. Berthuse 25c, MacDonald paper sale 45c, A. Sosnowsky \$1, H. Williams \$1, Chicago affair of Oct. 28th (share) \$7.50, A. Levin \$2, L. Botta \$1, B. Tandoi \$1, Los Angeles Russian Group, through Shwab \$5, P. Liserra \$2, L. Battaglia \$1, K. Salerno \$1, affair of Oct. 14th at Olyphant, Pa. (share) \$5, V. Cifra \$1, Philadelphia Group, through A. Alleve \$15, West Haven Comrades, through J. Portoluri \$2, Libertarian Group of Somerville, Mass., through A. Zano \$25.10, F. Kingsley \$1, Mason paper sale 75c, San Francisco paper sale 25c, Ella paper sale \$1, MacDonald paper sale 45c, Bottini \$1.50, P. Ruta 50c, F. Scotto \$1, comrades of Springfield, Mass. \$4, Mohegan Group, through H. Rudone \$1, Scarrone and Guidotti \$3, Cohen paper sale 25c. Total \$88.00.	
EXPENDITURES	
Postage, express, postcards, stamps \$14.96; additional to printer for last issue \$10.18. Total \$25.14.	
Expenditures	\$ 25.14
Issue No. 12, Printer	32.39
Issue No. 12, Postage	27.00
Issue No. 12, Express	5.00
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$149.53</b>
Total Income	\$ 88.00
Cash on hand Oct. 15, 1933	49.58
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>\$137.58</b>
Total Expenditures	\$149.53

DEFICIT \$ 11.95

For any errors or omissions, please notify MAN!

## FOR YOUR LIBRARY

BAKUNIN, MICHAEL—God and the State	\$.50
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HAVEL, HIPPOLYTE—What's Anarchism?	.10
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LETTERS of Sacco and Vanzetti	1.50
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State Socialism and Anarchism	.10

Only the free initiative of the people accomplishes anything that is good and lasting, and all power tends to kill that initiative. . . . We know whither every dictatorship, even the best-intentioned, leads us—to the Revolution's death. Finally, we know that this dictatorship idea is always merely the unhealthy product of that governmental fetishism which, like religious fetishism, has ever perpetuated slavery.—Peter Kropotkin.

## Concert, Play and Dance

To Celebrate the First Anniversary of

## MAN!

Sunday Evening, December 31, 1933

Bonita Hall, 24th and Folsom Sts., S. F.

Program: 1. Jack London Guild in an English production of "Looking for the State" by V. Aretta. 2. A Russian balalaika orchestra will render songs, dances and musical selections. 3. An orchestra will accompany the dance that will follow the entertainment.

ADMISSION 25 CENTS

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## MAN!

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Daily and Evening Concerts. Dancing Each Eve  
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Every reader of MAN! is invited to participate in the anniversary by forwarding gifts, handi-craft ones preferred, for the Bazaar. All gifts should be forwarded to: 1000 Jefferson Street, Oakland, California, U. S. A.