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IN RETROSPECT OF CURRENT EVENTS

The World War Menace

If one is to believe the daily press falsifiers of the country, the conclusion would have to be reached then, that there is but one sole culprit secretly scheming another world war, the mad-dog of Germany—Adolph Hitler. Yet, this is but a misstatement of the truth.

Of course Nazi Germany is feverishly and secretly preparing for a new war. But so is France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Russia and United States. Are the ammunition factories, battleship yards, airplane construction works and chemical laboratories, for devising far more elaborate fiendish ways for the destruction of created work and life, are all these at a standstill in any of those countries?

Never in all the history of mankind have governments spent so much wealth upon creating devices of destruction as is being done today.

And all this monstrous preparation—what holy cause or purpose is it to serve?

To perpetuate a system wherein a small percentage of mankind is enabled to subjugate, exploit, rule and rob the greater part of mankind of all that happiness that mother-earth is lending itself willingly to man, if he would but utilize it in the right way!

What has just been said is not a mere radical assertion, although repeated ever so often. One need but take a glance at Mussolini's forced war upon Abyssinia in order to realize how true the preceding paragraph is. Arnold Cortesi, the frank pro-fascist correspondent of the New York Times, admits in that paper of Feb. 24, that:

"The ultimate object is to secure a sufficient strong foothold in Abyssinia to develop it as a market for Italian goods and to exploit its mineral resources."

One would like to know of any war that has ever been waged in the past that had any other object in view!

As far as the people who do the dying in wars are concerned there is no more reason for them to ever want to participate in any wars than it would be for them to go and commit outright suicide. That is why the advice given by the labor member in the House of Commons in England appeals to us so much: that in the event of another war, he hopes, the people would turn their guns upon their real enemies in each respective country—the exploiters and rulers!

Anarchy On Trial In Arkansas

A wave of fascist reaction has spread throughout the country. Criminal syndicalist laws are being applied in many states. In Iowa, four persons are being held for trial, as alleged Communists. Two are awaiting trial in Kelso, Wis. In Charleston, West Virginia, a Socialist unemployed organizer was tried and acquitted under one of these anti-radical laws. In Hillsboro, Illinois, corrupt officials avenged an exposure of their misdeeds by placing 14 unemployed radicals on trial under an old "treason" law. These also were acquitted. In Sacramento, Calif., 17 men and women are facing long years of imprisonment.

But it was evidently left for the state of Arkansas to bring the most ample proof to what lengths the rising fascist reaction will go in order to oppress and destroy any movement that challenges the present order of exploitation with its resulting misery.

The white and colored share-crop farmers of Arkansas are being ruthlessly exploited by the white land sharks. And for the first time in the state's history an attempt is being made to offer organized resistance to these land sharks. In this campaign of uniting the white and colored exploited workers, the Commonwealth Labor College of Mena, Arkansas, has landed a most helping hand. So did the ministers Ward A. Rodges and Claude C. Williams. It is upon these elements that the fascists of Arkansas loosened their vengeance. On January 21 a "jury" found Rodges (who is also a federal relief administrator instructor) guilty on the charge of (?) "anarchy", and sentenced him to six months imprisonment and imposed upon him a \$500 fine. Subsequently, a state "legislative" committee descended upon Commonwealth College to investigate its activities. Behold the horror that dawned upon this gentry of government crooks when they learned that the teachers at this labor college dared to expose the basic foundations upon which the present system of injustice is being carried on, and that they even dared to open recently a Museum of Capitalist Decay!

The "discovery" of the Arkansas legislators only led to the unloosening of more wanton brutality. Meetings of share-croppers were invaded. The speakers—Lucien Koch and Bob Ford of Commonwealth College—were beaten, jailed and then released with a warning of their being lynched should

they return again and dare to address meetings. In addition, Horace Bryan, former student of Commonwealth College and collaborator of MAN!, was sentenced to six months imprisonment on the same "anarchy" charge as Rodgers, and Rev. Claude C. Williams was sentenced to ninety days.

We are not going to accuse the fascist rules of Arkansas that they know even the true meaning of the word "anarchy", although in this instance it is used by them to denote the challenging of injustice.

Undoubtedly such a challenge means to these brigands also the dawn of "chaos and disorder" with which the misrepresenters of anarchism have always intentionally associated the word anarchy.

Whenever the people learn the true meaning of the word anarchy—a society wherein every form of chaos and disorder that now prevail under the reign of rulership and exploitation—is to be supplanted by a sane order of self-rule and co-operation between each and all alike, the end of the real chaotic form of society under which mankind finds itself subjugated today will have come to an end.

Bruno Hauptmann and Society

The fame of Lindbergh has caused the trial of Bruno Hauptmann, for the kidnapping and death of the flyer's child, to be turned into a sort of Roman feast holiday by every corrupt, agency and mind of the present order.

The poisonous press led the parade by exelling itself in a wanton exploitation of human suffering by those really concerned. The church, with an equal lack of even ordinary decency, exploited the trial by establishing a restaurant on its church property, adjoining the court house, and having "god-fearing" ladies wait upon depraved beseeching crowds.

Lost amidst all this Roman feast trial was the revealed fact of the brutal Third Degree that Hauptmann had to undergo, as do all the victims who have the misfortune to fall into the hands of the "people's servants"—the "law and order" brigade of brutes. Lost also was the fact that all the evidence against the accused was but of a circumstantial nature, and that against him was arrayed the force of the idol-worshiped Lindbergh, who never revealed the magnanimity of the Christian that he professes to be.

The cards were of course all stacked against the victim—Bruno Hauptmann. The after reaction, as that displayed by Mrs. Roosevelt, only corroborates the assertion we made about circumstantial evidence, a method by which hundreds of other victims have been railroaded again and again in the "courts of justice."

Assuming that Hauptmann was guilty of the crime, even then he remains but a product and victim of present society. This is being admitted by Ford Madox Ford in the New York Times of Feb. 14, when he wrote:

"I cannot—and I shall never be able to—forget that the prisoner was, as a boy of 17, in the trenches... That boy's brain was warned by the consequences of our adult action far away and long ago... But perhaps if you have ever soldiered you regarded your comrades of either side a little as comrades."

Ford makes also this assertion:

"And the affair cannot but have, however unjustly, the aspect of the most famous man in the world versus a miserable shred of jetsam."

This statement is part truth, and part distortion.

Aside from being famous he is also rich out of ordinary proportion. Hauptmann as he himself admits, has been turned into a thief by the last world war. He became therefore, what Ford chooses to call "a miserable shred of human jetsam." But Ford fails to state that the one responsible for this is the very society that rears both a Hauptmann and a Lindbergh at the same time. After all is said, by a chance of fate—Lindbergh might have been the Hauptmann, and vice versa.

If any one should have been placed on trial it is present society that rears on one hand the chosen few—who become rich and famous—and on the other hand the multitudes of whom some turn, as Hauptmann, upon the road of crime in order to obtain what society has denied them.

Take away the standard measurement of life and happiness in present society—MONEY—and crimes of almost every sort would disappear. But before this can come about, the present system of inequality and injustice would have to be cast into the oblivion that it so heartily deserves.

The Battle Against Hearstism

Readers of this journal are no doubt aware of the campaign of exposure that the liberal and radical publications,

as also many college publications are now waging against the greatest menace of fascism in this country—William Randolph Hearst. We have often been pointing at this imbecile dispenser of the most shameless sort of lying journalism ever conceived. Neither do we know of any one who stated in so few words the essence of this menace far more ably than Prof. Charles A. Beard did before a group of teachers at the yearly gathering that was held last month at Atlantic City, in the following words:

"There is not a cesspool of vice and crime which Hearst has not raked and exploited for money-making purposes. No person with intellectual honesty or moral integrity will touch him with a ten-foot pole for any purpose or to gain any end. Unless those who represent American scholarship, science and the right of a free people to discuss public questions freely stand together against his insidious influences he will assassinate them individually by every method known to yellow journalism—only co-wards can be intimidated by Hearst."

There is the one thing of eminent importance in this struggle to combat Hearst-fascism that has been seemingly overlooked. The move that some of the radical publications have made in suggesting an open boycott against the reading of the Hearst newspapers we heartily endorse. To this boycott, if it is to become real effective, we call attention to the men and women who write for the Hearst press. Men and women like Bertrand Russell, Havelock Ellis, Edgar Lee Masters, Gilbert Seldes, Hendrik Van Loon, John T. Flynn, Ludwig Lewisohn, H. L. Mencken, Rebecca West, Francis Frost, Robert Benchley and many others.

It is from these men and women that the anti-Hearst-Fascist movement must demand a show-down. If they too are against fascism, they cannot at the same time consistently continue to write in a fascist press!

This issue must be put up squarely before every writer of the Hearst press. As far as MAN! is concerned no manuscript of any writer in the Hearst press will be given any consideration from now on.

Just as important as it is to boycott reading the Hearst press, it is likewise important to boycott associating with any writer who refuses to cease collaboration in the Hearst-Fascist press.

What Are The CCC Camps For?

From time to time news items appear, telling of strikes in the various Civilian Conservation Camps. The most recent strike-news in one of these camps comes from West Orange, N. J. It tells of 125 out of 200 in the camp, participating in the strike. 27 of the men were discharged, eleven of which were fined with the loss of back pay. All the other strikers were fined of from one to three dollars.

The defenders of Mr. Roosevelt's Double-Cross Deal have repeatedly denied that the men in CCC camps were treated as in the army. The above detailed news story given gives the lie to these defenders. Not only are these boys treated as in the army but being prepared and made to do the same dirty work as the army, as we saw it ourselves in the San Francisco General Strike, where car-loads of CCC camp boys were brought in to aid in defeating the workers. The CCC camps were instituted and are being kept up to serve as the bulwark against any struggle for justice that may arise among the suffering masses of the country. Likewise, they are serving as a preparatory ground for the making of future murderers—soldiers.

A Perplexed Writer

Stage-Hand, a writer in the American Guardian, expresses concern, and is simply perplexed at the fact that he and but one other weekly correspondent found it of importance, to attend the Unemployment and Social Insurance Congress that was recently held at Washington.

Stage-Hand admits tho, that:

"It's doubtless true that the conference is largely in the hands of the Communists.... That does not have anything to do with its news value".

We beg to differ on the last sentence.

If, and whenever, the Communists and Socialists will begin to show themselves ready to abandon their aim at becoming the new rulers over any movement that comes in to life as a result of social conditions, and satisfy themselves with inspiring the people to listen to their ideals, and let the people freely choose whatever course appeals best to them. Stage-Hand can rest assured that a congress of 3,000 delegates from the people in any part of country would make any news agency in the country sit up, and take notice of.

An Open Letter To Raymond Moley*

DR. MICHAEL COHN

Sir:—

May I be allowed to express my honest disagreement with your plea for Mooney?

You say you have never during all these years participated in any activity on behalf of Mooney. Why then this sudden change of heart on your part? Was it because the Supreme Court of the U. S. at this belated hour finally saw fit to take a hand in this celebrated case? And why have you not participated in any activity on behalf of Mooney during all these years of his incarceration? Are you and all the "liberals" of your ilk afraid of a new trial?

Speaking of Mooney as a martyr you are careful enough to put the word martyr in quotation marks. Why? When is a martyr not a martyr? You say Mooney's trial and conviction were unfair and unjust. That would lead one to the conclusion that any one who suffers innocently at the hands of law and authority is a martyr without quotation marks.

I am sure Mooney and all right-thinking men the world over will reject with indignation your plea to Governor Merriam for a pardon. How can one be pardoned or be forgiven for a crime he has never committed? I think not only his persecutors but you and I and all the people of the U. S. who, because of our apathy and indifference permitted this crime to be perpetrated, should go down on our knees in penitence and atonement and beg forgiveness for this horrible misdeed against two innocent men.

The State of California would not even permit poor Mooney to attend the funeral of his eighty-five-year-old mother, who went to her grave with all her hopes of seeing her son free, frustrated. I call this cruelty refined to the Nth degree.

The Supreme Court should have its way. ** A new trial should be ordered. If guilty, Mooney and Billings should suffer the supreme penalty of the law. If innocent, they should not only be freed but compensated for all their untold agonies to the fullest extent possible.

It seems to me, however, that the State of California, a nest of reaction and corruption, will never permit Mooney to get out of San Quentin. He is verily a bone in their throat and a thorn in their eye. They might let him out if he were to promise not to raise hell with California "justice." They have repeatedly offered him a parole, but he rejected it with indignation as unworthy of an innocent man. Your appeal to Merriam in the name of liberalism is certainly nothing but buncomb. Merriam is known for his strike-breaking activities. He is a cog in the ultra-reactionary Republican machine, a mere tool in the hands of California's captains of industry.

Your friend, the distinguished lawyer of California, it seems to me struck the nail on the head when he said that "even though the trial of Mooney for the bombings on July 22, 1916, might have been a miscarriage of justice, the real fact was that Mooney was a menace to the peace and order of the State—a bad man—and that it was the better part of wisdom to keep such a man out of mischief." You, Professor Moley, seem to agree with your friend and this may have been the reason why you never raised a finger on Mooney's behalf. A bad man, a menace to the peace and order of the State and should, therefore, not be allowed to prey upon society. But a menace to whose peace and order? Surely not to the peace and order of organized labor or other honest folks. If he had committed any crime at all, why is it that with all the power and prestige of California's magnates he has never been found guilty before?

And again why don't you take the trouble of explaining to us why Mooney is a bad man? Surely your saying so does not necessarily make him such.

You are assuring Governor Merriam that you are not disputing your friend's estimate of Mooney, that you have no illusions of his past views or actions and are not moved by sympathy for him as an individual. You are mighty careful, however, to evade any reference to his views and actions or to give any reasons why you have no sympathy with him.

Hell will roar with laughter to hear you say that Merriam is the embodiment of justice, fair play and good sense of the State of California, its leader in right action and right thought. Altogether, Professor Moley, you are taking too many things for granted. You think that your fiat is sufficient, that no reasons or arguments are necessary.

The case of Mooney and Billings reminds one of the historically infamous case of Jean Calas who was broken on the wheel by the Catholic church of France and whose innocence was subsequently proved in the courts of law, thanks to the pertinacious intervention of Voltaire. ALSO of the case of the Chicago Anarchists of 1887, when Governor John P. Altgeld, six years after the martyrdom of the five men on the gallows, had the courage to review the case and to release the three other Anarchists from Joliet prison.

Do you recall the case of Alfred Dreyfuss, who was dishonored and condemned to the Devil's Island for life? With the only difference that in that case some of the greatest French literateurs and statesmen interceded in his behalf successfully.

And does it not remind you also of the case of Sacco and Vanzetti who were burned alive at Charlestown, Mass. after having suffered martyrdom in prison for seven years? There are to my mind several points of similarity in three of these celebrated cases.

First, the Chicago Anarchists, Sacco and Vanzetti and Mooney and Billings were all proletarians.

* Raymond Moley printed in Today an excerpt of only a half dozen lines from the letter that follows. Editor

** MAN! does not see the justification for attempting to achieve redress from institutions founded for the perpetuation of injustice. Editor.

Second, they were all agitators, fighting the battle of the oppressed and disinherited.

Third, they were all non-conformists, endeavoring to overthrow the status quo, anti-statists, libertarians, idealists, ready to give their lives for the liberation of humanity.

The Chicago Anarchists were hanged because they were the leaders in the General Strike for an eight-hour work day.

Sacco and Vanzetti were against our participation in the World War, and tried in their small way to enlighten the masses of working people.

Do you think for a moment that if they were rich and "respectable" people that the law would have taken the course it did with these poor outcasts? Has it ever happened that a millionaire was executed in this country for murder or any other heinous crime? Molinoux and Harry Thaw committed willful, deliberate and premeditated murder. They were both found guilty, yet neither was executed. Reason: Too much money, prestige and political pull. Where is your equality before the law?

In the case of Mooney and Billings both President Wilson and President Hoover sent special commissions to California to investigate. Their verdict was to the effect that Mooney and Billings were framed up. The trial judge himself subsequently made all possible effort to induce one Governor after the other to free Mooney. So did all the jurors. Many of the witnesses retracted their testimony and declared that they were forced to perjure themselves by Flickert, the then District Attorney of California.

After the bombing the police arrested Nolan, Weinberg

Peter Kropotkin's Two Visits To America

In the latter part of the year 1891 our "Pioneers of Liberty" Group of New York City held a meeting where it was agreed to invite Comrade Kropotkin for a lecture tour in the United States. Comrade Solotaroff undertook to communicate with Comrade Kropotkin about the proposition.

The answer from Kropotkin was to the effect that he cannot accept the invitation for the following reasons: his health doesn't permit him to travel 3rd class, and he would never permit himself to travel first or second cabin at the expense of the Comrades or the movement, all this despite his great desire to visit the U.S.A. and to meet the American Comrades. We understood that this was final.

Six years later, in the fall of 1897, we were invited to attend a meeting at Comrade Justus Schwab's place, as there came a letter from Comrade Kropotkin.

The letter read at the meeting disclosed the fact that Comrade Kropotkin was already in Canada, attending a convention of "The British Association of the Advancement for Science", and he intends to come to New York City. He asked us to arrange a meeting for him, and not to charge a too high admission fee.

Comrade John Edelman, an architect by profession, proposed the hiring of Chickering Hall, 18th and 5th Ave., since it is best located for reaching an American audience, and to charge 25 cents admission. Comrade Schwab proposed that we invite for chairman of the meeting, the then famous American radical John Swinton.

The meeting was held, and proved itself a great success in every way.

We decided to make use of the great opportunity by asking Comrade Kropotkin to deliver a lecture in Russian on the "Philosophic and Scientific bases of Anarchism."

I needn't emphasize that it was an out of the ordinary lecture.

Comrade Kropotkin after elucidating on the essence of his subject went over to speak of the tactics. Here he criticized Parliamentary action and also the Russian Social Democratic Party, who, whilst speaking of the Proletariat, leaves out the Peasantry who comprises 85 per cent of the population, just because Karl Marx considered them as the small middle class.

This meeting was also a success. Over 1110 people attended. The admission was 15 cents, and after all the expenses were paid, a balance of \$125 was forwarded to a Russian Group in Switzerland, for the publication of Russian Anarchist pamphlets.

On Friday, the following day after the Russian lecture, we gathered in the house of Comrade Solotaroff, where there were quite a large number of Comrades. We discussed many questions, among these was the then prominent Dreyfuss case, and the great interest of the French Comrades in it. Comrade Kropotkin explained to us, that the fight is mainly between the Catholics and Monarchists on one side, and Republicans and Liberals on the other.

In the evening we all attended a banquet in his honor given by the "Russian Students Club".

Whilst waiting for the beginning of the banquet, and sitting on a bench alongside of Comrade Kropotkin, the then prominent Prof. I. Hourwich, Dr. Ingeman and other Marxians attempted to draw him into a debate on his last lecture. Kropotkin resented this, since their knowledge seemed to have shown itself limited only as to what Karl Marx has uttered.

The second visit of Comrade Kropotkin to the U.S.A. took place in 1901. The Lowell Institute of Cambridge, Mass. invited Kropotkin to deliver a series of lectures on "Russian Literature". These lectures were later published in book form, under the title: "Ideals and Reality in Russian Literature".

When he was through with his series of lectures in Cambridge, he came to New York City. He delivered one lecture in English at the Grand Central Palace and another lecture in Russian at Tammany Hall. Both were huge successes.

and Mrs. Mooney, together with Tom Mooney and Billings. Why was it that the first three were freed immediately and the others were convicted? There was no more evidence against the latter than the former. The fact is that it was really Mooney, the labor agitator and militant organizer that they were after.

Talking of Merriam in the name of liberalism, it seems to me, is the acme of hypocrisy. Merriam and liberalism! But you, Professor Moley, appeal to him not in the name of justice but in order to save the good name of liberalism, in the name of charity you demand a new trial in the light of the abundant new evidence in the case. You don't ask for justice. Another reason you mention is because you would like to give a blow to the radicals who want to destroy the system of life and government that both you and Merriam wish so ardently to preserve. Do you think the twelve million unemployed are so anxious to preserve this precious system of law and government so dear to you and to the Astors, Morgans, Mellons, Fords and Du Ponts?

Let me tell you, Professor Moley, that the crimes committed by the governments against Parsons, Spies and their Comrades in '87, or against Sacco and Vanzetti in 1927, and Mooney and Billings since 1917 are doing more to undermine government than all the radicals combined. Poverty, destitution, injustice and inequality are the real and the most dangerous radical agitators. You know, even as the entire world knows, that the trial against Mooney and Billings was a wretched farce, a frame-up pure and simple, permeated with perjury and corruption, not "tainted" as you say.

At that time the students of the universities of Moscow and St. Petersburg went on strike, and as a punishment were drafted into the army.

The student Karpovich shot the minister of Education Bogolepoff, who died a few days later. Karpovich was sent away to hard labor in Siberia. Comrade Kropotkin wrote two articles on this matter. In the Outlook of April 6th 1901 on "Russia and the Student Riots," and on "The Present Crisis in Russia" in the North American Review for May 1901.

Pobedonostzeff, the then highest official of Russia, wrote a reply to Kropotkin, couched in a very polite language. He contended that Kropotkin is too long away from Russia to know of the real conditions there.

Comrade Kropotkin replied that for the geographical knowledge displayed by Pobedonostzeff, in his reply, a high school student of the 2nd grade would have received a 1 mark, a 5 being the highest.

Vera Figner in her 7 volume autobiography mentions that upon her first personal acquaintance with Kropotkin's family in London in 1908, Kropotkin's life companion told her about the two articles in the New York magazines. I therefore fail to understand why all those who have written of Peter Kropotkin's two visits in America even in the Russian book published in Chicago in 1931, on the 10th anniversary of his death, these and many other important facts have been overlooked, and in my opinion it was of great importance to have included these.

J. RUDASH

(The above interesting account reached MAN! too late for inclusion in the February issue, although the writer intended it for that issue as February is the anniversary month of Peter Kropotkin's death. Editor).

From An Eye Witness

Had not Lenin himself asserted that he and his followers were ultimately Anarchists—that political power was to them but a temporary means of accomplishing the Revolution? The State was gradually to die off, to disappear, as Engels had thought, because its functions would become unnecessary and obsolete.

I therefore accepted the Bolsheviks as the sincere and intrepid vanguard of man's social emancipation. To work with them, to help in the fight against the enemies of the Revolution, to aid in securing its fruit to the people was my fervent aspiration.

My closeness to the Bolsheviks, my frank partiality in their favor aggravated my friends and alienated my nearest Comrades... Life, reality continuously challenged my faith... Then came Kronstadt and the simultaneous echoes throughout the land... Kronstadt demanded only honest elections, Soviets free from Communist domination. It proclaimed the slogans of October and revived the true spirit of the Revolution.

Kronstadt was crushed as ruthlessly as Thiers and Gallifet slaughtered the Paris Communards. And with Kronstadt the entire country and its last hope. With it also my faith in the Bolsheviks. That day I broke finally, irrevocably, with the Communists. It became clear to me that never, under any circumstances, could I accept that degradation of human personality and liberty, that Party chauvinism and State absolutism which had become the essence of the Communist dictatorship. I realized at last that Bolshevik idealism was a MYTH, a dangerous delusion fatal to liberty and progress.—ALEXANDER BERKMAN.

Pierre Ramus Freed

A letter from Comrade Pierre Ramus, dated Jan. 14, has reached the Freidenker of New Ulm, Minn. The recent amnesty granted by the rulers of Austria brought about Ramus's release also. A stipulation was made that he should not participate in any future agitational work. He thanks all his friends for the aid given to him and interest shown, and adds this comment: "I needn't say, that the prison was unable to weaken my beliefs, conviction and ideas. Later on I will inform you more thoroughly upon this matter. Your cards were the highest inspiration in my gray cell-loneliness."

LABORS' PLIGHT and HOPE

When the auto workers threatened to go on strike about a year ago, President Roosevelt stepped into the picture, and by a series of clever maneuvers succeeded to stifle the then imminent strike. He actually cajoled the workers into an agreement that satisfied the employers, but not the workers.

That the interests of the workers were betrayed by Mr. Roosevelt could not cause too much of a surprise to the workers, since he is but a tool of the present order. But that the supposedly paid spokesmen of labor, the officialdom of the American Federation of Labor, should tacitly assent to this betrayal became a chief concern of the workers.

The resulting effect of this betrayal by the labor leaders demoralized the ranks of the workers. Still they hoped, perhaps their spokesman on the Auto Labor Board would fight for their interests. Even this hope was shattered when the workers were finally forced to condemn that spokesman. In reality, the Auto Labor Board became the open defender and protector of the manufacturers.

Recently Mr. Roosevelt extended the auto code for another six months. This action again satisfied the manufacturers, but not labor. Even the NRA research and planning division was forced to admit in its report that it found intolerable conditions in the auto industry. Men over 40 were cast out of the shops, espionage was rampant in every factory. Wages below the so-called code-scale was the common rule with a most inhuman speed-up system, and human labor has been cut to an extent whereby 19 men do now the work of 250!

When all these facts were made known, the labor leaders made a feeble gesture of denouncing the NRA labor board and Donald Richberg, administration chief of the NRA.

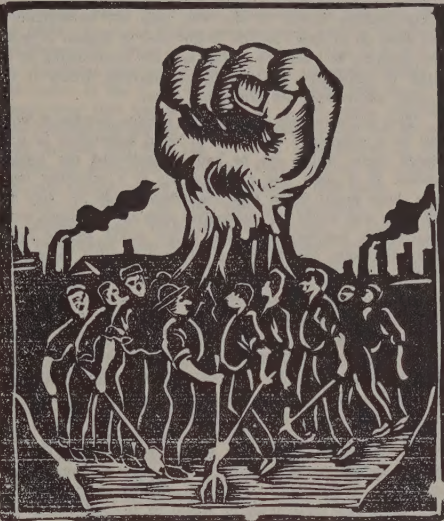
The ever-ready smiling broadcaster Mr. Roosevelt came forward to side with his employers, the manufacturers. He even rebuked the labor leaders. These in turn held a secret meeting. Threats of breaking with the administration were in the air. Mr. Roosevelt summoned the executive of the American Federation of Labor to a secret conference. After emerging from the confab, the labor spokesmen declared that they have made "peace" with the President. Mr. Green spoke of an organization campaign to be started in the auto and other industries. But on February 23 he already declared at Detroit that no strike is being contemplated by the auto unions, although the workers have been talking about it as the only alternative left for them.

What this means is that the workers will continue to suffer, whilst the paid leadership of the workers will live at ease, on the dues collected with the aid of the NRA.

The sincerity of the paid leadership was never so bluntly exposed in all its ugliness then by Frank R. Kent, in the "Wall Street Journal" of February 8, when he wrote:

"It has been asserted by those of large experience with him, that whenever the professional labor leader is given

a choice between the smart and the stupid way of dealing with a situation, he can be depended upon to take the latter. That, it is claimed, is why he is a labor leader. It is also the reason labor organizations have so often found themselves ditched by public opinion.



Linoleum Cut by D. Chon.

"Either Mr. Roosevelt is the dupe of the diabolical Donald or he is the man upon whom the real responsibility rests. There is no escape from one or the other of these deductions. Yet the labor leaders take neither. They vehemently assail Mr. Roosevelt's agent as a Judas and, in the next breath, assert their complete faith in Mr. Roosevelt. They call upon him publicly to dismiss Mr. Richberg and Mr. Wolman, which of course makes their dismissal impossible even if the President were supine enough to want to yield to such a demand. And then they call him "our hope and strength". Obviously, logic is not part of the equipment of the professional labor leader—nor humor."

The onslaught upon labor is by no means limited to the auto industry alone.

The steel workers are likewise smarting under a treacherous code that is openly flaunted by the steel magnates, and one of the latter's judges has now openly declared that the so-called "magna charta" of the NRA (section 7a) is unconstitutional.

MARCUS GRAHAM

In New York City another supreme court judge granted an injunction that makes it impossible for labor to really carry on a true strike, forbidding striking workers to picket where unfair produced merchandise is being sold.

Mr. Roosevelt has also ordered a Tobacco code of which I. H. Hornburn, of the allied trades council, said:

"It is the industry's code. The administration has had nineteen months to study labor conditions in the tobacco industry. This code will not put a single additional person to work."

The Shoe workers' code brought this comment from a labor spokesman, Mara:

"The result was a code written by the industry for industry through the help of the government. A purer example of fascism could not be concocted. It put into effect the original idea of the United States Chamber of Commerce in its advocacy of a recovery body which would regiment labor for the benefit of, and exploitation by, industry."

Whilst here and there are to be found minor spokesmen of labor speaking the truth as Hornburn and Mara, the main body of labor's paid officialdom is actually betraying labor. Woll, Green, Lewis and their clique are shamelessly acting as informers and spies for the exploiting class and their government. On one hand they pretend to protest against the fascism and nazism of Mussolini and Hitler, and on the other hand they ally themselves at home with every fascist and enemy of all those radicals who are struggling against the present system under which we now suffer. To expect therefore any real action from these misleaders of labor in the interest of the exploited is futile.

Dark as the horizon appears to be on the labor scene of this country, there is nevertheless a great hope, coming from a different direction, from the workers themselves.

Last year witnessed spontaneous strikes of workers in Toledo, Minneapolis, Milwaukee, and the magnificent attempt of a General Strike in San Francisco, (knifed in the back by treacherous labor leaders). In January of this year 20,000 drivers of New York City served notice upon a judge of the Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce, that they will not obey his injunction edict to refrain from acting in solidarity with other workers on strike. Their 24-hour strike had the effect of forcing the judge to withhold signing his injunction.

And it is to be hoped that the workers of the auto, steel, shoe, tobacco and all the industries will at last realize that only by direct acts of their own, and over the heads of their treacherous paid officialdom, can they at all times resist the exploiters and rulers of the country—in any attack that is begun to act wherever and whenever injustice raises its being made against them. Once the workers realize this and head, they will be marching on a new road, the road of rebellion that will lead them to finally challenge and give battle to the whole system of injustice that hangs now as a dead weight upon mankind everywhere.

Facts and Comments

GOOD ADVISE TO THE WORKERS!—Once again John McGovern, left wing laborite, shocked the House of Commons with some truthful words. He said:

"If your class goes to war and appeals to the workers to help, I hope the workers will use their rifles on the ruling classes that crush them down into poverty and despair by this national government of national crooks."

IRELAND AND FREEDOM OF SPEECH.—Ireland has been most vociferous in demanding freedom from England domination, and with full justification. But when Ernest Toller, world-known author, who is one of Hitler's victim exiles, came to address an anti-fascist meeting in Dublin, the government of Ireland issued an order forbidding his addressing the scheduled meeting. Mr. de Valera must be a very close ally to the budding fascists of Ireland.

UNFROCKED BUSINESS — CALIFORNIA STYLE. — 200 merchants of the North Beach Merchants Association and the San Francisco Hotel Association have appealed to the police commission to reopen the once famous Barbary Coast underworld. "We feel San Francisco needs more color, and favor the revival of the Barbary Coast..." Clubwomen of the same city have likewise declared that segregation of prostitutes would help. Now, it ought to be an easy matter for outsiders to know why this state leads in Fascism on radical ideas...

FIGURES WORKERS OUGHT TO KNOW.—Perhaps a good way to adjudge the true conditions of a country is to get to know what the exact income of each family really is. Here then are the latest figures:

160,000 wealthy families, income over \$25,000.
471,000 well-to-do families, income over \$10,000.
1,625,000 comfortable families, income over \$5,000.
3,672,000 modern circumstances, income over \$3,000.
9,886,000 minimum comfort, income over \$1,500.
11,655,000 families in poverty, income UNDER \$1,500.

GOD, STATE AND CHURCH.—In a sermon delivered on Jan. 28th, Rev. Henry F. Hammer of St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York City, declared:

"...all authority is from God, and an infraction of the authority of the State or of the church is rebellion against the authority of God Himself"

So, Michael Bakunin was right after all. The trinity of deceit—God, State and Church are liberty's worst foes.

IF WAR COMES AGAIN.—It was at the last International Congress of writers that the "prophetic" Socialist H. G. Wells arose to state: "If war came we would forget P. E. N. and writing men would become simply men." Emil Ludwig also opposed the anti-war resolution as "impractical". So, if war comes again, our "great" ones will betray us once again....

THE REVENGE OF THE VICTORS IN HUNGARY. — Matthias Rakosi, former Commander of the Red Militia in Budapest under Bela Kun's short lived Bolshevik reign of 1919, was sentenced to life imprisonment by the present rulers. He had just completed an eight years sentence on the very same charges: 41 homicides and 489 other offenses. Thus, the toll of the short-lived revolt is charged up to the vanquished, as always.

GRAFT AND GOVERNMENT.—The House Military Affairs Committee has uncovered a bee-hive of graft in the war department, but has so far refused to give out the names of the persons involved. It charges war department officials with accepting gifts from manufacturers, and with being lavishly "entertained" by lobbyists. One officer is charged with having accepted a "loan" of \$2,500 which has never been repaid. One transaction yielded \$7,000,000 to a contractor above his legitimate claim. Private lobbying offices, and burning of specifications to block off undesirable competitors is also charged to army officials.

TOO HAPPY TO LIVE.—Harry Levy, a presser of New York City, succeeded to land a job in Yonkers, N. Y., after months of idleness and privation. He fell dead upon the landing of the position.

MURDER.—The police of New York City suspected James Toomy of planning to rob a restaurant. At police headquarters he was brutally "mussed up" as the Police Commissioner ordered.... The victim died afterwards at the Bellevue Hospital.

"HANG THE WORKERS!"—The Duquesne Times of Duquesne, Penn., has come out openly with this brazen call to murder workers attempting to organize themselves into unions. There are plenty of free trees—and rope can also be easily obtained." Think what the upholders of the present "Law and Order" fraternity would do if a radical publication would give utterance to such advice against the exploiters!

IN DESPAIR.—John Marenga, an unemployed worker of New York City, and father of four children, passed by a bank. He picked up a rock and hurled it at the citadel of the present order. Police promptly pounced upon him and now he will serve a prison sentence as a criminal.

ART EXHIBITION OF LYNCHING TABOO.—After having donated their galleries for an exhibition called "An Art Commentary on Lynchings", the Jacques Seligmann Galleries of New York City backed down and refused to hold the exhibition. "Unidentified sources" states the N. Y. Times of Feb. 12, brought about the change. The National Association of Colored People, many well known liberals and authors sponsored the exhibition. Truth is a most unwelcome

guest in this country of the "free and the brave", cowards say we.

HOLLYWOOD HAS NO SHAME.—When the supposedly "Nana" of Emile Zola was shown in France, the heirs of Zola appealed to the President of France to stop its showing, stating: "This Nana of the films has nothing in common with either "Nana" or Zola. It is as if an attempt were made to sell in France soda water from the Potomac under the label of champagne". Many months have elapsed already since this protest was made, but Hollywood has not even had the decency to attempt in defending itself.

CONGRESS AND SENATE.—Both temples of our legislators are now performing their usual stunts. This reminds us that the pressmen covering both lawmaking branches voted the last session as the "Best rubber stamp in history". To add more fun to the political circus, Congressman Sirovich stated before the closing of the last Congress: "...we will postpone the show until Monday and then put on the finest performance ever staged on the floor of this house". Happy citizenship that has such lawmakers as performers...

RAMPANT CHAUVENISM.—Although the Jews have no homeland just now, chauvenism is not absent from their midst. The Freie Arbeiter Stimme reports how on January 4th, the faction in Palestine that refuses to recognize Jargon, although it is the language spoken by practically most of the Jews throughout the world, staged a brutal attack upon a conference of Jewish writers. These chauvenists are known as fanatical upholders of Hebrew as the only language that Jews should allow themselves to use.

PAGE, MR. WILLIAM GREEN AND FELLOW TRADE UNIONISTS OF U. S. A.—A dispatch from Mexico of Feb. 4, states that the employees of the Eagle Oil Co. of Agua Dulce, Vera Cruz, have put forth the following demands:

A) 20 per cent share in the company's profits. B) A polo field and polo ponies with an eighteen-hole golf course with full equipment. C) A swimming pool, baseball, basketball and football fields. D) A share in the management of the Company. E) A school in which they will be taught the technicalities of the industry, and 1000 acres of land each for their sustenance in the event the petroleum industry should become unprofitable. Thirty-three other demands complete the list, and a strike is threatened if not acceded to.

And this from the land of "ignorant peons"!

WAS IT WORTH THE PRICE?—The Hetch Hetchy water project of San Francisco has become a reality. In addition to the \$100,000,000 that it had cost to build, it also cost the lives of eighty workers with hundreds of crippled and wounded. But a mad-gone machine worship society hasn't even time the time to stop and to think.

SCIENCE AND SOCIAL REFORM

Enrico Malatesta

The great scientific discoveries of the nineteenth century and the victorious criticism which science made against the lies and the errors of religions, had the effect upon progressive spirits, of making them enthusiastic admirers if not intelligent and patient cultivators, of science. These progressives exaggerated the importance of science by attributing to it the power to solve and understand everything; they made of science a new religion.

Social reformers of every kind that is, of every kind which, by whatever means and ends, wished to modify the existing social order believed themselves obliged to found their aspirations upon Science. Similarly, the conservatives also, when they saw that religious faith was vacillating and that it was no longer sufficient to keep the people in subjection, sought to justify the existing regime by means of science. It was verily a state of intellectual intoxication (not yet vanished) which caused the loss of a clear concept of nature and of the methods and scope of science, and it was to the utter detriment of scientific truth and social action.

Hardly anyone was saved; and if we anarchists were saved from the ridiculousness of calling ourselves scientific anarchists, it was perhaps only because the adjective "scientific" had already been taken and rendered antipathetic by Marxian socialism. In fact, many of our Comrades (and among them some of the most deserving and illustrious) actually maintained that Anarchism is a deduction consolidated with scientific truths, and, furthermore, that it is nothing but the application of the mechanical conception of the universe to human interests.

Meanwhile, the fact that they remain anarchists even while science progresses and changes, demonstrates the fallacy of their scientificism and demonstrates likewise, that their anarchism is derived from their sentiments and not from their scientific convictions. But, in spite of their professed objectivism, in practice they will not admit facts or accept theories which seem to contradict their anarchical aspirations. And, if they had not had the opportunity to pursue scientific studies, or remained in the state in which it was centuries ago, they would probably be anarchists just the same because, being good and sensible men, they would suffer because of human sorrows and would want to find a remedy and because, being proud and just men, they would rebel against oppression and would want complete liberty for themselves and for all. In addition they recognize the quality of conscious anarchism in that immense majority of Comrades who do not know science, and, when they do propaganda work, they do just as we do, that is, they seek to awaken in men the sentiments of personal dignity and love of others; they strive to excite the passion for liberty and justice; they speak of general well-being and of human brotherhood; they bring to light the social ills and they arouse the desire to destroy them; and they do not wait until the people have studied mathematics, astronomy, and chemistry.

The study of the sciences is an excellent thing and we will speak later of those things which they serve. But to pretend that anarchism (and the same holds true for socialism or any other human aspiration) is a scientific deduction and especially, therefore, a consequence of one of those vast cosmogonical hypotheses in which philosophy takes such great delight, is a thing which is false per se and is pernicious because of the consequent effect it can have upon the intellectual development of individuals and upon their capacity as combatants.

The idea of a personal god, creator of all things, which is the oldest, the most ingenious, and the most grossly absurd of these hypotheses, has done immense harm because it has accustomed people to believing without understanding and, by suffocating the spirit of examination, it has made intellectual slaves, well prepared to support political and economic slavery.

But do not scientific hypotheses do the same when they are presented as firm facts and as motives for actions, to those who know little or nothing of science and who are therefore in no position to judge? Some vague notions of scientific facts, more or less true, and the knowledge of a few strange words, are not enough to make of a man a scientist or even one who knows what he is talking about or who can choose from among the things that he is told.

For the public in general Moses and Haeckel are equally mythical figures and the belief in the monism of the one rather than in the genesis of the other just because it happens to be in style in the present environment, does not make one any the less ignorant, any the less superstitious, or any the less religious. And to speak to the unbelievers of atoms, ions, and electrons (which are only hypotheses for explaining

and binding certain categories of fact—convenient hypotheses useful to the ends of scientific research, but, nevertheless, only hypotheses, simple mental concepts, and not at all positive discoveries, not despatched to friend Cassia)—to speak, I say, without adequate preparation, of mysterious and incomprehensible things to one who does not understand, is the same as to speak to him of god and of angels. It means the teaching of words as things and the accustoming of the mind to contenting itself with affirmations which it can neither understand, nor prove, nor define.

This would be only a change in religion because it would still be a religion in the sense of blind submission to a revealed truth, which can be neither controlled nor comprehended. If it were true that anarchy is a scientific truth, then there would be no real anarchists except the very few scientists who would call themselves such; all we others would constitute a non-conscious herd which would blindly follow a few holy men who had been initiated into the reasons for faith!

Nor is there any difference in the moral deductions or in the social applications which can be obtained out of the various cosmogonical theories. The priest had God say the things which were convenient to them and they used him as a medium for justifying and strengthening the dominion of the victors.

However, in the course of history there was no lack of rebels who, in the name of God, preached justice and equality. It is said that everything occurs by the will of God and that, therefore, we must accept with resignation our own position. But it can also be said that rebellion is holy since it does occur and hence must be willed by God. It can also be said that, if God is the common father, we are all brothers and ought, therefore, to be equal. In sum, this idea may be turned in any manner, to suit any taste—for example, we know that Mazzini invented God of goodness, of love, and of progress, who was entirely different from the ferocious God of Plus IX.

Bakunin used to say that, if God exists, men can have neither liberty nor dignity. Another might say—and many, in fact, have said it—that if all is matter, if everything is subject to natural laws, the will is an illusion, liberty a chimera and man nothing but an automaton.

So it is that, if the convictions and the moral aspirations are based upon the mobile foundations of philosophic hypotheses, they are always uncertain and mutable. Like the catholic who, basing his conduct upon belief in God, is left without any moral criterion as soon as his faith is shaken, so the anarchist, if he were really an anarchist because of scientific convictions, would have to continually consult the latest bulletins of the Academy of Science in order to determine whether he can continue to be an anarchist.

Cassia furnishes an example of how, by means of philosophy, the simplest and most evident things can be confounded. According to him, "the principle of property is based upon the false belief in creation from nothing." I, truly, do not understand what he wants to say; but it seems to me that if, before having a revolution and expropriating the holders of social wealth, we must first attend to nothing but the question of the origin of the world, then the capital-

ists may sleep in tranquillity! Oh, isn't it much more simple, much more comprehensible, to say that, however the world may have been formed, it is here and ought to serve the needs of all, and to incite the workers to take it and to work it on their own account, and to no longer permit themselves to be despoiled by those who, by violence or fraud, have made themselves the owners?

★ ★ ★

If then, from the clouds of philosophy, we descend to the more solid domain of the positive sciences and of the so-called social sciences, we find here, too, that they can serve to defend the most diverse political regimes, the most contradictory social aspirations. From the immense heap of more or less established facts, each one chooses those which support his own position, and each one formulates theories which in reality, become programs, desires, and objectives which he proposes and which he, deluding himself as well as others, calls scientific truths. In the interpretation of the facts of natural history, in anthropology, in the philosophy of history, in political economy, and in every phase of sociology, at every turning of a page we come upon dubious affirmations which say it is when they should say it ought to be or, better, I wish it were. The result is, that scientific, objective, and impartial investigation suffers; the social struggle passes from the ardent field of passion and interest which are its very own, to degenerate itself in the chattering of the academicians and the pedants.

Science gathers facts, classifies them, and, when it finds that these facts are necessary and that they necessarily reproduce themselves every time the same conditions are set up, formulates natural laws. The latter are, for this reason, nothing but affirmations that under given conditions certain definite phenomena occur. But this does not tell man what to desire, whether he should love or hate, be good or bad, just or unjust. Goodness, justice, and right are concepts which science ignores completely.

Science tends to delimit the field between fatalism and free will. The more science advances the more powerful does man become because he learns what are the necessary conditions which he must fulfill in order to be able to execute his will. But this will, executed or not, remains an extra scientific force with its own origins and its own tendencies.

Toxology teaches us the physiology of poisons, but it does not tell us whether we should use the acquired knowledge to poison or to cure people. Mechanics discovers the laws of equilibrium and of the resistance of materials, it teaches us to build bridges, steamships, and aeroplanes, but it does not tell us whether it is better to build the bridge where it may serve the greed of a proprietor, or where it may serve the interests of all; it does not tell us whether ships and planes should be used to carry soldiers and to hurl bombs upon the people or to spread throughout the world, civility, well-being, and brotherhood. Science is a weapon that can serve for good or for evil; but it ignores completely the idea of good or evil.

So then, we are not anarchists because sciences tell us to be; we are, instead, anarchists because, among other reasons, we want everyone to be able to enjoy the advantages and the joys that science can procure for us.

(Translated by Eli J. Boche)

Another Year of the New Deal

SPARK-PLUGS

THE LOSERS

21,000,000 men, women and children were living on charity in the year of 1934.

Wages of all the employed in the country fell to an average of \$800, or 50 per cent less than the amount earned before the 1929 crash.

Unemployment is still on the increase, having passed the 12 million mark.

Illness among the population is on the increase, surpassing all past records. Malnutrition is given as the chief cause.

Schools throughout the country have cut classes, reduced the teaching staffs, and reports reveal millions of children coming to school undernourished, and poorly clothed.

1,400,000 pounds of potatoes were spoiled due to lack of cooperation between city, state and federal relief agencies. The needy ones were thus deprived even of the charity food intended for them.

THE WINNERS

Continental Baking Company.....	\$ 2,004,672
Diamond Match Company.....	2,130,000
P. Lorillard Tobacco Company.....	2,833,318
Brooklyn Union Gas Company.....	3,164,618
Gillette Safety Razor Company.....	4,188,000
Radio Corporation of America.....	4,249,264
Kroger Grocery and Baking Company.....	4,198,242
Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company.....	4,553,964
Irving Trust Company of N. Y. C.....	5,255,678
S. H. Kress and Company.....	5,872,430
Chemical Bank and Trust Company.....	7,787,367
Montgomery Ward and Company.....	9,302,203
S. S. Kresge Company.....	9,835,594
Continental Can Company, Inc.....	10,707,122
United Fruit Company.....	12,049,299
J. C. Penney Company.....	16,147,315
F. W. Woolworth Company.....	32,142,363
E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company.....	46,701,465
General Motors Corporation.....	94,769,000
Dividends of 629 Corporations voted in Feb.....	214,947,240
Dividends of 764 Corporations voted in Jan.....	214,412,234

MAN!

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

Editor, MARCUS GRAHAM

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MAN! invites the collaboration of all workers and artists who are in sympathy with our ideas to send us essays, prose, poems and drawings. No payment can be made. Where return of manuscripts is desired sufficient postage should be included.

Administration and Editorial Address

MAN!

P. O. Box 115, San Francisco, California, U. S. A.

TAXATION.—Tax collector held in theft. We thought they'd get around calling it that some day.

EQUALITY.—One thing you can say about this country and that is everybody has had a chance to become poor and honest.

POLITICIANS.—Eighty per cent of a whale's oil is in its tongue, which looks like a large proportion until one considers our politicians.

ACROBATIC.—Apparently what Mr. Roosevelt has done is to move way over to the right, taking the left and middle with him.

LAWYERS.—Uncle Sam may sue Al Capone for \$391,506. It is cheerful to learn that anybody can have that much left after hiring so many lawyers.

SOLUTION.—If government, both national and state, set up more organizations to administer relief plans, the growing personnel required to handle the details, will in time automatically solve the unemployment problem.

DICTATORSHIP.—There has been a split in the ranks of Friends of New Germany, Nazi propaganda agency in this country. Each faction accuses the other of foul practice and of using dictatorial methods. Dictatorship, evidently, is all right—provided it is applied to the other fellow.

CAPITALISM.—The present brand of capitalism has been tried and found wanting everything in sight—including the earth with a fence around it.

CRIME SOLVERS.—Robbers shooting down and holding up a bank runner in Washington, D. C., right under the nose of the department of justice, just after the close of that government agency's stirring conference on crime.

PATRIOTISM.—Patriotic meetings are being held in various parts of California, the audience being given American flags made in Japan.

BIRTH CONTROL.—Still, birth control seems rather decent when you consider the depth we are piling up for posterity.

LAWMAKER.—Carl Wright, Oklahoma farmer legislator, says he knows of one tool that could be used in his present work as a lawmaker. It's a manure spreader.

A LESSON IN HISTORY.—Washington made the country. Lincoln preserved it. Edison lighted it. Ford put it on wheels and Wall Street took it for a ride.

E. T.

WHAT HAPPENED IN THE LAST UPRISING OF SPAIN?

Spain Under A Military Heel

I.

The entire Spain is now under military rule. In some country far away in the province of Asturias and Biscay there shines the last glimmers of revolt, but soon the whole peninsula will be drowned by the reactionary wave. Once more the people have been conquered or, to be more exact, another battle has been lost by revolutionists of all tendencies.

The insurrectional movement was political, sponsored by politicians who, had they triumphed, wouldn't have changed the present social structure, to which recent experiences have shown them to be devoted.

But almost everywhere our Comrades and Syndicalist friends of the C. N. T. contributed to the insurrectional movement, with the understanding of course, that the political agitation was to be changed into a social movement. Their participation gave this precise significance to the insurrection.

In fact, in several places liberal communism was proclaimed. In Asturias the revolt was burning the municipal and judicial archives, it was demolishing churches, it procured the fighters and their families with the means of subsistence by expropriating warehouses, and took money from the banks to put it at the service of the revolution—according to what the government says.

Breaking out on the 5th of Oct. to protest against the formation of the philofascist government of Lerroux, the insurrectional movement was thought to have died out on the 8th or 9th of that current month; but on the 15th of Oct. the bulletin of war released by the government, announced that, the federal troops had finally re-conquered the city of Oviedo, but that it couldn't give news as to the particulars of the event because after 24 hours of possession, some popular quarters of the small city were still fighting, while the surrounding villages and countries were also still in a state of rebellion.

The government's bulletins are to be taken with great care. For days and days they yelled that the rebels disposed of artillery; now it comes to light that where they had prepared themselves with a cannon they had taken it from soldiers by assault, as they had taken from the sentries machine-guns and from the arsenals arms and ammunitions after fierce battles.

Now tales are starting to circulate regarding the befallen battles. A troop of 35 sentries which had come with a machine-gun for reinforcement, installed it in a strategical point. Although the machine-gun was new, it didn't work. The sentries fought the battle against the people with guns; the rebels turned it into a massacre killing 29 including the captain. The rebels took another machine-gun after sieging the hotel for a long time, where soldiers, policemen, and gendarmes who shot till the last cartridge had been entrenched. The revolutionists were so kind that in spite of having undergone such serious losses, they spared their lives. It is understood by reading between the lines of the official bulletins that the greatest amount of the arms used for the insurrection had been conquered in the fight. Besides, it is evident that the army wasn't faithful to the government as has been attempted to make us believe since there were symptomatic removals of whole battalions from the conflict zone to regions where there wasn't any fighting. Unfortunately though, the defections didn't imperil the government's fate.

A deadly fight took place in Oviedo. The army's cannons even destroyed the cathedral. In Oviedo alone the number of deaths has been officially estimated to be 600. When the troops entered the city there had been dead bodies lying in the streets for 8 days already; and one of the first acts accomplished by the conquerors was to summarily shoot 26 workers. Capital punishments for the living are now being administered by military right. Twelve, in Oviedo, sentenced to death are already awaiting execution. The same thing is taking place in the remaining regions of Spain.

The government's aim is to terrorize. When the troops enter into the villages of Asturias which have stopped resistance, they will not be able to find the inhabitants; everyone goes to the forest and mountains, some in order to spare themselves from ferocious reprisals, others to pursue guerrilla warfare.

In spite of the government's, terroristic campaigns, in general, it can be said that the rebels defended themselves against the ferocious attacks of the governmental troops. A fine episode was that of the 11 revolutionists entrenched in a worker's center of Oviedo that on being summoned to surrender, they preferred to fight till death overcame them all. Mercy couldn't be expected anyway.

In the peninsula the rebellion was general, but until a way is found to carry the revolt deeply into the army, it has no chance of succeeding, unless the whole people are aroused.

In this occasion the region which distinguished itself the least was Catalonia, and especially Barcelona. Here the Esquerra made but an insurrectional gesture for the sake of Catalinism, which is socially a conservative patriotism. Instead of gaining the friendship of the people, although knowing that they didn't have sufficient strength to oppose the central government, this Catalan leftist party, until the last moment did everything possible to make itself an enemy of the people and even of the vanguard forces that are always ready to fight against the established order. It is known now that the governmental forces engaged in the repression of the Barcelona movement besides the "civil guards" and policemen, did not surpass 400 troopers.

In Asturias instead, 10,000 soldiers and aeroplanes were sent, who were yesterday dropping bombs—about 80 according to the government's bulletin—in a little town near Bilbao.

Now, while in other regions of Spain people were fighting

The Socialist and Communist press have been repeating of late charges of treachery against the Anarchist movement and its ideal, based chiefly on the events that happened in the last October revolution of Spain.

We are presenting two letters from Spain of Comrade Tranquillo, which have been translated by Comrade Ruth for MAN!, from our Italian contemporary weekly "L'Adunata dei Refrattari". These two letters make it clear as to how far the Anarchist ideal and movement have any responsibility for the action of the C. N. T. Readers of MAN! will recall the controversy that has been going on in our pages, criticising and pointing out the very dangerous pitfalls that the January 1933 actions will lead the C. N. T. organization to, if it pursues its authoritarian policies. Unfortunately, our criticism was not heeded, as the events of October 1934 show.

The statement of the Iberian Anarchist Federation, is directed, and with full justification, at the Socialist and Communist press attacks. The Socialists have been guilty of participating in the very same government that has been responsible for the legal and illegal murdering of scores of revolutionists as well as for participating in framing the very same laws under which they too find themselves now being responsible for the legal and illegal murdering of scores of their actions. Every revolutionary uprising has been boycotted by them. The October revolution was the "united front" movement of the Socialist, Communist and Liberal politicians for gaining power. Considering these facts, neither the Socialists, nor the Communists have any moral right to criticize or to slander the Anarchist movement and its ideas.

We too of the Anarchist movement who have never approved of anarcho-syndicalism, and therefore of the C. N. T. as an anarcho-syndicalist organization, have the moral justification to bring forth the criticism which we do.

Furthermore, we believe that it was an unpardonable mistake for the C. N. T., as well as for the Iberian Anarchist Federation, not to have appealed to the people during the October revolution to utilize the uprising for the overthrow of the prevailing governmental regime, as well as for the prevention of the establishing of any new one. At no time can we conceive of anarchists remaining passive in any given revolutionary situation in which the people are participating.

With so much ardour, the Committee of the C. N. T. of Barcelona broadcasted from the radio station of the Command of the IV Army-Corps, not without a certain rhetorical solemnity, the order to stop the general strike and advised the members of the C. N. T. to resume work on Tuesday, at a time when gunshots could still be heard throughout the city.

The event caused a painful surprise among the Comrades. In the first place, the general strike was not declared by the C. N. T. which had only followed it; in the second place, the C. N. T. had lived an illegal existence since the preceding December; its union halls were closed, any of its public activities was forbidden.

The government, nevertheless, invited this illegal committee, when it found it convenient, so that it should order the end of the general strike. The members of that committee assumed a serious responsibility which they will find very difficult to justify before the Comrades.

I don't know what these organizers of great syndicates organize, but if there was a favorable moment to plunge into the fight, it was that in which the forces of the central government were engaged against Catalinism. The fascist government of Lerroux, that has with so much hardship repressed the insurrection in Asturias, probably wouldn't have survived to an equally intense action in Catalonia. There are occasions that do not repeat themselves frequently and once lost it is hard to refund them.

The anarchists must not play the game of any political party, they must always fight, to attain their object; but they must know how to take advantage of all favorable occasions for their cause. The true anarchist revolution will come about when it may, but meanwhile we must not let good occasions for the struggle escape us.

As I am not an insider I do not know what really happened among the leaders of the syndicates and the other parties; but I could not ignore this detail which has shocked me and which seems to me unjustifiable.

At present a conflict is appearing between the Lerroux government and the high military hierarchy about the law of revenge.

The present government, mindful of the preceding government, which is almost completely imprisoned after the last revolutionary events and which spared the life of Sanjurjo and of his Comrades after the military coup of August 10th, wanted in its turn to show mercy... for there is nothing stable in Spain, for everything is changing and therefore one must be able to foresee a possible defeat in the near future.

But the others will not yield, they will give an example. And so the three rebels who have been sentenced to death in Barcelona, are passing dreadful nights awaiting the decision. Although they are our enemies, it is fair to recognize that they have behaved with dignity before the military tribunal, by defending their deeds. Anyway they had full right to a federal republic, if that was what they wanted. One cannot understand this war of the central government against the regional powers when they both defend private property, the church and militarism.

It is really a question of "get out of there for I want to stay in your place" rather than an ideal of social change, even if it were democratic!

Finally let us honor the fallen, those who are about to fall, and those who are going in jail for life or for many long years. Who knows if this painful defeat won't serve as a lesson for the future social upheavals.

The C. N. T. and October's Insurrection

II.

Even in Spain it is customary to confuse the National Confederation of Labor (C. N. T.) with the Iberian Anarchist Federation (F. A. I.). When the representatives of the C. N. T. speak of their organization, they do it as if they were speaking in the name of the anarchists...

Instead it often happens that the leaders or the "servants" of the Confederation, as they like to call themselves, don't even represent the opinion of the organized. In the moments in which it would be extremely important to listen to the quivering pulse of the revolutionary mass before taking a decision, just then the leaders are compelled to break the discipline and to act according to their own will instead of in obedience to that of the organized, as if these had ceased to exist.

Now that the anarchist and syndicalist press is returning to life little by little—even if subjected to censorship—the work of various committees of the C. N. T. existing at the time of October's insurrection is beginning to be discussed, and it clearly appears that such committees represented themselves, instead of the opinion of the rank and file.

So it happens that in "Tiempo Nuevo" one reads a report by Comrade Santillan who quite naturally, tries to justify the attitude taken by the committee in these circumstances.

Truthfully speaking, the defense is weak. The deceitful methods of the Socialist Party of the Esquerra and of the Communist Party, have been illustrated sufficiently, to make it still necessary to prove that a serious understanding with the respective leaders was impossible. So it is useless to repeat that the C. N. T. lived a secret life for a long time following the revolutionary attempts of the F. A. I. to which the Confederation had adhered in a too prudent manner; and that, in consequence of such secrecy the preparation of arms was necessarily inadequate.

All this is known and it is hardly necessary to give prominence to the fact that the arms for the social revolution—the arms necessary at the beginning of the insurrection, at least—would always have to be prepared secretly, no matter what kind of government is in power, no matter in what situations the organization that prepares them live in other respects. We gather that in decisive moments the directing committee act with full autonomy from the mass which follow them. And Santillan points this out when he writes:

"The opportunity came to transform the Generalitat's farce into a true revolutionary movement, when Companys announced the surrender, after a few hours of fighting. All of us saw it immediately. One expected that the C. N. T. would assume the leadership of the movement giving it its own objectives. With what? Has it been forgotten that the C. N. T. existed only secretly for one year, that its halls were closed, that the persecutions had made impossible any work of material preparation? In spite of the contrary legend, the C. N. T. and the F. A. I. had no arms and without arms they couldn't mobilize the fighting forces in a few hours, when the strategical points of the city were already in the hands of the government troops and of the civil guards."

These are approximately the conditions existing during the other occasions when the insurrectional initiative had been taken by the anarchists. Santillan tells, later, of a step taken by the Worker's Alliance to the C. N. T. without results. And then he passes on to the incident of the false notions broadcasted over the radio.

"In view of the news that came from the province, where the Comrades of different localities were about to plunge into the fight because rumors had been brought to them that the C. N. T. was fighting in the city of Barcelona, it was decided to resume work after two days of general strike. There wasn't any other means to communicate with the rank and file but the radio broadcast order. The persons charged with this mission ascertained that all the broadcasting stations were controlled by the army and they didn't have any remedy other than submitting themselves to this new situation or renounce the undertaking of the task. It was an error and the confederate and anarchist movement understood it well enough, so much so that after a few hours all the responsible committees of the organization had to resign from their positions. Everything would have been changed had we suspected, that in the Asturias the fight to the end had started. But nothing was known and since the resistance had already been broken up even in Madrid it was thought advisable to end the strike in Catalonia to avoid useless sacrifices. The incident of the broadcast was a consequence of the abnormal state in which the city found itself."

At this point a question comes up: What purpose do all these expenses that are sustained to organize conventions, congresses, reunions, a movement, a revolutionary movement, serve, when such a powerful organization as the C. N. T.—even in an underground state—cannot provide a service of communications independent from the enemy's?

It is being tried to excuse one fact—the broadcast of the order to end the strike from a military office of the government—as an error owed to the abnormality of the situation; but aside from the fact that an organization that is truly revolutionary, ought to be protected against exactly that kind of abnormal situation; aside from the fact that the deed is shameful in itself, that error was probably, the principle cause, if not the only one, of the sterility of the sacrifice of the revolutionists in the Asturias. That error, if it were an error, enters into the number of political crimes

for which history has no extenuation.

It is proper to recognize that the militants have immediately reacted against the "servants" who gave that order in such a way and openly violated it....

Concerning the want of arms, if we wait to start the revolution when the revolutionists dispose of so many arms as the government has at its disposal, there is long to wait! That which was lacking wasn't only the technical armament, above all it was the spiritual armament. What kind of revolutionary purposes must have he who in time of upheaval avails himself of the means of the government in order to put an end to it? All these people who tirelessly declaim about the technique of the modern revolution, are really disappointing when they pass from words to facts. The secrecy of the organization instead of being an excuse for the unpreparedness, should have been according to my opinion, an incentive to the preparation for the armed struggle, since no other form of activity was permitted to it. An underground revolutionary movement can only consider the organization as an insurrectional instrument.

TRANQUILLO

Statement of the Iberian Anarchist Federation

Comrades of all countries: Developments in Spain compel us to continue this publicity work. We are convinced of the necessity of extending it beyond the national boundaries and make our appeal international in scope, giving universal actuality to the responsibilities of the revolution. We have already drawn the line between revolutions and riots, that is, between free and authoritarian purposes. At this time we want only to call attention to the place we occupy in the path of the past, present and future events leading to a society of freedom in opposition to the totalitarian state. To both pseudo-Marxian and reactionary capitalist schools, we want to say that we are as far removed from one as from the other, that we equally abhor the present rulers and the rebel oppositionists who aim to conquest power in order to, in their turn exploit and oppress also; even though they may do it deceitfully, wrapped in banners of glittering colors.

We have said why and how we differ from the promoters of the October revolution and we must state very loudly that nobody can point his accusing finger at us, and we defy our detractors to prove a single particle of their charges. But on the other hand, we will show that neither in the matter of principles or in philosophy, or in tactics, or in temporary actions, are they on the right side.

The underlying issue of the last revolt and the attitude of the anarchists which has caused so much unfavorable comment—specially abroad for the simple reason that we all know each other in Spain and nobody could believe the charges here—should be raised to a question of principles, methods and postulates having a final aim or purpose. Without this previous declaration everything would degenerate, as it has degenerated, into a cheap, frantic discussion devoid of principles.

We solemnly declare that we have nothing in common with any authoritarian school, either together or separately, no matter how much they may resort to riots and revolts in order to accomplish their aims. And nobody having some political pride, or social ethics, or any human dignity, or who is conscious of his idealism whatever it might be, should confuse us with the enemies of justice, and much less openly mock at truth. Because honesty and ethic should be above everybody and everything.

We have always been alone, as anti-authoritarians that we are, in all the Spanish struggles of any importance. And as the others—the politicians and authoritarians—fear the intense force of our action, they both reject and call us at the same time. We are rejected by the political adventurers because they fear that they will not be able to control the people after they are in revolt. They envy us and they wish us to put our forces under their control to emasculate them and use them up for their own selfish purposes. But when our movement takes the full anarchist position, when we refuse to join hands with cheap and unprincipled politicians, then a flood of insults falls upon us.

We arose in open rebellion against the fascist-clerical government when first the results of the elections were made public. We kept our promise and did honor to our record, bringing also honor to the Spanish people for whose liberty we have fought and will always fight. There is our revolution of December, 1933! Who has imitated it? Where are those who watched it? How deep in the mire have fallen these lying politicians who have promised everything and gave nothing? And how we have been treated. Left republicans, Socialists, communists, syndicalists—all this mixture of would-be rebels of today shouted themselves hoarse calling us names and insulting us.

Whatever we did, whatever we do, we are insulted. The C. N. T. and the F. A. I. are the targets of these invectives. Insults if we don't join the politicians who would stage opera-revolutions. Insults if we continue in our educational work, silently, deeply, extensively in a peaceful or evolutionary way. It is because Jesuitism has gone deep into the make-up of these would-be revolutionists, who feel that lying and slandering is all right because, according to their ethics the end justifies the means and all means are good to attain their aims. And their aim is to destroy morally and materially the only really ideal revolutionary and liberating school of thought there is in Spain.

We appeal to all free men and women throughout the world to examine the charges against us and determine their value. And to examine also the other value—the value of the Spanish anarchism in the face of the coming revolution.

Workers of the World: For the emancipation and liberty

of our people. For the popular, equitable and liberating revolution of HUMANITY!

THE PENINSULAR COMMITTEE.

Barcelona, Jan. 20, 1935.

(Dear Comrades:—

A few days ago, we received this circular from the Iberian Anarchist Federation to be translated and published in every language in our anarchist papers all over the world. In the opinion of the Iberian Anarchist Federation—F. A. I.—, the mentioned circular should be published in your paper, because it is the only anarchist organ that appears in English regularly in this country.

Fraternally yours,
F. de GG. AA.)

An Appeal

The sadistic cruelty with which the Jesuit Spanish regime has treated and still is treating the Spanish revolutionists during and after the October revolt finds no parallel in the darkest period of the history of Humanity. What has taken place in Asturias, and still takes place now, as well as in many other localities is enough to enrage any sensible human being with his utmost condemnation of such barbarism.

Whole families, from all classes, have been shot down like mad dogs. Even the cemetery keeper and his family was shot down right in the cemetery of Asturias. Two young children who went to a fountain to bring water home were sadistically murdered by the African legionnaires, and as the mother came out, and later their father, both met the same fate. In other places, the same vultures, tied the women with ropes, violated them in front of their children, while at the same time the father was cut to pieces, then the children,

Social Attitudes Towards Peace by August Claessens. (Rand School Press, 7 East 15th St., New York, 15 page-pamphlet).

The author brings forth some well established facts as to the true causes of war. He falls short of any strong argument only when passing comment upon the Socialists' role in the last world war. He writes: "True, the Socialist movement failed to stop the World War. Everything and everybody else also failed....."

We The People, by David P. Bernberg (Rand school Press, 7 East 15th St., New York, 14 page-pamphlet).

A plea for "Democracy that shall mean worker's control of industry as well as government", is the interpretation given by the author to the true meaning of the American Constitution. Nothing is said about all those countries where such a democracy has triumphed and how little it did prove itself of benefit to the workers.

Intolerance by J. F. Rutherford. (Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society, 117 Adams Street, Brooklyn, N. Y. 61 page-pamphlet).

A religious plea for a more prayerful study of the Word of God from which one is promised to learn an understanding of (?) "his purpose concerning you and your eternal welfare". A perfect exposition of religious blindness and INTOLERANCE to the real ills of which humanity suffers.

Salvation, by H. H. Lewis. 25 Cents. 40 page-pamphlet. B. C. Hagglund, Holt, Minn.

The author is considered one of the outstanding Bolshevik poets, and it is therefore but of little surprise to see the Poems dedicated to "Soviet Russia". In literature there is such a thing as Free Verse. Two of the most social poets of this country—Walt Whitman and Carl Sandburg are best known in that field. Regrettably, to me, the free verse of Lewis sounded like scratches in the ears, and read even worse than the colored news of every page in the Daily Worker. If this be an example of the kind of poetry that is looked upon as literature by the self appointed vanguards of the proletariat, well may then the shadows of the Shelleys and Freiligraths have pity and contempt on the "proletarian" cult that is now battering at the walls of genuine literature.

Challenge, by Camille Du Barry. 56 page-pamphlet. Caravan Publishing Co, 2169 Selby Ave., St. Paul, Minn.

That this youthful author can write poetry is certain from this pamphlet. What she needs is plenty of restraint before rushing into print. As the collection stands, it left upon me the impression of a department store, you can get there everything and yet be unable to compare all the things to one hand-craft article gotten outside of a department store....

The Problem of Education, by Alexis C. Ferm. Modern School Association, Stelton, N. J. 23 page-pamphlet. 10 Cents.

Few people in this country have contributed as much towards the practical dissemination of genuine free education than Alexis C. Ferm and his life companion. What they have done (and are now again doing) in Stelton—has made Stelton to serve as an educational inspiration for schools, colleges and universities everywhere. But their work has not always been an easy going-one. A good many of the parents residing at Stelton proved themselves as the chief stumbling block in the path of what the Fermes, and other similar teachers, tried to do. The following excerpts will give the reader an idea what this obstacle is about:

"Some will say that they would put before the child the heavy food of social science in the adult form and leave the child to take it or not. And I would say to them

till the whole family would be annihilated. Even now there are armed bands of revolutionists in the mountains of Asturias, who are hunted day and night, some dying from hunger and cold.

Their beloved ones having no better fate at home. The prisons are full with revolutionists. Churches, convents, battleships, and passenger vessels that are out of use for lack of commercial traffic, are converted into prisons. The prisoners are mal-treated and forced to sleep on cold floors without any kind of covering. The revolutionary Committee of Spain has appealed through Cultura Proletaria for international aid. I am sure that no true revolutionist will deny them this aid and human solidarity in such deserving need.

However, the purpose of this letter is this: Any Comrade who has any kind of wearable clothing, (except shoes which are not allowed), which is of no use to him, can dispose of it and do a good deed at the same time by sending it to Cultura Proletaria Group, Box 1, Stat. D., New York City, who in turn will place it in the hands of reliable sailors who will turn it over to the Revolutionary Committee of Spain and dispose of same amongst the victims of persecuted Spanish revolutionists.

In Stelton the group is also collecting clothing for the same purpose.

The Comrades in Spain are collecting all the facts of what took place during and after the revolution and will publish it in pamphlet form and said pamphlet will be sent to us for publication in English.

Any Comrades who wish to send clothing should address it to Cultura Proletaria, Box 1, Stat. D., New York City who can forward it to them, and monies through—MAN!

With fraternal Greetings,

Comradely yours,

LOUIS RAYMOND.

BOOK REVIEWS

that I would not put a glass of whiskey before a child, but that I would put before him the social science of his own life in order that he might understand the life around him and from that be graduated into the social science of the world. In the past a boy was trained to become a soldier or a priest or to follow his father in his trade. Now he is reared to become an upholder of the state or the church; or to be a slave in the ranks of the workers; or a class-conscious propagandist; or a "credit to his family". Anything but a purpose that he may work out for himself. Anything but his freedom."

The excerpts given show how anarchistic is the understanding of Comrade Ferm in his stand on Freedom in Education. Although but the gist of a talk, it is nevertheless a worthy presentation of what the Problem of Education ought to mean to anarchists in particular.

The Revolutionary Movement in Spain, by M. Dashar. Libertarian Publishing Society, 45 W. 17th Street, New York, N. Y. 24 page-pamphlet. 10 Cents per single copy and 5 cents plus postage for 25 or more.

This pamphlet attempts to give in brief a review of the recent upheavals in Spain up to and including the last October uprising. This task is not fulfilled very well. The January uprising of 1933 is being dealt with, but only in part. The Uprising is referred to as "an uprising of the Anarchist Federation of Iberia". (The bold are Dashar's). This was not so, The revolution was no doubt inspired by the Anarchist Iberian Federation. So it was also by the C. N. T. It was therefore a revolt of the revolutionary masses. That the C. N. T. abandoned its support of the uprising in the most critical moment is not even mentioned. Nor is it being mentioned that the leading organ of the C. N. T. condemned that uprising as a plot of the monarchists.

Where Dashar succeeds very well, is in presenting a detailed account of the political maneuvers played by the Socialists and Communists of Spain, and the kind of a political partisan "united front" they were aiming at.

Dashar makes also the following statement:

"A well known agitator of the C. N. T. made a concrete proposition for a united front in the Madrid daily 'La Tierra', he had worked out a plan according which the most important public services would be centralized. The formation of a centralistic bureaucracy would be prevented and the entire administration of the economic life left to labor unions."

This is a most significant stand. It lives up to the stand taken by the Anarcho-Syndicalist Congress at Berlin in 1922, when the dictatorship of the proletariat was rejected for the dictatorship of work. The anarcho-syndicalists didn't then, nor do they now, realize that in practice the dictatorship of work would prove just as harmful as the dictatorship of the proletariat. It would become a ruling clique nevertheless.

The Libertarian Publishing Society states in a letter to MAN! that M. Dashar is a "member of the Anarcho-Syndicalist movement". The above stand assumes therefore yet more importance, as does his conclusive remarks:

"It is not only possible but also very probably that the Spanish revolution will discard various theoretical preconceptions and dogmas of the anarchists as well as of the socialists...."

Dashar fails to mention a single preconception or dogma of the anarchists that has proven itself untrue or unfit to be applied to life. Had he used the word anarcho-syndicalist instead of anarchist, we could not have objected.

Dashar also fails to deal at all with the broadcasting accusation now being repeated again and again in the Communist press in their attempt to save their former misdeeds by presently slandering the Anarchists. (See articles dealing with this question on page five and six of this issue).

M. G.

ART and LITERATURE

THE SCISSORS

My father sits on the sled in the middle of the kitchen; he looks at the footworn linoleum blankly and an intense gloom weighs the room. My sister and I have stopped eating supper and are uncomfortable. Only a few moments before my father came home there was laughter over my mother's inability to say "very". My sister and I, being young and drilled in what must be done to and what must not be done to the English language five times a week, laughed finding our mother's lack comical. Her teeth refused to form v's and in their stead w's unfailingly came.

Now my father sits on the sled * under the kitchen light, his head bowed and all life gone dark. My mother has told him of the news his sister brought in the afternoon. His father, in Russia, is dead. I know it is less than a year that news came of my father's mother and I can sense some part of the sorrow he feels.

My father is not old; he is forty but he looks aged and spent. He is a tailor and he has told us of how he began learning to sew when he was thirteen, working for keep only in a tailor shop in Minsk. And he has often related tales of his forced army service under the Czar. Most of these tales are of indignities suffered from superior officers who must certainly have been a sadistic tribe and our young hearts fiercely raged against them.

It is very quiet as my father sits there, and my sister and I with our unfinished plates before us watch him. My sister squirms and lowers her eyes at intervals. I am several years older than her and I feel a sharp sympathy for my father though I do not experience a sense of loss, never having seen my grandfather.

I look at my father and see a man undermined by inexorable years of toil and worry, who has known little rest and nary a vacation since his arrival in America twenty years ago. Both my parents have known the long hours of sweatshops and they have struggled together through the years and it is as though they were forever in a contest which is hopelessly lost from the start. Two tailor shops my father has tried in an herculean effort to rid himself of boss vultures and lay-offs and both resulted in failures wiping away hard skimmed savings and also in one case the anger of an uncle who had endorsed a note upon which we were unable to continue payments.

The saga of our family is one overclouded with poverty. I don't remember that prosperity ever made itself known to us; all the years were hard and money-lack seems my father's despised birthright. Always we have been behind with the rent and the gas and electric; the grocer and the butcher, and their representatives, appear regularly on Sunday mornings. And one might think that my father, being a tailor, would be the possessor of a number of suits, but he is not; the suit he wears now is his only one and has been repaired so many times that I often wonder if eventually the patches, though done so well as to be fairly unnoticeable, can wholly take the place of the original suit.

My father, I say, looks worn and tired. There is a photograph of him and my mother taken shortly after their marriage, and on rainy days when I rummage through drawers containing things of the sort I stare at this photograph and never fail to wonder how a man who had been so strongly knitted and healthy looking could become so wasted without having been visited by a serious illness or disease. And recognition of him is hard.

It is winter. My sister and I were out having a jolly time riding on the sled my father is bowed over. We were shouting and laughing and our cheeks are still ruddy and our eyes bright. Oh, how quick the mood! Now too the corners of my sister's lips are down and she seems on the verge of tears. My mother stands by the stove and waits. She accepts such things with philosophical comment and calm. She already has lost her mother and two brothers.

Custom tailoring which my father does (he could not withstand shop speed-up to day) is an uncertain job. Work becomes steady only before the beginning of the new season but it is not unusual for my father to bring home his scissors during that period too. My father does not come home for lunch. He eats that meal at his employer's home which is above the store. Time and time again my father has said that the meals weren't worth a shpai (spit). It is only a way of keeping him in a pit. My father says, and if there were only another place in town where he could get work he'd leave his boss like from a fire.

He feels his responsibility strongly, my father. He never was one to sit on his launches when laid off, though making the rounds of the tailor shop seldom amounts to more than part of a dollar, if anything at all. Considering that he is a sickly man my mother has often told him on such a morning to remain in bed and rest his bones, whatever he'd make that day he could just as well get up later. But my father does not heed this advice. He gets up. I am afraid my father will never rest his bones until a final stillness takes his slight body.

He is kind, gentle and compassionate. He never scolds nor strikes my sister or me. Always he is beseeching us to be careful, not to run fast, not to strain ourselves. His anxiety goes for nought, however. We are young, not yet in our teens, and our energies are high and rather undisciplined. He would be quick to give his life-blood for his family.

It is twenty years that he is in America. He immigrated with the optimistic exodus of those years to a land free and

*It is Jewish law that upon hearing of the death of a member of the family you shall hurriedly seat yourself on the floor or a low object.

HAROLD LAMBERT

golden, he dreamed, with opportunity. Before him had come his sister and cousins and her letters spoke glowingly of the land of wonders. "Jacob is in business for himself. He owns a dress factory." "Rubin builds houses and his son goes to college to be a doctor." An so on. After four centuries immigrants embarking on America's shores were yet pioneers. And my father, receiving the fare impatiently, left Russia and traveled third class on a huge boat whose nose pointed to the fulfillment of hopes, and in time he learned to speak of Russia as the old country.

Small, dark, chill-damp rooms infested with mice and cockroaches, leaking roofs and unsanitary toilets were my parents' domiciles. Then I came, an unwanted burden that pills and other means failed to destroy in embryo. My sister was another undesirable event. I have overheard my mother in the course of an evening in which I was supposedly asleep retelling of the gushing of pans of blood in the breaking up of four pregnancies.

Yes, my father's life is a dark calendar of hardships, and as I stare at his bowed head I am grasped by a clenched fist determination. I shall not walk in his footsteps, I shall not be a boss's slave. No, I will arise above the insecurity and despondency of the workers. I will gain riches, live in luxury and see that my father and mother spend the rest of their crushed lives in ease, without worry and without toil. But suddenly my great intention dissolves, my body grows weak and fearful as my father rises; numb and bowed with sorrow, he places his scissors on the table mechanically, yet softly.

"I expected to go back some day to see mine mamma and tata," my father says, nodding his head.

To Strike-Breakers

Come play your ghastly parts in this charade,
Act out the bitter syllables of doom
That spell disaster. Men are not afraid
Of troopers hounding them to dusty tomb.

Act out your grim charades and mock us all
Who guess the lancing word, the truth that sears.
A million sobs are heard across the hall
Of time that ring forever through our ears.

A million sobs that rise from tenement,
From broken shack, from littered hotel floor.
We shall not halt until your guns are bent,
And men shall stand who only groped before.

LUCIA TRENT.

Freedom

Freedom! the magic word of life,
The hope of tongue and pen,
Whose gain is worth profoundest strife—
Freedom! The goal of men!

Freedom! the watchword of the brave,
The one sublimest call,
Until this land frees every slave,
Frees truly one and all!

Freedom! to men who will not rest,
Who have the will to do,
Who rise and stand to voice protest
For good of me and you!

L. W. J. CONKLIN.

Deportees

Mother! I see men passing by on the highway
Tied together with ropes. They march in twos,
What have they done, mother—that they march so silently
With a tired pace and look of pain?

Mother! on the highway men are passing by
Tied with ropes, in groups of two.

They pass by sadly, and sickly looking
Under an opaque sky, snowy without light,
And advance silently... they march suffering...
What have they done, Mother? Knowest thou why?
Their bare feet leave a line of foot prints
In the road of snow and mud...
And in their eyes shine crystalline stars...
Through their minds pass beautiful dreams
From an unknown light, from a novel world.

This cold, mother, freezes the hearts,
The silence of eternity sobs
With sad pains, with strange pains
That are lost far away in the immensity of time...
Damnable winter that flogs the poor—
Dressed in rags, are they, sans fire, sans home...
What becomes of their sweethearts, their mothers, their prole...
Who knows where they come from!... Who knows where they go!...
Marching under the custody of civil guards,
Who with sombre mein and grave aspect, rifles in their hands,
Are mounted on the backs of white horses,—
All the people are watching, all are silent—
Some shout "Rabble!" Others say: "Canaille!" (rats!)

These men who are calmly advancing
Leaving on their march footprints of pain...

Are men who think, daughter of my heart,
And thus are sowing the soil with love.
That is why they sadly march, marching onward sick with pain—

On the path of the eternal road,
Without laughter, without looking,
With their great souls nearly destroyed...
That is why they sadly march, marching onward sick with pain—
love....

Tied with ropes in pairs of two by two.

(Translated by Louis Raymond) ANICITO CORONTE

NOTE BY TRANSLATOR: This poem was inspired when the Spanish rebels were deported from town to town, chained together, marching on foot, while the civil guards were mounted on horses. The prisoners had no place to sleep and very little to eat, and were beaten and tortured.

Cook County Pubic Welfare

Wooden benches, hard and straight-backed,
Like the old benches before the halter
In the death chamber
Of Cook County Jail.

Shame-marked faces, warped and passive
Like the scared faces of petty malefactors
Before the jury
In Cook County Court.

Helpless humans, poor, unheeded,
Wait for welfare in the fenced-off sections
Of the office
Of Cook County Charities.

★ ★ ★

Oh, Cook County,
With your courts, and jails, and charities,
We, the people,
Are tired of your bland maneuvers,—
Death-wearied of waiting in lines
For crumbs of grub and rags of cheese-cloth...
We're tired of your whole fool circus of public welfare!

Cook County,
We, the people,
Ain't used to figgerin' things out for ourselves.
We had no time to think way back when jobs was plenty
And we spent 14 hours slavin' each day.
But now,
With little else to do but sit around and wait for welfare,
Our minds sorta have a way of wanderin'
And we've come to think that maybe somethin's wrong
When we who sweated carryin' bright red bricks for mansions
Must beg from you for shacks to live in,
When we who killed the squealing stock yard hogs for food
Must beg from you for scraps to eat.
When we, who turned the wheels in cotton mills
Must beg from you for rags to wear...
It's kinda queer.

Say, Cook County,
What did you ever do for a living???

You ain't a man with muscles, bones, and heart
...and head!

You ain't somethin' what lives and breathes and works and feels
Like us!

Cook County,
You just ain't nothin'!

Why should we, the people, beg from you
For things that we ourselves have made?...

It don't make sense, Cook County.
We haven't quite got done figgerin' it all out.

No,
Not yet.
But when we do—
Mayhap we'll have a different plan for runnin' things;
Mayhap we won't need courts; nor jails; nor this here lousy welfare?

Mayhap we won't need you altogether, Cook County!

We, the people,
Think very very slow
But when we finally decide—
We kinda got a feelin', Cook County
That there won't be room enough nowhere for both of us, nmluf
Then... you'll have to go, Cook County,
To make room for US
THE PEOPLE!

SOPHIE FAGIN

ERRATUM

A few regrettable omissions and errors crept into the last issue. On page six, column one, the name of H. H. Lewis as the writer of the "Questions from a Bolshevik Poet", was left out. On page eight, the name of the Leeds Anarchist Group was likewise left out at the end of their letter from England. In the box on page three "Our Yearly Award", reference to the San Francisco General Strike reads as having taken place in October, whereas it took place in July. In the Book Review it is implied that it is Vol. IX of Lloyd George's "War Memoirs" that is reviewed when it should have read Vol. IV.

★ ★ ★

Whatever form it takes—Monarchic, Oligarchic or Democratic—the government of man by man is illegitimate and absurd... As man seeks justice in equity, so society seeks order in Anarchy.—PIERRE JOSEPH PROUDHON.

Away With Pessimism

SEBASTIEN FAURE

Pessimism has gradually found its way into the anarchist ranks. It has spread like an oil spot on a thin piece of cloth. It has sown discouragement. I don't speak of the kind of pessimism caused by the slowness in all fights undertaken with modest means against an enemy powerfully armed, or by the great resistance, with indifference and obstacles to be broken, conquered and overcome. Nor do I mean the kind of pessimism that discourages the eagerness of the most active militant and acts as a brake on the most optimistic enthusiasm.

The pessimism, I think, should be done away with is of another nature. It is much more important. It touches the very bottom of our convictions, it shakes them, and brings about a discouragement that, little by little, causes the militant to give up all activity.

Lately, in Paris and in the Provinces, Comrade after Comrade said to me:—"Well, old man, what do you think of your movement? Where is the dear old time when anarchists scared the wealthy, gave all kinds of troubles to the political jugglers, brought fear to exploiters, had their place well marked in every revolutionary agitation and stood at the head of every mass movement? These days are forever gone. The anarchist movement is dying, one could nearly say that it is dead."

My ears ache from this pessimist talk and cry of despair. Our movement dying, nearly dead?

Surely, if the course of events which have taken place since the so-called heroic times would give the lie to our conceptions in bringing to light their fundamental and irretrievable mistakes, anarchism would be dying. If anarchists were gradually weakened in their ideas by lessons of positive facts and principles upon which our philosophy is built, one could understand that they would lose the consistence falsely attributed to it. For, indeed, we know that methods of propaganda and means of action contradicted by concrete realities, progressively pass out; under the repeated blows inflicted by the earnest, loyal, reflective and decisive observation of events, they have to sink, more or less slowly, but positively.

And I repeat that only in such cases could a man leave a doctrine in which confidence has been lost and desert a fight that leads to sterility.

Is this the case in regard to anarchism? I say no, far from it. I assert that it is the contrary.

Personally, from the day I consciously looked for my way, one that fully satisfied my heart and brain, I came upon the libertarian communist road. I never ceased to study, without a preconceived mind, all the events of some importance and I never stopped to grasp their value, their exact significance, their links and lessons. I have mindfully surveyed and closely followed the evolutive course they attest and I say that this study, upright and serious, has only fortified my anarchistic convictions.

Without having to go far back into past, I cite:—The war; the Russian experience; ascension of fascism, notably in Italy (Mussolini); in Germany (Hitler); in Austria (Dollfus); the striking and rising movements of the Spanish masses were drowned in blood by order of the republican chiefs; the political mess; the economic chaos which expresses the blindness of the wealthy and governing classes; the exposures of all kinds revealing the advance decay of the parliamentary, judicial, police and financial world; finally and above all, the unprecedented crisis that now turns every nation topsy-turvy and drives the whole social system to the very edge of the abyss.

Tell me, Comrades, my friends, above forty, do you discern in this enumeration one single phenomenon that contradicts or simply weakens our convictions?

I don't think so.

And it is at the very time when the dreadful, but edifying and necessary experience of the realities we have gone through dazingly confirms the accuracy of our main ideas, corroborates the aspect of our arguments, pushed the gait of humanity in the direction that leads towards our goal; it is at this time so impatiently expected and so fervently wished for, that we should let ourselves fall into pessimism and be overrun by discouragement. What an error! What a mistake! What a crime!

No doubt, there is first the powerful effort to be achieved; then, our weakness. At first sight, the comparison is scarcely reassuring. But our weakness is more apparent than real.

We are few and poor, and what places us into inferiority is the multitude of our enemies and their immense wealth. But poor and few, we have been and we shall be. We are no fewer nor poorer than people of yesterday. Have we ever been wealthy and numerous at any time? No; and we must admit that we shall never be. Still, we never have reckoned upon the number nor upon money. And if, to win, we had to fight with equal weapons upon this ground, I consider that all hope would be illusory.

Also in this case our discouragement could be understood. I throw this country in every direction, in each locality I cross, I see friends and talk with them. Moreover, I am in correspondence with a crowd of Comrades from everywhere. Well, I affirm that the anarchists have never been as numerous as they are today; that their ideas have never been more justified than at the present time and that these ideas themselves have in no time more deeply penetrated the general mentality as at our present hour.

I do not let myself be influenced by the incorrigible optimism which is in nature. I see men and things as they are and I do not try to illusion myself upon the era of difficulties we are going through.

Yes, it is true that a number of our groups have been given up and that others have nearly lost all their members;

that many Comrades (especially the young) have carried their gnawing activity somewhere else; that many others (especially the old) giving way to the discouraging pessimism have reentered their tents; that anarchism has lost the cohesion which bestows to a concerted movement that appearing vigor which gives illusion or else reality of power; and that our little papers drag a difficult and uncertain existence, each one of them having only a few readers and subscribers and never enough to assure their regular publication.

It is also true that in the hard fight between the old system which refuses to die and the new one that wants to see the light, we are not occupying the place we should and the role vested to us is not the one we should play in this social drama.

Again, I admit there is a state of things to be extremely regretted, and a whole of circumstances weakening the strength of our movement. But the wounds that have been

inflicted to anarchism by the present state of things are not mortal; the remedy and cure is in our hands. Each one of us has more or less a large or small part of responsibility in the temporary weakness. Let us neither lose our time in vain recriminations, nor try to estimate the responsibility to be placed upon the one and the other. The sponge must be used, the wounds need to be dressed. The health of our movement is in danger; we have to cure it. And if every one brings to the task the zeal, devotedness and activity he is able to, anarchism will again soon find not only strength, but it will have regained an increased robustness.

And what is to be done to bring about such robustness to the anarchist movement? I wanted to come to this question. But this article is already lengthy, and thus, I shall answer in another one.

(Translated by Jules Scarceux)

(Le Libertaire)

A Letter From Japan

Dear Comrades:

We Anarchists in Japan have been for these many years desirous of knowing the social-economic conditions in your country as well as the real situation of socialist and anarchist movements.

Now that we have got the opportunity of informing you about the conditions in which Japan finds herself, we hope, you would also have the kindness of sending us a correspondence by the returning mail. (Particularly we should like to know about the anarchist movement in your farm villages).

At present, it seems that the social conditions in Japan have a general tendency toward Fascism. Immediately after the Japanese aggressive war against Manchuria, Fascism took such a great force that it was feared that it would bring about a Fascist dictatorship. However, Fascism soon made a compromise with financial capital. (For Japanese Fascism was originally characterized for its having the military circles as its main advocates). And thus it has come to represent the interests of the bourgeoisie merely. It was therefore no wonder that Japanese Fascism should lose its popularity among the working class.

The Japanese economic conditions are now particularly marked by the so-called "munition inflation". The munition industry has become very prosperous after the war against Manchuria. And as a result of the "munition boom", the manufacturers are enjoying profits exclusively accruing from the arms factories. But at the same time, most of the other industries necessarily sacrificed were and are now under very miserable conditions. Generally speaking, the temporarily employed in the arms factories have made exploitation more easy for the capitalists.

On The Labor Battle-Front

Rossville, Ga., Feb. 3—"Pink" Walker a striker was murdered by a scab, and Corbet Davis, another striker, seriously wounded.

A librarian of a Southern College writes to MAN! about this murder, as follows:

"Yesterday we went to Rossville, Georgia, where the Richmond strike is in progress, with an extension library of books. We attended the funeral of the striker who was shot in cold blood last Sunday by a scab. About three thousand workers were inside the building and another two thousand outside. Feeling was very high, but it is not likely that anything but passive resistance, of breaking the spirit of the strike by a murder like this, will be the result of the tactics used here as everywhere. He was a fine young man of 36 with six children, shot as he knocked on the door in answer to an invitation to come over and talk about the scab's 'decision' to come over to the union side."

Jackson, Cal., Feb. 15—"Gun-bearing citizens led by Sheriffs' officers roused pickets at the two famous gold mines here today, and then completed the destruction of a striker's camp which had been mysteriously set ablaze."

The strike at these mines has been going on for the last six months. Paper sympathy resolutions from other fellow union men is all that these brave strikers have received so far. The enemy certainly has revealed, long ago, a far more united front spirit than have the workers.

El Centro, Cal., Feb. 18—Vigilantes, scabs and law-hedge wearers were responsible for the deliberate murdering of two lettuce strike workers—Paul Knight, 23, and E. K. Hamaker, 27 years old.

Governor Merriam maintained a "hands off" policy, and Elmer Heald infamous vigilante district attorney "promised" strikers to bring the murderers before a grand jury.

Only recently the vigilantes smashed a strike of Filipino lettuce workers at Salinas, Cal. There the cowardly pack of fascist "citizens" descended in the middle of the night upon a camp of men and women workers, destroying four bunk houses and a kitchen. At the same time, the police raided the labor union headquarters, planted a machine gun before the main entrance, beat a number of workers and arrested 45 youths. When Rufo C. Canete, acting president of the union came to protest to the sheriff he was arrested for inciting to riot.

Mussolini and Hitler have nothing to be ashamed of. Their methods have been copied by quite a few states of this country, with the tacit approval of the "new deal" shouter F. D. Roosevelt.

In 1930, agriculture in Japan has been attacked by the deep, wide panic, and in the last year it was rendered more serious owing to the general bad harvest. Half of the farmers are on the point of starvation. Many strikes have taken place in the factories an especially on the farms where they are suffering most severely from heavy taxations and farm rents. But they are spontaneous, not organized, and therefore not considered.

Formerly our anarchist movement was the leading force of all labor movements, but owing to the cruel oppression on the part of the Government and the disruption between anarchists and syndicalists on our own part, we almost went down.

However, in March 1934, anarchists and syndicalists at last united hand in hand against the common enemy, capitalism. Though oppression is always heavy upon us, the new Free National Federation of Trade Unions is standing up bravely.

As to our cultural movements, there is no general federation, but our periodical "Jiyu Rengo Shinbun" (Free Federation Press) has the largest circulation among workers and peasants. Beside this, there are some five or six periodicals, and sometimes pamphlets are also published.

As you see, our publishing activities are very poor. Of course, the scarcity of funds is its main reason.

At any rate, it is time to fight more courageously against the State in view of the menace of war between Japan and other countries. We must fight.

Hoping you are in good health,

With the hand of fraternity.

"Jiyu Rengo Shinbun"

New York City, Feb. 20—Hundreds of strikers and sympathizers are being dragged into police stations by the "liberal" Mayor La Guardia's law dispensers. Their crime consists in letting the world know that there is a strike going on at the department store of Orbach and company.

On February 21 the police beat and arrested scores of strike pickets at the National Biscuit Company Buildings. February 21 the police beat and arrested scores of strike pickets at the National Biscuit Company Buildings.

The End of An Hangman

The Spanish weekly "Cultura Proletaria" brings the following news item in its current issue:

"Barcelona, Feb. 10th.—The hangman of this city, Federico Munoz Contreras, has been killed by a shot while sitting in a coffee house.

Munoz, applied the "garrote" to his first and last victim—Andrea Aranda—well known anarchist.

The avengers of Aranda fired four shots, point blank at him, saying to the prosecutor:

"With this you won't execute any longer".

A sympathizer that was at the door helped the Comrades to escape.

The predecessor of Munoz was also killed in the same manner"

It seems that Catalonian justice has re-established itself.

Financial Statement

(Income from January 15 to February 15, 1935)

INCOME	184.60
EXPENDITURES	108.96
DEFICIT FROM LAST ISSUE	70.95
	\$188.91
Income	\$184.60
	\$4.31
DEFICIT	

NOTE: We ask all those who send us money and fail to receive a receipt, to kindly notify us within a few weeks from the time of sending. Checks or American Railway Express money orders should be used wherever this is possible.

We have on hand some complete sets of the first two years of MANI, and we will forward same to any address, postpaid, upon receipt of one dollar.