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## Was There A General Strike?

In reality there was no General Strike in San Francisco worthy of the name, despite the militant appearance it conveyed to the world at large. If it was anything at all, it was one of the Greatest Betrayals. What makes this betrayal even far more shameful is the fact that the ones chiefly responsible for it are none other than the paid spokesmen of the labor movement itself!

As far as the leadership of the paid officialdom of labor was concerned, there would never have arisen the issue of a general strike on the Pacific coast. In fact, the Marine Transport strike would long ago have been "settled" as the officials of labor are so readily wont to settle strikes everywhere. The Labor board of the Government settled the coast strike long, long ago. So did Mayor Rossi of San Francisco. So did the president of the Longshoremen International, Mr. Ryan. So did Mr. Casey of the San Francisco Teamsters Union.

Despite all these settlements, the strike went on, for the workers simply repudiated every settlement made in their name as inimical to their own interests.

Capital didn't want much: they were willing to settle with the Longshoremen provided the latter would leave in the lurch all the other Marine Transport workers who first went out on strike in sympathy with them. The past strike of more than a score of years ago, in the same industry, proved too costly just for having been carried on in the craft-union style of union scabbing upon union. This blunder was not to be repeated, cost what may.

The Communists, always ready to grasp control, even if only in name, assumed themselves as the driving force behind the strike. This was a mere assumption. Harry Bridges, and perhaps a few others, happened to hold Communist beliefs, as most of the other spokesmen no doubt hold Republican, Democratic or Socialist beliefs. The insincere spokesmen of the labor movement seized upon the claims of the Communist movement with gleeful satisfaction. The militancy of the Marine Transport Workers, if emerging out of the strike victorious, would in turn have meant the doom of these leaders' jobs, which they hold down for years and years. And the cry was raised by these leeches of labor: "The strike is lead by Communists!" It was these labor leaders who appointed a committee to "investigate" the political beliefs of the strikers' spokesmen. Had the Marine Transport Workers been a bit more on guard as to their rights and what was schemed against them, they would have withdrawn from the Central Labor Union in protest against the injection of a political issue that was aimed at bringing in confusion and discord in the strike issues involved.

In the meantime other things happened in rapid succession. Black Thursday came along leaving two strikers dead and over one hundred shot, at the behest of a Mayor who achieved office with the aid of union officials. More than forty thousand workers participated in the funeral of the two martyrs. Sympathy for the Marine Transport strike spread like wild-fire. The idea of a General Strike to aid these brave strikers was but a natural sequence.

The labor officialdom realized well enough that there was going to be a general strike whether they liked it or not. So they decided to thwart such a move by every means within their reach. Thus the turn-about-face occurred. The investigating committee found that the Marine Transport Workers' spokesmen were not Communists, and that therefore, they, the censor-guardians of labor, were ready to elect a strategy committee of "seven conservative" members to become (?) "acquainted with all the issues involved" and to act accordingly, even to the point of calling a general strike! The assent of the Marine Transport Workers was the greatest blunder that could have happened. It handed over the fate of their strike and of a possible General Strike into the very hands of people who would not stop at anything to defeat both.

A few days passed. The mis-leaders of labor were secretly confabbing with the employers and their body-guards, the Government officials. They called a meeting of all the other paid officials for Friday, July 13. Outside, the militant rank and file were clamoring for action. Most of the politicians from within were conniving, and maneuvering to prevent action. Another delay for the following day was decided upon. More conferences with the enemies of labor—employers and Government officials. In the meantime the Teamsters' Union, being unable to scab upon the striking marine workers, due to the latter's militancy, decided to go on strike. The clamor for a General Strike was so great that the Taxi Drivers' Union and other unions had already gone out on strike or decided to do so, but the labor spokesmen were still maneuvering to stop the landslide spirit of solidarity that was

revealing itself everywhere. All their political moves and appeals being unable to stop the General Strike that had already begun, they gave official sanction to it late on Saturday afternoon. This sanction was given after they succeeded to set off the official date for Monday, July 16, and after appointing most of themselves as the committee of 25 to assume charge of the strike.

When Monday came, this committee issued an appeal-declaration calling for support from the Mayor who ordained the massacre on Bloody Thursday. This document is perhaps the most despicable and treasonable document ever penned by any spokesmen in any part of the world under similar circumstances. On the very first day of the inception of the official General Strike, this committee declared in part:

"Primarily we wish to discuss the present procedure of organized labor which unfortunately has become commonly designated as a general strike.

"But the term general strike, due to the confusion and instability in many governments and industrial systems throughout the world has come to connote certain elements and certain definite aims which are completely foreign in the minds of American organized labor.

"To make this more specific, let us emphasize that the San Francisco strike situation includes not the slightest degree of these ambitions which are often comprehended in the term general strike:

"(a) Paralysis of the means of production of the goods and services necessary to the continued life of any community, thus leading to

"(b) Breakdown and overthrow of the existing government or the replacement of the officials selected for the maintenance of the government.

"No group in all America is more jealous of the rights of the people guaranteed by the American government, nor one more concerned for the protection and perpetuation of America's democratic and legal institutions than is the San Francisco labor movement."

After such a declaration what else could have been expected but what ensued?

On the very first day the Municipal carmen were ordered back to work. The power housemen of water and electricity

### THE LOST STRIKE

*The strike is lost? We laugh at you, you conquerors of a day!*

*Our unfed bellies shake with laughter at you!*

*So seriously you puff and strut and prate of victory!*

*Your little policemen with their tiny clubs,*

*Your pretty jingling Cossacks, neat and trim, like nursery toys,*

*Your spitting Maxims on their polished motor cars,*

*Your panders, hired in a brothel, decked with sheriff's star—licensed to bathe their hands in workers' blood.*

*Your comical injunctions, writs and ordinances,*

*Your mimic courts, your doll-house jails,*

*Your clockwork press ticking off clockwork lies,*

*Your rickety stick of dynamite, your planted bombs!*

*These are your gods! To whom you turn in time of need; to whom you pray, whom you adore!*

*Fit gods are they for YOU!*

*The strike is lost? A lie! No strike is lost, nor ever shall be!*

*We don our chains again—uncowed, and wait—and laugh.*

*You and your little gods have done some ill—broken some heads, blasted some woman's ears with foul abuse;*

*But in the hands of that which guides the universe—your little ill has wrought a mighty good;*

*We struck—a thousand mutinous slaves;*

*We lose—a thousand warriors, pledged to the social war—rapt in a social faith—brothers and sisters compact in holy solidarity.*

*The strike is lost? We laugh at you, you conquerors of a day!*

*Our unfed bellies shake with laughter at you!*

*So seriously you puff and strut and prate of victory!*

*Look forward five—ten years! Your hour has come!*

*Call at your gods—and bid them roll the tide of evolution back,*

*Call at your gods—and bid their tiny bludgeons batter the heart from Labor's mighty breast!*

*Your hour has come!*

*Great Labor laughs—and with one careless jovial sweep of his broad shoulders hurls you and your dear gods—your little gods—into the noisome vat of Nature's excrement.*

EDGCOMB PINCHON

(From "An Anthology of Revolutionary Poetry")

were not even called out. Nor was any attempt made to stop the union men from running off the poisonous Daily Liars against the strike. On the second day, these self-appointed spokesmen of the General Strike informed the Daily Press that the General Strike Committee was already discussing a proposal for ending the General Strike.

The President of the Typographical Union came to the coast in order to renew a union agreement with the newspapers, thereby committing the first open "union" scabbery upon the General Strike on the very eve of its inception.

From New York City, Mr. John P. Ryan, President of the International Longshoremen's Union issued a statement of betrayal against the General Strike, a statement that was made full use of by the enemies of labor.

To top the list of betrayals by the paid officials of labor came along none other than the President of the American Federation of Labor, Mr. William Green, with the most dastardly statement against the General Strike.

On the fourth day of the General Strike the mis-leaders of labor railroaded through a resolution which brought an end to their shamefully-lead strike.

The officials of the Teamsters' Union announced that they would order their members to start work immediately at the water front, and that they would have their own (?) police to protect the open scabbing upon the Marine Transport Workers, a degrading act that became a reality on Saturday morning!

Thus came to an end one of the greatest Betrayals ever enacted in the history of the labor movement throughout the world.

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But this is not the whole story of the Great Betrayal. Not by far.

There is yet to consider the role of the employing class and all its supporting props.

The employing class has revealed a far better prepared united-front policy for effecting the defeat of the General Strike than have the workers to win it. There certainly were no spokesmen traitors in their midsts. Everything worked like a clock. At the very outset of the Marine Transport Workers' strike, the Industrial Association came forward to declare its General Strike against labor by offering to aid the ship owners in every way possible. In fact the employing class took charge in full. A fund was immediately raised. The police came forward to do their "duty." That duty didn't by any means imply their beginning to harass, to attack, to browbeat and to jail the members of the Industrial Association. For these, seemingly, were the owners of the government. So it was but natural that the clubs and gas bombs, jails and persecution of every sort should be directed against the class that has to be shown where to get off, if the status quo is to be saved.

When all these forces proved unable to cope with the threatening danger of a victorious strike, aided by a general strike, the employers called upon their Governor of the state of California. Forthwith the Governor dispatched troops and machine guns, ordered ready to shoot and to kill the striking workers.

All the vain clap-trap by the Mayor and the Governor of California about "law and order" could not hide the fact as to whose real interest the institution of government is kept up and perpetuated.

These were by no means all the maneuvers of the Industrial Association in order to defeat the struggle of the workers. The Association didn't apologize for anything it schemed and carried out—as labor mis-leaders. Neither did they compromise on any point. To them it was a class struggle, and as such they fought it. As was revealed during the General Strike, the Industrial Association, that is the capitalist class, was very well prepared to meet the emergency. First, the daily newspapers were ordered to launch into an attack on the strike as a Communist-lead strike. (As pointed out before—the foolish demagoguery of the latter in making the same boastful claims, furnished the best "proofs.") When the general strike loomed more and more as a certainty, the American Legion leaders began addressing secret and open gatherings, urging an open attack upon the "reds" as the sole responsible ones for everything that was happening.

On the eve of the inception of the General Strike, a speaker at the San Francisco Rotary Club openly announced that an attack would be made upon the "reds." Late Sunday night, on July 15, the "law and order" brigade threw off their masks and cloaks, discarding every semblance of law and order. The Unity Hall of the Communists at Hayward

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# AUGUST 23, 1927: MASSACHUSETT'S DAY OF SHAME!

*Both Nick and I are anarchists—the black cats, the terrors of many, of all the bigots, exploiters, charlatans, fakers and oppressors. Consequently we are also the more slandered, misrepresented, misunderstood and persecuted of all. We are ready to suffer as much as we have suffered, to die, but be men to the last.*

—BARTOLOMEO VANZETTI

## ROBERT MORSS LOVETT

The Sacco-Vanzetti case was, and after . . . years remains, the shame of Massachusetts. The shocking betrayal of Vanzetti at the Plymouth trial, the baiting of Sacco at the Dedham trial by the District Attorney, the suppression and manufacture of evidence, the cavalier rejection of this evidence by Governor Fuller, (especially that of Mede which later established Vanzetti's innocence of the Bridgewater charge,) and by the Lowell Committee, especially in the case of Bosco and Guadagni, the suppression by the police of the effort to appeal to public opinion in Massachusetts, and the flouting of the public opinion of the world—all this is a record of the brutal exercise of power through legal forms and arbitrary action, for which the community has accepted the title in Judge Webster Thayer's immortal words: "Did you see what I did to those anarchistic bastards?"

If one asks how it is possible for such a community to accept and approve this record of its dealing with two unfortunate men, the answer is to be found in its psychology. The two victims were aliens and poor. The laws and practices of American society were not meant to protect them. If one doubts this for a moment, consider the case of Salsedo who came to his death while illegally held in custody by the Department of Justice. No one expects that Department to explain or regret the death of a man who it had kidnapped and tortured. Or consider the case of President Lowell. In dealings with his own class in social and financial matters he has the reputation of being not only scrupulous in observing the law, but personally honest and straightforward. His book on the law of stock transfers is not only legally impeccable but gives evidence of a certain high-mindedness and elevation of soul befitting the president of Harvard University.

President Lowell is writing to men of equal station and like interests to himself on subjects of importance to them all. Nothing is farther from his mind than shuffling or evasion or prevarication. But when it comes to dealing with men of lower social position, aliens and poor, his course changes—it is no longer straightforward and scrupulous, but indirect and tortuous, his behavior a mixture of insolence and cunning. One instance illustrating this is his treatment of Bosco and Guadagni who came to him, to assure him that Sacco had been with them on the day of the Braintree murder, an assurance checked in their minds by the fact that it was the day of a banquet tendered by Italians to Mr. Williams of the Transcript. Mr. Lowell refused to believe them on the ground that the banquet did not take place that day. When he was shown to be in error, he apologized, with Judas-courtesy, for calling the men liars in details while continuing to believe them liars in gross and general. He asked them to keep the story out of their paper, and expunged it from the record of his own committee. It is impossible to conceive of Pres. Lowell as so behaving in the society of men of his own social and financial standing, whom he considered gentlemen. And this incident now stands out as typical of the whole case, which began with the murder of Salsedo by the Department of Justice and Sacco and Vanzetti by Lowell, Fuller and Thayer. It is the most powerful illustration in our day of what Disraeli wrote in 1845 of the two nations:

"Two nations; between whom there is no intercourse and no sympathy; who are as ignorant of each other's habits, zones or inhabitants of different planets; who are formed by a different breeding, are fed by a different food, are ordered by different manners, and are not governed by the same laws . . . the rich and the poor."

## HARRY ELMER BARNES

To many distinguished and dispassionate persons it has seemed impossible to examine the record of the case impartially and not come to the conclusion that the evidence supporting the innocence of the accused is far more extensive and convincing than that upholding the judgment of guilt. The alibis of the two men appear to be iron-clad and the testimony of the witnesses for the prosecution was confused, contradictory and often incredible. One of the most distinguished of living psychologists, himself a noted reactionary in political and economic matters, Dr. Morton Prince, voluntarily stated that the testimony of the star witness for the prosecution was founded on assertions which were sheer impossibilities from the standpoint of the most elementary psychological facts. The chief firearms expert for the prosecution afterwards admitted that he had told the District Attorney that he could not swear that the bullet was fired from Sacco's pistol, but he allowed his testimony to be so guided and distorted as to give the jury a very false impression of his position. Many eye-witnesses attested to the fact that Sacco and Vanzetti could not have been the men whom they saw commit the murder. The prosecution made much of the fact that when arrested the men had lied about their activities in the recent past and that this was proof of "consciousness of guilt," a point emphasized by Judge Thayer in his charge to the jury. It was obvious that such an interpretation did not follow at all, as the men were terror-stricken concerning the anti-Red crusade, especially as a close friend of theirs had met his death shortly before while being examined for radicalism in New York . . .

Since 1927 much new evidence has appeared still further supporting the thesis of the innocence of the two men. The

## LIGHT UPON WALDHEIM\*

*Light upon Waldheim! And the earth is gray;  
A bitter wind is driving from the north;  
The stone is cold, and strange cold whispers says  
"What do ye here with Death? Go forth! Go forth!"*

*Is this thy word, O Mother, with stern eyes,  
Crowning thy dead with stone-caressing touch?  
May we not weep o'er him that martyred lies,  
Slain in our name, for that he loved us much?*

*May we not linger till the day is broad?  
Nay, none are stirring in the stinging dawn—  
None but poor wretches that make no moan to Gods  
What we are these, O thou with dagger drawn?*

*"Go forth, go forth! Stand not to weep for these,  
Till, weakened with your weeping, like the snow  
Ye melt, dissolving in a coward peace."*

*Light upon Waldheim! Brother, let us go!  
VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE*

\*—On the Waldheim cemetery of Chicago, Ill., the legally executed Anarchists of November 11, 1887, lie buried. The monument represents a woman holding a dying man upon her knees, with one hand pressing a crown upon his forehead, and with the other drawing a dagger. The above poem is as much applicable toward the memory of our two Comrades—Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti—executed on August 23, 1927, as towards our Comrades who gave their lives in the struggle for the triumph of our ideal.—EDITOR.

entire record of the case has been edited by a group of distinguished New York lawyers and published by the firm of Henry Holt. In the process of editing the record these lawyers discovered that President Lowell had been guilty of consciously suppressing very important evidence in behalf of the defendants, namely, the reliability of the testimony of Sacco's chief alibi witnesses, Bosco and Guadagni . . .

For the United States the most important aspect of the Sacco-Vanzetti case was that it wiped out at a stroke with the vast majority of foreigners what remained of our once laudable reputation as a country that afforded an asylum for the persecuted and down-trodden and provided an opportunity for all, irrespective of social status, opinions or beliefs. Rightly or wrongly, the case of Sacco and Vanzetti did more to destroy abroad our ancient reputation of being a "land of the free" than all of the other historical incidents of the last century.

## SILAS BENT

Long before Sacco and Vanzetti were put to death the newspapers of the United States were in a position to establish their innocence. The principal news agencies and the scores of staff correspondents in Boston had the tip on the gang which had attempted the Bridgewater hold-up, for which Vanzetti had been sentenced, and on the other gang which committed the South Braintree murders, while stealing the payroll there.

The news agency men in Boston and the staff correspondents knew that James (Big Chief) Mede was trying vainly to tell the full truth about the Bridgewater crime, and exonerate Vanzetti. Their pitiful excuse now is that, since the officials would not listen to him, there was no occasion for newspapers to bother. They heard, in such a way as to arrest the active attention of any live newspaperman, that a Providence gang had committed the South Braintree murders, for which two innocent men had been condemned; the fact was even printed in Providence papers, yet the horde of sensation-mongers in Boston made no move. These facts are a black stain upon American journalism. No one supposes, of course, that the Boston newspapers would have done anything in such circumstances. Boston has properly been called "the poor farm" of American journalism. But one might well have expected something from the New York newspapers, the Baltimore Sun and the St. Louis Post-Dispatch. They classed themselves at a stroke with the dubious and now dishonored Boston Herald.

This phase of the significance of the Sacco-Vanzetti case might well be taken to heart by every newspaper man in this country who still accounts himself honest.

## G. D. EATON

There is nothing I can say about Sacco and Vanzetti that is not obvious to every intelligent person who has gone into the case: that they were tried before a judge who isn't even ashamed of himself, and convicted by a jury that listened to half the evidence, and that half a tissue of lies, trumped up by prosecutors without scruples; that Governor Fuller and the committee which white-washed everyone from Fuller on down was composed of pusillanimous snails; that no honest and decent man would for a moment have contemplated letting Sacco and Vanzetti die, and that, therefore, all those who not only helped to electrocute them but those who could have aided them and didn't were neither honest nor decent.

I wish I could believe that memorials to Sacco and Vanzetti would be rallying points for the few primitive and respectable Americans extant, but I have no such faith. The belief of the Washingtons and Jeffersons—that any man is entitled to justice—has given way to a mean and malicious spirit. The curious part of it is that it is most prevalent among the native stock. Our masses of foreigners have a much more vital and commendable spirit of freedom and tolerance than the descendants of the first Americans. This spirit of freedom and tolerance among our foreigners clashes with the beliefs of the present-day natives. That is precisely why Sacco and Vanzetti were murdered. In a better spirit

*If the conscience of Massachusetts justice have the chance to hang us, don't worry, dear friend, they will inexorably execute us . . . it was also like that alway in the history of past . . . if his act would hurt the pulse of an spiteful and tyrant class, after they had crush him to death, they call him felon-fanatic and insane . . . they can crucify our bodies today as they are doing, but they cannot destroy our ideas, that will remain for the youth of the future to come.*—NICOLA SACCO.

of decency we should have lynched them for having believed what Thomas Jefferson believed; that would have been less hypocrisy in such a procedure. I do not know of anything that can bring back America and Americans. Such fools as myself hope against hope.

## EDMUND WILSON

The most disturbing aspect of America today is the combined timidity and capacity for solidarity of the people whose incomes depend, directly or indirectly, on industry, commerce or finance. When it is a question of a menace, however vague, however feeble, or however remote, to our business or our investments—even when it is a question merely of discussing theoretical readjustments—we are likely to be thrown into an hysterical state of mind which makes impossible, not merely cool reasoning or enlightened ideas, but even ordinary justice and common sense.

The execution of Sacco and Vanzetti was one of the most conspicuous and terrible triumphs of this stupidity and cowardice of the American capitalist mob. Here the very integrity of our judiciary, the very dignity of our institutions of learning; caught in the meshes of business interests and social prejudices, were brought down with a spectacular crash. But wherever we travel in the United States, we may find examples of the same phenomenon—in the newspapers, in conversation, in the instinctive reactions of our own minds.

Our worst characteristic today is intellectual and moral cowardice. But who can believe that the new generations will preserve the prejudices and fears of their elders? Who can believe that, if the Lowell Commission had sat during term-time at Harvard, the student opinion of the university would not at least have made a convulsive effort to repudiate the action of its president?

## LEWIS MUMFORD

Nothing has changed since Sacco and Vanzetti were executed. The guilt of that act still lies heavy upon all of us, and only the shame has deepened, for those directly responsible have not altered their attitude nor sought to make amends for their deed. The innocence of Sacco and Vanzetti was established long ago as a presumption in the minds of reasonable men; even were it less clear than it is, their accusers and prosecutors and judges have replaced the question of the original crime by one of their own making: namely, whether justice exists for accused persons who think and feel differently about our institutions from their judges. Sacco and Vanzetti have become symbols: remembering the treatment they received, one recalls a thousand other acts, flagrant with prejudice and class-interest, that are executed in the name of law, order, righteousness—the ruthless treatment of workers who take part in strikes, the denial of free speech or citizenship to people whose economic opinions are nearer the views of Plato or Jesus than to those of our magistrates, the brutal incarceration of the brave men and women who profess pacifism in wartime. Who can think of Sacco and Vanzetti without feeling an intense moral revulsion against the forces of what we may still ironically call "law and order" in America? The gentlemen who ratified the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti were heedless of the moral sentiments they evoked. Not only was justice lacking: common magnanimity was absent, too. Sacco and Vanzetti were condemned not as criminals but as political enemies: the execution was in fact an assertion of power against all who believe that our political and economic institutions are the agents of life, which we have molded for our purposes, not obscure, tyrannous deities, whom we must blindly obey. Are justice and liberty safe under our present institutions? Are they compatible with the present division of classes, with inequalities in wealth, with our one-sided worship of property? No one can read the records of this case and answer that question in an unqualified affirmative. We confront, not an accidental miscarriage of justice, but a permanent condition. Until we face this fact, and alter it, we shall not expiate the wrong committed against Sacco and Vanzetti.

## JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS

Believe greatest danger for freedom of American people lies in willingness to subordinate justice, morality, and liberty to Toryism and prosperity. The threat of poverty led our ancestors to fight for liberty. The hope of wealth leads their descendants to suppress it. No social order can stand that has to be buttressed by the denial of freedom and justice to its citizens, even the meanest of them, for whose benefit alone such social order exists, and in whose aggregate individual welfares it can alone find justification. America needs leaders to drive home to its people the truth that wealth is not morality, that prosperity is not freedom, and that the tyranny of Mammon is more soul-rotting than that of kings.

## BERTRAND RUSSELL

I am sorry I shall not be in America at the time of your meeting on August 23rd, the more so as I shall be there not so very long after that. I think you are quite right to do everything possible to keep alive the memory of Sacco and Vanzetti. It must, I think, be clear to any unprejudiced person that there was not such evidence against them as to warrant a conviction, and I have no doubt in my own mind that they were wholly innocent. I am forced to conclude that

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# THE RACIAL MYTH AND INTERNATIONALISM

DR. J. GLOBUS

The more injurious a ruling class is to the masses, the more it oppresses them, the more must it deceive and mystify them to stay on their backs. The clear light of reason is therefore abhorrent to all ruling classes; like bats they flourish best in darkness. Where complete darkness is impractical, as in our modern industrial societies that need some education for the masses to function, the necessary fog is supplied by religion.

But religion is not delivering the goods with the old efficiency. The supernatural does not fit in well into the realistic setting of the automobile plant, the chemical laboratory or the solar observatory. The representatives of religion find more and more sales resistance to their gaseous wares.

Metaphysics, the old maid-servant of religion, with its even more gaseous stock of trade of the absolute, the transcendental, the ontological and the unknowable, has also become somewhat rusty and stale and is of little help to the ruling classes in the work of confusing and deluding the masses. Hence it became necessary for our modern ruling class, the bourgeoisie, to find new means and methods of mystification.

And here is where Adolph Hitler steps in and becomes the great benefactor of the exploiting class. Hitler found a new means to short-circuit class-consciousness and dull the edge of social discontent in the concept of race. Race is something vague, indefinite, obscure, and unexplored. The field of race study is over-run by innumerable "scholarly" charlatans, "learned" mountebanks and pseudo-scientists, who create tons of theory out of grains of evidence, and not always well-verified evidence, and who have degraded the science of race almost to the status of astrology. The concept of race lends itself, therefore, exceedingly to the creation of romantic illusions and superstitions and to the mysticism. It is a fine, new dark wing to keep out the light of reason.

Race, or more correctly racism, the mystification and exaggeration of the simple fact, that people differ somewhat in the pigment content of their skins or in other small ways, as espoused and expounded by the learned Adolph, is just the thing for the reactionaries of the world. It strengthens all their dark and vicious "deals." They can now preach more openly and boldly the inequality of man in all its forms: inequality of individuals, classes, races and nations. Racism, the division of mankind in superior and inferior, noble and ignoble, aristocratic and plebeian, races, justifies war, conquest, murder and violence, the oppression, enslavement and even extermination of "inferior" races. What a godsend this "theory" is to imperialists, militarists and chauvinists of all kinds, and also to "ordinary" exploiters and oppressors.

Hence Nazi racism is a gift to the oppressors and enslavers of the world. It is a new method to divide the workers

of the world, to make them fight each other instead of fighting their despoilers. It is akin to religion in that, that it also appeals to the irrational in man, to his obscure emotions and blind instincts, rather than to his reason.

Racism is a gift to the world of darkness also because it stimulates hatred, envy and jealousy. The ideas of internationalism and of the brotherhood of man make the Nazi racists see red. A "learned" Nazi anthropologist has even come to the conclusion that there is really no such thing as humanity. The Germans are the only real and genuine human beings, the rest of mankind are really subhuman, something intermediate between a human being and an ape. The mouths and throats of Latins, Slavs and Semites are differently constructed from those of pure-blooded Teutons, according to this profound Darwinian "savant," and prove that they are inferior.

Is it any wonder that Hitler, Goebbel, and Rosenberg regard Nazi racism as a great contribution to the art and science of the enslavement of the people and are somewhat disgruntled by the lack of appreciation on the part of the International Brotherhood of Parasites?

Of course racism is not exactly an invention or discovery of Hitler. The Germans talked race-nonsense and were afflicted with racial megalomania (perhaps a product of an unrecognized racial inferiority complex) long before the advent of handsome Adolph. Bold-headed and asthmatic German professors wrote between attacks of bronchitis and delirium tremens heavy and sluggish tomes on the vast physical, mental and spiritual superiority of the Teutonic race over all the other races of mankind. The Herr professors quoted and lauded each other profusely, the books they wrote were very bulky and heavy, their language fearfully involved and obscure, the style wooden—what more was necessary to impress a gullible world? And thus not only Germans, but Englishmen, Americans and others began to think that there was something in this seemingly learned, but really nonsensical and poisonous twaddle.

Then came the philosophers. Friedrich Nietzsche, probably unwittingly, helped to strengthen the megalomania of the Germans by his rhapsodic praises of the "superman," who will not be stocky and dark, but tall and blond, who will, in short, be a "blond beast."

Another philosopher, who has the fervor of Nietzsche, though not his genius, the renegade Englishman, Steward Houston Chamberlain, has gone further than anybody else, and has made a philosophy of history and a metaphysical system out of the idea of race. Race, according to him, is the beginning and the end of all things, by race all social phenomena and all historical events are explained, and race is the goal of all history. Chamberlain's "The Foundations of the 19th Century," had a great vogue and he had many imitators.

## August 23, 1927: Massachusetts's Day of Shame!

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they were condemned on account of their political opinions and that men who ought to have known better allowed themselves to express misleading views as to the evidence because they held that men with such opinions have no right to live. A view of this sort is one which is very dangerous, since it transfers from the theological to the political sphere a form of persecution which it was thought that civilized countries had outgrown.

HAROLD J. LASKI

I have read with great care the verbatim record of the case. No one, I think, can arise from its perusal without the sense that the conduct of the trial and of the appeals based upon the trial was in the highest degree unsatisfactory. I am, further, unable to see that the report of the Lowell Committee met the points in issue in the case; and the suppression of "colloquies" over the Sacco alibi is, to any outsider, a problem in which the honor of the Committee generally, and of Mr. Lowell in particular, is clearly and deeply involved. Until their reputation has been vindicated, the world outside Massachusetts will inevitably feel that they were the victims of a political bias before which truth and justice were alike helpless and ashamed.

ROCKWELL KENT

For those who believe in education as above all a means toward deepening and enriching the humanity of man, and who may have believed our universities to be the centers of pure thought thus nobly aimed, it is well to remember that of the judges, in a case which good men feel to be by its whole conduct a deep offense to justice, humanity and common decency, was the President of Harvard University.

We may never have quite known what our universities stood for: there, in that crystallization of class prejudice, is perhaps the answer.

WILLIAM FLOYD

The execution of two workmen because of their idealism, on the plea that they committed a murder with which they were unconnected by the evidence, is an indictment of our political and judicial systems which should be carried to conviction. That is, the conviction must be borne to the American people that even men of the highest standing will violate their own code of ethics in order to suppress labor agitators who are becoming too convincing in their attacks upon predatory profiteers.

H. L. MENCKEN

The Sacco-Vanzetti case, though it has got more notice than the others, is but one of a long series of gross perversions of justice in America. The Mooney-Billings case and the Centralia case are still being fought out, and a new atrocity of precisely the same sort seems to be in preparation at Gastonia, N. C., where certain radical strikers stand accused of murder because they defended their lives against the armed assault of official blacklegs. All of these cases show the same elements. First a man suspected of subversive

opinions is harassed and prosecuted by the police. Then, failing to shake him, they accuse him of some overt crime, and proceed to manufacture evidence against him. Then he is convicted by a jury of frightened half-wits, carefully hand-picked for the purpose, with a complainant judge roaring at him from the bench. And then he is rushed to prison or to death in the name of law and order, with multitudes of respectable people convinced that any show of common justice to him would be a compromise with organized crime.

The victim is railroaded to the tune of patriotic hosannahs. The newspapers approve, often with vast gloating. The rev. clergy are discreetly silent. The higher courts, appealed to, find that they cannot help him. The chief magistrate is sworn to Law Enforcement, and cannot go behind the free and enlightened verdict of the jury. So the poor fellow marches to his doom, and is presently forgotten.

Here the Sacco-Vanzetti case departs from normalcy. It simply refuses to yield to the common process. Two years dead, the victims continue to walk, questioning their prosecutors, haunting the conscience of Massachusetts, of America, of the civilized world. Their white faces confront the Lowell Committee. Their clammy hands flutter over the bald head of Judge Webster Thayer. They have no more to say in this world, whether wise or foolish, but there is an appalling eloquence in their dead eyes. Perhaps in the long run that eloquence will not go unheeded; so much, at least, we may hope. For a free people cannot survive many Saccos and Vanzettis. There must be an end, sooner or later, to that abomination.

MARY DONOVAN and POWERS HAPGOOD

In spite of evidence proving others guilty—in spite of evidence proving Sacco and Vanzetti innocent—they were sent to their death . . . by those who profit by the exploitation of the masses.

It is essential that we remember that this sentence was no mistake, that it was a deliberate plan, the same deliberate plan that will continue to be enforced as long as there are two opposing classes and the oppressed class produces its rebels.

The statement of Sacco to Judge Thayer on the day he was sentenced to death, showed how clearly he understood the issue upon which they were condemned. "I know this sentence will be between two classes, the oppressed class and the rich class—and there will always be collision between the one and the other."

This collision between classes will continue as long as there are classes, with one class owning the wealth of the world while another class produces it.

Those who would prevent another similar "miscarriage of justice" in the future have but one course open. They must, as did Sacco and Vanzetti, work unceasingly for the abolition of classes and "exploitation of man by man."

The above opinions appeared in the "Lantern," a magazine that appeared for several years in Boston, Mass.—EDITOR.

The time was ripe to make practical use of the new "discovery." Bismark, the man of "Blood and Iron," was one of the first to apply the racial theory practically. He starts a new movement—racial anti-Semitism. But his attempt is half-hearted—Europe still has a conscience, and people were still ashamed of the morality of the jungle.

The world had to wait for an Adolph Hitler, a man sufficiently lacking in culture, knowledge, and moral sense to be able to make full use of racism and make it openly and brazenly. With him racism grows up to its full stature. He made a new religion of it, he imbued it with the necessary mystic spirit, fervor, fanaticism and intolerance. Like any other religion Hitler's race-religion is irrational, at war with reason, and for that reason good opium for the people.

It is perhaps fortunate, that Hitler worked the racial myth to its utter limits, for in this way it became clear how empty, false and absurd the myth was. To regard the homosexual, drug-eating Nazi degenerates with the mentality of a Prussian corporal and the ethics of Chicago gangsters as the cream of mankind—what could be more utterly idiotic than that?

We may hope, therefore, that this new attempt to implant in us the faith in the mystic, the irrational and the blindly instinctive in preference to the rational will fail. And we may also hope that when bloody Hitler will be removed from the scene, he will take with him his obnoxious and malignant doctrine, a doctrine that by first destroying internationalism would eventually destroy our entire civilization. For civilization needs not only ethical relationships between man and man, but also between nation and nation, race and race. Without at least some internationalism all civilization and all culture must vanish into thin air.

## Spark Plugs

Wisdom consists in knowing how little one knows.—Jo Labadie.

The soldiers fight and the kings are the heroes.—The Talmud.

Even art has become a prostitute to success.—Rob. Reitzel.

Force and fraud are in war the two cardinal virtues.—Hobbes.

When the state is corrupt then the laws are most multiplied.—Tacitus.

Every man is a consumer and should therefore also be a producer.—Emerson.

If there is anything that cannot bear free thought, let it crack.—W. Phillips.

Who said there is nothing new under the sun? Postmaster General Farley declared he had found more honesty and truth-telling among politicians than any other class.

Thomas Jefferson is the only president we have had who refused to make a fool of himself by issuing Thanksgiving proclamations.

Louis IX burned twenty-four cart-loads of Talmuds in Paris to which the great Christian humanist, John Reuchlin replied: "Burning is no argument."

If you want to go through life today, just act as if you were insane, that's the only way now to get through it.

The great are only great because we are on our knees. Let us rise!—Max Stirner.

As long as the various sports are flourishing as they do during these hard times, government is in no danger. Sport has become a better shock-absorber than religion used to be.

A man can be himself only so long as he is alone, and, if he does not love solitude, he will not love freedom, for it is only when he is alone that he is really free.—Schopenhauer.

An ambassador is a man who goes abroad to lie for the good of his country; a journalist is a man who stays at home to pursue the same vocation.—Dr. L. Johnson.

Government is not reason, it is not eloquence—it is force! Like fire it is a dangerous servant and a fearful master; never for a moment should it be left to irresponsible action.—George Washington.

In all ages, hypocrites called priests, have put crowns upon the heads of thieves, called kings.—R. G. Ingersoll.

"The new deal"—Three cheers for the red, white and blue and do others before they do you. The new deal is dealt with the same old deck. Beware!

The shortest definition of Anarchism I have heard: A society civilized enough to live without government.

Puny man has conquered land, ocean and air, but in social science and economic conditions he is still a thousand years behind modern inventions.

Did the mass of men know the actual selfishness and injustice of their rulers, not a government would stand a year; the world would ferment with revolution.—Theodore Parker.

"The mosaic commandments," says Dr. Cole, "are no longer adequate for modern life." Yes, it is time to make up after 3000 years of sleep-walking.

Law is the process by which one section of the people tries to impose its will upon another. In the name of law a crimson trail has established itself in the wake of our civilization.—L. E. Lawes in "2000 Years in Sing Sing."

"All the clergy kept mistresses, and all the convents of the capital (Rome) were houses of ill fame."—D'Aubigne's "History of the Reformation."

The estimated wealth of America is given as 247 billions, of which, according to the Federal Trade Commission, 13 per cent of the population own 90 per cent. How long could such a system of society exist if men were men instead of dogs?

Carl Nold



# THE WORLD IS A STAGE AND 'PIGS' ARE THE ACTORS

SAMUEL POLINOW

Torrents of crocodile tears are being shed by the philanthropic caboodle of our capitalist society, over the barbaric executions committed by the Nazi regime on the German nation. How they moan and lament over the fate of these people who are being assassinated without trial or opportunity for defense! It would seem, from their loud protestations against these inhuman excesses, that the very institution of civilized government, to which capitalist society considers itself as rightful heir, is in danger of being over-run by the savage hordes of Junker-Hitlerism.

And they cry for vengeance!

Yeah! Such dastardly acts inflicted upon defenseless human beings is enough to send a shudder of repugnance to every civilized community, but only when they take place outside of their own orchard. If a Negro from Alabama happens to be lynched on the mere suspicion of rape, that is, more or less, considered a virtuous act; if men, women and even children are trampled under foot, their hearts pierced with soldiers' bayonets, their skulls pounded with heavy clubs and their lungs filled with nauseating gasses—all because they dare to demand bread for their starving families—that is looked upon as a necessary measure to protect and maintain the existing order of society.

"Shoot to kill. Any man firing a shot into the air will subject himself to be court-martialed."

Such was the command given by a Colonel to his troopers in the San Francisco strike zone where Workers demanded the right to a decent living for their hard toil.

Could anything be more cruel, more barbaric and more savage than that? Could any tyrant of the Roman or Bourbonic dynasty have issued a more beastly decree upon his dominated subjects than this modern servant of the capitalist hierarchy? And why? What prompts these bloodhounds to shoot down 68 human beings in Minneapolis and scores in San Francisco, or any other section where labor is involved in a struggle for existence? Are they so intoxicated with authority and so greedy for their mercenary jobs that the toll of human life becomes a mere trifle when the niggardly profit of their paymasters is threatened with reduction?

Granted that the existing order of society—a society in which property is valued higher than human life—must be preserved; granted that its official representatives are sworn to uphold and protect the sacred institutions of capitalism at any cost; does that give them the right to slaughter defenseless workers for the mere reason that they demand better economic conditions? At least, if the American workers should show signs of a revolutionary spirit, which could be interpreted as an attempt to free themselves from economic tyranny by armed force, then they might be within reason to view the situation with alarm and use it as a pretext for their savage attacks. But no such thing has happened in San Francisco or Minneapolis. The strikes there, as in dozens of other cities, had the outstanding "bread-and-butter" purpose, so typical of American labor struggles, which never aim at challenging the existing social order. It hasn't even the political intention of the Labour Party in England, whose function is to change the form of government by parliamentary measures. American labor, in all their industrial upheavals, does not rise beyond the "dinner pail," and there is no reason in the world for stupid authority to swoop down upon striking workers with poisonous gases and fusillades of bullets.

Even so; even if fear for possible revolutionary outbreaks that may emanate from industrial trouble, compels the guardians of law and order to take such brutal precautions; their superiors—officials, bankers and even editorial writers—

should then throw off the dove's clothing and show their true colors. Let them not parade as the saintly protectors of

## In the Name of Exploitation and Rulership!



Linoleum Cut by D. Chun

## After Twenty Years

August 1914 witnessed the inception of a world slaughter that ravaged mankind for more than four and a half years. It left an appalling toll of over twenty million human beings, millions orphaned and widowed, aside from untold wealth and labor.

Its purpose, as in all past wars, was fought for a "holy" cause. Besides the aim of making the "world safe for democracy," the last world war was to end all wars.

Today, twenty years after, finds every Government in the world preparing the deadliest weapons of destruction, and already more armed than ever before.

The spectre of another war is upon us. The first call will come from the protector of exploitation—Governments.

But must mankind go on heeding the call to begin slaughtering one another so that the present reign of the exploiters and rulers may again be safeguarded and perpetuated?

The masses could give an answer to a call for war that would once and for all times make wars useless and impossible. And that answer can only be by rising in a Social Revolution against the entire present order.

As long as mankind does not realize this need for throwing off the yoke of exploitation and rulership, the pestilence of war will face it over and over again.

The lessons of the struggle on the Pacific coast are manifold.

The exploiters, through all their agencies: Church, Press, and Government, are always ready to cast off all the pretentious masks of "democracy" and "law and order" and to substitute Fascist methods the very moment that the workers threaten by their actions, such as a General Strike, to challenge the present system.

If on the coast, the Government attacked the Communists it should not be forgotten that it did so because it was most convenient to do so. Had there been no vain and foolish claims made by the latter, the Government would have carried out the same attack on the labor unions—just as it is now doing out in Minneapolis, Kohler, and Bridgetown, and as it has done wherever the workers have come out on strike.

Foremost of all the lessons to be derived from the attempted General Strike is for the workers never again to entrust their struggles in the hands of leaders, when they certainly are at all times able to take care of themselves.

The deceitful mis-leaders of labor were well aware as to what a real General Strike implies, as the excerpts of their statement given above shows. The renegade socialist, Walter Lippmann, and the General of the N. R. A. fraud, also knows it, as does every prop of the present order. A General Strike can only end in victory when it turns into an insurrection against the prevailing order. And Insurrection implies Revolution. The workers certainly have nothing to lose and everything to gain from a real General Strike.

The power of Labor that makes the wheels of life move or stop was most dramatically demonstrated on the first day of the even partial General Strike on the Pacific coast. It showed emphatically that, if the workers but learn to act without leaders, presenting at least as much of a united front as the employing class, the triumph of Justice over Injustice, Voluntary Co-operation in Production and Distribution over Exploitation, Freedom over Oppression, Equality over Inequality of opportunity to live as free men can and ought to—all this can become a reality only when the workers begin to realize their strength and but will to make use of it.

Marcus Graham

civilization, stamping other nations, who exercise the same rights and privileges, as barbarians. What right have they to condemn Nazi executions while their own mercenary hordes shoot and kill at random? What right have they to weep over an assassinated Dollfuss when the plains of San Francisco and Minneapolis are strewn with dead and mutilated bodies? What right have they to protest against the concentration camps and instruments of torture employed by Hitler's henchmen, when the "sweat-boxes" and the "chain-gangs" are daily features in their own penitentiaries?

A piggy world we live in. One clutches the throat of another in sheer madness or want of reason. One feasts upon the plight of the next. Misery is the relishing appetite of the contended. How then can you explain the abominable condition of babies crying for milk, while some fat slob wash their poodles with it! How then can you atone for the pitiful sights of hungry and despondent fathers, while some round-faced stock brokers shove beefsteaks in their already over-laden bellies.

I know the answer. You want a different social order. You think by overthrowing this rotten-to-the-core system, all men will eat alike, and live alike, and work alike and equally partake of all the natural and human products. But I am not concerned about that. To me the "human side," not the theoretical—or practical—is the crux of the whole situation. If the human mind and heart is of vile and contemptuous nature, uncontrollable, and lacking a moral conscience, then, all doctrines, and systems, and philosophies, and all other proposed remedies for social changes, may be—like it or not—thrown on the wood pile. Somehow or other, no matter what social scheme is adopted, the autocrats seem to always emerge on top issuing forth orders to the subordinates at the bottom. It seems we shall never rid ourselves of the ruling classes. Possibly they are destined by Providence to wear a kingly diadem; possibly it is the inferiority-complex with which the multitude is afflicted that they are so willing to submit to dominance. Anyhow, the fact remains that, whether we were in the throes of the Patriarchs, or the Monarchies, or the Feudalists, or the Republicans or the Socialists, the great mass is inevitably doomed to be domineered by a selected or self-appointed few.

There are great optimists who look for a miraculous awakening of the human soul. There are others who intend to reform mankind by command or decree. That, however, will fail of its purpose. Christ's proselytes have labored in that direction for almost two milleniums; great thinkers have laid down many a code of ethics for man's behavior, all of no avail. With all his published manerism and charitable inclinations, man is as brutal today as in the time of his cave era. Instinct rather than will governs his conduct; passion rather than reason predominates his actions.

We Anarchists, too, have a declaration of principles. We, too, lay very much stress on a process of moral and intellectual persuasion which should eventually transform the human being from the primitive animal to a rational thinker. We hope by such methods to develop the mental status in man to a degree that he shall not plunge into brutal orgies as evidenced in the worldly combats of past and present bloodsheds. At the same time we must admit that without the required human element the prospect for a better world to live in is not a very bright one.

## What the Liberals of America Want

A committee, representing 200 of the leading liberals of the country, appeared before President Roosevelt and begged him to save the NRA from imminent collapse. It pointed out that wages are lagging behind the mounting rise of commodity prices, that the workers have no right to organize, and they therefore recommend: improvements in unemployment relief, cash benefits as a national policy, a national system of unemployment insurance, extension of United States employment agencies, old age pensions, stabilizing employment, and sickness insurance. The appeal concludes urging government control of all the key industries, such as coal, oil, power, communication and transportation, consumer industries and milk.

For posterity's sake, some of the names attached to the appeal should be recorded here. They are: Roger Baldwin, Harry Elmer Barnes, Bruce Bliven, Evans Clark, Elmer Davis, John Dewey, Paul H. Douglas, John Edelman, John Haynes Holmes, Fannie Hurst, Oswald Garrison Villard and Stephen S. Wise.

This appeal by the liberals of America doesn't in the least come as a surprise to the Anarchist. That is what liberalism has been doing in Europe for scores of years. From Germany to Great Britain, they had, and still have, most of the things the liberals here are begging for, but with what benefit to the exploited and ruled in every European country, where they are blessed with these palliatives? This—our American liberals seem to be not too prone to speak of. And we ask, why? Every man and woman that is reached by these liberals ought to put to them the same question, before they make up their minds to give the appeal any support or serious attention.

As to ourselves, we know indeed only too well that all these palliatives have only proved themselves in Europe an aid to save and to perpetuate the wage system and its protector the State. This is about all they can be intended for, if brought into life, here.

*The guilty thieves of Europe, the real sources of all deadly war in it are the capitalists—that is to say, those who live by percentages on the labour of others.*—John Ruskin.

*Bigots will not argue; it destroys the very nature of the thing to argue; it is contrary to faiths.*—Percy Bysshe Shelley.

## Was There A General Strike?

(Continued from the First Page)

(a suburb of Oakland) was invaded. Books and furniture were torn and broken to bits, windows were smashed, even the wall paper was torn off. A man found sleeping there was mercilessly beaten. Everything was moved to the adjoining lot and a bonfire ended the debauchery. The "citizenship" marched then to their city hall and across it was erected gallows with the sign, "Reds Beware!" Thus, upholders of "democracy" turned into a pack of vandal fascists that has nothing to be ashamed of when compared with the followers of Mussolini or Hitler.

This vandalism, this rankest fascism, was repeated the next morning in Oakland, San Francisco, and every other locality where the Communists had headquarters. In all these raids the police, detectives and soldiers openly participated. The daily press printed gloating accounts and also hinted that members of the Teamsters' Union participated in the raids in order to "purge the unions of the reds." The union leaders issued no denials, perhaps being inwardly very satisfied with what was being done. As was later admitted by the New York Times (July 29), it was really the work of thugs hired by the employers, plus the police and soldiers.

The raids went on for the entire duration of the General Strike. One could not help but realize that it was all done to cover up the deceitful manner in which the labor mis-leaders were leading to the betrayal of the strike.

The "liberal" federal government announced through Mr. Hopkins that the Government would not allow anyone to starve. This meant that if Federal troops would be needed to crush a real General Strike, the Roosevelt regime, as all governments in such instances, would not hesitate to send troops either. Before sending troops, the Barnum-General of the N. R. A. circus arrived on the third day of the strike and issued his blast-ultimatum: The Government will not tolerate an insurrection! The strike must be given up before "arbitration" will be spoken of.

Thus, flanked on both sides with enemies, from within—the labor mis-leaders, from without—the employers, government, and presses, the General Strike could not but end any differently than it did.



# IDEAS OF ANARCHISM:

(The Program of the Italian Anarchist Union\* is the revolutionary Anarchist-Communist program advocated in Italy for fifty years in the heart of the 1st International as the socialist program, called later the anarchist-socialist and still later, as a reaction to the growing authoritarian and parliamentary degeneration of the socialist movement, simply anarchist.)

## 1. The Present System

We believe that the immense majority of the evils afflicting mankind are caused by the faulty social organization and that men through their will and knowledge can remove those evils.

The present society is the result of the struggles waged by men among themselves throughout the centuries. Not grasping the advantages that could be enjoyed by all through cooperation and solidarity, seeing in any other man (save, perhaps, the nearest relatives) a competitor and an enemy, man has appropriated individually all he could get a hold of, never caring for the other fellow's needs.

The struggles being on, the strongest or shrewdest or luckiest should naturally win and in various ways submit and oppress the vanquished.

As long as man was not able to produce more than the strictly necessary for his livelihood, the victors would only chase away or massacre the vanquished, and appropriate whatever food the latter may have had.

But, as soon as the discovery of pasture and agriculture permitted man to produce more than he needed, he found it more convenient to make slaves out of the subdued ones, thus accumulating wealth with the product of their work.

Later, however, the strong realized that it was easier, more productive and safer to profit by the others' work through a different system, that is, monopolizing exclusively the property of the land and all the means of production, and leaving the despoiled ones nominally free; thus the latter, having no more means of living, impelled by want and hunger, had to consider themselves lucky if they could obtain a job on any condition the owners pleased to offer.

As times advanced and changed, we reached, through a highly complicated net of struggles of all kinds—invasions, wars, rebellions, repressions, forced concessions, associations of workers for defense and of spoilers for oppression—the present form of society, where some own by inheritance the land and the social wealth, while the large mass of the people, deprived of everything, are trampled upon.

Hence, the sad conditions of the working men in general and all the evils derived from poverty—ignorance, crime, prostitution, physical decay, moral abjection, premature death. Hence, the constitution of a special class (the government) whose business is to make laws defending the capitalists' privileges from the possible assaults by the proletariat—said government, possessing material power, enjoys also privileges of its own and, when and wherever possible, it exercises a power on the favored class itself. Moreover, we have the constitution of another special class (the clergy) which, through a series of fables on the will of God, the future life, etc., tries to persuade the disinherited to endure poverty and oppression patiently and, like the government, it seeks its own gain besides that of the ruling classes.

From such an unnatural and criminal system sprang an official science, which, in anything that favors the rich, is the negation of true science—from this abominable class we got the patriotic spirit, race hatred, wars, armed peace—often more disastrous than war itself; we got love changed in torment or shameless bargain; we got hate, more or less veiled, rivalries, suspicion among one another, uncertainty and fear of all by all.

That is the system we aim to change radically. And so long as all these evils are derived from the struggles among men, from the pursuit of gain by each against all others, we must apply a remedy that will substitute love for hate, solidarity for competition, brotherly cooperation for the welfare of all for the pursuit of one's exclusive welfare, freedom of oppression and imposition, truth for religious and pseudo-scientific lies.

Therefore—1. Abolition of the government: and all power which making laws, enforces them on the others—monarchies, republics, parliaments, armies, police, magistrates and all institutions invested with coercive powers.

2. Abolition of private property of the land, raw material and machinery, so that nobody will have the means to prey upon somebody else's product, each member of society having the means of production and his living assured, all will be truly independent and may associate with one another at will for the common good and according to their own tendencies.

3. Organization of social life through free associations and federations of producers and consumers, founded and modified according to the associates' will, who, guided by science and experience, will be free from all obstruction, only stopped by natural causes, to which everyone, pervaded by the sentiment of inevitable necessity, will consent voluntarily.

4. Guaranty of all the means of living, development and welfare to the children and everyone unable to provide for themselves.

5. War to religious and all biases, even when these wear the cloak of science; scientific education for all and to the highest degree possible.

6. War to rivalries and patriotic prejudices; abolition of frontiers; fraternization of all peoples.

7. Reconstruction of the family as may result from the practice of love free from all legal ties, from all economic or physical coercion, from all religious bias.

That is our ideal.

\*—This program was proposed by Errico Malatesta, and accepted at the second Congress of the Italian Anarchist Union, held in Bologna on July 1-4, 1920.—Editor.

## "The Anarchist Program"

(English version from the Italian by V. ARRETTA)

ERRICO MALATESTA

(1853-1932)

## II—Ways and Means

We have unfolded in a broad outline the goal we intend to reach, the ideal we are striving to attain.

But wishing and struggling for an ideal is not enough—we must also apply the proper means that really lead us there. They must in no way be arbitrary, but necessarily depend on the goal we aim at and the circumstances under which we display our endeavors. For, by failing to follow the right way, we'd surely not reach the point intended to, but a different one, perhaps the opposite; which would be the natural, inevitable consequence of the path trodden. He who fares forth on the wrong road is bound to arrive where that road leads to, not where he thinks he's going.

It's necessary, therefore, to indicate here the means that, in our opinion, lead to the goal we have in mind and are determined to reach.

Ours is not an ideal which can be realized by the individual, considered separately. It's a matter of changing the social life entirely, of establishing mutual relations of love and solidarity among men, of attaining full development, material moral, intellectual, not for a single individual, not for the members of a certain class or party, but for the whole of humanity. Needless to say, that cannot be forced upon anybody. The idea must arise from the enlightened consciousness of each individual and materialize through a voluntary agreement of all.

Our first task, then, is to persuade and convince the people of the loftiness of our ideal.

We must awaken men to the consciousness of their troubles and show them the possibility of putting an end to them once and for all. We must rouse in each one the sympathy for the others' sorrows and the eagerness for the well-being of all.

We shall make clear, to those who are hungry and cold, the path leading to everybody's sure satisfaction of the material needs. We'll tell the oppressed and despised that we could all live happily in a society of free and equals—and to him who is tormented by hatred and grudge, we'll show the way to peace and heart's content by loving our fellow man.

When we'll have kindled in men's hearts the sentiment of rebellion against the unjust and unnecessary evils we all suffer from in this social disorder, and convince them of the causes of such evils and how it depends on the human will to eliminate them; when we'll have inspired in men a compelling desire to transform this society for the benefit of all—then, the now convinced, will by their own account and encouraged by those preceding them in convictions, spontaneously join for, and be capable of materializing, the common ideal.

It would—as we have already said—be absurd and contrary to our aims to impose freedom, love among men, the complete development of all the human faculties, by means of force. We have, then, to rely on the free will of men. The only thing we can do is to awaken in them the formation and manifestation of such a will. It would, however, be equally absurd, and in contradiction with our end, to let those of opposite opinion obstruct our activities, when these don't prevent them from doing what they please.

Therefore, liberty for all to propagate and experiment their ideals, with no other limit than that naturally resulting from equal liberty.

To that, though, are opposed—and with brutal violence—the beneficiaries of privileges, who rule and regulate the whole social life.

They possess all the means of production, consequently they suppress, not only the possibility of experimenting new ways of living, not only the right of the workers to live their own lives by their own work, but the right to their very existence. The non-proprietor must submit to, and slave for, a boss, under penalty of starvation.

They have to their orders police, magistracy, armies, purposely appointed for the defense of their privileged position. They persecute, jail, massacre those who try to remove such evils, reclaiming the means of living and freedom for all human beings.

Jealous of their immediate well-being, corrupted by the spirit of domination, fearful of the future, the ruling classes are, generally speaking, incapable of a generous impetus, even lacking an ampler conception of their own welfare. So, it would be folly to hope they'd voluntarily give up property and power and become the equals of those they keep today under their feet.

History shows that never did a ruling class renounce, entirely or in part, their privileges, as never did a government relinquish its power, unless it was compelled to by force or fear of force—but, putting that aside, the contemporary events suffice to convince everybody that the bourgeoisie and the governments are determined to use material force for their defense. They are opposed, not only to a total expropriation, but to the smallest claims of the people; they are always ready to perpetrate the most atrocious persecutions, the bloodiest massacres.

It's clear enough that no other way is open to the people longing for emancipation, than opposing violence with violence.

\* \* \* \* \*

We need, therefore, to impress on the people's minds the necessity of a thorough clean-up of the present system and convince them that, united, we shall win. Only by spreading with ever-increasing activity our ideas among the disinherited, can we prepare the all-important moral and material forces to defeat the enemy and organize a free society. Once sufficiently strong, taking advantage of all the favorable circumstances, or creating them ourselves, it will be time to start the social revolution by wiping out, with force, the government, expropriating, by force, the proprietors, turning the means of living and production in common and preventing the formation of new governments, which would (and they

surely would) impose their will on us and obstruct the social reorganization being directly conducted by all those interested in it.

\* \* \* \* \*

All this, however, is less simple than it might appear at the first glance.

We have to deal with men, as they are in the present social system, in deplorable moral and material conditions; and we would deceive ourselves in believing that our propaganda is enough to elevate them to that degree of intellectual and moral development, which is necessary for the realization of our ideals.

There is a reciprocal action between man and his surroundings. Men make society what it is, while society makes men what they are. The result is a sort of vicious circle. Men must change in order to change the present system, and the present system must be changed in order to change men.

Poverty brutalizes men, and, to put an end to poverty, men of elevated principles and will are needed. Slavery trains men to be slaves, and to destroy slavery, we need men aspiring to liberty. Ignorance bars men from knowing the causes of their suffering, and to be capable to blot out ignorance, men need the time and means to get educated.

The government trains people to be law-abiding and to believe it indispensable to society, yet, to abolish the government and law, men must be convinced of the uselessness and harmfulness of both.

How may we get out of this vicious circle?

Fortunately, this society has not been formed by the enlightened will of a ruling class, which could make so many passive and unconscious tools of its interests out of all the ruled ones. Society is the resultant of a thousand internal struggles, of a thousand human and natural factors acting casually with no directive criterion. Therefore, there are no sharp divisions among individuals or among classes.

The varieties of material conditions are infinite, as infinite are the degrees of moral and intellectual development; nor always—we should say very rarely—does the position held by a man in this society agree with his faculties and aspirations. Very often men fall into conditions inferior to those they were accustomed to, as others, thanks to exceptionally favorable circumstances, attain positions superior to those they were born in. A remarkable part of the proletariat have succeeded in getting out of brutalizing, absolute misery, or they never could be thrown into it. No working man, or almost none, is wholly ignorant of, or satisfied with, the conditions forced upon him by his masters. And the very institutions, as a result of history, contain organic contradictions, which cause, in developing like death germs, the dissolution of said institutions and the necessity of a radical change.

The consequence is the possibility of progress, but not the possibility of raising, through propaganda, all men to the necessary level to want and establish anarchy, without a previous gradual transformation of the environment.

Both the individual and his surroundings must progress with the same pace. Let us profit by all possible means, by any and every opportunity given us by the present conditions to impress our principles on men's minds, to develop their consciousness and aspirations. Let us utilize whatever improvement has taken place in them to exhort them to reclaim and accomplish the best social changes possible and best fit to open the road to further advancement.

We cannot expect to bring about anarchy by confining ourselves to mere propaganda. By so doing, our sphere of action would soon be exhausted, that is, we could only convert those who are, today, apt to comprehend and accept our ideas; outside of that, our propaganda would remain sterile. Or, should changes of conditions lift new strata of people up to the susceptibility of absorbing new ideas, that would be realized without our propaganda and consequently prove pernicious to our ideal.

We should ceaselessly see that the people, in their entirety or their various fragments, demand and take advantage of all improvements, of all the liberties possible, as soon as they are willing and strong enough to do so. Besides propagating the whole of our program and striving for its materialization, we shall spur the masses toward asserting themselves ever more, until integral emancipation is achieved.

## III—Economic Struggle

The principle cause of all the moral and material subjections, afflicting the working man today most directly, is the economic oppression, that is, the blood-sucking that capitalists and merchants practice on him, thanks to their monopolizing all the large means of production and exchange.

To shake off this oppression radically and safely for ever, it's indispensable that all the people be convinced of the right they have to the access to the means of production and exchange and put this primordial right in effect by expropriating the holders of the soil and all social wealth for the benefit of all human beings.

Can we, however, start this expropriation just now? Is it possible to pass directly, without any intermediate degrees, from the inferno to the common-property paradise?

The facts will show what the workers are able to do.

Our task is to prepare the people morally and materially, and to attempt this all-important expropriation again and again, every time a revolutionary outburst gives us a chance, until our final triumph. But, in what way are we going to prepare the people? How shall we create the conditions making possible, not only the material process of expropriation, but the utilization of the social wealth as well?

We have previously said that propaganda alone, be it spoken or written, is insufficient to win the sympathy of the entire mass of people to our ideas. Therefore, a practical education is imperative, which will be the cause and effect of a gradual transformation of the social system. As the

(Continued on the Following Page)



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sense of rebellion against their unjust and unnecessary suffering and the eagerness to better their conditions grow in them, the workers, united and in solidarity with one another, will strive for the achievements of what they want.

And we, as anarchists as well as workmen, shall spur and encourage, and strive with them.

Now, is any improvement of the wage-earners' conditions possible in the capitalistic system? And would any improvement be beneficial from the viewpoint of the workers' complete emancipation?

No matter what will be the practical results of the fight for immediate improvements, the main importance for us is in the fight itself. The workers learn through it that the masters' interests are opposite to theirs and that they can't improve their conditions, still less be free, unless they become, by uniting, stronger than the masters. But, suppose they could obtain something—well, they would then be better off; they'd earn more and slave less, have more time and will to think of things interesting them and soon feel the need of, and strive for, a higher standard of living. And if they don't succeed in that, they'll be compelled to seek the causes of their failure and realize the necessity of more cohesion with one another and of displaying more energy. They will learn at last that, to win assuredly and decisively, it's necessary to destroy capitalism, and that, uniting and fighting for their own interests, the cause of the revolution, the cause of the wage-earner's moral uplift and his emancipation cannot but gain.

But, again, is it possible for the workers, in the present state of things, to improve their conditions?

That depends on the confluence of an infinity of circumstances.

Despite what some say, a natural law (the law of salary), determining the workman's share on his labor product, does not exist; or if they want to formulate this, it could only be this: a salary can neither be normally lowered beyond the indispensable to life, nor normally raised so high as to deprive the employer of all profit.

It's clear that, in the first case, the working men would die out and naturally get no more salaries; while in the second case, the employers would take no more employees, and consequently have no more salaries to pay. However, between these two impossible extremes there are many degrees, running from the miserable conditions of most farmers and farm hands, up to the nearly decent condition of some city workers.

Salary, span of the working day and all other work conditions are but the results of struggles between employers and employees. The former give the latter the least they can, which may lead to complete exhaustion; whereas the employees try, or they ought to try, to work the least and earn the most. Where the workers are satisfied under any condition or, even unsatisfied, they're not capable of opposing valid resistance to the spoilers, they are soon reduced to a brute-like existence. Where, on the other hand, they have an idea of a rather decent human living and, sticking together, refusing to slave for starving wages, threatening, tacitly or explicitly, to revolt at any abuse, they know how to compel the bosses to respect them, there they are treated in a comparatively endurable manner. So, we can say, the salary is, within certain limits, that which the workers (as a class, not as an individual) strive for.

Fighting, then, resisting abuses, the workmen can avert, to a certain degree, a lowering of their standard of living and even realize improvements. The records of the workers' movement show this truth.

Nevertheless, we shouldn't exaggerate the importance of the struggle between workers and capitalists, fought on exclusively economic grounds. The capitalists may yield, and often they do, to the workers' claims, energetically expressed, as long as these claims are not too big. The moment, however, the workers would begin (and it is urgent they do so) to demand such a treatment as would absorb the whole capitalist's profit, thus resulting in an indirect expropriation, you may be absolutely sure that the capitalists would appeal to the government to force by all means the workers to stay in their position of salaried slaves.

In fact, long before the working men could expect to obtain the equivalent of their products, the economic struggle becomes inadequate to improve any further their conditions.

The workers produce or transform everything, and life is impossible without them; therefore, it might seem they could, refusing to work, get all they want. But the union of all workers, even of a single trade, even of a single town, is difficult to reach and, besides, to their union is opposed the capitalist's union. The workman lives by the day, and, as soon as he loses his job, his bread is wanting; whereas the capitalist, possessing all the products already accumulated, can placidly await the time hunger brings the workers to his mercy.

The invention and introduction of new machinery renders the services of a considerable number of workers useless and increases the already large army of unemployed; who are compelled by want and hunger to sell themselves at any price. In countries where the working people are somewhat better off, the immigrating hungry crowds, willingly or otherwise, cause a lowering of wages. And all these events, fatally derived from the capitalistic system, retard the progress of the workers' clear perception and solidarity; events often advancing more rapidly than this progress, arresting and destroying it.

At any rate, the outstanding fact remains, that the production is in the present system organized by each capitalist for his own individual profit and not, as it should naturally be in the best possible way, for the benefit of the working class. Hence, disorder, waste of human activity, purposely-wanted scarcity of products, useless and harmful lines of occupation, unemployment, wastelands, insufficient use of machinery, etc., all evils only avoidable by wresting from the capitalists the means and management of production.

The workers who seek their integral emancipation or, at least, a serious improvement of their living, are soon confronted with the necessity of defending themselves from the government forces, with the necessity to attack the government, which, legitimating the right to private property and defending it by violence, constitutes a barrier to progress. Unless their barrier is by force demolished, we shall remain indefinitely in the present conditions, and worse.

From the economic struggle, then, we must pass to the political one, that is, to the struggle against the government. Instead of opposing the few pennies, saved by hard work, to the oppressors, millions of dollars, we must oppose the guns defending private property by the best means we may have at our command to beat force with force.

#### IV—Political Struggle

By political struggle we mean the fight against the government. Government is the whole of the individuals holding the power, acquired by no matter what means, to make laws and impose them on the governed, that is, on the public.

Being the result of domination and violence spirit, by which some men have subjugated the others, the government is at once the creator and creature of privilege and its natural protector.

It is erroneously held that the government, performing today the function of body-guard of capitalism, would, once this is abolished, become the representative and manager of the general welfare. First of all, capitalism cannot be destroyed before the workers, having gotten rid of the government, take possession of the social wealth and organize by themselves the production and consumption in the interest of all the people, without expecting the assistance of another government; which couldn't help even if it were willing to.

Moreover, if, having destroyed capitalism, we'd let a government subsist, the latter, through concessions of all sorts of privileges, would again create a capitalism, for the simple reason that, being unable to satisfy everybody, yet willing to maintain its position, it would need the support of an economically powerful class, in exchange for legal and material protection.

It follows that you cannot abolish privileges and establish solidly and finally equal liberty without abolishing at the same time the government—that is, not this or that government, but the government institution itself.

In that, however, as in all matters of general interest, and more than in any other, the general consent is needed. Consequently, we have to do our best to make the people understand the uselessness and harmfulness of the government and the possibility to live so much better without it.

But, as we have already repeated, propaganda alone isn't enough to persuade everybody. Should we confine ourselves to preaching against the government and being otherwise inactive, awaiting the time the public has grasped the necessity to wipe out all kinds of governments forever, that time would never come.

While opposing all forms of government, always demanding integral liberty, we've got to support any strife for partial liberties, convinced as we are that one learns to fight by fighting and that once tasted a small partial victory, one will soon start to long and fight for the complete, final triumph. It's imperative that we be with the people, and, when we can't induce them to demand the whole, well, let us assist them in getting whatever little they try to take; let us do our best to convince them that, anything they may want, must be conquered by themselves directly, if they really intend to get it, and that anybody in power, or aspiring to power, is an enemy to be looked upon with contempt and hate.

As long as a government holds the power to rule through laws the social life and amplify or restrict the citizen's freedom, and as we're not yet strong enough to destroy that power, we must at least try to weaken it and make it the least harmful possible. This, of course, can only be done by our remaining outside and against the government, pressing on it through street agitations, threatening to take by force that which is demanded. By no means must we accept any legislative function, be this general or local; otherwise we'd mar the effectiveness of direct action and turn traitors to our own cause.

The struggle against the government resolves, in the ultimate analysis, into physical, material fight.

The government makes the laws. It must have material powers (army and police) in order to enforce the law, otherwise this would only be obeyed by those willing to; in which case it would cease to be a law and become but a mere proposition, voluntarily accepted or turned down. The governments have that power and use it for strengthening their own domination and guarding the upper classes' interests, oppressing and impoverishing ever more the wage-earner.

Limit to governmental oppression is the resistance the people are able to oppose.

The conflict between the two forces may be open or latent, but a conflict does exist always; as a government doesn't take the people's murmuring seriously unless it sees the danger of an insurrection.

When the people submit meekly to the law; or their protest is feeble and platonic, the government does what it pleases regardless of the people's claims. The moment, however, the protest grows vigorous, insistent, threatening, the government yields or resorts to repression, according to its degree of intelligence. But an insurrection is always inevitable in either case, for, if the government doesn't yield, the people in the end will rebel; if, instead, the government complies with their demands, the people gain faith in themselves, and their claims will take alarming proportions, to the point where incompatibility between liberty and authority becomes evident and a violent conflict ensues.

Therefore, to be morally and materially ready for an eventual violent fight is of utmost importance, if it's to solve itself in the people's victory.

A successful insurrection is the most effective event for

the workers' emancipation, because the workers, having shaken off the yoke, are free to give themselves such institutions as they deem best; and in the meantime the distance between the law, always slow and late, and the civilization stage reached by the masses, is covered in one leap. An insurrection determines a revolution, which is the sudden bursting of the latent forces accumulated during the preceding evolution.

It all depends on the end the people are fit to attain.

In the past insurrections, being ignorant of the real causes of their troubles, they always asked for very little, and naturally very little did they obtain.

What will they try to realize in the next insurrection?

That depends, in part, on the energy or our propaganda and example.

It's our duty to exhort the people to expropriate the proprietors and turn the goods into common use, and organize the social life by themselves through means of freely-formed associations, without waiting for anybody's orders and refusing to nominate or recognize any government, any constituted bodies, which, under whatever name (constituent, dictatorship, etc.), may attribute themselves, even on pretext of temporary necessity, the right to make laws and force their own will on the others.

In the event the people won't answer our call, we shall start to practice whatever is possible of our ideas, refuse to recognize the new government, keep our resistance alive and encourage those localities sympathizing with us to associate in anarchistic communities, repel any governmental interference, establish free relations with other localities and live as they choose best. Beside being our right to be free even though the rest prefer to remain slaves, our example will be very effective toward the complete emancipation of all human beings.

By all means, let us, above all, prevent the reconstruction of the police and army and seize any opportunity to stimulate the people of those localities still under authority to profit by any weakening of repressive power to attain the most possible of the claims advocated by us.

At any rate, our struggle must go on, without a moment's interruption, against the landlords and governing bodies, with our aim always at the economic, political and moral emancipation of the whole humanity.

#### V—Conclusion

We intend, then, to abolish radically the domination and impoverishment of man by man; we want all men, fraternizing through sensible and voluntary solidarity, to cooperate willingly for the good of everybody. Society must be re-organized so as to provide all human beings with means leading to the highest moral and material development possible. There must be bread, liberty, love, science for everyone.

To reach this supreme aim, we believe it indispensable that the means of production be at everybody's disposal and that no man or group of men be in a position to compel the rest of the mortals to submit to their will or influence, except by reason and example.

In conclusion: abolition of the government; expropriation of the land-owners and capitalists to the advantage of all.

And while waiting for the possibility to achieve this ideal, our propaganda should be continuous, energetic, insistent. Moreover: organization of the popular forces, incessant struggle, pacific or violent, according to the circumstances, against the government and the owners of the social wealth, in order to conquer all the liberties possible for the benefit of all the people.

THE END.

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# ART and LITERATURE

## Expressions of Art

Art is action. Art is not contemplation.

Meditation is the laziness of the spirit.

The day dream is the plow of the weaklings.

The song of energy, the externalization of "Heroic Life," ought to be the obsession of the present Art. The heroic motion is the most beautiful life of the Art. The Art that does not detain the fervor of a faith, is not Art. Faith in humanity, is the only faith that is able to produce an Art truly human. The Christian Art is itself inspired in the divinity; Human Art ought itself to be inspired in all humanity.

The form was the Soul of Pagan Art.

The symbol was the symbol of Christian Art.

Life should be the form of Human Art.

God ought to disappear even from Art, as from all things.

The Great Chimera, dumb and deceitful, has already occupied too long the mind and things of men.

It ought to perish in its uselessness.

Beauty was the inspiration of Hellenic Art.

Sorrow was the cult of Catholic Art.

Liberty should be the inspiration of anarchistic Art.

They no longer refer to Liberty in Art, but to Art in Liberty.

The color has place in itself in Art. The Art is red. Red is a baner of war to death; red was the blood and the anger.

Away with the dreamy artists! It is the hour of the vengeful artists, the great iconoclast of the old and worn-out things, creators of the great new age, planters inspired from debris and ruins.

It is necessary that all philosophy and all morals not found in Facts, should disappear from Art. The Art of today

ought to be the heroic and tragic motion towards the destruction . . . of iniquity . . .

It is necessary to sacrifice to a certain degree to folly as it is necessary to genius. A level minded man, that is, a "mediocre" will never be a Hero or an Apostle. The feverish spirit that agitates the world must also agitate the present Art. Art must be the torch and flaming Volcano, which shall eliminate darkness, throw through the night-winds its ashes of death. Art must be a great blast through whose explosion nitric and green, would cause Iniquity to disappear, and make the world tremble! Every chisel ought to be a dagger. Every painting brush ought to be a torch. The snobbish lyrian of old art must disappear before the deep night that falls from the unfathomed skies over things and men. The world, staggering with sorrows is filled with profound mummings. A grave white form advances over the waves and comes over the beach where the slaves are watched, as a beam of the moon in the melancholy hour, during which the herd sleeps. The world is lighted like a sultry dawn. A deep anguish passes the hearts and souls that cry in great upheaval. It is the hour of the Revolution! Let us make Art revolutionary! Everything shall vanish . . . All shall be born anew! . . . Let us be the artists of the reincarnation. Let us be the larks of that dawn. It is a blood red dawn in an ash-gray sky! Let us be the strong eagles who look forward to that blazing sun. Let us sharpen our beaks and claws! The universal venture has need of followers.

The world has need of avengers.

Let us be such!

(English version from the Spanish by L. RAYMOND)

VARGAS VILA

## Friend, When You Stand

Friend, when you stand above my grave,  
And read me epitaphed  
I'd have you say "The man was brave  
And knew this life . . . and laughed."

I'd have you say "He never stooped  
To the buccanniers with his praise;  
That "he was soldier who boldly trooped  
On a march of sterner ways."

That "he scoffed at the greedy powered crew  
Who hire their gruesome owls  
To scavage even the crumbs for the few  
In the dark for the craven ghouls."

I'd have you say, when I am food  
For the roots of the growing grass  
Say "he prefers his solitude  
To a place with a starveling mass."

Say that "he fought to the final inch  
Each step of the road he trod"  
Say that "he never had learned to flinch  
From the greed of the money-god."

And lastly say that "his fight was for men  
Who battled for crumbs through life;  
And that "were he ever to come again  
He'd come with a bugle and fife."

IRL MORSE

## Third Degree

With lies and torture equal to the worst  
The law protectors take their victim in  
And mall and beat till life becomes accursed,  
Till all one knows is pain and hum and din;  
With threat and club the so-called truth is drawn  
And justice looms and moves from off the bench  
And juries weigh, the public gets the spasm  
And all posterity can't kill the stench.

Society complains of spreading crime,  
With prayer and statute seeks to make amend,  
And wielding ignorance adds slime to slime  
And tries to find a stick with but one end;  
A thistle seed can never grow a plum,  
The best that froth can do is raise more scum.

JACK GREENBERG

## From An Invisible Height

Texas resembles the bleeding head of Christ,  
Wearing its crown of myriad thorn-pointed derricks.  
Money-paid men catch the rich blood of Texas  
In steel metal barrels and ship it to pseudo-Grecian temples  
Along advertised saturated roads.  
Uniformed men stand at attention while Texas blood flows  
Into rusty tank-bellies of tin road lice.  
The only music these pseudo temples know  
Is the quick staccato notes of an overworked cash register.  
And while cash registers make music,  
And old men grow lousy with wealth,  
And nearighted from adding up the profit columns,  
The blood of Texas oozes from the thorn-pointed derricks.

FRANK ANKENBRAND, JR.

## Hell

The preacher was yelling something about hell . . . a burning  
hell where people were roasted on live coals . . .  
I listened for a while, then looked across the street into a tenement house . . . I heard a baby crying for milk and there was none . . .  
Fire . . . I down at the state penitentiary they dragged a cringing  
nigger to the electric chair, neanderthal monster, and cooked him . . . hell! the preacher was shouting . . . "you goin' to a burnin' hell after you die . . ."  
A shop girl, locked out because she sought decent wages, walked the streets . . . whispering things to men . . . In her eyes I saw fire . . . hell fire . . . that burned holes in men as she stared at them.  
"You goin' to hell, . . ." the preacher shouted . . . "to hell . . . a burnin' hell after you die . . ." the lie echoed through big church where he came each Sunday to tell lies . . .  
On the street a jobless man, hungry and weary, felt the burning rays of a friendless August sun . . . he knew how it felt to burn in hell.

WILLIAM ALLEN WARD

## Book Review

"British Agent, by R. H. Bruce Lockhart, with introduction by Hugh Walpole. Putnam, New York, 1934.

Mr. Walpole, in his introduction, speaks of the honesty, the sincerity, of the author's account of the revolution, counter-revolution, and the first phases of the reconstruction in the U. S. S. R. during Mr. Lockhart's sojourn there from November, 1917, to September, 1918.

A matter of great importance is the Kronstadt Rebellion. It is not even mentioned in the book.

Of vastly greater importance is the maligning and slander of our Russian comrades, who even so early saw whither the Revolution was going and protested in the only way possible, revolution.

Lockhart says of this:

"The only real danger to human life during these early days of the Bolshevik revolution was furnished, not by the Bolsheviks, but by the Anarchists—bands of robbers, ex-army officers, and adventurers, who had seized some of the finest houses in the city, and who, armed with rifles, hand-grenades, and machine guns, exercised a gangster's rule over the capital (St. Petersburg). They lurked at street corners for their victims and were utterly unscrupulous in their methods of dealing with them . . . The Bolsheviks seemed quite incapable of dealing with this pest." (Page 239.)

When he speaks of "bands of robbers," "adventurers who seized some of the finest houses in the city," and of those who were "utterly unscrupulous" and "pests," he might well be speaking of those arch-traitors of the Revolution—the Bolsheviks!

Further along, in describing a raid by Trotsky on the "anarchist" strongholds, he thus describes the outlaws:

"The dead still lay where they had fallen. They included officers in guards' uniforms, students—young boys of twenty and men who belonged obviously to the criminal class and whom the revolution had released from prison." (Page 256.)

So much for Lockhart. Now for the facts. In the first place, we will admit the general outlawry and banditry as described by the author. It was prevalent, not only in St. Petersburg, but in all sections of the country, and in every city of any size.

We will also admit that these creatures, spawned by czarism and the revolution, possibly called themselves anarchists. But we will show that they had no cause, either in logic or in ethics, to thus characterize themselves.

Let us now consider the composition of these groups of "anarchists." There were students of twenty, criminals, robbers, ex-army officers, adventurers. A glittering miscellany, but scarcely a gathering of revolutionists.

Students of twenty. This designation is the only likely one in which anarchists could have participated. For many students are anarchists. Yet because of their youth it is doubtful that they were anarchists in the sense that they were stabilized personalities in full control of their spontaneous protests. For that is the type of man or woman who does hold to the Libertarian ideal. In Russia the anarchists acclaimed the revolution and cooperated in great degree with the Marxists in the earlier days. But they soon realized that the "dictatorship of the proletariat" was indeed a dictatorship of the Bolsheviks, and not the means of aiding the masses in organization of production and distribution for their own use. For this reason they stood aside and let the followers of Lenin do as they would, in the belief that with the end of the civil war they could influence the masses to look towards Freedom rather than towards continued Tyranny.

Undoubtedly a few did not follow this path. But those few would have discredited any movement to which they attached themselves.

Robbers, criminals, yes. But scarcely Anarchists. There may be some of which the group to which they adhere do not know. But there are in the movement no members of the professional criminal class.

At that time in Russia there was very little food. Hence

B. J. VAN ALSTINE

those men, recently released from prison, had to find shelter, food and clothing. It is unfortunate that they went about the task of finding those necessities in the way they did. It is unfortunate, but it was expedient.

It is unfortunate, too, if some called themselves Anarchists. This was misleading—and was meant to be so. For under the cloak of Anarchism they had the sympathy of the masses and the "hands-off" policy of the Communists, at least for a time. The real Anarchists bore the brunt of the whole matter. The pseudo-anarchists went scott-free.

Ex-army officers. Who has ever heard of an Anarchist being an army officer? Not I. For Anarchism denies the authority of the state and its armed forces. An Anarchist would much rather go to jail than to enter the army. Yet we have here "Anarchists" who were army officers under the czar. It is incredible. Everyone knows of the tons of data the secret police of the old regime had concerning revolutionists and all prominent men. Is it likely that many of the officers of the army were arrayed against the state? Could they have done so without being discovered? My personal belief is, that with families dead or away, with all possessions stolen or confiscated, the officers did the expedient thing—took their living where they could—for they were sure to be killed or imprisoned by their enemies, the Bolsheviks, when the latter finally found time to deal with them. So much for that.

Trotsky, in his auto-biography, "My Life," gave full credence to the tale. It is my impression that Lockhart took his word for the authenticity of the "Anarchists," at that time, and refreshed his memory from the pages of Trotsky's memoirs.

Comrade Graham contends that the Bolsheviks wished to discredit and suppress the Anarchist attempts at revolution, and chose the method of calumny and vilification to do so. I quote from the October, 1933, issue of MAN!

"As revolutionists the present rulers of Russia secretly employed the fabrication of money in its combat of the czaristic regimes . . . Yet, one of the first acts was on a par with the identical acts of all successfully established capitalist states . . .

"The rebel (Anarchists) found themselves in need of the very same thing that made it possible for the new rulership to keep itself in power. They needed money. They had to get printing materials and also feed themselves. Money was the access to it. The rebels didn't hesitate. They resorted to the same method that was employed by the present rulers of Russia, when these rulers were yet a secret opposition. The rebels began the secret fabrication of money . . .

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

"The truth of the matter was, that those revolutionists who were shot down, were as much bandits as the present Socialist rulers were, when they were accused and sentenced for exactly the same offense by the Czarist rulers."

In other words, the subversive activities of the Anarchists were repressed under the pretense of fighting the "Anarchists" who composed the lawless looters of the civil war days. It is unfortunate that Mr. Lockhart is not well acquainted with the movement, although he spoke of Kropotkin as "that fine old Anarchist." But perhaps that was due to Kropotkin being old, and unlikely to stir up rebellion.

And so we find that Mr. Lockhart is far from being honest and truthful. In fact, with no attempt at exaggeration, it could be said that for one who professes truth and honesty, and for one who wishes acclaim as an impartial historian, he is the outstanding example of a polished pen-prostitute and a credit to his late teacher and paymaster, the British government. We find too, in his volume, a ready apology for any actions disapproved of by that government. He would very much like to return to government service. There he is undoubtedly in the right place.

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# IN THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

## Erich Meuhssam (1868—1934)

When the official report of July 11 by the Nazi regime of Germany told of Erich Meuhssam having hanged himself while in "protective custody," many of us feared that his death came about in a more terrible manner. These fears



were borne out by the following wireless from Prague to the New York Times. It reads as follows:

"Prague, July 20.—Details of the killing of the poet Erich Meuhssam in a German concentration camp were given tonight by his widow, who has just reached Prague from Germany.

"Her Meuhssam went through a Calvary of Nazi concentration camps, passing through the three most notorious between February of last year and the slaying on July 10, last. He was in the Brandenburg, Sonnenburg and the Oranienburg camps.

"His widow declared this evening that, when she was first allowed to visit her husband after his arrest, his face was so swollen by beating that she could not recognize him. He was assigned to the task of cleaning toilets and staircases and Storm Troopers amused themselves by spitting in his face, she added.

"On July 8, last, she saw him for the last time alive. Despite the tortures he had undergone for 15 months, she declared, he was cheerful, and she knew at once when his 'suicide' was reported to her three days later that it was untrue. When she told the police that they had 'murdered' him, she asserted they shrugged their shoulders and laughed. A post mortem examination was refused, according to Frau Meuhssam, but Storm Troopers, incensed with their new commanders, showed her the body, which bore unmistakable signs of strangulation, with the back of the skull shattered as if Herr Meuhssam had been dragged around the parade ground."

What could one say that would put to shame a regime that takes its grandest children and tortures them to death in the most degrading, sadistic, inquisitorial manner imaginable? The heart and mind revolts at the thought of the ordeals that the murdered Erich Meuhssam had to undergo in the hands of these inhuman swines that are now reigning supreme in Germany! And of our many other Comrades still in their claws—what of them? Protests? They are of no avail—as far as these madmen-imbeciles are concerned. One can only have one hope: that the present fight between these despicable beasts will hasten on a real Social Revolution that will drive them into the oblivion that they rightfully deserve.

Erich Meuhssam was one of the outstanding modern revolutionary poets in German literature. From his early youth he turned to socialism and soon enough reached anarchism, to which ideal he dedicated his talent and soul.

In addition to his poetic creations that appeared in several volumes, he also wrote plays. One of these, an exposure of the Sacco and Vanzetti case, was played with great success in every part of Germany. It also received high praise as a literary work from many critics.

After the end of the world war he was very active, together with Comrade Gustav Landauer, in the uprising of Bavaria during 1919, and also was a member of the Red Workers' and Soldiers' Council that existed in Munich for a short period of the same year. When the revolt was crushed by the Social Democratic rulers, Meuhssam was sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment. After serving five years he was freed in the amnesty granted at that time. Once again he became very active in the Anarchist movement.

Meuhssam also published and edited two journals that exerted a great influence. One was "Kain" (Munich, 1911-1914, 1918-1919), and "Fanal" (Berlin, 1924-1926).

Comrade Meuhssam was about to escape from Germany when the Mad-Dog of Europe, Hitler, came to power. He was of course one of the first victims of the Nazis. And from their claws he never emerged alive!

Erich Meuhssam's name will assume a most glorious place in the blackest page of the history of Germany. Out of the scores of authors that have succumbed to the Nazi rule, Meuhssam's most trying ordeal bespeaks of the outraged conscience of Germany. It should also serve as an awakener and inspiration to those who have lost themselves that the real artist can be and is a revolutionist as well.

The Anarchist movement has received a great blow in the loss of Erich Meuhssam. But it is proud of his association with our ideal and the manner in which he defied the enemy of liberty unto his death.

## Nicolai Rogdayev

(A Letter from Russia)

Dear Comrades:

We feel deeply hurt ourselves by learning from your paper of the death of our good old Comrade Nikolai Rogdayev.

I, as his close friend and co-worker in the foregone days of the Russian Revolution, want to say a few words in the form of an obituary. To our great sorrow we cannot do it here, in this land where Comrade Rogdayev gave away his best years of revolutionary activity. On the contrary, this very land, which is considered by many nowadays as socialistic, kills in its prisons and exiles revolutionists like Rogdayev. The mere fact that Rogdayev died of hunger in the far Siberian exile shows the real face of Russian Bolshevism. Rogdayev is no exception; constantly there are perishing hundreds of good revolutionists.

Being yet a student in the beginning of this century, Rogdayev joined the Russian anarchist movement where from the very beginning he has been most active. In 1907 he was sent as a delegate to the Anarchist Congress that took place in Amsterdam. After his return back to Russia he was arrested by the Czar's gendarmes and put in prison; luckily he escaped from the jail and migrated out of the country.

Many years of his emigration Rogdayev lived in Spain and was active in the Spanish anarchist movement and only in the time of the world war he went to Paris where he stayed till the outbreak of the Russian Revolution.

In the beginning of 1918 I met him first in Saratov. He was full of energy then.

As an experienced conscientious revolutionist his views were definite and uncompromising. In regard to the results of the victory of Bolshevism in Russia he was much less optimistic than many of his comrades, nevertheless he propagated the necessity of fighting Denikin and other counter-revolutionists.

Being an eloquent orator he was an excellent agitator. All his life and activity were a natural expression of a genuine revolutionist.

In 1919 he was in Samara (Central Volga) and owing to his energy and colossal mental power we had there a nice club and a good cultural centre. His lectures always attracted huge crowds of workers. At the end of 1919 the Bolshevik reaction closed our club and almost all of the Samaran anarchists were jailed. At that time the Bolshevik didn't yet dare to put their paws on Comrade Rogdayev. But he was aware of the fact that the reaction in Russia has a tendency to strengthen and he also will be thrown into the socialistic dungeon for not being in agreement with the Bolshevik executors.

In 1920 I met Rogdayev again at Tashkent. Here he worked in an "Hindustan Revolutionary Committee" where he had great influence. But the Bolsheviks fearing competition disbanded the committee and Rogdayev was sent out of Tashkent.

Being deprived for a long time of communicating with anyone on this planet, naturally I lost sight of Rogdayev and only in 1930 being in exile I was informed that he was being kept in the political prison of the Sussdal convent.

In the name of all Comrades in Russia we energetically protest against torturing anarchists in the Bolshevik prisons and exiles. We also call the attention of our Comrades outside of Russia to unite their protest.

We mourn the death of our dear Comrade Nikolai Rogdayev, as also the death of all other Revolutionists—victims of the Bolshevik regime.

APPLEBAUM and Comrades.

Russia, 2-VII-1934.

P. S.—Dear Comrades: I beg of you to translate these lines for your paper and to forward the original or translation to other anarchistic publications.

With Comradely regards: Applebaum.

## Pierre Ramus Imprisoned

Our collaborator from Austria, Pierre Ramus (Rodolph Grossman), who was editing for many years "ERKENTNIS und BEFREIUNG" has been sentenced last June to three years imprisonment. Comrade Ramus was living already in England when the Dollfuss attack on the Socialist movement took place in February. He immediately returned to Austria in order to participate in any further Social events that may arise.

In the January, 1933, issue we brought the news of his incarceration for spreading the idea of voluntary VASEKTOMIE (sterilization). After months of imprisonment he was placed on trial and finally freed. Now upon his return he was once again placed on trial upon the very same charge that he was already acquitted!

The Dollfuss regime has simply found this as a means of excuse in silencing the voice and activity of our Comrade Ramus. Such seems now to be the fate of all rebels wherever Fascism triumphs to the point of becoming the law of the land. Nevertheless, there is the hope of a TOMORROW that will END the present march of black reaction throughout the world.

## In Aid of Nestor Makhno

It is now more than five months that Comrade Nestor Makhno is gravely ill. He has been ill ever since the battles he participated in Ukraine. Now he needs a long cure in order to recuperate. That this should be made possible, a Nestor Makhno Committee has been formed. All those wishing to aid should forward same to: Mme. A. Faucier, 2, Rue de la Cour des Noues, Paris XX. e, France.

## A Chinese Monthly

The Anarchist Communist Group of San Francisco began last June to publish a monthly paper called "Anarchy". It can be obtained through MAN!

## Workers' Toll Under the NRA

During the first seven months of this year no less than 28 workers were murdered in various strikes throughout the country.

The killings occurred in the following cities: Berkeley, Cal; Galveston, Tex; Kohler, Wis; Henry Clay, Ky; Lakeland, Fla; Lathrobe, Pa; Milwaukee, Wis; Minneapolis, Minn; New Orleans, La; San Francisco, Cal; San Pedro, Cal; Seattle, Wash; and Toledo, Ohio.

No one is facing the death penalty for any of the 28 murders of workers under the reign of the "new deal". Neither has the "liberal" President uttered a single word of protest. Nor has a single exploiter lost his life during any of the strikes in which the 28 workers were murdered by their protectors, the government tools.

## Truth Marches On...

One of the co-editors of the "Freie Arbeiter Stimme," Dr. Globus, has come forward with a statement in the issue of July 13 about Marinus Van der Lubbe. It reads in part:

"In the March issue of 'MAN!' the anarchist monthly, that appears in San Francisco and that is being edited by Comrade Marcus Graham, the editors of the 'F. A. S.' as also Comrade Rudolf Rocker are being criticised on their attitude toward Van der Lubbe, the man that set fire to the German Reichstag, and has been executed by the Hitler henchmen. Most of us were a bit too much in a hurry to accept the circulated standpoint, that Van der Lubbe was a hired tool in the hands of Hitler and his cohorts. . . . Marcus Graham is not the only one that contends that the murdered Hollander is a revolutionist. The 'La Revue Anarchiste' of March, 1934, the 36-year-old French monthly journal gives over its entire issue to vindicate Van der Lubbe."

"Freedom" has also at last, after waiting eight months, come forward to vindicate the name of the martyred revolutionist. It is only to be regretted that it had to open up its exposition by the following dubious implication:

"In the March issue of 'Man!' there is an attack on Rudolf Rocker and the editors of the 'Freie Arbeiter Stimme' for what is claimed to be their attitude toward Van der Lubbe."

Where Dr. Globus was fair enough to state clearly that "Man!" has defended Van der Lubbe, "Freedom" refrains to state as to who was defending Van der Lubbe, and who was slandering him.

These two publications "Freedom" and the "F. A. S.," as also the "Dielo Trouda," were the sole exceptions in the entire Anarchist press throughout the world not to rally to the defense and vindication of Marinus Van der Lubbe from the slanders of his own Communist comrades and the Socialist and Liberal world.

Dr. Globus has also something to say about "Man!" in general in the same issue. He says in part:

"Every impartial person, that has no prejudice against the journal or its editor must admit, that 'Man!' is an excellent good journal. . . . It seems to me, that the journal deserves more attention than we give it. . . . Lately the liberal government at Washington has begun to harass 'Man!' and gives it much trouble and for this alone it deserves our support."

## WHAT IS YOUR ANSWER?

Every reader is undoubtedly aware of the manner in which the Government has been aiming at making the appearance of MAN! impossible. Despite all these obstacles we are making every effort to continue. To add to our burdens, the printer has raised the price for each issue. The present wave of reaction in California makes it also impossible, for the time being, to arrange public affairs. Thus, the regular appearance of MAN! is being hindered to a great extent.

MAN! has never in its entire existence appealed for help. It will not do so now, either. We feel certain that once the Comrades become aware of the threatening danger, they will at once come forward to safeguard the future appearance of the journal.

## Financial Statement

(From June 15 to July 15, 1934)

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TOTAL INCOME .....	\$62.51
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