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## IN RETROSPECT OF CURRENT EVENTS

### The Saar Plebiscite

The return of the Saar with its more than a half-million beings to the domain of Germany was expected as a certainty by nearly every one. All the rampant poison of national-patriotism fostered by the rulers and exploiters of mankind made impossible any different outcome.

Another factor overlooked by many, who are amazed at such an overwhelming vote being cast to return under the present mad-dog Hitler, is the very same cause that made all the people of Germany succumb to him: blind obedience and discipline. And for the fostering of this spirit, the Social Democracy of Germany is chiefly responsible.

This the Social Democracy did by strictly following the precepts laid down by Karl Marx, precepts that have, and still are, being followed most diligently by the disciples of Marx, in every part of the world. Although once already the most powerful political party of Germany, this blind obedience and discipline proved the undoing of the German Social Democracy, as it did to the Briands in France, to the Macdonalds in England, to the Trotskys and to the Zinovievs in Russia.

A dark future awaits the oppressed of the world, as long as they continue to support the tactics and ideas of Marx's disciples. The self-reliant will be free, and the self-dependence for achieving it, holds out the only hope for a true change for the better, in mankind's long struggle for emancipation. That is why Socialists and Communists alike are so busy at all times in misrepresenting and in distorting the real meaning of the words, Anarchy, Anarchism and Freedom.

### The Religious Issue in Mexico

The Catholic Church has played one of the most infamous roles out of all the religious outfits in the establishment and perpetuation of injustice. It has been, and still is, working hand in hand with every sort of State that it can. It was chiefly this monstrous clique that aided in the judicial assassination of the forerunner of Free Education—the Anarchist Francisco Ferrer of Spain. If there is anything that the Catholic Church fears, detests and fights, it is freedom of thought.

When the Catholic Church is demanding "justice" of the present Mexican government that has divorced itself from them, no liberty loving person will shed any tears over its wallings.

The position of the Government of Mexico is, that henceforth it will give the children a "socialist education." This stand has, of course, weakened the government's position. For it places itself in the same biased category of a denominational class rule. Had the Government of Mexico come forward with a plan for a genuine free education, unbiased by any religions or dogmas, its stand would have been far more stronger. As it stands now, the children of that country will be imbued with a socialist, instead of religious, conception of life. Instead of Jesus, Marx will be worshipped. There is therefore little left over which to rejoice in the change made. No free minded men can grow up in such surroundings. And without free minded men there can be no hope for the upbuilding of a free society.

### Plots and Persecutions in Russia

That the 117 executed and the 97 sent to concentration camps or into exile in Russia are not white guardists, but fellow-members of the same party that meted out the brutal punishments, is being proven by some of the already disclosed news stories that have become public.

I. I. Reingold, chief of the Cotton Department of the Commissariat of Agriculture, and two lesser associates had been ousted from the party as Trotskysts. Reingold is charged with having helped L. Faivolovich (a Trotskyst opposition member) to regain membership in the party, having kept close secret contact with him for eight years, and of having given him an important position in the irrigation department. Reingold is also charged with having attended the funeral of Zinoviev's secretary last fall. . . . A student at the Gorky University was expelled for a recitation in a political class on the killing of Kirov, in which he said: "The Trotskysts were genuine Bolsheviks." (N. Y. Times, Jan. 11, 1935.)

Gregory Zinoviev, a former president of the Communist International, was sentenced in Leningrad to ten years' imprisonment. Lev Kamenov, a former Vice Premier of Russia, was sentenced to five years' imprisonment. Seventeen others, accused as members of the Moscow Centre, were also sen-

tenced to prison terms varying from five to ten years. Seventy-eight others were ordered exiled by the Commissariat for Internal Affairs (which replaced the OGPU, secret police). Thirteen women are among the 78. Most of the 97 persons convicted were members of the Communist party up to the time of their arrest, and all were listed as members of the Trotsky-Zinoviev opposition. The court accused the Moscow Centre of having known and encouraged the terroristic attitude that led to the killing of Kirov (N. Y. Times, Jan. 18, 1935).

F. D. Medved, head of the Commissariat for Internal Affairs in Leningrad, and 11 of his assistants, were sentenced to various prison terms, ranging from two to ten years for "criminal negligence." M. K. Balzevich, one of the most important assistants of Medved, was charged with having had information about the contemplated killing of Kirov, and was sentenced to ten years (N. Y. Times, Jan. 23, 1935).

There is little that need be added to the opinion we have expressed already in the January issue. The brief outline of the news stories from the Times fully substantiate our position. We bring the above facts, in the hope that all those sincere elements who have been taken into following blindly everything done by the disciples of Marx, as rulers over Russia, will at last be able to begin in seeing the light.

Plots, persecutions, counter-plots and assassinations are but the direct fruits of rulership. As much so under a "revolutionary proletarian government" as under a czaristic one. No revolution that allows to establish a new government instead of the old one can end any different than it is doing in Russia. That is the great costly lesson of the revolution in Russia.

### Prison Outbreaks

The recent prison outbreak at San Quentin, Calif., that has cost the life of a prisoner, and the wounding of the warden, is but one of many that has taken place within the last few years in every part of the country.

Shameless pen-harlots like Brisbane, and editors of liberal papers as the San Francisco News, are bewailing the menace which society suffers during such outbreaks. They are not penning one word of condemnation upon the true causes of crime and criminals, because they are part and parcel of the very system which fills the prisons to overflowing capacities with victims of injustice.

Every badged man thinks himself an appointed ruler over his fellowman, especially is this true in a prison. Were the full truth ever to become known as to the shameful mistreatment that prison victims are forced to undergo, it would disgust and shock the average human being on the outside.

Crime and criminals are but the fruits of injustice. Nine hundred and ninety-nine prison victims out of every thousand would never have resorted upon a crime road if it weren't for the fact that we live in a society wherein Legalized Theft is considered a virtue, and Money is the God-measurement to enable one in living at ease. The prison victims cannot understand why the Morgans, the Rockefellers and the Insulls can rob and get away with it, without ever having to spend the rest of their lives in prison.

All the laws against crime, all the punishment devised against victims of a criminal society, nor all the prisons in the world have ever proven themselves as deterrents to

Crime. On the contrary, Crime and Criminals, as well as prisons are constantly on the increase. This cannot be otherwise under the onward march of injustice everywhere. And crime and criminals are but its harvest.

In every prison outbreak throughout the country, the daring victims revealed far more consideration for human life than the badge holders of the law. Brutal and wanton murder has been meted out to those who have courage enough to rebel within jail walls. If in future outbreaks these prison victims will act as brutal as the law upholders, the latter will have no cause to complain.

Prisons, crime and criminals are ornaments that bespeak of an unjust society. When equality of opportunity for every living soul becomes a reality, when legalized theft and money no longer serve as the measurements wherewith to attain happiness, then and not before will society witness the real solution of crime and criminals.

### Communists On Trial At Sacramento

Eighteen men and women, members of the Communist party, are now on trial at Sacramento, Calif. The criminal syndicalism law, which originated in this "golden state," and which was used against the I. W. W. members 16 years ago, when they inspired strikes in the harvest fields, is being invoked once more, this time against the Communists. Since the A. F. O. L. officialdom would have nothing to do with the exploited cotton and fruit pickers, the Communists used out the opportunity of building up their own unions, by calling strikes, and also aiding the workers in winning momentary gains. This last thing, the exploiters of California could never forgive nor forget. They have therefore ordered their governmental tools to proceed in railroadng the assered Communist leaders. (Vigilante committees, in open cooperation with the authorities, have been organized, and are awaiting to step in and crush any strikes that will be attempted this coming harvest.)

The so-called liberal element of the State is still having the jittery-feeling from the last General Strike. They are as quiet as the dead of a cemetery. The labor misleaders are secretly glad, and openly indifferent. The non-communist radical element, knowing very well the Jesuitical rule or ruin policy of the Communist party, are reluctant in attempting to start any movement against the attempted railroadng of the 18 communists. Such a situation is deplorable. But the Communists have no one to blame any more than themselves for it. . . . Sixteen years ago, when the I. W. W. boys were facing the courts on similar charges, tolerance and respect of each other's ideas was not something to be derided and laughed at in the radical movement. The support of the I. W. W. victims was then almost a unanimous one. Whenever this spirit will once again come back to life, the same spirit of solidarity will reveal itself anew. In the meantime, one can but only condemn and point at this trial as another proof of the class injustice in a state where Billings and Mooney are kept in prison for over 17 years upon admittedly perjured evidence by the state.

### Movie Art and Censorship

There are many that acclaim the outbranching of the cinema as a beneficial blessing to the multitudes. The claim is made that through the cinema art, the finer things of life, have been brought closer to the people than the stage could ever have hoped to.

There cannot be any doubt as to the cinema's ability to reach the multitudes, far more so than the stage. As to its beneficial effects, compared to the stage, it is more than doubtful.

The movie industry of the country lies in the hands of people who are very little concerned with art and literature, but very much so with the box office receipts. The scenario writer, the player, as well as the director, are measured by the monetary yardstick solely. Writers like Theodore Dreiser abhor the sight of the studio. Artists as Greta Garbo can dare only once to force the producers in mounting a "Queen Christina," just as a director like Josef von Sternberg is considered to have committed suicide by producing one of the greatest artistic spectacles such as the "Scarlet Empress." Another great director, as King Vidor, is forced to invest all of his own resources in order to bring out such a social story as "Our Daily Bread," which has not even gotten much further than with but a showing in New York.

In the movie kingdom reigns but one god—Money. Then there is the other greatest of all evils effecting the cinema: its own imposed censorship. To raise a real social issue is taboo. To question god and religion, or our rulers,

### A COMPLIMENT TO CIVILIZATION

A wireless dispatch to the N. Y. Times reads as follows:

Paris, Jan. 9.—Benjamin Ullmo, who returned to France last year after twenty-six years as a convict in the Devil's Island prison colony in French Guiana, left here today disappointed with civilization. He is voluntarily returning to French Guiana, where he suffered untold hardships, despite the fact that he had found a good job in Paris.

"What has struck me most since my return to France," said the former convict in an interview with the Paris Soir, "is the extraordinary spiritual collapse in the world and the decline in conscience and intelligence."

"I have been less impressed by the material progress that has taken place in these twenty-six years. It is not so much the lowering of moral standards as the immeasurable stupidity of present-day humanity, which regards itself as so superior."



is tantamount to daring treason. And despite all this, the religious gentry of all denominations have instituted a reign of the boycott to force the movies to censure themselves even more so than they have already done. And the movie merchants are crawling on their knees, imploring to conform with the religious bigots' wishes. Not a single one of them as had the courage to defy or to question the religious fraternity.

No such a disgraceful spectacle could ever be witnessed on the stage. Sure enough there too are the managers with an eye ever on the box office, having the Owen Davises supply them with their tripe. But there are managers such as a Arthur Hopkins who is again and again ready to mount the daring, original and real meritorious play. There are organizations as the Guild and the little theater in every city; there are the Eugene O'Neills, the Sean O'Caseys, the Elmer Rices, and innumerable players that, all in all, make the stage still the outstanding literary achievement, far above the cinema.

The censorship may raise its head as it did two scores of years ago against Shaw's "Mrs. Warren's Profession" or Ibsen's "Ghosts," or as the infamous Boston that committed the murdering of Sacco and Vanzetti, and refuses now to allow O'Casey's "Within the Gates" because it tells the story of a prostitute, who happens to be the daughter of a Bishop. As a rule, though, the stage suffers by no means of the self-humiliating censorship that the cinema reveals.

The cinema is fast becoming the most harmful factor in the mental development of man, as well as in its struggles for a just society. The living stage is still the only open pulpit left where Truth and Justice can ring out from time to time.

### After Twenty Years of Liberalism

In its issue of January 23, 1935, the New Republic reviews its past 20 years of existence as a liberal organ, and goes on to say:

"It is hopeless to try to change one system into another merely by persuading and educating the people who are conditioned by it... we prefer to mediate... among the many schools of radical thought and between them and the people who have not yet made up their mind... we hope to participate... in the search for objective truth, in the exercise of tolerance toward those who disagree... and in the conservation of those precious human values without which any social change would be meaningless."

And in order to prove how sincerely it will carry out this new policy, the New Republic follows up its declaration by an editorial on the recent Bolshevik Massacre, upon their dissenting Comrades, and offers this comment:

"...it is a genuine tribute to the Soviet government that in recent years the number of overt acts by counter-revolutionists has steadily diminished until 1934... fairness demands suspense of judgment until the full facts are available..."

The sincerity of this openly apologetic defense of the Bolshevik Massacre can best be adjudged when one compares it to the following ringing declaration of another well known liberal, Oswald Garrison Villard, in the Nation, also of January 23, 1935:

"I, for one, deny the right of any government to butcher people as Hitler and Stalin have done, and I go farther and deny to any government the right to take human life, to commit the crime of murder, whether by judicial process or otherwise... as I said before, the end never justifies the means and no good social order can be established by bloodshed... wrong never yet made right, nor ever will."

The New Republic offers in the same issue still another exhibition of its fairness. In an article by Jonathan Mitchell on "The Left Revives" it is being asserted:

"However, in the unemployment insurance conference at Washington, the Communists showed themselves notably wise, patient and skillful... Perhaps the nearest approach to a rank and file united front ever seen in this country—at least for the moment—was brought about."

But even the assertion in this article is far from the truth, as can be seen from an article in the Maryland Leader of January 19, 1935, where a news story describes how Dorothy Dare, Jack Arthur and Albert Bell, members of the Lovestonites, were taken into a committee room "to talk things over," and were severely beaten up. Their crime consisted in distributing leaflets outside of the hall, calling for the formation of a Labor party. Inside of the hall, Earl Browder, high chief of the Communist party, was likewise appealing for the formation of a Labor party... That is the kind of a united front spirit that receives the praise of the New Republic, since the Maryland leader story is of the same conference praised by Mitchell.

With two editors already being avowed Communists, why not have the courage to announce that henceforth the New Republic is to be the semi-Communist weekly of America? After 20 years of wavering liberalism, pro-war Wilsonism and pro-Rooseveltism, the liberal New Republic is at last in the right fold, with free-pie card artists Robert Minor, William Z. Foster, and their like! Not much of an achievement for a liberal organ, after 20 years of existence.

M. G.

### MAN!

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## Liberty and Fatalism, Determinism and Will

We say that a revolution is necessary, that we want one, and that we are devoting our energies to awakening and uniting the wills intent upon this end.

But a fundamental objection is opposed to us. "Revolution," we are told, "is not made by the caprice of man; it comes (if it does come) only when the time is ripe for it. History does not move by chance but develops in accordance with natural laws which are immutable; irresistible, and against which the will of man can do nothing."

In practice, at least in the majority of cases, this objection involves nothing but a polemic, or a political expedient. Just because a thing is not desired it is affirmed that it is impossible; the power of will is denied when one is called upon to make an effort in a direction which is not convenient; and, (since now nearly all who know the alphabet set themselves up as scientists and philosophers) desire itself is rationalized and science and philosophy are called upon to act as go-betweens for the little schemes of individuals and parties. On the other hand when a thing is interesting and pleasing, all theories are forgotten, one makes the necessary effort and, if concurrence of others is needed, one appeals to their willingness and exalts the power of will instead of denying it.

In spite of this, however, it is certain that every man who thinks, feels the need to put his conduct into harmony with his intellectual convictions, and, when he acts, he likes to take account of the efficacy and the quality of his actions. Every man who thinks and observes and who is learning the innumerable facts of nature and of history, feels the need of organizing his acquired impressions into a system, and of finding some general principle which will unify and explain them.

From this need of comprehension and of mental adjustment, have originated both the theological and the naturalistic systems of philosophy. From this need are born the inquiries and the discussions concerning the problem of Will, that is, of the power of man (or of any conscious being) to sway the course of events. This is the fundamental problem of any philosophy—it has fatigued, and continues to fatigue, the thinkers of all schools.

This fact would not have been otherwise than advantageous to the intellectual development of man and for the better utilization of human forces, had it not been that, very often, by a common mental illusion, that which is a simple product of the imagination was mistaken for the real objective and more or less comfortable hypotheses were mistaken for certified facts with which it was attempted to unify and explain known facts. Worse still, when simple words without any precise and definite significance were taken for real things.

Thus were invented God and the Immortal Soul; thus were invented Matter, Force, Energy (all with capital letters) and all the other mental concepts designed to explain by words, the universe which is not understood.

But above all these entities, which it is well to treat with prudent and smiling skepticism, there is a superior principle which seems truly unassailable—or at least such that the human mind cannot conceive its negation; thus is the principle of Causality which, all by itself constitutes the philosophy called Determinism. Nothing creates itself and nothing destroys itself; no effect without sufficient cause; no cause without its proportionate effect.

Very well. If, to the human mind, this seems to be a necessary and absolute truth then logical reasoning is also a necessity of the mind, and it is also true that every premise leads to its obvious conclusion. Now the logical conclusion of the principle of causality, understood as the universal and unavoidable principle, is that, starting out of eternity, everything is a necessary concatenation of events which could not be other than as determined, and that therefore, man is nothing but a conscious automaton, will is an illusion, and liberty is non-existent and impossible.

It is a fact that, reasoning in the abstract, many willingly arrive as far as the ultimate consequences and they say, with Laplace, that, if a man could know all the existing forces in the universe at a given moment, with all their points of application, their intensities and directions, he could calculate all that has happened, and everything that will happen, at any moment whatever in eternity and at any point whatever in infinite space—everything from a star in its orbit to the verse of a poet, from an earthquake shock to a newspaper article.

This is, in its most consequent expression, the philosophical system which is commonly called Determinism, and which, starting from the concepts of Nature and Necessity, and following rational and scientific method, arrives at the same conclusions as those reached by the ancients with their Fate and the theologians with their Predestination.

There are also, some who seek to restrict and attenuate the meaning of the system and to elude its consequences, trying to conciliate the idea of necessity with that of liberty. But these are, as we see it, vain and illogical attempts for, a "necessity" which is not always necessary, which admits restrictions and exceptions, can no longer be called by that name.

Determinism responds admirably to certain needs of the intellect and it is a sure guide in the study of the physico-chemical world. But it indubitably paralyzes and denies the will and makes useless and laughable any effort directed toward any end.

Nevertheless, while every man more or less thinks and acts by deterministic logic, there aren't any who actually translate their philosophy into life—at any rate, we do not know of any. This is not strange because, if there were any such, they must find it useless to make known and to propagate their ideas, convinced, as they must be, that that which must occur (even the cerebral antics of each one) will occur fatalistically at the determined time, and that nothing can possibly prevent it, nor retard it, nor hasten it.

Obviously the determinists—who are, in general, studious, active and desirous of progress, and who have become determinists not only thru reasoning but also thru reaction against the prejudices, the impositions, and the obscurantism of religions—are floundering about in a continuous contradiction. They deny free will and, therefore, responsibility, and then they become indignant against the judge who punishes the irresponsible. As if the judge were not himself determined and therefore also irresponsible! They say that all things that take place (natural phenomena, human history, actions, passions, and individual thoughts) do so in an uninterrupted and necessary sequence of cause and effect, reducible to physico-chemical facts which are subject to mechanical laws. Then they assign great importance to education and to propaganda! They are the apostles of charity, tolerance, and liberty. As is evil, intolerance, and tyranny were not, since they exist, necessary things which the laws of mechanics should explain! Often they are revolutionists, struggling and sacrificing themselves for something which, according to their system, will happen and must necessarily happen of its own accord, when the time comes.

It is true that it could be answered that the determinist who thus contradicts himself is also determined and cannot help contradicting himself, just as we cannot do otherwise than point out the contradiction.—But, then, one may as well say that doing is equal to not doing and that all this reasoning and striving is but a comic opera, tiresome or diverting, but—also necessary. How are we to escape from these difficulties?

The absolute Free Will of the spiritualists is contradicted by facts and is repugnant to the intellect. The negation of Will and Liberty by the mechanists is repugnant to our feelings. Intellect and sentiment are constituent parts of our egos and we know not how to subjugate one to the other.

We may not know how to deny the principle of causality but neither can we look upon ourselves as automata. Nor if we seek and desire the explanation of all things, do we deny their existence simply because we do not succeed in explaining them.—For there are many more things in the universe than in all the systems of philosophy! Science and philosophy are but attempts, still infinitely imperfect, to explain the universe. And while science searches and philosophy syllogizes, we ought to live—to live like men who will obtain from life the maximum possible satisfaction.

What is Will in its essence? We do not know. But we do, perhaps, know what, in their essence, are Matter and Energy. Efficacious will must be the power to introduce into the chain of events, new factors which are not necessary and not pre-existent—it must be, in fact, the power to produce and effect without a cause. This immediately repels the intellect educated to the scientific method. But isn't it true that upon retracing the path of the chain of events and regardless of the philosophical system one takes as a guide, one always arrives at an unknown and perhaps inconceivable First Cause—that is to say, at an effect without a cause? "We do not know." To us, this seems to be the last word that can be said, at least for the present, by wise philosophy.

But we want to live a conscious and creative life, and such a life demands, in the absence of positive concepts, certain necessary presuppositions which may be unconscious but which are always, nevertheless, in the soul of everyone. The most important of these presuppositions is the efficacy of the will. All that can usefully be sought are the conditions which limit or augment the power of the will.

(Translated by E. J. Boche) Enrico Malatesta

### Cures For Crime

In these last few years we have heard so much talk about crime and criminals. This is a subject into which every person should take time to look. We see prisons filled with criminals. Then the Death House, the most brutal of prison houses, is never empty. Children of 12 and 13 are put into reformatories. But why all this? Many are the answers to this question. Many persons have stated the causes of crime, but the real cause of it all is misery and money. And misery and money exist because of social distinction. Look around you and you will see the slums of every city filled with ragged and hungry children, while on the other side you see a child, who is too well fed, with a score of servants to wait upon him. This is social distinction.

Most of the criminals come from the slums. As children they are deprived of an education because they must work. They go to work to help their parents and must pay here and there and what little wages they receive is soon gone. They are young, and crave excitement, fun, happiness, enjoyment—but instead they must stay at home. They look around and see other young folks with clothes, cars, and luxuries—having a good time. They want this too, so they become bandits. They learn to hate the rich, the cop who hinders his progress. So he kills—and soon he is branded an incorrigible criminal. This is the sort of crime caused by misery!

There are the racketeers and gamblers who kill one another, drunken men shoot each other; rival gangsters hire men to shoot. This is not the fault of the man who kills but of society based on corruption, politics and money. It is the greed for money that causes rackets. Money craze—that is what it is. Yet there are courts with formal proceedings which blame the one person, put him in prison. They think this will stop crime but it only increases it.

Many cures for crime have been advanced, but the only effective cure is to get to the root of it all. Cut the root and the rest will fall itself. The only effective cure is ridding society of money and abolishing social distinction—by social revolution. By giving work and food to all there will be no more crimes, no more injustices. Men will then live as individuals.

Diya Agostinelli (13 years old)



# THE GREAT LEGACY of the FRENCH REVOLUTION

The great French Revolution was perhaps the first conscious attempt to create a perfect human world. On the whole the attempt failed. Physically the European and American populations are at present somewhat better off than they were then: they are rather better fed and better housed. They may enjoy also a few more pleasures; the standard of living is somewhat raised. But this material improvement is neutralized by greater insecurity and more mental anguish. The human world in general is probably more chaotic, more restless and turbulent and faced with greater dangers than at the end of the eighteenth century.

But the French Revolution did leave us one great legacy—the vivid and stirring idea that a very beautiful, almost perfect, social order can be established if we only try hard enough. The French Revolution was the mother of all Socialist Utopias and later of the more scientific and realistic socialist theoretical systems.

And since that great historic event, the hope once kindled will not die down, the great hope and faith that it is possible for humanity, or at least for its most advanced portion, by an act of will to create a harmonious and happy social order. A very large part of intelligent people with a social conscience have become some kind of "Utopians," social idealists, filled with the desire and the determination to make the life of mankind on this planet a great adventure, the goal of which should be a humanity living in justice, peace and beauty.

But, alas, great are the obstacles these social idealists have encountered, much greater than they have expected. The ruling classes have proved to be much more obdurate in their opposition to an improved world, more determined, resourceful and villainous than any one imagined. Additional experience has made it clearer than ever that a ruling and oppressing class is utterly devoid of all morality in relation to its victims, of all human sympathy and all social vision. Also that the modern ruling class, the bourgeoisie, is in this respect absolutely no exception.

Another great obstacle to the realization of a juster and more intelligent social world are old habits, customs, beliefs, traditions, prejudices and superstitions, in short, what we may call the social and mental inertia of the masses. The masses instinctively fear change and innovation, they prefer the slavery of Egypt, to which they were used, to liberty in an unknown land. The exploiters are conservative because they hate to part with their advantages and privileges, but the "underprivileged" as President Roosevelt so skillfully and soothingly names our disinherited and down-trodden, are also to an extent conservative, though for another reason: they possess so little of the goods of the world that they are desperately afraid of losing them and are therefore timid. A person who walks near the edge of a precipice naturally walks somewhat cautiously. This is why the social idealists must not only fight the determined and aggressive conservatism of the exploiters, but also the passive and timid conservatism of the exploited masses.

A third great obstacle in the paths of social reconstruction is the exaggerated insane nationalism of our times. Our modern super-capitalism breeds imperialism, chauvinism and war, by which the souls of the masses are poisoned and their minds side-tracked from their real needs and wants.

The obstacles to the realization of a just human world are thus shown to be formidable. We must not deceive ourselves—the abolition of capitalism is quite a task. There are times when doubt and skepticism steal into the heart of the most confident and optimistic and he asks himself anxiously, "Watchman, what of the night?"

Fortunately one great consoling fact comes to one's mind in the dark moments of despondency: the number of those that desire with all their hearts a better and juster human world is growing constantly, rapidly and ceaselessly. This is a fact that every good observer must admit, and that is the most striking feature of our times. Day by day the number of those is increasing who have adopted the new religion of saving humanity not by the will of God, but by the will of humanity itself.

It is for the philosopher of history to discover the hidden and underlying causes of the mighty spread of the new religion (if we may use this somewhat discredited name for the new movement). The economic breakdown of the present regime, with its train of suffering not only for the proletariat, but for the agricultural classes, the lower middle class and the majority of intellectuals, is generally admitted to be the chief cause. But the spread of culture and knowledge among the masses, the weakening of old religious dogmas and superstitions, the cumulative effect of revolutionary propaganda and the progress of sociology and the other social sciences have been additional important factors.

The growing ugliness, disharmony and stupidity of the present regime is becoming more offensive to the nostrils of the socially minded, the faults and contradictions of capitalism have become so glaring and intolerable that it has become very difficult to explain them away. This is perhaps the chief factor in the rise of Fascism. The bourgeois world feels that free speech and press must be abolished so that all discussion and criticism of the evils of capitalism will cease. The Krupps, Fords and Hearsts realize that capitalism and democracy, even pseudo-democracy, cannot co-exist safely and comfortably any more, they must sacrifice one of them; and, of course, it will not be capitalism, which is infinitely dearer to their hearts.

In order to suppress all criticism of the present social order, the bourgeoisie is gradually abandoning its youthful ideals, democracy and liberty of speech and press. Some of the more intelligent of the upholders of capitalism do it with fear and trepidation. They fear that instead of saving the capitalist system, Fascism may hasten its downfall. For the abolition of all free utterance and of democratic institutions will rob capitalism of a good deal of its glamor, it will take away all its fine pretensions of being a system of equal

opportunities, equal rights and complete freedom of action for the individual.

The suppression of "subversive" ideas makes them more attractive, more fascinating, especially to the young. Besides it is a great question whether our dynamic industrialism can go hand in hand with a static political system and a petrified mental life. Fascism, though, means economic decay, for it adds another heavy burden to overburdened capitalism. It cannot survive, it has not the making of a permanent social system, unless the bourgeoisie itself should be contented to go back to some form of feudalism and pro-

vided that such a turning back of the clock of history should be possible.

As such a historical stunt does not appear to be very likely, it seems that the spread of social-revolutionary ideas cannot be stopped permanently. Neither Fascism nor Nazism are powerful enough to permanently conceal from the people the truth that the world of exploitation and oppression has become unbearable and devoid of all justification and must give place to a higher social order.

And so we may hope that the work begun with the French Revolution and never completely interrupted will go on to its final triumph.

Dr. J. Globus

## Facts and Comments

"Too Old At 45..." thus Lloyd Bacon of Oakland, Calif., penned his own death-sentence before ending his life on Jan. 11, 1935. Another feather in the cap of Mr. Roosevelt's Double-Cross Deal.

Twenty Workers Deported—Another achievement of the Double-Cross deal regime is the deportation of 20 militant workers who participated in the San Francisco general strike. A new victim now facing deportation is Oscar Monista, who has been in this country 22 years, also a member of the Typographical Union, but was found to have belonged in 1925 to the Workers Party.

Fifty Workers Killed and 200 Seriously Wounded—This is the sum total of the workers' toll from strikes under the first ten months of 1934 under the Double-Cross Deal.

Organizers of the A.F.O.L. have found that in 29 states the NRA is being openly violated by employers. The Minnesota Union Advocate, (A.F.O.L. organ) comments:

"Millions of people in America, believe now, that Roosevelt will betray us just as Wilson has done. If the organized workers should desire to venture an opinion about Roosevelt's political honesty according his manner of safeguarding the enforcement of section 7-a of the NRA, then we must realize that he has already betrayed the masses."

Death Rate Climbed in 1934—Reports from 28 states for the first six months of 1934 show a decided increase in the death-rate. The Public Health Service comments in part:

"... many of the unemployed were ill-equipped with clothing and shelter. ... Lowered resistance to disease in this element of the population may have played its part."

Mr. Morgan's Ambassador—The Senate Munition Investigation Committee has been faced with evidence that shows Norman H. Davis, "roving international ambassador" of Mr. Roosevelt, is at the same time a fiscal agent of the House of Morgan and other banking interests. Some day, the people may learn, that Mr. Roosevelt and his administration, (as every government) are but the tools of the Morgans, as well.

Spilling the Beans—Westbrook Pegler, Scripps-Howard hireling to counter-act Heywood Broun's column, is slipping of late into the very pitfalls of Broun. He writes on Jan. 7:

"Just off-hand, of course it is easy to think of extreme examples of over-privilege and under-privilege. There are the Morgans, the Whitneys and the Franklin D. Roosevelts, on the one hand, and the textile slaves, the five-and-ten girls and the West Virginia miners, on the other. ... They (the Roosevelts) have a fat baronial estate in the heart of the Hudson River dude county, a town house in New York ... some money ..."

War, Patriotism and Politics—The pretentious "patriotic" (i.e. du Pont de Nemours company was revealed before the munitions investigation committee as having contributed through its 22 directors the sum of \$438,757 to both the Democratic and the Republican Party from 1919 to 1934. The same patriotic company made \$1,961,000 on a \$5,000 capitalization plant in war time. It also held up the execution of war contracts to obtain more profits.

Money Changers Are Satisfied—Mr. Richard Whitney of the New York Stock Exchange declared that the federal regulations "Are Not Injuring the Security Market." Why not have our liberals ask the "Gabriel"—Roosevelt—to deliver another "fire-side" talk about driving the "money changers from the temples"?

Is There Over Production?—A report by the National Survey Product Capacity disclosed the fact that the people in America have deprived themselves of 287 billions in food, merchandise and service during the last five years. But Mr. Roosevelt's Double Dealers are still at it—planning curtailment of production to the benefit of the profiteers.

The Waste of Wealth—In order to induce sales the merchants of this country have paid out in 1933 the sum of \$49,500,000 to the radio concerns and \$145,000,000 to the newspapers. The buyers of course, paid the bill, in the end. In a sane cooperative society there would be no need for such waste.

Teaching Children to Murder—It remained for the greatest political charlatan—Benito Mussolini—to decree military training for children from 8 years upwards, and have the brazen effrontery in calling it "an integral part of national education!"

### Our Yearly Award

The medal for the most shameful betrayal of a newspaper toward its own masthead: "Give Light and the People Will Find Their Own Way," during the year of 1934, is hereby awarded to the San Francisco News. Having built up its reputation as a "liberal" newspaper, it knifed in the back the General Strike of October and suppressed favorably daily columns to it of Heywood Broun. In the gubernatorial election it openly worked for the most disreputable tool of the exploiters and again suppressed the daily column of Broun that was against Merriam. It also didn't consider as "news" the Government's wilful attempt to harm and thereby destroy MANI.

Relief—At What A Price?—That astute republican politician, Mr. Borah, has recently ushered a bombshell at the Roosevelt administration by charging it with squandering from 25 to 40 per cent of every dollar administered for relief. Mr. Hopkins of the Relief administration replied, by asserting, that private charities spend from 30 to 40 per cent of each dollar given to them for charity. Have you ever heard the story about the two thieves? ...

California—Golden Harvest of Reaction!—The trial of the 18 Communists charged under the criminal syndicalist law has begun at Sacramento. The defense charges, and with full justification, that the Associated Farmers of California, the Pacific Gas and Electric Company, the Bank of America and the California Packing Corporation as the main backers of the prosecution.

What A History Could Be Written!—Unemployed writers, from poets to economists, have been set to work on a relief-wage-project, at Los Angeles, on the task of charting the course of history, past and present. If they would be allowed to pen down the truth what a history that would make ... Leave it to the henchmen of Roosevelt's Double Cross Deal to see to it that no such thing should happen.

Living On Whose Fat?—Professor John L. Childs of Columbia University has declared before a conference that American capitalism still had "much blood in it" and probably would "continue to live on its own fat for a considerable period even though this means a steady lowering of the standards of living of our people." The professor made a gross error. The fat that the capitalists have been living on and will continue to live on—as long as the masses do not rise in rebellion—is the fat created by the masses and robbed from them.

Blind Justice Reigns Supreme—Juries have found Martin and Samuel Insull not guilty upon the charge of stealing billions of dollars from the stockholders of their utilities schemes. And this happened after Samuel Insull himself, realizing his guilt, ran away in hiding for over two years until caught and returned for trial. Not so long ago Charles Mitchell of the National City Bank of New York was also found not guilty for similar deals. It should be quite evident from this that the lawlessly murdered Dillinger, "Baby Face" Nelson and their like were in the wrong business.

Bullets for the Starving!—Relief workers in Arapahoe County, adjoining Denver, went on strike for restoring a 50 per cent cut in their relief budget. When they marched into Denver the police fired bullets into them, and used their clubs right and left. Six were sentenced from 2-6 months imprisonment, as sort of an additional "good measure" act by their duly "elected" servants. The same performance was repeated by the police in Albany, New York, when unemployed workers marched in from New York City to demand more human treatment.

Wages and Profits in Canada—Chain grocery stores were found to be paying as low as \$4.50 per week for 84½ hours, to their men employees. Profits of six large chain stores increased between 1929 and 1933 from \$1,568,845 to \$1,730,592, although net sales dropped by about \$2,000,000. It is indeed the submissive workers to such exploitation that ought to feel ashamed and not the robbing merchants.

Fascism at Work in Georgia—Under the order of capitalists' Fascist Governor, 126 striking textile men and women, were arrested without warrants, and without trial or counsel were herded into concentration camps; their whereabouts were kept secret from their families, their lawyers and from the press—until the strike was broken by the order of Roosevelt.

Honesty and the Law—The ten thousand dollar a year job as Governor of California cost the Sinclair followers about 500,000 dollars to loose the plum, and over a million to the Merriam followers to win it. The report of Mr. Merriam on his expenditures lists the sum of \$464! What others spent for him, he swore of being unaware of ... Thus are governmental election campaign laws being disregarded, flaunted and laughed at.

Trade Union Officials—Placards carried by pickets on Nov. 29 in front of the N. Y. Electrical Workers Union, local 3, reading: "Don't make scabs out of 1,500 union men," and "We can't buy shoes for our children, but we must buy new automobiles for our officials"—made known the fact that officials of the local were planning to drop from the rolls that number of unemployed workers now delinquent in their dues.

The Double Deal Spreads—Premier Flandin of France and Lloyd George of Great Britain will attempt to do for capitalism in their respective countries what Mr. Roosevelt is doing for capitalism in this country—perpetuate its reign under the misleading shield of a "New Deal."

Mussolini's Way of "Enobling Life"—The impudent scoundrel Mussolini is about to (?) "enoble life" for the Italians by establishing 22 Councils of Corporations to regulate all business. "To insure himself complete control" says an Associated Press cable, "Mussolini had himself elected President of the Assembly, President of the Council and President of each individual corporation. Fascist party delegates selected by him were named vice presidents."

Bert Hillside



# "We Have Undertaken a New Order of Things."

This was the opening sentence of President Roosevelt's message to the newly 1935 assembled Congress at Washington. To people who satisfy themselves by reading mere headlines, and a few sentences, the greatness of Roosevelt as a modern Messiah has only been strengthened. Those though who read closer his entire message found in it admissions that question the sincerity of the very first sentence of his message. One finds there these admissions:

"... in spite of our talk, we have not weeded out the overprivileged, and we have not effectively lifted up the underprivileged... No wise man has any intention of destroying what is known as the profit motive." Still more revealing will prove the real aims of President Roosevelt upon examining closer what he has accomplished during the first two years of his tenure in office.

The first outstanding act of Roosevelt was the closing of every bank throughout the country. To some, this act alone placed him upon the pedestal of a saviour. To the more critical, by this act, Roosevelt had actually forestalled the most imminent collapse that the present capitalist order had ever faced in this country. The subsequent two years of his administration proved this most emphatically. The report of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC) from February, 1932, to December 31, 1934, made public on January 20, shows to whom the Government has loaned and allocated close to nine billion dollars.

The report gives these self-revealing facts:

To restrict and destroy cotton, corn, tobacco and other commodities	\$ 993,608,431
To banks, loan associations and trust companies	8,633,442,605
To railroad companies	465,106,080
To banks and insurance companies on preferred stock	1,268,241,545
Allocations to other governmental agencies	862,988,492
Allocation for direct relief	719,638,197
Other minor allocations complete the total of	\$8,464,712,929

The figures disclose here that out of a total of close to eight and one-half billions expended, the mere sum of but over one-half billion was allotted by the government for relief.

Close to eight billions went then to salvage and perpetuate every existing agency of business, exploitation, destruction and legalized theft.

"We have undertaken a new order of things," sounds very far from the truth in the light of the above disclosed figures. More appropriate and true would have been for President Roosevelt to have said: "We have undertaken to safeguard and perpetuate the present system of human exploitation, may it cost the health and life of millions of people!" For, this and nothing else, could be implied by his assertion that "No wise man has any intention of destroying what is known as the profit system."

The second great feather in the cap of President Roosevelt is his National Recovery Act (NRA). Strikes in the steel, automobile and textile industries were looming in the air. The NRA, with its famous section 7a, came about just in time to stave off any imminent class struggle. The double-cross interpretation given to section 7a by the President, was a *carte blanche* to the industrial barons of the country to disregard the seemingly granted rights of labor to organize. As a result, the company unions have grown to such huge proportions, that they no doubt exceed by now the gains of the legitimate labor unions. Wherever the exploiters brought the NRA into the courts for a test, the workers lost most of the time. The class struggle was not wiped out by the NRA scheme. During the last year alone more than fifty workers were murdered by government thugs during strikes. The latest action of the President in the much disputed press controversy, was to side with Mr. Richberg, proving again, as he has by every one of his previous acts, that he is a most diligent servant of the exploiting class of this country.

If labor has not gained anything of importance during the first two years of the Roosevelt administration, the exploiters have a mighty good balance sheet to show. Not only in the salvaging loans, given to them by the government, and as shown above, but likewise in the profits accruing into their coffers during the last two years. We will again let figures substantiate our assertion. A report of 418 corporations throughout the country shows that their profits rose from \$49,000,000 in 1932, to \$605,000,000 in 1933, and during last year it mounted to \$911,000,000! Dividends during 1933 reached the figure of \$6,500,000. Millionaires increased from 20 in 1932 to 26 in 1933 and to 46 in 1934. Industrial profits rose to 70% during last year, and wages only 25%. This though does not by any means imply that the workers gained anything at all. For instance, a report by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, made public on January 19, shows that the real earnings in the textile industry has been less in August, 1934, than in August, 1933. The monthly Survey of Business shows that the buying power of the workers' dollar was worth 85 cents in 1933 and only 78 cents in 1934.

Miss Mary Van Kleeck, director of industrial studies for the Russel Sage Foundation, delivered a lengthy report on November 26, before a regional conference of the International Industrial Relations Institute, wherein she brought forward astounding figures, showing how much less food and other needed commodities have been curtailed, and of which the people were depriving themselves for lack of means. Walter N. Polakov, consulting engineer, stated before the same conference, that the vast resources and productive capacities of the country are more than adequate to assure comfort and ease for every human being.

—\*The reader should bear in mind here, the charges made by Senator Borah, that from 25 per cent to 40 per cent out of every dollar spent on relief, went for cost of administration.

Before the people had any chance to fully realize the manner in which the President has been misleading and double-crossing their true interests, Mr. Roosevelt, like the well trained astute politician which he is, has already come forth with a series of new panacea schemes.

First of these is the spending of 4½ billion dollars in



The Controlling Force Behind the Fire-Side Broadcaster

order to put to work about 3½ million unemployed, on important projects, at a scale low enough so as not to attract any one who works for industrial concerns. What is meant by this, can best be adjudged from an article of Jacob Baker, assistant FERA administrator, in the New York Times of November 11, 1934, when he admitted the following:

"We let a man on work relief work only as many hours as are necessary to keep himself alive and clothed."

Such is to be the fate of the "luckily" chosen 3½ million! About the rest of the more than 6½ million unemployed workers the President has forgotten altogether. These are to be left to fate.

The other two outstanding new plans of "Economic Security" are the unemployment insurance and the old age pension plan. Both plans are left to each of the 48 states. If a state will do something about either of the two issues, the federal government will assist. If not, it will be just as well. As to the unemployment insurance plan, none of the millions of now unemployed will benefit from it. The fortunate ones who now work, will, months after they lose their jobs, receive a subsistence dole of \$15 a week for about 15 or 16 weeks out of each year, on the same style as the dole system in Great Britain is administered. The invalid and aged will be doled out from a minimum of \$15 to a maximum of \$60 a month.

A rather illuminating indirect exposure of the Economic Security plans is being furnished by two press correspondents. The first of these is Louis Stark, who writes in the New York Times of January 17, as follows:

"Perhaps the most striking fact is that the proposals of the experts on unemployment insurance were ignored, their recommendations for a national system of unemployment insurance discarded and their alternative motion of a Federal subsidy scheme rejected in favor of a Federal-State plan... Social insurance experts hold that a sound plan for social security must necessarily involve some redistribution of income and wealth through added taxes on income and inheritance. The President put a quietus on this idea..." Mr. Stark's observations assume yet far greater significance in the light of Paul Mallon's syndicated article of January 20, wherein he asserts (San Francisco Chronicle of January 21):

"What you probably will not hear is that business earnings are not expected to be influenced. The taxes for unemployment insurance will come out of the pay envelope in one way or another, depending on the state laws to be enacted. Wall Street seemed to be very sure of this. The market reacted favorably to the plan. Also obscure is the fact that it is a long-range venture, which will not start functioning for five years and may not reach a level of efficiency for 10 or 20 years. It will not effect the present unemployed..."

More such documentary evidence could be brought forward to prove that the "new order" of the President, and which a deceitful press heralds as a new magna charta, is nothing but a well conceived scheme whereby to safeguard and perpetuate the present chaotic system of society, based upon the exploitation and rulership by the few over the many.

At the outset we adduced facts upon facts that proved how faithfully and true a servant Franklin D. Roosevelt has proven himself to be for the last two years in the interests of the exploiters of America. His new "plans" only prove how faithfully he intends to continue serving the same exploiting class.

Least any reader should for a moment think our conclusive statements are being exaggerated in the least, we shall trouble ourselves to bring substantiations from yet far more undisputable sources. Says the Secretary of Commerce, Roper, in Today of January 26, 1935:

"It is my pleasure to have close contact with an organization known as the Business Advisory and Planning Council. This group consisting of fifty-two outstanding business men, was formed in June, 1933, to advise the government as to what business desires... These men have met at regular intervals in the Department of Commerce building... None could feel that the New Deal were other than a protector of American business."

A lengthy dispatch to the New York Times of January 18, speaks of the past, present and future activities of these 52 leaders, stating also that:

"By means of this arrangement, which has received the President's endorsement, chairmen of subcommittees of the council, which is made up of fifty-two of the largest names in American industry, will actually sit in at the drafting of administration bills which effect business."

Not by a single word is the name of the real exploited and robbed people being mentioned as participants to "sit" in with the administration.

Thus stands exposed the greatest political Barnum that ever adorned the political arena of this country. A schemer, a tool and a secret mouthpiece of the exploiting class of America. All the lying stories of the great American press can no longer hide these facts.

What is to be done under the circumstances? What is in store for the future? What ought to, and what can the exploited people of America do to counter-act this greatest of all deceit-schemes that F. D. Roosevelt is perpetrating upon the country?

The greatest of all dangers that may result from the schemes of deceit by Roosevelt, lie in the looming possibility of the rise to power of such demagogic fascists as is now reigning already over the State of Louisiana—Huey Long. Already, this fascist has opened fire upon the Roosevelt promises and acts of deceit. Huey Long is telling the truth about Roosevelt, but fails, of course, to reveal the Mussolini-Hitler schemes he has up in his sleeves.

What the people, the exploited people of America can do to save themselves from the Roosevelts and the Longs, or of any politicians, "Father" Coughlins, or parties, is to begin to act just from where they left off when the crisis was at its height. At that time, admits Mr. Jacob Baker, assistant administrator of the FERA:

"Indeed, long before the CWA program was started, many of the unemployed had already taken the matter in hand themselves, and started self-help cooperatives the object of which was to make their members self-supporting..." (N. Y. Times, Nov. 11, 1934.)

The workers in the country and those in the cities have been and still are the real sufferers amidst a surrounding of platitude that can supply at ease all the wants of everybody. Why not then call conferences in every hamlet, village and city for the purpose of taking immediate stock of all the productive resources available, as well as of the already produced commodities that are in the warehouses and stores? Why cannot every community see to it at once that not a single human being shall continue to be deprived of clothing, food and shelter? All this may sound as too revolutionary. Well, what of it? The exploiters and rulers have been robbing the people for ages, is it then unjust to at last begin to expropriate the robbers of our own created wealth and happiness, are we are doomed to more and more deprivation, suffering and even death?

Nature has always been ready, and now more so than ever before, to aid man in creating a heaven on earth. It is only the exploiters, preachers and politicians of all sorts that are offering every conceivable scheme that will prevent the dawn of a paradise for mankind on earth, and for a continuation of the prevailing hell.

Only a people ready and willing to act for themselves can and will usher in the dawn of a Real New Deal, and begin the upbuilding of a New Order, a Free Society. As long as the people will continue to look for deliverance with the aid of politicians, and religious hucksters, the Roosevelts and the Longs, the Hitlers and the Mussolinis, all these will insidiously be safeguarding the perpetuation of the exploiters' Hell on Earth.

Marcus Graham

## The Doom of Empires

The traveler standing amid the ruins of empires of ancient cities and empires, seeing on every side the fallen pillar and the prostrate wall, asks why did these cities fall, why did these empires crumble? and the ghost of the past, the wisdom of the ages answers:

These temples, these palaces, these cities, the ruins of which you stand upon, were built by tyranny and injustice. The backs that bore the burdens also bore the lash. They were built by slaves to satisfy the vanity and ambition of thieves and robbers. For these reasons they are dust.

Their civilization was a lie. Their laws merely regulated robbery and established theft, they bought and sold bodies and souls of men and the mournful wind of desolation sighing amid their crumbling ruins is a voice of prophetic warning to those who would repeat the infamous experiment, uttering the great truth that no nation founded upon slavery either of body or mind can stand.

—Robert Ingersoll.

## Man

Behold him  
Partly clothed in filthy rags no dog would bed upon;  
Dragging  
With black-grimed, cold and bleeding hands  
An awkward cart built up of crosses  
Of broken wood.  
(Are they fragments of Calvary  
Made into a junk-wagon?)

He goes through the mud in the wind and the sleet  
Gathering  
All the world has for him...  
Broken dreams,  
Shattered illusions,  
Tarnished hopes,  
Dust... and ashes... and empty bottles.

—LENA CARNEVALE.



# THE SHEPHERD ACROSS THE AGES

Jack Parnack

Wool growing and sheep herding dates back into the dim past, even before recorded history. Wool growing and sheep herding were familiar to the Greeks and the Romans and those of us who have read the classics will recall that the works of Homer and Virgil abound in references to wool growing. In our school days we have read about the adventures which Ulysses had with the one-eyed shepherd and other stories about shepherds. The Bible is full of stories of shepherds and shepherd's kingdoms—i.e., the story of Cain and Abel, of Gideon and the fleece of wool, of David and the giant Goliath, of the shepherd's kingdom, etc. In the New Testament we read the story of the shepherds watching their flocks when suddenly an "angel" appeared unto them and a multitude of heavenly hosts praising God and saying, "Glory to God in the highest and on earth peace and good will toward men." The story goes on and tells how these "wise men" of the East—the shepherds followed that evening bright shining star and who did they find but Jesus just born in a cow barn, etc. According to the Bible the old gentleman above the clouds called God must be a mutton hungry monster indeed. Just think of all the poor sheep and lambs that have been burned at the altar as offerings to this mutton-hungry brute! Let's lay aside all those fairy tales and stories of the "blood of the lamb" and the "good shepherd" and turn to real history and see what history has to tell us about the shepherds.

In ancient Spain, 149 B.C., a great revolt against the Roman slave trade occurred. A rebel shepherd by the name of Variathus led this revolt. This rebel shepherd has rebelled against the cruel slave trade from the time he was a young man. The Romans looked upon him as an agitator (just like the wealthy shepherds today look upon the sheep-herders who are not satisfied with their conditions as rebels and agitators.) No doubt like Spartacus, Variathus was an organizer for the collegium (a labor union) of agricultural workers. He kept himself out of the clutches of the law, but when he struck, he struck hard.

Thousands of Spanish workers were slaving in foreign harvest fields. Many were slaving under the lash of tyranny in their native country. After the battle of Pydna the Romans sacked or destroyed 70 cities and took 150,000 free workers into captivity. Variathus, the rebel shepherd, continued to agitate until Spain was near the boiling temperature with rebellion. Galba, a Roman general, perpetrated a massacre in order to intimidate the population. However, it had the opposite effect. Variathus, the rebel shepherd, mobilized the agricultural workers into an orderly force and told them the time had come to choose between resistance or slavery. They preferred the former. Variathus then organized and drilled his forces. And so when the next slave hunting expedition reached the shores of Spain, it was met by the Variathus's forces and was defeated.

During the following 20 years Rome had sent six great armies to Spain to crush the rebellious agricultural workers. They were crushed and annihilated instead. Slavery was a thing of the past in those 20 years. The fields of Lusitania were tilled by free communal labor as they had been for the past centuries. During these glorious 20 years the Roman slave market had been cheated out of hundreds of thousands of slaves. One day the Roman stool-pigeons from Variathus's own ranks had murdered him and the story of a great rebel shepherd comes to a close.

All throughout the Dark Ages and throughout the Renaissance down to the beginning of the 18th century, when cotton and the steam engine had come upon the scene, the shepherd had played a leading and dominant role in all of the pastoral classical literature. The story of the shepherd as described by the literature of the pastoral era is fascinating indeed. During the early part of the 18th century the whole history of England can be depicted in terms of wool growing, wool manufacturing and shepherding. Marx and other economic historians have given us a vivid picture of the English economic history from the time of the sheep enclosures acts down to the middle of the 19th century when the industrial revolution got under way. After the middle of the 19th century wool growing and sheep herding was transplanted to the western frontier of U. S. A.

During the latter part of the 19th century, when sheep were first brought to the western ranges, savage feuds between the shepherds and cattlemen began. Deadlines were established. Sheep wars followed as a consequence. Many a poor sheep herder lost his life in those range feuds. Where he wasn't killed outright by the cattlemen's gunmen he was run off the range and his wagon and possessions burned and the sheep stampeded. There are cases recorded where the herders armed themselves and struck back at the cattlemen's gunmen and cow-punchers, killing in return. The range wars went on unabated. The most interesting fact connected with the sheep feuds was that the bosses, the shepherds and cattlemen, were not the ones who had done the fighting. It was the cow-punchers and sheep herders who did the fighting. It was a case of one wage worker fighting another to protect his bosses interests and property. Some of these deadlines still exist in some parts of the western country but there isn't any more killing, when one of them is crossed by a sheep herder. Of late years however, most of the cow outfits have become sheep herders and camp tenders, and immediately gone into sheep—even those outfits that were very hostile in the beginning against sheep—because there are \$2 in profit in running sheep to every \$1 in running cattle. The cow-punchers of those cow-outfits that have gone into sheep had lost all their former antagonism and prejudice against sheep and sheep-herders. This instance is further proof of the law of Economics Determinism i. e., the way men make their living determines their psychology and outlook of life and culture.

In ancient history the owners of flocks of sheep were nomads; they moved with their flocks and herds from place to place as the feed ran short, taking with them their wives and families and all that they possessed. But today, under

capitalism, the man who owns the flock or herd of sheep is a capitalist and lives a contended, stationary life just like any other John Farmer, but the poor sheep herder is still a nomad—better known as a migratory worker. He is homeless and has no wife or family to take along while herding in the remote lonely hills, mountains or deserts. If by chance he did have a wife and family the sheep outfits would not hire him, not alone to say anything of feeding his family in the sheep camp, when they can get all the single herders they want. The sheepman's alibi for not wanting to hire a herder with a family is that if the herder had his wife in camp that he would be always in camp instead of doing his work. This theory is not only absurd but unfounded. At the outset it may also be said that there are very few women today who would want to live in a sheep camp if they had the opportunity, they say, "the sheep camps are too far away from civilization." What they really mean to say is that while in a sheep camp they couldn't go about gossiping, go to shows, dances, parties, etc. This is one of the main factors why about 9-10th of the herders today are bachelors. The wise men of the Biblical times—the sheep herders—were very religious, so we are informed by the sky-pilots, but the herder of today is, generally speaking, an atheist, or unconscious Anarchist and a rebel if there ever was one.

The herder today, in addition to being exploited by his boss, is deprived of all semblances of recreation and social relationship—such as a wife, children, home or sweetheart—while he is out on the sheep ranges herding. His isolated life has a tendency to develop a disposition and behavior that an average city person can't understand. Repressed social instincts and biological urges will find channels of expression. Therefore after months of herding in the solitude, he is compelled by his pent-up emotions to go to town to "get it off his chest." When he "blows into town" as a rule the bootleggers, the wild women or the gamblers get his stake. When

he is broke he goes out again on the sheep range and stays until he makes another stake and repeats the same process. Of course there are always exceptions in all cases. What is said of the herder in this connection can also be said of the sheep shearer, prospector, trapper, cow-puncher, etc. It should be borne in mind that a herder, regardless of some of his shortcomings and weaknesses, is a product of his environment—an environment of isolation and solitude. And since no human being is perfect (so science tells us) then why expect perfection in a lonely sheep herder as some of the fairer sex do?

There is an old saying on the sheep ranges that "once you are a herder, you are always a herder." There is a lot of truth in this saying. There is something about the sheep-herder's life that always draws him back to the sheep ranges: that something is nothing else but liberty and freedom. The writer has found this to be true in nearly all of the cases that he has had experience with. Compare, for an example, the herder's life and the factory worker's and you will see that the factory worker's is one of high-ball, speed-up, stretch-out, etc., with a slave driving boss looking down his spinal column all day long, while the herder's is a free and easy one—comparatively speaking. The herder has no boss over him all day; he is his own boss in a certain sense. He does his work to suit himself; he orders what he wants to eat and cooks what he wants to eat. There are no factory whistles to get up by or time clocks to punch. His real boss comes out once in a while to see "how everything is" and goes right back to the ranch. It is true that his hours are long and his life is a lonely one, but after you get used to it you enjoy it because you have all the liberty and freedom that you want and that is something the city or factory worker hasn't got. Liberty and freedom is a realized fact on the sheep ranges. If you don't believe this try it and see for yourself.

## Business Arithmetic Wont Work

Business arithmetic based as it is on the principle—my two is equal to your three, will cease to work, even if it has been employed by fraud, force and murder all these millenniums. This crisis means death to business arithmetic.

In business arithmetic, which is ingrained in the brain of Man thanks to the habit of his ancestors, men, their necessities and the goods don't count but only how to get three or more from others by putting only two into goods and services. That is why goods remain in other hands than those who have to buy and consume. The persons privileged to have or produce goods for sale will cease to exist if they demanded two for things into which they have put only two, thanks to business arithmetic: they will have to get those who can pay three or more or will die out, not only out of business but out of the earth. Business arithmetic necessitates their taking or dying out. No other possibility,—within business and its arithmetic. Yet that is all what is thought as eternal to Man, even by Marxians and libertarians—thanks to the ingrained habit of our forefathers. They only cry: If only the crisis were not there or ended, having created the crisis by employing and sticking to business arithmetic introduced by our forefathers. The crisis can only end when business arithmetic—which every child knows is not school arithmetic—ceases to function and with it business.

They imagine that all goods and services have differences in business and its arithmetic: Not all, they have all the same business value, i.e., taking more for less, just in order to exist. Bread or wine, cars or radio, paint or poison have all just the same use in business—all these have one purpose, i.e., just to take more money for less, and they must all be calculated on money producing basis, as so much money,

whatever their use for buyers when they pay more than their cost price. They are as good as when a banker exchanges his money for more money of others. And yet, they try to arrange the distribution of goods through business to the necessitous—without upsetting or giving up the necessity for business—by keeping the possibility of getting more for less taken, with or without gold. Whether the state or millions of private individuals have to take the difference between giving and taking, business arithmetic will cease to function, business will stop, both buying and selling. It makes no difference, whether all are psychologically not prepared for the situation or due to millions of our forefathers' belief cannot imagine that anything else is possible than what has been in the past. The fundament of capitalists, Marxians and libertarians has been that Man cannot get on without business, exchange, and making a living by the difference in the process: Selling for more and buying for less. What chance is there for Marxians or libertarians to make the exchange requiring taking more than given work when the capitalists have made it impossible, not only for themselves but for all time? None can resuscitate business arithmetic, even if all become Marxians or syndicalist trade unionists wishing to manage exchange arithmetic. By no manner of means can that be done since it is against all arithmetic logic.

Since none wants anything wherein exchange for making a difference is not contained, what shall happen when they wake up from this dream to find that business arithmetic is irrevocably dead? Chaos or deluge, where everyone will have his or her hangmen, thanks to persistence in blindness to simplest facts which children are taught and can understand.

M. Acharya

## A Communist OGPU In Japan?

(From A Report of Our Japanese Comrade.)

Communism in Japan has rather been a movement "to the people" by the intellectual elements charmed with historical materialism, than a workers' own movement. Many professors, bachelors and even some peers as well as hundreds of students are found among the members of the communist party which is a clandestine society. Despite its audacious claim that it only is a true proletarian organization in Japan, the proletarian elements are comparatively small in the party composition and all the positions and organs of importance in the party are almost exclusively in the hands of intellectuals (if we use the expression of Engels in his attack on the Italian International, the "declassed petit-bourgeois elements"). They are very ambitious and adventurous, and they have many of their own Bonnots, Netchaieffs and Stalins whose erstwhile burglary is famous in Japan and regarded and imitated by "faithfuls" as a sacred revolutionary deed.

The proletarian elements in the party have, therefore, always been dissatisfied with their lead and that has constituted a perpetual cause of the internal strife in the party (by the way, the Comintern supports strongly the "declassed petit-bourgeois elements," because they are blindly faithful to the orders from Moscow, which are often a mere reflection of the foreign policy of the Russian government), their dissatisfaction having grown to lead to the formation of oppositional groups. The recent conversion, however, of Prof. Sano, Dr. Kawakami and many other professors, peers and intellectuals, which has thrown the party into utter confusion and disorganization, has created a favorable situation for the advancement of the proletarian elements who came to occupy two chairs out of three in the new executive of the re-established party, forcing the chairman to accept them in replacement of a literary man and a bachelor. Incidentally after a while the chairman was ferreted out by the police and arrested, with an unexpected result of leaving the direction of the party to the hands of

the two parvenu colleagues, which situation gave a suspicion, and intellectuals with the two replaced men at the head arrested their "new leaders" as agents provocateurs. Two men were examined, tortured brutally, forced to confess in vain and finally put to death by strangulation.

Fortunately or unfortunately, one of the two was resuscitated by his own extraordinary physical strength, and protested to the much surprise of his executioners, his innocence. They were not only bold enough to strangle him to shut his mouth for ever, but also coward enough to inact him, keeping him for scores of days in custody and inducing him by every means to commit suicide, until the hiding place was at last suspicioned by neighbors and searched by the police, before which the brave "agent provocateur" refused to reveal anything beyond his own affairs.

It will perhaps be a little difficult for you to believe the above story which bears a striking resemblance to a novel of Dostoyevsky, "The Devil," which has been used of late by the Bolsheviks with a view to discredit Bakunin and his contemporaries, but it is too true. The internal strife in the party and the "will to the power and authority" which is madly common to all the communists, are the sole cause of this tragedy—a tragedy which ends in a comedy, for it again brings to light a further disorganization going on in the Japanese Communist Party, the party of the so-called "declassed petit-bourgeoisie."

### WILLIAM GODWIN'S An Enquiry Concerning POLITICAL JUSTICE

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## DIVERSE OPINIONS

### Questions From A Bolshevik Poet

Dear Ultimate Comrade Graham:

And perhaps I in return should be surprised that you, so ardent and bitter an Anarchist, sent me a dollar to help finance the booklet of poetry by the Communist Weiss, who will trumpet Communism therein, it even lying within the range of possibility that he might have occasion to attack Anarchism. Of course, I was banking on the coincidence of Weiss's former residence in Oakland, as well as upon your aesthetic tolerance as manifested by the compliance of The Anthology of Revolutionary Poetry.

I can talk politely to you at this distance. We might resort to fists, were we in each other's presence. Believe me, it is not without a twinge of sadness that I admit this. I do not hate the purpose of Anarchy, I conceive of Communism as embodying just that within itself. As I told Hauser of CHANTICLEER on a post card recently, the triumph of Anarchism in an isolated country, such as Spain, could only mean the immediate resort to state-force, Communism more or less, to protect itself from internal reactionary plots and from foreign military might. Should the Russians in 1918 have allowed the bloody Czarists within and the democracy-savers without to have quietly gathered strength for a return knockout blow? You know how mass-resentment comes in a wave, how it subsides all too soon. I do think it quite possible that Russia would need no Red Army, no OGPU, no restriction of liberty today, were it not for the ever-prevailing threat to her from the capitalist nations. I take it in full faith that Lenin meant exactly what he said about the ultimate "withering away." That is why I call you ultimate Comrade.

I am grieved by what this MAN! says about Petrini. Perhaps the Bolsheviks overdo the thing sometimes. At least they should let him leave the country. But I am hearing only your side of the story. And certain other things in this issue of your magazine lead me to doubt your veracity as to matters of fact. Is it not established that Van der Lubbe was actually at one time a member of the young Dutch Communists? That he was kicked out on suspicion of being a stool-pigeon. Do not the records prove this? Moreover, what about the Reichstag building bursting into flame so suddenly at so many concerted places? How could one man have done that? Is it not generally believed that all this could only have been prepared through the secret tunnel by the government itself? So was Lubbe an Anarchist? . . . Graham, do you believe your correspondent Wagner when he says: "One great leader of the KPD said to Anarchists at a mass meeting, 'When we'll gain power you will first come to the wall.' And this leader is now with the Nazis?" . . . Do you personally mean to further it as a fact that the Russian army today stands "with fixed bayonets along the border of Bessarabia?" As Hillside says. The world knows that Litvinov for Russia renounces any immediate claim to Bessarabia and has signed a peace pact with Roumania. Sooner or later the working class will win in Roumania also, and then it will not matter to whom Bessarabia belongs. It will belong to the world. I do know that travelers comment on the fact that though the border of Poland does bristle with Polish guns, it does strikingly not so with Russian guns. . . . But do you mean that the Manchurian border should not, it does, bristle with Russian guns? As Hillside also says. Should the Soviets let Japan have Siberia for the sake of Anarchy? Are the Jap generals very good disciples of Kropotkin? . . . Do you know that your magazine contradicts itself in the A Letter from Austria? You claim that the Socialist leadership finally resorted to violence, in the body of the article then you quote from Bauer saying "Eleven months later this war broke out despite us (us, the leadership)." . . .

My Dear Present Comrade:

The long-overdue reply is caused by my desire to publish both,—your letter and my reply.

I never knew that Weiss once resided in Oakland. My action in aiding the publication of his works was chiefly motivated by an incident that followed the appearance of "An Anthology of Revolutionary Poetry." Weiss was very enthusiastic about the book. He thereupon forwarded a review upon it to the "Daily Worker," where he was a regular collaborator. To his great astonishment, the review never appeared. (Weiss later had the review published in a poetry journal.) Furthermore, the review that finally did appear in the "Daily Worker," began, by belittling the ideal of Anarchism, to which ideal I dedicated my labor upon the Anthology, and ended by praising it as a "gigantic achievement"! A few weeks passed when Edwin Rolfe, the reviewer, came to me and apologized for the kind of review he was forced to turn in by the order of the "Daily Worker" editor. I relate all this in order to show, that Weiss knows by experience how to appreciate genuine freedom as practiced by Anarchists, and how it is flaunted at by Communists. When such a spirited fellow-revolutionist as Weiss is in need, I am ever ready to come forward in offering my aid. I shall therefore be the most surprised one to find Weiss attacking the basic foundation of Anarchism, Freedom.

I am even certain that were we ever to meet, the need of resorting to fists would never arise. Assuredly not on my side. It may come as somewhat of a disappointment to you in learning that most of the communists I have met have remained friends with me up to this very day. Many of these are diligent readers of MAN!

You contend that if Anarchism were to triumph in Spain, state-force would have to be resorted to. You are seemingly then not aware of the fact that the October revolution in Russia came about without the assistance of any existing State, and that its chief aim was directed at destroying every form of State.

The "ever" prevailing threat "from capitalistic nations" is already an overdone exploded bubble. Capitalism finds, and openly boasts, that Bolshevik ruled Russia is its best cash-paying customer today. And does it ever dawn upon your poetic-soul that it is the Russian people who in the end really

### "If There is Anything That Cannot Bear Free Thought, Let It Crack!"—Wendell Phillips

pay the bills? Whether they like it, or are doing it willingly, the uprising of Kronstadt, the scores of people being legally and illegally killed by the Bolshevik Government upon charges of sabotage and refusing to yield the produced commodities, and the latest wholesale massacre upon the dissenting communists, speak mountains. Whilst you as a poet are still singing the praise of Lenin, Stalin and Company, the people of Russia are being bled to death. Is this a poetical conception of justice and truth?

Yes, there was a time when the revolution in Russia was in danger. In 1918-1920 it faced the danger of actual allied intervention. It faced counter-revolution of all sorts. And it was the Anarchist inspired Makhnovtzes who bore the chief brunt of the battles. But who was it that sabotaged, deceived and betrayed the Makhnovtzes? History records the facts. And these are: that it was the Bolshevik rulers that are guilty of deceit and treachery!

If you still harbor the belief that the State will "wither away"—the unprecedented summary murdering of 117 dissenting Communists, and the treatment meted out to Trotsky, Spiridonava, Kolontay, Rakofsky, Zinoviev, Kameniev—and thousands upon thousands of nameless revolutionists ought to convince you of the futility of such a belief.

To your imaginary supposition that a Revolution needs a OGPU, an Army and a State for its existence, I answer: A Revolution once achieved that cannot depend at all times upon the readiness and voluntary defense by the people who made it, has no right or justification for its existence.

You claim in being grieved at what MAN! says about the treatment of Alfonso Petrini, and you add: "I am only hearing your side." And I must ask in turn: what have you done, or are you willing to do in order to hear the other side? Have you or any of your fellow-Bolshevik poets risen to demand an explanation for this outrageous frame-up and attempt to destroy the character and body of an anarchist who refuses to become a spy in the employ of the Bolshevik rulers?

The wrongs committed against the Anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti by an American capitalist regime inspire you Bolshevik poets to stirring songs of protest, and the similar wrongs committed by a Bolshevik government against an Anarchist in Russia—inspire you only to grieve! . . .

Did MAN! ever put forth the claim that Marinus Van der Lubbe was an Anarchist? Not to my knowledge. The sincere anarchist integrity revealed itself when the anarchist press throughout the world rallied to the defense of Van der Lubbe, knowing that he was a communist, whilst the communist press was doing its very best to besmirch his character and aid the executioners of Hitler to behead a fellow-revolutionist whose courage they could not equal. The "heroic" Dimitroff demanded from the Nazi butchers at the trial, Van der Lubbe's head in the name "of the proletariat." His demand was granted, as was also the secret double-cross dealings whereby Dimitroff and the other two Bulgarians were safely guarded into Russia.

I certainly believe that Wagner said the truth. Look up the New York Call verbatim report of a debate that was held two scores of years ago between Harry Waton (Socialist) and Emma Goldman. You will find exactly the same expression uttered by Waton when questioned as to what a Socialist State would do to Anarchists. (Anarchists didn't foresee then what the Socialist State might do this even to dissenting fellow-socialists. . . .)

You resent the statement of Hillside made before Litvinov renounced any immediate claims to Bessarabia, and at what a secret price no one but the Bolshevik rulers and Roumanian ones, know. Most strange of all is, that right after making your objection, you justify the bristling bayonettes at the Manchurian border. But your mind may now be at ease, since the Bolshevik government has already made peace with Japan as well.

Generals, all sorts of government officials, have very little use for anarchistic ideas, for very well founded reasons: they fear a real enemy, but are most willing to deal with a phantom enemy, as the Bolsheviks have proved themselves to be.

There is no contradiction in the Austrian question. Bauer did admit that the revolt broke out despite theirs (the leaders') opposition. They only sanctioned and supported it when it was already too late.

Blessed are they who don't want to see, seems to apply most fittingly to your attitude of being so prejudiced as not even to notice the many contradictions that creep into your own letter.

It is indeed a pity that so many youthful-spirited rebels of the pen as yourself have allowed to be misled into a circle of biased politicians whose motto seems to be: Rule or Ruin, thereby undermining your essential basic foundations as creative artists and revolutionists: Justice and Truth.

Marcus Graham

### Is Civilization Worth Saving?

Why hold on to our so-called good schools when they train us mostly to fit into a system of living which robs us of our health. It trains us to become slaves to industry, cities, fashions, sweat shops, offices, movies, radios, and a general life of artificial living in place of real healthy natural living.

This is called Free Education, what is there free about an education which fits us into a system of exploitation where the worker pays all bills thru rent, profit and interest, educating all of us to envy the exploiter and strive to imitate or become one. Who wants to keep their nose to the grind stone on some unhealthy job, and very few of them are healthy, slaving all day long, day in and day out, year in and year out robbed of our leisure, compelled by ignorance and a system of exploitation in the midst of plenty for that which destroys us? A few weeks' vacation is only a sample of Freedom. To remain in the city to work for and use 90% of the things produced by industry is to sacrifice one's health, happiness, Freedom and Contentment.

Not scientific and industrial development will give us health and contentment. So long as we want the artificial living, too

much clothing and eating of artificial, manufactured refined food and the flesh of our fellow animals, just so long will we have ill health, disease, war and misery. Which do we want? Artificial living and slavery or natural living and Freedom? Each one must make the choice. Today artificial living is producing, and in the past has produced idols, war, imprisonment, unhappiness and discontent. I for one want to get off the Merry-Go-Round of such an unpleasant living.

Are we personally responsible for our acts and actions, or are we just victims of the age we live in, products of heredity and movement? If we are only parts of a great universe, matter acted upon and thru by force, why then should we continue to hold man independently responsible for words and works done thru him, but only by ignorance of the truth? I think we will cease to hold man responsible and accountable and be shown that there is a cause for the effects, and the changing of the cause made thru each one of us.

Nels Holmes.

### Is Slavery Self-Inflicted?

I read the paper through, rather carefully, more than once. Try, as I did, I could not see any Utopia attained by your doctrines.

Human nature is hard. The process must be a gradual one. Perhaps I am totally wrong, but to me it seems that your preaching and teaching is intended wholly and solely as a thorn to Socialism, spurring it on and on. Human bondage is truthfully Human Bondage. All and any evils which man has upon him today, or as history says he had yesterday, were self-inflicted and are still self-inflicted. You cannot really insist that man is being kept in the dark, he is keeping himself in the dark.

Morris Marcus.

### After Thirty Years Activity

It is with much pleasure that I am writing you. I will say that I have been allied with the reform movement in the United States for 30 years or more, and now I have almost come to the end of the rope, so to speak. It is one of the most horrible thoughts of a thinking man to pass by lightly the condition of things as they are now without condemning the whole system that has been responsible for the demoralizing effect upon man and his transit through this enlightened age. I am an apostle of liberty and freedom and will say that there is nothing that I hate worse than the power of predatory privilege, which has from time immemorial been used to exploit the servile people, and to keep them in bondage to their masters.

I am enclosing the prologue of a series of twenty articles on my favorite theme "The Prisoners of Hope" which I am publishing in a local daily in this city. I assure you that I am not failing to heap a deluge of infamy on the perverted culprits that have robbed the workers of the fruits of their toil during the 60 centuries that has passed away.

Z. V. Howell.

### From A Pacifist

Thank you for the copy of "Man!". I wonder how you got my name? The only time I have ever been in contact with anarchists was the three weeks I spent with Prof. Sina of Japan in the steerage of a boat from Singapore to Marseilles. At that time I became convinced that the only true anarchists were pacifists and I increased my determination to become a pacifist. Prof. Sina of course countenanced violence in theory.

I am a pacifist and feel certain that if you would substitute the religion of Gandhi or Kagawa for your violence that you would find your anarchy much more effective. Hatred and violence certainly enslaves a man, real religion makes him free. It is true that we have almost no real religion in America but I fancy there must be as much as there is real anarchy.

However, I enjoyed your paper very much. I liked your defense of Van der Lubbe even though I am sorry for his violence. Your one sentence, "After all, only to the extent that Man will know and trust his Fellowman, shall the New Society become a Free one," is worth the price of a subscription. However I am living partly on charity and hardly feel justified in sending more than a few stamps at present.

Philip F. Mayer.

### Darkness

The shadow is a sweat club or mask for impostors, for vanity and tinsel, that is why so many hate it. Darkness kills the useless beauty of precious stones that charms the primitive minds. In darkness are born the tempest and revolutions that destroy, but also fecundate.

Coal, a dark stone that blackens our hands when touched is power, is light, it is movement when it sings in the fire of a boiler. The rebellion of obscure proletariates is progress, freedom and science when it vibrates in their hands and in their minds. At the bottom of darkness, beings begin their forms and commence the palpitations of life. In the bowels of the furrow the seed germinates. The darkness of clouds is the fertility of fields; the obscurity of rebels is the freedom of the people.

(Translated by L. Raymond)

P. G. Guerrero

### Brief Notes

We must apologize for the letter than was sent out to all individual readers. The ill-fated non-readable manner was due to the mimeograph machine not working properly, and our desire to have the letter included. For those who could not read it, we wish to state that it was an appeal asking readers to renew their subscription, and principally addressed to those who have never remitted anything as yet. All such, as stated in the last issue, will no longer receive the paper, unless a request to extend further credit is being made.

A few lines were inadvertently left out from the first page leader, where reference was made to an editor of the Nation whose findings in Russia were suppressed by that magazine. The editor in question, was Henry Alsberg.



## ART and LITERATURE

## BOOK REVIEW

(War Memories of David Lloyd George. Vol. IX  
Little, Brown & Co.)

Mr. Lloyd George, who was head of the War Cabinet in 1917, tells us the story of the Third Battle of Ypres, sometimes known as "the Passchendaele offensive." It was one of the worst crimes in history.

Haig decided that the British Army, without aid from its Allies, could break through the German lines. In any case, the French armies were in a state of mutiny, due to the terrible death-roll caused by the bungling of their General Nivelle a few months earlier.

Lloyd George tells us that he personally was opposed to the plan; but had to give way because the "Brass Hats" to a man, were behind their chief.

Military officers (of any nationality whatsoever) are like that. Many of them are fools. The rest are not big enough for the job under modern conditions.

And so, on July 31, 1917, the poor Tommies went forward over a ground, which under the preliminary bombardment, had become, in Haig's own words:

"a tortured swamp . . . a series of overlapping shell craters, half full of yellow, slimy water.

The valleys were choked, and overflowing streams were speedily transformed into long stretches of bog, impassible except for a few well-defined tracks which became marks for the enemy's artillery."

Now let Mr. Lloyd George take up the tale:

"Artillery became bogged. Tanks stuck in the mire, un-wounded men by the hundreds and wounded men by the thousands sank beyond recovery into the filth.

For months, hundreds of thousands of British troops fought through this slough. When they squelched along they were shot down into the slush; if wounded they were drowned in the slime; but the survivors still crept and dragged onward for four months from shell-hole to shell-hole, with their rifles and machine-guns choked with Flemish ooze, advancing about a mile a month."

Haig's ghostly shambles went on for four months; and before it was called off 400,000 British soldiers had been put out of action; also 200,000 of the enemy.

All for what? For the gain of a few acres of swamp which were utterly useless and had to be abandoned in an hour or two the following spring!

Why, you may ask, was the attack continued over four months though it was obviously doomed to failure? According to Mr. Lloyd George, the stiff-necked pride of the "Brass Hats" supplies the answer:

"Haig and his two or three associates decided that it was better a million men should perish than that they should admit themselves to be blunderers."

And Lloyd George makes another damning admission—for the implications of which he must share the blame with Haig. He says:

"The public had been misled by bulletins which turned defeats into victories. There was an elaborate and sustained effort to create an atmosphere of impending victory on an eventual scale."

War is always like that. War-time is lie-time. Statesmen cheat the public with deliberate lies. They tell lies to get recruits (they would never get recruits if they told the truth).

Generals, too, lie as hard as the statesmen. And the generals deceive the statesmen as well as deceiving the public.

Mr. Lloyd George's revelations come late; but they are not the less welcome.

They are bound to make the Great War and its supposed "great commanders" stink in decent people's nostrils.

They tear the veil from the career of soldiering and make it appear what it really is—a mug's game, with no glory in it, only humiliation, folly and filth at the best; senseless mutilation of purposeless death at the worst.

Well, it is all over and done with now. The death of Passchendaele can never return. Haig himself has gone to join the hundreds of thousands of his victims.

What, then, can we do about it?

## Books and Pamphlets Received

Challenge, by Camille DuBarry (Poems). Caravan Publishing Co., 2160 Selby Avenue, St. Paul, Minn.

Kerr's Discoveries and Jesus Analyzed. W. H. Kerr, Great Bend, Kansas.

I, Governor of California, by Upton Sinclair, Los Angeles, California.

La Revolution Sexuelle et La Camaraderie Amaoureuse by E. Ermand. "Critique et Raison" 10 Rue de Pontoise 10—Paris-V, France.

Let's Have Action, by Kay Jackson. Ray S. Kellog, P. O. Box 343, Norwalk, Ohio. 10 cents.

Liberty Under the New Deal. The record for 1933-1934. American Civil Liberties Union, 1000 Fifth Ave., New York City.

Poems, by H. H. Lewis, B. C. Hagglund, Holt, Minn. Remember the Eleventh of November. 10 cents. Foreword by Otto Hermann.

The Conscription of Conscience by Lowell Harris Coate. \$1.00. The Stonehurst Press, 2826 Whittier Blvd., Los Angeles, California.

The Plan of Plenty. 10 cents. The Continental Committee, 70 Fifth Ave., New York City.

The Stupidity of Poverty by Harold Leob. 5 cents. Same as previous address.

Travailleurs Defendens—Nous (Manifest Anti-Fasciste), 10 Rue Emile-Jamais, 10, Nîmes (Gard) France.

What Is the IAMB? (International Anti-Militarist Bureau.) Also: War Against War. I. A. M. B. Albert de Jong, Den Haag, Holland.

The Way Out by H. H. Cummins. 15 cents. Melba, Idaho.

We must make sure that budding Haigs do not prepetrate their insane folly on ourselves and our children.

The peril is real. Lord Hailsham is Minister of War today.

This person—who, bear in mind, is in a position where he can do a lot of damage—has prepared plans for sending British armies to the Continent to "push back the enemy's air bases," whatever that means.

It is about as silly, and as impossible, as Haig's murderous plan for pushing back the German armies in 1917.

Hailsham is no more fit to throw hundreds of thousands of decent young Britons into the shambles than Haig was. No man, in these days, is equal to the task of handling vast armies under modern conditions of war.

Therefore there must be no wars; and the sooner we get rid of armies, the better.

Knock out of young people's minds the idea that there is anything glorious about war or adventurous about soldiering as a profession!

Teach your children how unfit the higher Army officers really were for their job, even if (as in the case of Haig) Governments honored them and enriched them.

Tell your children over and over again all about the hell of Passchendaele! Get them to think of Passchendaele whenever they hear the roll of drum, the sound of the bugle.

Above all, teach them that wars, though they may put much money into the pockets of highly "respectable" (if scoundrelly) capitalists, bring to the common people nothing but poverty, misery, humiliation, mutilation and death.

But the only sure way to get rid of war is to remove the CAUSE of war. And the cause of war is POVERTY!

Because most Britons have too little money to buy the goods Britain can make, the British capitalists have to seek markets overseas. Because most Germans have too little money to buy the goods Germany can make, the German capitalists also have to seek markets overseas.

The resulting competition between . . . capitalists for world markets breeds hatred and fear, and these things in time lead to WAR.

The only real cure for war is to abolish poverty at home!  
(Stock Newington Citizen)

## Sick Giant

*Big Business, the sick giant,  
Staggered to his feet,  
Revived by the ministrations  
Of his solicitous friends:  
The bosses applaud him:  
"Come on, Big Boy,  
Do your stuff!  
Show them that you're good as ever!"  
The giant goes through his tricks,  
But he lacks the old vigor.  
His eyes have a stricken look.  
He glances toward the horizon.  
—He listens.  
What does he see looming?  
What is it that he hears?  
Millions of workers,  
—Marching, marching;  
Over the horizon line they come  
—Tramp, tramp, tramp,  
Tramp, tramp, tramp,  
The bosses call out loudly:  
"Come on, Big Boy,  
Don't notice those workers!  
They don't amount to a damn!  
We have plenty of machine guns!"  
But the giant shudders.  
Already he feels the hobnails of rough boots  
Trampling over his heart.*

—MYRTLE G. BURGER.

## Fascism

*Decadence is a ghost with a grey face and a black shirt.  
It stumbles into the cemetery of life, kicking up the dirt  
with its clumsy hob-nailed boots,  
And places a wreath of dried swastika blooms on the tomb  
of capitalism.*

—SOPHIE FAGIN.

## I Am

*You should know who I am. I am the one  
Who shapes and sharpens the axe and the pick,  
I blaze the trail to the cloud and the sun  
Through the slopes and hills where the rocks are thick.  
I handle the axes that sever the trees  
For logs to span over canyons and streams,  
I feed the fires so the foods will not freeze  
And lay foundations for pillars and beams.  
I cull out the weeds. I harrow the soil,  
I kindle the flame that fuses the steel,  
I fashion the songs that lighten the toil,  
I stand at the helm, I sit at the wheel.  
I dig the graves for the mug and the proud,  
I turn the flash on the false and the sham;  
I blaze the way to the sun and the cloud,  
For I am Rebellion, that's who I am!!*

—JACK GREENBERG.

*Religious education is the art of imparting to other people  
what you no longer believe yourself.*

## So—Scarcely Human

In less than twenty minutes a well-directed and energetic artillery bombardment, with the help of gas-bombs had broken the Bolshevik front near Kalnizeem and with little or no resistance the White troops marched Eastward toward Riga.

We had had a hard day and I was tired out. While we were approaching Anting I finally made myself comfortable on the Howitzer near the rear of the battery.

But weary though I was it was impossible to sleep.

The glaring sunshine flamed up red through my closed eyelids. There was scarcely a breath of air. I could feel my shirt soggy under my heavy tunic. And adding to the discomfort of the humidity, thick clouds of dust were thrown up from under the wheels of the gun carriage. A sharp-poking piece of iron jutting out from my seat prevented me from dozing off completely.

Half forgotten memories like itching sores tormented my mind.

There were also frequent rifle shots in the distance and occasionally the weary blasphemy of some cannon. These would reach me as I rode on the gun.

Then I heard the sound of music; the music of rapturous melody; A melody that intoxicated one with joy. It became clearer and clearer.

" . . . and then they kiss, so sweet  
in the summer time, they meet  
near the wood, near the wood  
where wild roses sweet . . . "

At first I thought I was dreaming.

But then I opened my eyes. I saw, riding thirty or forty paces behind the battery, a German lieutenant at the head of a cavalry section. He was playing on a small harmonica.

So foreign was this voice here, so tender—so—almost human.

A halt was made . . . The horses could be watered here and we could also refresh ourselves.

After a while someone brought forward a prisoner, dragged out of the bushes near the road.

The lieutenant with the small harmonica rode up to him. "How old are you?"

"Sixteen years . . ." the prisoner replied indifferently.

"What! You volunteered with the Bolsheviks? You son of a b—h!" cried the lieutenant in a cold and rasping tone. It was disgusting to listen to the way he maltreated the Russian language.

"Yes! I volunteered," he answered in the same tone. And the lieutenant's heavy riding boot smashed into the youth's nose as he swung in his saddle.

"Now, you dog. Why did you volunteer?"

"I'm a worker and an Anarchist," the boy said proudly with head up.

"What are you, you bastard?" And with another swing of his riding boot the lieutenant kicked two of his front teeth out. A stream of blood came from his mouth and covered his chin, and the youth brushed it off with the sleeve of his shirt. Nevertheless he answered:

"Anarchist!"

"Oh, so you didn't change your mind yet?"

"Well, we'll see, you dirty Red. Red seems to be your favorite color, eh? Alright, you young Anarchist louse, I'll make you as red as a beet. When you are not Anarchist any more let me know."

And the lieutenant's riding whip swished down over the head of the prisoner.

Ten times.

Twenty times.

Again and again unceasingly.

The boy's head became one formless clot of blood.

But the whipping continued.

Until the young Anarchist fell under the blows.

Unconscious.

The lieutenant took his revolver and shot a couple of times into the body as it lay at his horse's feet. One shot cracked open the skull. From the bloody mess rolled out a half section of brains. The gruesome unsullied whiteness remained lying near the corpse like a wrinkled cabbage of ivory, as if it would keep watch. As the lieutenant turned away, the five cavalry-men, who had caught and held the prisoner during the trial, fell upon the corpse to search the pockets for stray rubles. Their heavy army boots crushed and trampled upon and scattered the delicate virgin whiteness in all directions.

In the meantime the horses had been watered and we continued our way Eastwards to the city.

Later, when the towers of Riga came in sight, a voice beside me spoke with resignation and unconcealed disgust.

"What's the use of such senseless victory?"

"What are we supposed to be fighting for anyway . . . ?"

"An ideal that such officers seem to be consumed with."

"And such youngsters of the enemy . . ."

"The future is certainly with him"

" . . . and they kiss, so sweet

in the summer time, they meet

near the wood . . . "

So foreign had his voice become, so—scarcely human.

Sarah Kreisler

## Unity

*Jesus,  
Wracked on your cross,  
Let me draw out the spikes . . .  
No, my son, not until all men  
Help you.*

—LLOYD FRANK MERRELL.



# THE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT

## Argentina

The newly printed periodical of the I. W. A. (International Workmen's Association) carries a lengthy report of the labor movement in Argentina. At the conclusion, a brief outline is also given on the anarchist movement, wherefrom the foregoing is reprinted.

As a result of the Rosario congress of 1932 there are at present 20 relationship committees affiliated with the national committee of the congress. Except for a few localities, the entire movement is forced to carry on its work illegally. In the cities the federations are composed of trade union workers, students and other groups. It is through the national committee that the relationship and propaganda is being kept up throughout the country. A study commission is taken up with the organization work for the further building up of the national federation to the forthcoming congress. The report goes on to speak of activities that are carried on as to constructive principles of the revolution, the functions of building, and the carrying on of production. A campaign of anti-religious activity was carried on against the recently held Eucaristic congress. Various anarchist publications are appearing, although no name of any is being given.

## Canada

Dear Comrades:

One of the handicaps, with which the Anarchist movement has to contend, is the lack of available, up-to-date, propaganda literature.

The best book for this purpose, written in recent years, is, in our estimation, Berkman's "A. B. C. of Anarchism." Unfortunately it is out of print; but the plates are in New York and can be bought.

The Libertarian Group of Toronto is trying to establish a fund to purchase these plates and print another edition of this book so valuable to our cause. We cannot do it alone, and so we are asking all the Groups, with whom we can make contact, to join us in this project.

Comrade Desser will be in charge of all monies. Contributions should be addressed to:

Joe Desser, 759 Bathurst Street, Toronto, Ont. Canada.

We hope that you will co-operate with us in this work.

The Libertarian Group of Toronto

Dorothy Giesecke, Secretary.

## China

The main reason why our movement may not be well known abroad is no doubt due to the fact that Anarchism, and other revolutionary movements have to be carried on underground, and its true character seldom reaches the European people.

An anarchist movement existed in China over thirty years ago. Many Anarchist papers have appeared; Dailies, Weeklies and Monthlies; they are unable to exist for long owing to exceptional persecution. However, some papers are struggling along and do a lot of good in the way of education in that dark country.

"Min Sheng" (The Voice of the People) under the editorship of Lu Shih Fu, is the oldest of the journals.

Other journals like "Ming Chang" (The Call of the People) and "Hsneh Whe" (The Inhabitants) appear in Southern China.

One important anarchist paper appears in Shanghai "Min Feng" (The People's Vanguard) and many smaller papers. Our movement is very rich in books on Anarchism. Almost the whole of Kropotkin's works have been translated into the Chinese language, also many of Bakunin's, Tolstoy's, Malatesta's, Emma Goldman's and even Berkman's articles on the "Russian Revolution."

Soon after the War, Chinese Anarchists endeavored to interpret their ideal by "Direct Action" and became the principle agitators during the revolutionary period of 1927, and carried on propaganda equally among the industrial workers and peasants, and protected them against both Imperialists and Militarists.

The Communists availed themselves of this situation and succeeded in obtaining power in the province of Hankow. The Anarchists then were compelled to fight the Communist Government. 30,000 workers supported the Anarchists in their fight, and they succeeded in establishing a new organization, Wuchang-Hankow (Workers' Union of Hankow). Later this organization was suppressed by the Communist Government.

The Anarcho Union of Metal Workers fought with arms against the Communists and for a time succeeded and Anarchism spread considerably; unfortunately the movement suffered much owing to Comrades returning to work the land. China is an agricultural country and many workers long to work the land.

Anarchists give great attention to education, and the majority of teachers are anarchists. In the Li-ta Academy, Shanghai, the head master and teachers are Anarchists. In Shantung most of the students are Anarchists. We also have many Esperanto organizations.

In conclusion I may say that in spite of the bitter struggles with White and Red Governments, and working underground, the Anarchists are making good progress and gaining many supporters.

(K. Y. in the London Freedom)

## England

Dear Comrade:

Our group wishes to express their appreciation of your excellent paper, which we consider the most informed and best of all the Anarchist papers in the English language. For the others we cannot speak as we have no foreign reader.

We organized ourselves last winter into an educational center and by spring were sufficiently strong to engage in outdoor propaganda. On May Day we marched in the Labor demonstration carrying a black banner on which was inscribed in scarlet "Long Live Anarchy," comment was made in the local press also the June number of the London "Freedom."

Mention of "The New Spur" on your exchange list brought us into contact with Guy Aldred, who proposed a propaganda

visit to Leeds in July, which was successfully carried through. A further visit is to follow (due any moment) with the intention of opening up the neighboring counties. Other speakers (Murray, O'Donnell, Barr, etc.) have offered their services and next spring should witness strong and persistent outdoor activity.

We are cooperating together in the building up of the United Socialist Movement (a non-party federalist organization) to whom we have become affiliated whilst retaining our autonomy and Anarchist identity. Unity in the ranks we consider essential and seek within the U. S. M. contact with the sincere element of the political minded workers in the hope of exposing the fallacy of such ideas.

## Spain

January 12, 1935.

Dear Comrade Graham:—

Toward the campaign in favor of Comrade Paco Sainz, Oct. first, the National Committee for the political prisoners, had received 71,40 Pts. from your Kropotkin group.

We wish to keep up a permanent relationship between the Comrades in America and ourselves, through the paper "Man!"

To-day, after the revolutionary movement, we wish to praise the Organizacion Confederar and the daily abnegation of Comrades in their efforts to alleviate the troubles of our imprisoned and persecuted brothers. Since the last movement many Comrades have fallen in the fight, never to rise again; hundreds have been made prisoners, and numerous are those in the hands of the "Justicia Historia" for the only crime of having been more or less connected with our organization.

Yet, many of those Comrades might regain their freedom if they are not forgotten by us. For the possibility of their liberation we need material and moral support, a support which, we regret to say, is hardly coming from the Spanish workers; and therefore, we appeal to the libertarians of all nations.

With you for the cause of the oppressed.

The Committee National Pro. Presos. of the CNT (Confederacion Nacional Del Trabajo) and FAI (Federacion Anarquista Iberica.)

The victims languishing in the prisons of Spain cry for our help, not alone the moral support, but for the material one as well. There are scores who also have lost their dearest friends and by that loss, are in dire need. MAN! is in a position to forward material aid in a manner that reaches direct our Comrades in Spain. The same holds true to our Comrades of Cuba, who are likewise in dire need of support for their unabated struggle against the American dominated-robbering-rulers, with its resulting scores of Comrades imprisoned and deported. Prompt aid is, of course, double-aid.

## United States

The Jewish speaking Comrades have held their yearly conference in New York City, during the last four days of December, 1934. New York City was represented by four groups, Philadelphia by one, Chicago by one, Toronto by one and one from Los Angeles, by proxy. Twenty-seven delegates represented these groups. Eleven more represented fraternal groups, 1, from Stelton, N. J., 1 from New York, 3 from the Sunrise Colony. Only the delegates of the Federation Groups were granted the right to (?) vote. By far, not a very commendable Anarchist procedure.

The most noteworthy and outstanding achievement of the conference was no doubt the choosing of Mark Mratchny as editor of the Federation's organ, the Freie Arbeiter Stimme. (Free Worker's Voice) The two preceding editors, Josef Cohen and Sh. Yanovsky have brought very little credit or aid to the movement. Both have played politics with the disreputable yellow Socialist Forward crowd that maintains a job-monopoly upon the Jewish unions, and for which game-playing the F. A. S. received material aid from these unions by way of "friendly" paid advertisements, and in many other ways.

Such misdeeds brought the F. A. S. into utter distrust and disrepute among the Jewish workers, who had once looked upon that paper with the same respect and eagerness that the workers look upon the Anarchist press of every other language. (Adding to this downward-path of the F. A. S. has been Yanovsky's cowardly manner of turning into a supporter of the war, and his leaving the F. A. S. for a better paid job.)

Mark Mratchny has already taken his stand about the labor movement; he will not dicker with either the left or right element. He will maintain a consistent revolutionary Anarchist policy.

Whether Mratchny will be able to overcome the harm that Yanovsky and Cohen have done remains to be seen. His greatest drawback will no doubt prove to be, by over-emphasis, his Anarcho-syndicalist leanings.

Although the conference has decided to have the Federation support all those groups that are carrying on English propaganda, not one word is being mentioned in the more than four-page printed report of the F. A. S. about MAN!, though it is at present the only existing printed publication in the English language of this country.

The printed report of the conference tells, though, of a talk by one of the Vanguard Group, telling of that group's plan to begin anew the publication of the Vanguard. This organ, of a youthful group, existed for about a year as an independent publication. More than a year ago, at the Stelton English speaking conference, this group was very vehement in denying that their publication was being financed by Carlo Tresca. Yet, a few months later, after their organ expired, they were given an English page that they edited in the very same organ of Carlo Tresca, the Il Martello. It is in conjunction with this Tresca, that the same Vanguard Group and some groups of the Jewish Federation have arranged a joint memorial meeting upon the

death of Nestor Makhno last year.

Carlo Tresca is known in the Italian colony, as the department-store radical. He can be one day a socialist, the next day a communist, and wind up by being an anarcho-syndicalist, or even an anarchist. In recent years, Tresca has been charged with much more serious offenses, such as dishonesty, and questionable acts having harmful results for some Italian Comrades. Representatives of the Italian Anarchist movement throughout the country called him to a revolutionary trial. He promised to come, but sent a substitute instead. The tribunal committee was unanimous in denouncing him as a creature who ought to be shunned by every self-respecting radical.

Since our Italian contemporary "L'Adunata" is appearing in Newark, it ought to have been, long ago, an easy matter for the Vanguard Group and the Jewish movement to have learned all the facts, and shun, instead of associating with such a character as Tresca, just as Mark Mratchny and the Russian Comrades have, with ample justification, been shunning and refusing to associate with the disreputable Gordin brothers.

The Jewish Comrades have begun a long overdue change in their movement. Let it then be a thorough one, all along the line. Then MAN! will be proud to greet them more whole-heartedly than it can at present.

A committee has been formed which comprises members from various organizations and groups of the metropolitan area of New York, which will carry on publicity work relative to actual facts regarding the Spanish situation. This committee will publish a bulletin periodically in order to acquaint the American masses that are in sympathy with the Spanish revolutionary activities. The bulletins can be obtained for distribution from this committee. On the program of this committee is included a speaking tour to cover mass meetings, etc. Organizations are urged to communicate with this committee for information regarding appropriate speakers and supply of bulletins. Address communications to:

American Publicity Committee on Spain,  
P. O. Box 1, Sta. D. New York City.

## Uruguay

During a strike of automobile workers in Montevideo, Uruguay, in 1929, the conductor of the omnibus "El Desseado", former secretary of an automobile workers Syndicate, (communist) and Spera, a guard, were killed and "El Desseado" burned down.

The judicial machine, to prove its usefulness to capitalism, arrested two active militants of the automobile workers Syndicate, (anarchistic) Manuel Kerbis and Davis Cisneros.

In September 1932, they came on trial and were acquitted for lack of evidence. Kerbis, under the tortures of third degree had admitted to be guilty, and had later retracted. Still, though acquitted, they were not released. A new trial was postponed over and over again.

"For the past 27 months," write our comrades in "Solidaridad", "since their first trial, when they were acquitted, they have been kept in jail. We don't believe neither in the infallibility nor in the sincerity of the judges, still, the proof of their innocence is so great that, no doubt, they again will be acquitted."

"However we must not deceive ourselves with this idea; we know that it is not enough for any one to be innocent to regain one's freedom; we also know that on the scale of justice, their so-called justice, truth and innocence weigh less than the hypocrisy of despotism."

It is then for this reason that we believe measures must be taken, and as the date of their new trial is nearing, we must increase our activity in the campaign of agitation required for their liberation.

Indeed, we have to increase our activity! There are new testimonies. What are they? A few of them will be sufficient to uncover the Crime and the capitalistic frame-up.

Alba and Maria Galeano, at the first trial could not identify Kerbis and Cisneros. Since then, they have changed their mind. Perjury! should we say. No said the judge. These witnesses, said he, after reflection and the quietness of many many months, have had the opportunity to realize their mistake made at the first trial. Another witness had testified, in 1932, that some youths of about 20 were the criminals. Now, the same witness accuses Kerbis and Cisneros who are of 29 and 39 years of age with no youthful appearance, as the ones he saw at the spot.

To-day, as in 1932, the "Federacion Obrera Regional Uruguaya" conscious of the principles of solidarity among the workers, has assumed with great vigor, the responsibility in a campaign of agitation by gatherings, protest meetings and literature for the liberation of our comrades.

The crime must not take place! The frame-up must be known to all thinking workers the world over, it must not have the capitalistic desired result. Our Comrades must be free.

We vigorously protest! JULES SCARCERIAUX

(Our Comrades of "Solidaridad" were correct in their predictions as to the outcome of the new frame-up. As we go to press, news reaches MAN! that our two innocent Comrades were acquitted.

Credit for this second acquittal is due again to the "Federacion Obrera Regional Uruguaya", that declared their readiness to defend the two Comrades, even if they were to have been guilty.—Editor.)

## Financial Statement

FINANCIAL STATEMENT	
(From December 15, 1934 to January 15, 1935)	
INCOME.....	\$ 80.62
EXPENDITURES.....	124.68
DEFICIT FROM LAST ISSUE.....	35.89
CASH ON HAND.....	\$160.57
DEFICIT.....	80.62
	\$ 79.95