



A Journal of the Anarchist Ideal and Movement

Vol. 3—No. 4.

P. O. Box 115, San Francisco, Calif., U. S. A., April, 1935

Single Copies FIVE CENTS

## FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND EXPRESSION ON TRIAL

On the midnight of April 11, 1934, federal immigration officers entered the private residences of Vincenzo Ferrero and Dominick Sallitto and placed both under arrest on federal deportation warrants as alien Anarchists. As a result, their place of business—a restaurant where MAN! rented its office—was closed until they were released on \$1,000 bond each.

The official charge against Vincenzo Ferrero is based on the supposition of having published for a number of years an anarchist monthly "Emancipazione" in the Italian language, and having caused the publication of MAN!

Dominick Sallitto is charged with being a member of the International Group that issues MAN!, since he acted as an impartial chairman of a three corner debate arranged by the International Group on March 24, 1934.

A series of hearings—in secreted chambers—hidden from the people and press followed. An immigration inspector acted both as prosecutor and judge. Close to three quarters of the official transcript of the hearings are directed and concerned with MAN! as an anarchist publication. Distorted words and sentences are quoted from MAN! by the inspector to sum up his reasons for recommending to the Board of Review the deportation of both men.

Nothing was heard by the two men until March 14, 1935, when Dominick Sallitto received word to present himself for deportation to Italy on March 25.

When the American Civil Liberties Union stepped in to stop the summary railroading of Sallitto to Italy, where, as a political deportee, his liberty and life would be endangered, the local authorities refused to budge. Incidentally, the fact revealed itself that the Board of Review had sentenced Sallitto to deportation on Oct. 17, 1934, and for six months then this fact was kept from Sallitto! Eleven days notice to break up 15 years residence in this country was considered an act of "justice" by the immigration authorities who contend that deportation proceedings are not criminal. Cruelty and inhumanity cannot go any farther.

After many strenuous efforts under suspense, the American Civil Liberties Union of Washington, D. C. succeeded at the last moment before Sallitto's scheduled deportation to obtain a stay until the next group of deportees will leave.

Such are the workings of the wheels of "justice" in the hands of the people's "servants"—government officials. Undoubtedly the same fate awaits now Vincenzo Ferrero, and the same treatment is being meted out to all those who are subjected to deportation under the alien anti-anarchist law.

The question of course arises as to why have these two men been singled out for deportation.

Officially, the government, through President Roosevelt, puts forth the claim that Freedom of Thought and Expression has never been interfered with as little as now. In fact, claims Mr. Roosevelt, this is the greatest pride of the democracy we live under today. If this contention be a true one, how can Mr. Roosevelt explain the manner of persecutions carried out by his subordinates directed against our publication, with the sole evident purpose of stifling its voice?

For, stripped of every shield behind which the authorities are hiding stands their shameless attempt to strangle Freedom of Thought and Expression and persecute anyone whom they suspect of harboring it!

Last year readers of MAN! were visited by immigration officials and threatened with all sorts of intimidations if they should continue to aid it. Daniel W. McCormack, the General Commissioner of Immigration promised verbally to the American Civil Liberties Union attorney that his subordinates will cease harassing readers of MAN!

The continued persecution of Ferrero and Sallitto from whom the editor was renting an office, is proof enough that the authorities are still at it—attempts to stifle freedom of Thought and Expression thereof.

The very same issue of Freedom of Thought and Expression is involved in every deportation case of radicals, the most recent one being that of John Stratchey.

Supposing that John Stratchey would have admitted his belief in a social revolution? Supposing it could be proven that Vincenzo Ferrero and Dominick Sallitto were harboring Anarchist thoughts? Would these facts give the right to any government authority to jail, harass and persecute them?

By all means we answer with a most emphatic NO!

If the government considers Freedom of Thought and Expression a crime—why don't they have the courage and honesty to say so openly and directly, by attempting to suppress such publications as MAN! Why the cowardly round-about way—as evinced in the attempt to destroy MAN!?

The authorities of this country, prove themselves as blind and ignorant as everywhere else throughout the world. Little do they understand or realize that this great principle of Free-

dom of Thought and Expression is so inviolable, the inborn possession of every human being—so much so—that the forefathers of this country accepted it as the basic principle upon which to found a free country.

No authority has ever succeeded to strangle or crush this principle, try as they do over and over again.

The attempted exiling of any radical is a directed attack upon Freedom of Thought and Expression.

Today it is Vincenzo Ferrero and Dominick Sallitto who face deportation, tomorrow it may be any one else whom the authorities suspect of holding any divergent views.

Today it is an Anarchist publication as MAN! that faces extinction at the hands of the authorities. Tomorrow it may be any other publication whose point of view will not coincide with that of the ruling powers.

Freedom of Thought and Expression have been challenged and placed on trial. It is now up to the people to rally to its

defence in no mistaken terms.

An avalanche of protests addressed direct to Daniel W. McCormack, General Commissioner of Immigration, Washington, D. C., may yet stay the hands of the authorities and serve warning upon them that Freedom of Thought is unconquerable—for the old adage of Thomas Jefferson, remains ever new, that ETERNAL VIGILANCE IS THE PRICE OF LIBERTY.

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There are rights which it is useless to surrender to government and which have always been found to invade—these are the rights of thinking and publishing our thought by speaking or writing.

The mass of mankind has not been born with saddles on their backs, nor a favored few booted and spurred, ready to ride them legitimately by the grace of God.—THOMAS JEFFERSON.

## If Thine Enemy Smite Thee

"If thine enemy smite thee on the right cheek turn to him the left," says the holy Bible somewhere in the New Testament. It makes little difference where. Everywhere the literature of religion—and especially of Christianity is littered with the texts of slavery and submission, of docile obedience and grovelling belly-crawling. What a gold mine for the Lords of Creation!

No wonder the priesthood of English restoration was eager to foist this monstrosity upon their vassals and slaves. How many Scripture-thunder and how many of their dupes have ever read the introduction to the King James Bible? Here the infamous purpose of our Holy Bible is stated with a callousness that surpasses belief. The Stuarts held against the sceptre of power, after twelve years of terror and "anarchy". A king had lost his head. The idea of the divine right, of "heavenly descent" had been shattered with thunder that reverberated 'round the Globe. This thing could not go on. Else what might not the people do—this rabble, this canaille, the villains of the field. The Nambas and the Dogberries were indeed threatening the supremacy of the gilded and lace-bound hi-jackers throughout the world. At all cost, at every risk, this brush fire of rebellion must be stopped.

Then some priestly psychopant had a bright idea. The medieval church had been plundering and hope-wrong, cock-eyed, muddleheaded and crazy. This opiate, this anodyne, this lecherous soporific, this universal knock-out drop of the soul had been for fifteen centuries kept from the people! Had not Christ said feed my lambs! Most certainly, milord—feed them poison—tull them into a somnolence that will perpetuate our rule for untold centuries—and with the self-same Bible that the Holy Church has for ages kept buried in the marbled phraseology of an extinct tongue. Fools, dullards, idiots

and blithering bunglers! Hand me that poison and I'll put them to sleep with a sleep that will make the slumbers of Ephesus as short as a catnap.

And so it was done. The masses were drenched with universal poison, Divine right was perpetuated. Youth was beheaded on the scaffold of Charles the First and a celebrated Dutch master painted the apothosis of James on the ceiling of Whitehall. Kings came from heaven, and to heaven they returned. Expiring cutthroats were translated to godhead, and when the fact was spread upon the canvas of a Rubens, who could—who dared deny?

And this was the age of the endosures, the sack of the monasteries, the childhood of British industrial capitalism. By the hundred thousand English yeomen were driven from their lands and turned into factory fodder. Failing to find employment, their hands and ears were cut off, or they were hanged on a public gibbet for daws to peck at. England filled the seas with pirates and paved the ocean floor with the bones of their victims. Clive raped India and others of the same strife ravished America. Britannia ruled the waves and the world embarked upon an epoch of pillage and murder unparalleled in the annals of mankind.

This again is an age when the supremacy of loot is seriously threatened.

Hence a thousand schemes for the revival of religion. Power-perverts, personally atheists, who hold the chancellories of Europe are inventing new religions. America sprouts new sectaries like mushrooms in a rich bottomland pasture, and the mandates of servility and obedience thicken the air. If thine enemy smite thee on the right cheek—kick him in the solar plexus!

NICHOLAS LENTZ

## Revolution Against War

What good is a war? That event in the world's history when armies stand in juxtaposition to one another, determined by the use of any means whatsoever, not barring those from the other side of hell, which are the ones commonest employed, to exterminate each other from the face of the earth. My answer: No good at all. I care not what hullabalooed cause, there is no common-sense justification for war.

It may be possible that war to you is only a name, that you've never done much thinking about it. But I want you to understand that in a war killing is done, and not with anesthetic ether, but cruelly, without regard to what manner death is caused. War is not a dress parade down Fifth Avenue, bright colored flags waving in the breeze, stirring martial music; I repeat this is not war. War is the out-and-out killing, murdering, if you please, of your fellow-man; reducing an upstanding likeable gallant fellow to a stiffened corpse, soon to be carrion. This is the valor of the warrior, the height of patriotic duty, this trade of murderer. To blast the living man apart, entrails, brain, eyes, legs, arms, to make of him a bloody pulp that was once a man, this is the soldiers' glorious duty.

You've read in a history-book some place, no doubt, that the enemy were slaughtered. It made just a small impression, just another detail of some battle to be promptly forgotten. You know that in a slaughter-house cattle are butchered. It's the same idea in war, only men are butchered, not animals. Get this into your head!

For wars we have our imperialistic rulers and the

capitalistic class to blame. Kings are noted for their greed for territory and soldiers must fight to protect the capitalists' interests in foreign countries. Could we not have strikes against war, as well as strikes against intolerable labor conditions? Could we not organize unions against war, as well as unions for protection from capitalistic greed? Has not Einstein asked us to refuse to fight? Naturally, a program of this character would have to be worldwide to be of any practical value. The common people of all nations would have to unite against their masters in this declaration against war. The ideology of a revolution against war is not sufficiently formed, or the thought even suggested to the minds of most world-peoples, for such a revolt to take place. Until then we must wait, but the idea should be stated.

Again I must repeat: Do not struggle with one another. This pathway leads to poverty, to savagery, to race annihilation. Listen to me: War is constant fear of death; war is long, cold, wet nights in the mud; war is hunger and thirst; war is constant sorrow of being parted from your loved ones; war is the soul-searing occupation of murder, the splitting of fresh, clean, living flesh that the red blood spurts forth, the tearing open of bellies, the blinding of eyes, the smashing of brains over faces with gun-buts, the withering of lungs with gas; war is the maker of widows and fatherless children; war is an abominable, rotten, screaming horror against the face of the heavens. A real living hell on this earth!

I say to you, over and over again: Don't go into it! Don't go into it!

X.



# ANARCHISM AND THE NATIONAL SPIRIT

Samuel Polinow

That nationalism exerts a destructive influence upon our social structure will be admitted by every one of radical tendencies. That nationalism undermines the well-being of society, stirs the jingoistic feelings, evokes antagonism, harasses the weak, predominates over the strong, breeds war, pestilence and radical animosity—all that will be conceded by even the stoutest adherents to national pride. And yet, with all the horrors it inflicts on our human race, no one, not even those of Anarchist belief (and they are many) dare eradicate it from their soul-throbbing love of "my people."

It is high time we bring it up for discussion so as to get a clear idea whether or not Anarchism which preaches class harmony could be ideally in bond with chauvenistic nationalism that perpetrates social disharmony.

Before all else let us examine into its very source if we want to understand the actual significance of nationalism. Many—and that applies even to those of intellectual pretensions—pair together the existence of racialism with that of nationalism, and go on a rampage to explain the diversity of peoples as being the cause of national environment. Such interpretation is as silly as it is false and has no scientific background. Races do differ in color as well as in form, just as all natural species owe their variance to adopted climatic surroundings; but that does not apply to nations. Nationalism evolves through ideas and notions that are exclusive of natural causes; mainly it owes its origin to fantastic ideas about "superiority-complex" which great Leaders at various times have proclaimed for their following, and succeeded to separate them into united groups or tribes. It was Moses who united his "Chosen People" under the sacred commandments of the Torah. And it was Caesar who could gather his cohorts into a nation of Roman warriors. And it was the Apostles of Jesus that formed the Christian sects under a promise of "everlasting life." And in like manner have all through the ages various nations and clans sprung up in vain pretensions to higher choosing, because of each one's belief that its accepted gospel is the only supreme document testifying to it.

As proof that nationalism is not governed by natural or physical cause may serve the fact that to human history is known of nations having risen and fallen (like the Assyrians, Babylonians, and others). Or that one nation could survive another (like the white-Americans have replaced the red-skinned Indians). Or, as a more vivid example may be taken the Jews, who are scattered the world over, with no territory of their own, yet existing as a national body with its own customs and traditions, notwithstanding the fact that German Jews differ in racial physiognomy from American and French Jews and bear no resemblance to the Galicians.

Turning from this phase of the discussion it calls for a denial of another one of these fancy patriotic hymnings, and that is, the perfidious claim of a "national" culture. Every nationally-inspired bigot glorifies in the particular culture that "his" nation had contributed as though it was purchased in his own shop or speak-easy. This is the most absurd nonsense that even a Munchausen could not have invented.

Culture, as we know it, takes in every scientific or artistic creation produced or discovered by human ingenuity. In culture we include such elements as biology, physiology, astronomy, invention, agriculture, chemistry, art, music, literature, and all the fine things that make up our civilized progress. Could any one nation claim ownership of the stars and planets that astronomers in all ages and of all peoples have discovered? Is biology, which explains the origin of all living matter (man and growth) the property of a single or particular nation? Moreover, all our scientific discoveries, we must remember, were transmitted to us centuries—and millenniums—back. To the Greeks we owe our debt for having laid the foundation of all branches in scientific research. To the Arabs we owe our debt for broadening the scope of astronomical study. Even the Biblical Monotheism, which the Hebrews, for millenniums, claimed as their own product, could be traced to Egyptian origin—as very scholarly related by James Henry Breasted (The Dawn of Conscience) that the Pharaoh (Ikhnaton) proclaimed to Aton (strikingly resembling the Hebrew "Adon") to whom he prayed: "Thou art the father and mother of all that thou hast made." And if Rome glorifies in her cultural grandeur she owes it to the Greeks from where it was inherited. And not only Rome, in our own universities of Barcelona or Paris the cap and gown professors scan every philosophic thought that was advanced by Plato and Aristotle.

Does it mean that people of national environment have not contributed towards the cultural progress? of course not. But it does mean that those great minds would have devoted their gifted talents at all events. The fact is that great thinkers have expounded their scientific affirmation in spite of the inquisitorial persecutions to which they were being subjected by their own creeds. The fact is that Spinoza had spun out his philosophic treatises in spite of his banishment from the people of Israel. The fact is that in art, as in science, have the great geniuses immortalized their thoughts in "universal" character and not in specific national or tribal. The classic litera-

ture, from Prometheus down to Hamlet and Raskolnikov, is filled with the joys and sorrows of the world, not of Greek or Slavonian patronage. Likewise in music. No one of intelligent leaning will dare assert that the Fifth Symphony of Beethoven in which "man" struggles against Fate—that this man is a German or any other "son of his people." Only those gifted with narrow mindedness will aver that a creative spirit is due to national feeling. Only those imbued with petty jingoism can think that a Heine pours out his lyric poems through impulse of national folk-lore or an Einstein shakes out his mathematical equations from a national cloak.

Reflecting on the foregoing citations it proves (1), that national segregation is not governed by natural law, and (2), that cultural progress is secular and is not dependant of national inspiration. Nevertheless, if the evils of nationalism were not of a destructive nature it could somehow be tolerated—as we are oftentimes sympathetic to kids when we see them play in toys.... But this is too serious a proposition. Nationalism is more than a gewgaw; it is, if the simile is proper, like a poisonous cancer that gnaws at the organic vitals of our social structure. And if the cancer malady cannot be extricated by the surgery process, surely no one would ever think of inflicting himself with it.

And now let us approach the question from the Anarchist viewpoint and see how it comes in conflict with nationalism. Anarchism, as we conceive it, preaches the doctrine of a social order based on absolute individual freedom and social equality. But how can we hope for a free and equal society and at the same time adhere to national isolation—which leads to an opposite direction? Assuming (as the national-Anarchists would have it) that our free society will divide itself in separate national-Anarchist groups; meaning that each of such dominions shall adopt the Anarchist scheme for its own nation or group; will not this kind of arrangement lead to the same demoralizing spirit that came to be in all our social transitions? Aside from the fact that nationalism in itself instigates a dominating spirit among peoples and races, there are causes, such as geographic and climatic, that eventually must force themselves upon a divided society if they want to preserve their integrity. Take for example, Germany. Here is a nation (to he(i)ll with Hitler) living on a limited area of sandy soil, not enough to sufficiently provide for her 60 million population. Sooner or later she would be forced to seek more territory for her needs. What do you suppose will she do? Most likely she will demand of the Russian-Anarchist commune (being nearest the boundary line of a vast area) to spare her some of the unoccupied land. What, can we suppose, will Russia reply? Undoubtedly she will say: "You want our land? Come and get it...." Germany, of course, will not hesitate, or at least she will try, as she did 20 years ago.... The same may be said of Japan, and of England, and all national dominions that are forced by natural causes to expand their territories. In other words, we shall have before us the very same agencies that breed war, famine, pestilence, oppression and social discrimination that we are accustomed to have under imperialistic governments.

The same criterion may be considered in the economic field. Countries that lack natural resources will be dependant on countries that are rich of them. On the other hand, countries with high industrial developments will certainly abide to the economic law of efficiency, prospering on the profits from countries with lesser or no industries. Under such conditions we will have reached a stage where workers of other races or nations shall be

enslaved in an anarchist society as they have been in the capitalist system of exploitation.

No, that sort of anarchism is not desirable. We shall never attain the social equality we are preaching by this arrangement. The ideal of Anarchism should be to unite all isolated peoples in one solidified humanity. Only by this can we hope to eliminate the savage barbarism that exists in our divided mankind. Only in this manner can we expect to extirpate the silly egotism which every Nordic idiot carries in his manly chest. And only in this order of society can we ever think of eradicating the racial animosity which every national "banner" brings upon our stricken world.

That there are ever so many Anarchists with national inclinations can hardly be disputed. In every segregated movement, whether it's the Jewish, Italian or other denomination, there are many professing to be devout Anarchists yet refusing to abandon the national spirit inherited from their respective ancestries. Many of them even go so far as to implant a national tendency in their children—as is the case with the Jewish Anarchists sending their offsprings to classes where they can learn to speak Yiddish and be brought up in Yiddish folk-lore. Not that the Yiddish language is considered an important attribute towards their future careers but simply as an eager desire to keep them binded to the tradition of their forefathers.

And speaking of the Jewish movement, it is nothing unusual for a Jewish-Anarchist to express himself "mir yidden" (we Jews) have our own "paper" to care for, when the necessity of English propaganda is being discussed. It is nothing unusual for Jewish Anarchists to march side by side with Jewish politicians, Jewish war veterans, Jewish bankers and Jewish manufacturers, in protest against Hitler's boycott on German jewelry. Did those Anarchists ever parade against Mussolini's outrages on the liberal elements of Italy, or Machado's hanging of Cuban revolutionists, or the persecutions of Chinese by Japan or the slaughtering of hundreds of thousands of Armenians? Certainly Hitlerism has to be combated by us, but not because for the love of "my own people" but because we are opposed to all tyrants from whose ruling powers the lowly and the downtrodden (Jew or Turk) are the inevitable victims.

What is said of Jewish Anarchists can equally be said of others. Undoubtedly there were many German Anarchists (and Socialists as well, though we are not discussing them here) among the 91 per cent of voters for a Hitler regime because of the national spirit Nazism carries with it. Undoubtedly there are many Italian Anarchists ready to give the Fascisti salute because they are captivated by the glory of Roman ancestry which Mussolini is attempting to revive. And undoubtedly there are many Russian Anarchists sympathizing with the Stalin hierarchy because of his Russianized bolshevism.

Which brings us to mind that nationalism, however it may pry on the feelings of Anarchist followers, cannot go hand in hand with Anarchism, because of the conflicting aims they present in their propounded doctrines.

Those Anarchists who cannot throw off the national garb would do well if they should discard their Anarchist masks.

**Edit. Note.**—It is doubtful as to whether the nationalist spirit is as rampant among all the various races mentioned by Comrade Polinow, although he must know whereof he is speaking in regards to the Jewish movement. The opinion of the Comrades is invited.

## A "Godly" Dream and Earthly Cash

**Edit. Note:** Most of the metropolitan dailies getting the United Press Service failed to use the following account sent out by that news agency on Feb. 9.

"Sister Aimee Semple McPherson had a dream 'straight from God' commanding her to be America's 'Joan of Arc' and rid the nation of communism and other subversive elements, it was revealed today.

But Aimee's dream has been shattered because promoters of the great campaign she planned have been unable to raise the \$100,000 or more needed.

The dream summoned her to go forth bearing the torch of a "new foursquare deal"—something like her "foursquare gospel"—under management of Guido Orlando, a former movie director, and E. J. Welch, promoter.

The dream did not command her to do it for nothing—or, for that matter for anything less than \$2,500 a week, which was the minimum figure Sister Aimee fixed for her services.

The \$2,500 a week was not forthcoming—not even a good part of it. So the inspired drama against Atheism and Bolshevism, which was to have come to a climax in Kansas City in a gigantic outdoor opera "with 50 or 100 beautiful girls" in a pageant, with Sister Aimee in the leading role, has been abandoned.

Sister Aimee is enroute to China to visit the tomb of her former husband, Robert Semple, "a broken-hearted woman, conscious that the people she had counted on failed to support her."

The "support" was to have involved a 50-50 split with the promoters according to Messrs. Orlando and Welch, so they were—if not broken-hearted—at least saddened.

"We contacted banking and financial sources," Orlando said. "Although they were interested in checking communism, they were doing business with Soviet Russia.

"We got pledges of \$75,000, but that of course was insufficient."

Orlando related how Sister Aimee came to him "on or about Sept. 1, 1934, because she was the most misunderstood woman in America. She said she was losing her Los Angeles temple.

"She said she had a dream in which God appeared and commanded her to take the initiative to do something for her country by stopping communism.

"She saw herself in the role of Joan of Arc. He would be behind her and this was the psychological time to act. It was her time to rise as Joan of Arc and undo all the unfavorable publicity which followed her disappearance in 1926 and her marriage to David Hutton."

Sister Aimee intended to organize a "Save America League" and a "Defense League of Prayer and Principle". The prayer was there but the principle was lacking, so Aimee gave up."

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I am of opinion that the institution of marriage, which might have been very useful as a muzzle for the passion of monsters, has caused more distress and misery among ordinary mankind than the Church itself.

Church, monarchy, property, marriage, are the four old, time-honored institutions which humanity must reform root and branch in order to be able to breathe freely. And alone of these marriage kills individuality, paralyzes freedom, and is a paradox incarnate. Authors of the so-called emancipated and advanced type still continue to speak of marriage with a mien of hearty devotion that enrages me.—GEORGE BRANDES.

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# WHO IS THE FATHER OF FASCISM?

Laurence Labadie

Fascism may be briefly described as the reluctant acquiescence to governmental regimentation by capitalists in order to stem the increasing impotency of a one-sided wealth accumulation to satisfy the needs of a country. Coupled with this is the determination to put down by force any evidence of dissatisfaction among the people. It is a more or less revolutionary move depending on the extent of democracy experienced in a country and on the existence of a revolutionary labor movement. In America, NRAism is the first evidence of "Fascistization", force not being greatly in evidence because of American traditions of liberty and because of the absence of a threatening revolutionary labor movement. A potent contributing factor to present economic conditions will concern us here.

Ever since the advent of "Scientific Socialism" every attempt to better the conditions of mankind has been labeled "Utopian" by the followers of Karl Marx. No one in his right senses would dare belittle the valuable sociological contributions to the radical movement made by this great thinker. But to let this hide or completely overshadow his many errors and misconceptions is going too far. Let us not make a god out of him. Strange that his adherents who so vehemently disavow the "great man theory" should place him on so high a pedestal. To hear them talk one might think that Marx was The Great One who "sees all, knows all". The ignorance and arrogance of such social comedians deserves nothing but ridicule and condemnation. Doctrinaires of one true gospel, by their stubborn opposition to criticism, they prove by their attitude to be anything but scientific. Their loose and ready attribution of bad will or lack of brains not only to those who differ with them but also to all in their ranks who place a different interpretation to their bible, *Das Kapital*, displays an intolerant fanaticism exceeded by few of the most intense religious bigots. Marx himself was not above duplicity. With ardent opportunism he calumniated and slandered in attempting to capture the First International. His attacks on his brother revolutionaries, the much more sincere Bakunin and the far greater economist, Proudhon, exhibit his egotistic shabbiness. His followers display the same characteristics and adopt the same tactics.

To condemn is to seek to hinder and it is precisely with this attitude Marxians have viewed every other revolutionary and reformatory group. "Is it good Marxism?" This is the one test applied by all the faithful. If not, down with it and down with the rascals propounding it.

The Marxian concept of historical materialism, with its overtones of fatalism, tends to soothe and benumb those coming under Marxian influence. It is Marx's tortured truisms that give a plausibility to his works in their totality. But his emphasis on economic determinism has paralyzed thought and activity. His followers seem to have learned nothing since his demise. They hopefully and impatiently wait like seventh day adventists, for "the coming revolution". But only economic crises are the opportune moment. We must lie low and wait until everything goes to the dogs, may even assist it, if we are not to be utopian. This tragi-comic attitude has been held for at least the last fifty years during which every depression has been hailed as the messiah of "the revolution". And not strange for those who understand capitalism, depressions are powerful factors in prolonging it. But even the high priests of Revisionism ignore what they deplore as "improvements of capitalism", nothing can be done to save the human race but resort to that unnatural and tyrannical order of things—Communism.

The theory and application of class struggle, as Marxians understand it, is such as to alienate and divide classes of society who might otherwise work together for the achievement of desirable aims. The "petty bourgeois", the small business man and the farmer, are hopeless cases until absolutely impoverished, they must be put down when the time comes. Everyone who is not proletarianized, who is not "class conscious", is the enemy of the proletariat and consequently an enemy to progress and to the human race. The actual effect of such fanaticism is obvious. It is supremely funny to hear impotent tyrants wearing the cloak of revolutionists tell what they are going to do, or rather what historical necessity is going to do for them, in the name of social revolution.

Marxians have a traditional hatred of liberty. "Liberty is a bourgeois conception", said Lenin, the St. Peter of Marxism. And to label anything "bourgeois" is to put it in the realm of the despicable. They claim to be working toward anarchism yet they say we have anarchy now and call anarchists utopian and anarchism an impossible dream. "What is Liberty?" they sneeringly ask. Obviously such an attitude invites anti-libertarian retaliation. So much for the attitude of embryo despots.

Marxism is, today, with its half-baked economics, its fatalism, its metaphysical sociology, its appeal to incompetency, to desperation, hate, and violence, so far from reality that it has degenerated into the second phase of all religions—argumentation on point of doctrine. Marxism, today, is the art of disputation on "What Marx really meant". Yet all those who do not adhere to its musty half-truths are reactionary, yea, even counter-revolutionary. It would be unreasonable to attribute to Marx all the imbecilities indulged in by his alleged followers but his own dogmatism and puerile errors must be given their due weight as contributing factors. Proletarians are considered to have a monopoly of progress. If a work of art doesn't indicate the "class struggle" or should a novel not indicate that its author had a firm grasp on the meaning of "surplus value" or "dialectic materialism" it is not art at all.

Marx's confused and metaphysical analyses, undesirable aims, and opportunistic means mislead and hamper sound efforts toward achieving sane economic conditions. His desire of complete State control has given pretext for political systems to take on more functions and powers

in the name of Socialism. For is not the duty of government to take care of the people and does not the more functions it assumes tend to make its role "revolutionary"? Have not Socialist Parties always been active in promoting this course? The only objection the orthodox make to this process is that it does not proceed according to Hoyle. Evolution is impossible; progress must be "revolutionary". Marx himself was keen enough to sense that his ill conceived order of things could come about only by a violent revolution. The stupidity and brutality of capitalism must be replaced by the stupidity and brutality of communism. As communists disclaim adherence to violent methods claiming them necessary only to oppose capitalist violence, so Fascism offers the same excuse.

The savagery of Fascism is largely a movement to stem the invasion of communism. But who can deny that socialist and communist activity, the Great Marxian Reaction, in checking every attempt to abolish economic privilege did not bring on the very condition which seems to give choice to one of these alternatives? The revolution, to Marxians, is not a change of mental attitudes but a change in "conditions". The communist hierarchy changed both in Russia. When the fanatical group took advantage

of the revolutionary disorder in Russia, established themselves in power after a revolution which had no earmarks of the "Marxian analysis", did they not use inquisitorial methods to offset the very aims of the revolution as evinced by its slogans "Land to the peasants" and "All power to the Soviets"? This barbarously clamping on of the Marxian ideology is, of course, "scientific". It appears as tho the plausibility of Marxism which effectively alienated progressive classes from thinking for themselves and from effecting sound reforms, together with the belated attempts to put this "science" into practice in countries where the miraculously concurrent conditions necessary for its success are not apparent, does nothing but bring on the retaliatory violence of Fascism. It is not difficult to believe that, were it not for Marxian Socialism, the social problem would today be a long way toward its solution. As the capitalists are instrumental in promoting the plausible system of communism, so the communists are the effective instigators of Fascism of which they claim to be the enemy. Insofar as the title "Father of Fascism" can be legitimately laid to the door of any one individual, it takes no metaphysical reasoning to lay it to that great but mistaken genius—Karl Marx.

## Graft and Government

**Columbus, Ohio.**—Harry L. Hopkins, Federal Relief Administrator, charges Governor Davey and his administration with corruption and fraud in administering relief. Governor Davey, in turn, makes the same charges against scores of federal officers, and pleads "ignorance" of knowing that relief officials were assessed to cover the campaign deficit and also that said funds were used to prepare his recent inauguration. A payroll waste of \$90,000 monthly in administering relief is charged by the federal investigator C. C. Stillman.

**Washington, D. C.**—The stamp scandal in which Postmaster General Farley had furnished members of the cabinet, the president and friends with ungummed and imperforated stamps—is valued by stamp collectors to net the possessors hundreds of thousands of dollars.

**New York City.**—Civic bodies openly charge the Tammany Hall District Attorney Dodge with attempting to shield scores of police officials, politicians and criminals involved in the recent graft revelations on gambling, policy rackets and vice.

**Albany, N. Y.**—Dr. William Lathrop Love, former Brooklyn Senator, is charged with holding a medical position with the Consolidated Gas System while a member in the legislature.

**Washington, D. C.**—James Truslow Adams, famous American Historian, accuses the AAA (Farm Administration) with paying out huge sums of money for cotton, potatoes and tobacco—never grown.

**Hackensack, N. J.**—An investigator and three witnesses of the Young Legislative Investigating Committee of vice and ballot box stuffing has been indicted on charges of perjury.

**Paris, France.**—Nineteen men and women were indicted as a result of the judicial investigation of the Alexandre Stavisky doings. Among the indicted are his widow and two Deputies.

**Washington, D. C.**—U. S. Senator Huey Long charges Postmaster General Farley with protecting Norman H. Davis, Ambassador At Large, in one of the most nefarious swindles perpetrated by the American National Bank of Nashville, Tenn., and of which Davis and other politicians were the chief culprits. Farley is also being charged with preventing the indictment of a gangster in Kansas City.

**Seattle, Wash.**—A senate investigation committee has revealed a huge story of graft in which Gov. Martin, politicians and private contractors pocketed 50 per cent of the relief funds they were to administer. The figures run into millions of dollars.

**Pittsburgh, Pa.**—An amazing scheme whereby Andrew W. Mellon, former U. S. Treasurer cheated the government out of millions of dollars in taxes is being unearthed in the court house. Capone and Dillinger are simple pikers compared to Andy Thief Mellon, according to the already revealed evidence.

**Washington, D. C.**—Commander Ralph D. Veyerbacher and Lieutenant Carl B. Harper had offered their services to the Cairns Aviation Company, at \$100 per day with the approval of the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Ernest Lee Jahncke. The court of inquiry found on March 20 that the guilty graft-officers committed an (?) "error".

**Albany, N. Y.**—Revelations of millions of dollars spent by the utility interests were directed chiefly at controlling State and Federal legislation by "retaining" public paid servants as "advisors". In order to be able in handing out this form of graft "write-ups" were resorted to freely. The Niagara Hudson Power Corporation having written-up \$82,000,000 at the time of its formation. Letters by W. K. Macy, republican State legislator and party chief, reveal open requests for campaign contributions of the Consolidated Gas Company.

**Los Angeles, Cal.**—District Attorney Fitts refuses to resign although a grand jury has found him guilty of twenty one accusations of misconduct.

**Washington, D. C.**—Two Internal Revenue Bureau men are accused in conniving to defraud taxpayers. Accountants of New York are also involved. No names were disclosed.

**New York City.**—The Civil Service Reform Association charges that 10 people with party backing were appointed as tax directors. None of these passed the civil service examination required.

**Paterson, N. J.**—Edward Connely, a member of the Clifton City Council, was sentenced to three months jail

and fined \$1,000. He had accepted \$700 from Pasquale di Allesio, Newark contractor, for the awarding of a municipal garbage collecting contract.

**New York City.**—James J. Browne, former Brooklyn Park Commissioner, was charged with having banked \$1,071,713 in the last fourteen years when his salary amounted to only \$103,528.83. A City Coal Clerk who earned \$15,000 during the last five years, was able to bank \$77,110.

—Patrolman Vincent R. Jonston was sentenced to three years imprisonment, charged with extortion from former prison inmates. An indictment against Murray Hirshhorn, another patrolman on a similar charge, was still pending.

—John Rogers and Vincent La Morte, two relief timekeepers were dismissed on charges of accepting \$2 bribes from five workers.

—Municipal Court Justice Harold L. Kinstler stopped an inquiry into his accumulating \$126,000 in 44 months above his regular salary, by resigning.

—Abraham Levy and Sam Baronoff admit having paid \$500 each to John J. Hassett, former member of the Examining Board of Plumbers, in order to make sure their passing the examination for a master plumber's license.

—Bernard S. Deutch, President of the Board of Aldermen, asserts that he was approached and offered a retainer fee or a percentage to stop or reduce a \$400,000 condemnation award by the city, and that a certain individual offered him \$1,500 weekly to have a police captain promoted inspector.

—Paul Rosen, promoter of an endless-chain enterprise, who is serving a six months sentence, testified that Raymond S. Norris, a former assistant to the U. S. Attorney General, had promised to protect him from prosecution in return for bribes of \$1,000 a week.

—\$20,000 shortages were found in two courts and fee records torn from the ledgers. Three Court clerks were named by the investigators. These are: Simon Israel, Wm. J. May and Othmer Schmidt.

**Trenton, N. J.**—The assembly voted impeachment of John McCutcheon, former State comptroller, and William B. Harley, former Passaic County Judge. The latter paid \$25,000 to the first named in order to get the Judgeship.

**Graft in the Army.**—On June 9, 1934, a House investigation committee found that army officers bought Chevrolet cars at 24 per cent off list price. The same army officers were to inspect and pass on automobiles being bought for the National Guard. On June 17th, the same House committee demanded of President Roosevelt the immediate resignation of Gen. Benjamin D. Foulois on charges of dishonesty, gross misconduct and inefficiency. Other officers under his command were likewise named. On June 21st, Colonel J. I. McMullen, refused to testify before the house committee, in fear of incriminating himself. On June 22nd, Colonel McMullen changed his mind. He told the committee that it was Harry M. Woodring, Assistant Secretary of War, who directed the wording of a contract that ended in a jury investigation that revealed Woodring participating in a conference with Ralph O'Neil, former democratic national committeeman of Kansas, and other democratic politicians—all friends of Joseph Silverman Jr. from whom the army purchased surplus clothing. Mr. O'Neil was also proven to be attorney of Mr. Silverman. On June 23rd, the committee called General Douglas MacArthur, Chief of Staff of the Army. He was questioned on the constant violation of the law of competitive bidding in the War Department. He was heard in secret session. Colonel McMullen admitted having accepted \$3,000 in fees from the Cuban-American Manganes Company in 1932.

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Every actual State is corrupt. Good men must not obey the laws too well. What satire on Government can equal the severity of censure in the world "politic," which now for ages has signified "cunning," intimating that the State is a trick.

I am glad to see that the terror at disunion and anarchy is disappearing. Massachusetts, in its heroic days, had no Government, was an Anarchy. Every man stood on his own feet, was his own governor, and there was no breach of peace from Cato Cod to Mount Hoosac—RALPH WALDO EMERSON



# IN RETROSPECT OF CURRENT EVENTS

## The Cuban Masses Lose Again

What a grandiose revolutionary fighting spirit the people of Cuba have shown in every insurrectional attempt of recent years! And how cold-bloodedly every attempt made by them to throw off their yoke of subjugation to the American exploiters was met with by the tools of the latter!

No one will ever know how many hundreds or thousands of people have lost their lives in the most recent revolt, inspired by the college teachers and students of Cuba. At this writing a Comrade from Cuba informs us that over one thousand people were arrested within a few days time in Havana alone.

Batista, the inhuman beast butcher of Cuba, prates about 'democracy' as does the puppet ruler Mendieta.

The government of America's pirates at Washington have refused recognition to the San Grau Martin regime because of fear in being unable to control it.

They have rendered indirect and secret aid to every other puppet dictatorship that the sugar interests had set up and have full control over.

Mr. Jefferson Caffrey, the sugar interest's American ambassador had even the effrontery to issue a lying statement of the great progress that the Cuban people now enjoy. If his assertions were true then the Cuban people are just shedding their blood because conditions for them are too good...

Despite all the reversals met by the oppressed people of Cuba the day of final triumph for them is not too far distant. A people that can evince so much revolutionary fighting spirit cannot be vanquished forever. Defeated, they will rise again and again—until victory will be theirs.

In the meantime we should not only greet them, but render whatever material aid we can to them.

## War Or Social Revolution?

The rulers of life in every part of the globe are filling the air with war talk, war preparation, that must ultimately end in a wholesale human butchery of such magnitude that will pale into insignificance all past wars for markets, plunder and exploitation purposes.

Under a system of more laws and forms of exploitation prevalent than ever before in man's history—the rulers of the world—via their governments, find no other recourse open to save their momentary existence than by plunging the entire world into one huge slaughter house.

Most amazing of all events in recent weeks are the stands taken by the ultra nazi Hitler regime on one hand and the self-styled ultra revolutionary one of Russia on the other.

Hitler frankly stated that he fears the danger of Bolshevism spreading throughout Europe, and therefore appeals to all the plundering rulers in crushing Russia as the presumably embodiment of what he fears in Bolshevism.

The Bolshevik rulers have achieved momentary peace with one of the bloodiest mercenary regimes of the world—Japan, by selling to Japan in behalf of their puppet Manchukuo regime the Chinese Eastern Railway, for the sum of \$6,530,000. Likewise, the Bolshevik press has unloosed a wave of frenzied chauvinistic nationalism. They have not even the courage nor honesty to match the one displayed by Hitler. They, the self-styled "vanguards" of the proletariat did not accept the challenge hurled at them by Hitler. Instead, they are bending every effort in making secret alliances with every and any sort of reactionary or liberal capitalistic power. Not a word is uttered by them about the need and great opportunity now offering itself for a Social Revolution. All that these ultra "red" rulers wish is to be let alone in their reign over Russia. And for this they have scraped every Social Revolutionary pretention they ever made.

The First International was destroyed by Karl Marx when the influence of Michael Bakunin had made it impossible for him to turn it into a political action machine.

The Second Socialist International ended its days of splendour with the shameful betrayal of their representatives in all the parliaments of Europe in the last world war.

The Third International has ended its pretentious arrogant "vanguard" role of the Social Revolution in the very same sort of shameful capitulation in the present imminent world war.

Not alone is suffering mankind facing a monstrous capitalistic world ready to slaughter them, but also one of the worst chaotic breakdowns in the ranks of the revolutionary movements as a result of the Marxian influential supremacy over it.

Frankly speaking, it is a gloomy future that faces each and all of us alike.

Only a prompt and resolute attack via insurrections, revolts and rebellion against every self constituted plunderful ruling regime of the world may and can yet save the slaughtering of millions of people, the devastation of commodities that mankind could make much more better use of.

A new world slaughter can and will aim only at perpetuating slavery, injustice and rulership.

A Social Revolution will mark the end of slavery, injustice and rulership, and hail the dawn of a New Day for Mankind, Social and Political Liberation.

## A "Liberal" Mayor's Deal to the Negro

The peanut liberal politician of New York City—La Guardia, has proven already on more than one occasion to his liberal admirers that he is a true servant of the ruling class. He has aided in breaking strikes, and offered his readiness to break every threatening strike as well.

The brutal attack of his police department upon the protesting negro section of Harlem, that caused the murdering of three men, the wounding of over 100, and the jailing of more than a hundred men and women—all this places upon La Guardia about the most shameful record of any pretentious liberal Mayor of New York City.

If this alone wouldn't be enough, Mr. La Guardia and the Tammany Hall District Attorney Mr. Dodge have the audacity to attempt in shifting the blame for their shameful acts upon the Communists.

Mr. La Guardia's own Committee has already given the lie to his and Mr. Dodge's claims. They point out that the negro population of Harlem is seething with unrest caused by unbearable sufferings. They are thrown out of every job formerly held by them and replaced by white men. The landlords charge them the highest rents in the City of New York. And in their plight as unemployed, they receive less relief than any other section of the city.

Mayor La Guardia may have succeeded to drown in blood the first attempted protest of the outraged negroes of New York City. Judges will no doubt sentence many, as they already have sentenced some of those arrested. But this is not the first nor the last signs of such resentful outbreaks.

Injustice trampled upon cannot, nor will go on forever unchallenged and unprotected. The people will not keep on suffering forever. All the "liberal" politicians, clubs and jails will not become successful substitutes for economic justice and the right to live.

And the people—white or negro—will much sooner than the politicians dream of—join hands in asserting their right to well-being and happiness, in no mistaken terms.

## The Fascism of California Marches On

Eight of the 17 Communists on trial at Sacramento were found guilty in conspiring to violate the anti-syndicalist law. Probation sentences were recommended for two out of the eight. The chief prosecutor hailed the verdict as a triumph for American institutions, meaning of course, the present system under which over 22,000 million human beings are forced to live on public charity. He also held it up as a model example for other states of the Union to emulate. And the fascists of other states will no doubt take the hint.

The people who suffer more and more as fascism keeps on spreading out its claws should rally in whole-hearted support of the convicted men and women, independent as to whether they disagree or sympathize with the ideas entertained by the newly added victims in the struggle for a more just society.

What is even more important to consider is, as to whether to expend energy and hard earned money on legal defence, appealing for redress to the courts of the same system that convicted them, or to rather employ direct revolutionary methods, such as that of a general strike in order to force the government to suspend the sentence. In the lesser "civilized" countries it is this last method that is constantly employed and with ample success as well.

## Whose Victory?

Mr. Roosevelt has mustered together sufficient support to obtain a blanche carte in doing what he pleases with \$4,880,000,000. His great victory was in cutting out the provision for giving a prevailing wage rate to those who will be given the "privilege" to work. According to Mr. Roosevelt, the wage standard for the unemployed should be only low enough to be able to exist. A sort of dole system, on the style of the one in force in Great Britain.

The lords of wealth will be very satisfied with the victory obtained for them by their servant, the president of the United States.

Those millions of workers who have placed hope and confidence in the Messiah abilities of Roosevelt will have to become more and more keenly disappointed.

Two years ago the voice of the extreme radical in hurling the charge of a treacherous politician at Mr. Roosevelt, was very little heeded to and even much more denounced in such journals as the Nation and The New Republic.

Today the very same charges of treachery against Mr. Roosevelt adorn the pages of these journals. Unfortunately, they will turn to supporting and in imbuing faith in new political movements such as the attractive sounding shield of a farm labor united front. In the end their disappointment will be just as strong as in the case of a Hoover or Roosevelt.

The victory of Mr. Roosevelt for his employers, the exploiters of the country, should become an eye opener to the suffering multitudes of the present system. When this shall happen the momentary victory of the brigand rulers of life may be turned into their own defeat.

And this can only come about by an open Rebellion against the entire present order. And never was a revolution, a real social one, more needed and justified, than it is at the present moment.

## Between the Devil and the Deep Sea

When Herbert Hoover came to be President of the United States, the liberal world looked upon him as the greatest engineer that ever occupied the White House Chair. Had they been a bit more discerning in looking up the past activities of Mr. Hoover they might have learned that unsavory business deals and ruthless exploitation for his private gain was the only real record he made. And as president of the country Mr. Hoover lived up to his real past. He proved to be the greatest engineer that the exploiters and robbers of America ever

employed as the legalized head protector of their system. Upon the human bones and blood of a world war slaughter the country was ravaging itself in a debauchery of prosperity. But the tide, was destined by the course of events, to turn the world into the greatest economic crisis that modern capitalism ever faced. By 1929 the crash had reached United States as well. The Hoover prosperity boom turned into a ghastly prosperity around the corner joke. On one hand the rich held fast to the huge robbed wealth from the people. On the other hand the suffering of the masses increased to such a magnitude that at the 1932 elections the "greatest engineer" was driven from office by an unknown and insignificant politician—Franklin D. Roosevelt—who promised to drive the money changers from the temples.

After two years of Mr. Roosevelt's reign the very money changers whom he was to drive from the temples lay now their chief hope in as their saviour from any radical legislation!

How slow and hard it is for the people to learn from experience! Have politicians in any part of the world ever done anything but make promises of all sorts before elections, only to afterwards turn their backs to the very people who entrusted them with their faith and hopes?

And it could never be otherwise, since the institution of government and politics has been founded by the thieves of mankind's wealth for perpetuating its reign under legalized protection.

Believing that the people never learn anything, Mr. Herbert Hoover has already come forward with an indirect bid to "engineer" the country once again. Mr. Hoover speaks about the sacredness of safeguarding "individual liberty", meaning of course, the liberty of individual pirates to continue robbing the people as in the good old days of his former regime.

Mr. Roosevelt will no doubt fire back with more chicanery promises of driving the money changers from the temples. The money changers will laugh to their hearts content, financing as in the past both Mr. Hoover and Mr. Roosevelt, knowing very well that whichever gets to the head of the legalized branch of the present order, their reign of plunder will continue unimpaird.

Our liberals, even such a critical minded one as Heywood Broun already came forward with the slogan: anything but Hoover, when as a matter of consistency and learning from past history, at least a Broun should have come forward and said: anything but entrusting the fate to any politicians. But, this is perhaps expecting too much from a liberal, and it is therefore left again to the Anarchist to point out to the people that as long as they entrust their welfare into the hands of the institution of government and politicians, their subjugation and suffering will increase and grow from worse to worse.

From between the Devil and Deep Sea there isn't any more difference than between this or that politician.

As far as we are concerned we say a plague on all your houses that tend to perpetuate exploitation and rulership.

## Chaos in the Socialist Movement

A few score years ago it was William D. Haywood who was expelled along with others, from the Socialist party of America for harboring the view that in the struggle for justice the workers have a right to employ sabotage as a weapon. At that time Haywood and his group were branded as Anarchists, the name of Bakunin and Bakunism was dragged in, in a spirit of blame for the breakdown of the First International, as well as for the arising of insurgent sabotage upholders within the Socialist movement...

Today—the Socialist party faces the same issue under the name of armed insurrection. Members who proclaim their belief in it, are expelled, despite the fact that the "majority" in control of the national party are the insurgent wing.

The old reactionary guard in control of the party organ The New Leader is closed to the majority.... The name of Bakunin is again being slandered and covered with mud—mud that deservedly should be heaped upon Karl Marx and his followers who according to all obtainable evidence, were chiefly and solely responsible for the breaking up of the First International which refused to accept the political program of Marx.

The majority in control of the Socialist party, deprived of their own organ, are now forced to found a new one....

Thus history keeps on repeating itself.

Democracy means nothing to a Socialist who professes it. Just as revolutionary consistency becomes with him an impossibility when the basic line of tactics are those of compromise.

As a result, there is nothing else left in the end within the Socialist movement, ever since its rise to importance began, than disillusion and treachery as between all cliques and ordinary political parties.

MARCUS GRAHAM

## This Side of Paradise

Our brain is the dynamo that operates the most intricate and wonderful machine in the world—the human body. Every desire and act must be first mentally realized before the physical realization becomes an established fact.

The farmer mentally plans his work, tills the soil, plants the seeds, and later harvests the crops. The inventor mentally creates his product, and then works out his idea physically. Thus through life, man first creates with his brain, and the physical product is the progeny of his desires.

It would seem that true humanity, in this modern age, would be living in a paradise, enjoying the fruits of their mental and physical labor. Inherently, all desire health and happiness. We find, however, instead of this ideal condition, misery and destitution among the greater percentage of the people, and the fruits of this condition are crime, immorality, disease, and the destruction of the nobler attributes of life.

HUGH BRADFORD REED

## MAN!

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

Editor, MARCUS GRAHAM

Subscription price: \$1.00 per year.

Sample Copies Free Upon Request

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Administration and Editorial Address

M A N !

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



# IDEAS OF ANARCHISM: "Origin Of Anarchism"

C. L. James

## How Is Mankind Governed?

Anarchism, it can hardly be necessary to say, is not a conspiracy for the assassination of kings and such-like. It is not an armed movement of the proletariat or of part of them. It is not a secret organization. Notions of its nature such as people of information have abandoned to journalists, journalists to politicians, require no further refutation. Anarchism, whatever it may give rise to, can be described as a theory only. The *thesis* of Anarchism is that men govern men by deceiving them—a view never very unfamiliar to statesmen like Machiavelli, but which evidently assumes a somewhat novel complexion when preached to the people who are governed. Anarchism is a system, a doctrine, a religion if you will, for it has been abundantly proved to inspire all the moral earnestness and to comprehend all the transcendental range of view which characterizes religions properly so called. I have undertaken here only to treat of this opinion historically, not to defend it; tho I am ready enough upon occasion to do that.

For the origin of the opinion in its modern phase, we must look to the peculiar conditions of England after the memorable year 1688. The reigning dynasty rested its claims on the result of a popular revolution. It was compelled, therefore, by the logic of its position, to favor those very principles which folks in office generally discourage.

The equality of mankind, the popular origin of authority, the responsibility of rules to the multitude, the right of the people to abolish mischievous institutions and cashier sovereigns, were the title-deeds of Kings William III, George I, and George II. Accordingly, tho the majority of clergymen, lawyers, soldiers, sailors, country gentlemen and country voters, were friends to the royal prerogative; yet bishops, dearies, judgeships, brigades, admiralties, peerages, and magistracies, were almost entirely reserved for its enemies. Thus the Tory party, the very strong, was an opposition party. While the Whigs proved that government had no excuse for existing unless it served the public good, the Tories, during more than sixty years, were proving, quite as successfully, that the most popular government which had ever existed did not serve the public good. For Whiggism, in power, took as kindly as Toryism to the standing army, martial law, the moneyed interest, monopolies, religious discriminations, pensions, sinecures, rotten boroughs; nor did Toryism, out of power, find it any harder than had Whiggism found it to expose abuses. The catch-word of Liberty, suited either faction equally well. Macaulay, who has traced these tendencies in his usual felicitous manner, remarks that what happened at the first presentation of Addison's "Cato" was, in miniature, the history of two generations. A drama whose whole merit consists in some fine rhetorical passages about hating tyrants and dying for liberty, was produced at a time of political excitement. Both parties crowded into the theater. Each affected to consider itself complimented, and its opponents attacked, in every scene. The curtain fell amidst unanimous applause. The Whigs of the Kit Cat embraced the author, and assured him he had rendered an inestimable service to liberty. The Tory secretary of State presented to the chief actor a purse, for defending the cause of liberty so well.

## Burke and Godwin, Shelley and Byron

Thus fiercely assailed on two opposite sides, government, for the first time, began to appear mortal in the eyes of a few discerning men. Burke's "Vindication of Natural Society" (1760) is, indeed, represented as a satire; but it was too good for the purpose. There is no reason to doubt that it represented suspicions which had actually arisen in the author's capacious and restless mind. Two thoughts operated as the centrifugal and centripetal forces of all Burke's philosophy—that human nature is indefinitely improvable, and that precedent is the logic of authority. Put in the form of major and minor, they should evidently produce the conclusions of Anarchism. Anarchists still refer to the "Vindication" for proofs, no less unanswerable because offered in a way which discouraged serious reply, that protection, such as government offers against foreign and domestic violence, is not a source of safety but of danger. *From that time, neither England nor America has ever been without Anarchistic writers.* Within twelve years, the Junius letters were holding up authority as the worst of evils. "In vain you tell me," cried Burke, "that artificial government is good and that I fall out only with the abuse. The thing! the thing itself is the abuse!" In the first letter of Junius, he strikes the very key-note of his composition, thus. "It is not the disorder, but the physician; it is the pernicious hand of government alone which can make a whole people desperate." The radical thought is the same. The protection afforded by police, armies, navies, is nugatory. It creates greater evils than it averts—chief among them the habit of relying upon authority, not on native force of will, which alone saves us from slavery or tyranny.

Burke retired from public affairs in 1794, and died in 1797. In the most terrible year of the French Revolution, 1793, while he was still at head of the dominant and reactionary party in England, Godwin's "Political Justice" gave to English Anarchism a form which could neither be overlooked nor disregarded as merely ironical. Godwin did not possess Burke's or Junius' denunciatory power; but his coldly logical nature grasped more firmly than either of them the idea which they had in common. "Government, in its very nature," he wrote, "counteracts the improvement of original mind." This "improvement of original mind," was Godwin's *summum bonum*. He could not sacrifice it to "the logic of nations," like Burke, or imagine it reconciled with its natural antagonism, like other precursors of Anarchism. Those who have heard of his "Political Justice" only as a Communistic book, may need to be informed that, after encountering Malthus, he softened a little his Socialism, but never his plea for absolute personal independence.

Godwin's son-in-law, Shelley, and Shelley's most intimate friend, Byron, enshrined the new wisdom in immortal verse. It seems incredible anyone should be unaware of Shelley's Anarchism, which his earliest poem of any note put in such unmistakable words as these:

"The man  
Of virtuous soul commands not, nor obeys;  
Power, like a desecrating pestilence,  
Pollutes what'er it touches, and obedience  
Bane of all genius, virtue, freedom, truth,  
Makes slaves of men, and, of the human frame,  
A mechanized automaton."

It is harder to demonstrate Byron's Anarchism by citations; for the prevailing spirit of his works is what we chiefly infer it from. Still bolder might seem the attempt to offer anything like an adequate theory of Byronism, even now. This, however, is not to be attempted, but all Philistia regarded Byron as the embodied spirit of what Philistines call chaos and destruction. He appeared to England what Voltaire had seemed to France, a man of the highest and most versatile genius, who did not, like Hume or Gibbon, Godwin or Paine, assail existing ideas of morality, religion, and government, argumentatively, but who evidently had no respect for them, and whose equal power of sublimity and of humor was never shown so characteristically as when making them odious or ridiculous. A thousand times it was prophesied that his influence would be ephemeral. But this prediction, we are now justified in saying, has proved erroneous. The fad of imitating Byron soon died out, of course, but neither to critics nor mere readers, English or foreign, is Byron's place in English literature much less important now than it was eighty years ago. What is the secret of his continued strength? It is not surely, his appeal to personal sympathy. That has long been considered his weakest point. It is not the novelty of his brilliant description; for the novelty has faded, and the descriptions can hardly profess to be better than those of Scott or Wordsworth. It is not the originality of his verse, for even in his own time critics could see that there was none. Nor is it to be denied that Byron was no dramatist or master of human nature; not one of those who live in song, like Keats, by the exquisite completeness of their art; not one of those who, like Cowper, have imbued the humblest natural objects with human sympathy. Byron remains, as he always was, the prophet of individual life. His influence owes its permanence to nothing else so much as this, that

"improvement of original mind" is the spirit of an age which rather began than ended with his writings. It would be quite unnecessary to cite passages showing his contempt for kings, priests, nobles, institutions, maxims, conventionalities; but it is worth while to remark at this point that his radicalism stopped at no wayside inn like democracy.

"I'd have mankind be free  
As much from mobs as kings—from you as me."

Friends of Byron, Shelley, or each other, Leigh Hunt, Charles Lamb, Landor, who fully represented the spirit of these great men, carried it on to the time when such more modern English literateurs as Swinburne and William Morris were ready to enter the arena.

## From Paine To Warren

In America, immediately after Junius, Anarchistic doctrine had made its debut in the early writings of Jefferson and the political works of Thomas Paine. A certain resemblance may be traced between the lives as well as the sentiments of these famous men, who, it may be remembered, were close friends. Both experienced the growing doubt whether government in any form were not a mere device of the powerful and cunning to enslave the weak and simple. Both took part in the American revolution, and afterwards in the French. Both were drawn into the vortex of practical politics. But Jefferson's cool head and worldly talents were adapted to other things than Paine's fiery zeal against injustice and oppression. In Jefferson's early writings he repeatedly observes that it is possible to imagine a community without a government, and that there even are such communities. He expresses great doubt whether this primitive form of association be not the best; and says it admits of no comparison with the graded monarchies of Europe. He added to the constitution the first few amendments, which are its best part, and which owe their merit to this, that they are limitations of those powers else likely to be exercised by the State or federal government. He became the successful candidate of the party opposed to centralization, and to increase of legislative or executive authority. But, as president, he took a step, in the Louisiana Purchase, which introduced into our institutions the pernicious doctrine of indefinite powers lodged in the chief magistrate for use on special occasions, and set an example for those piratical crimes of annexation, whose atrocious climax we now see in the Philippine Islands.

Paine, in his earliest acknowledged political treatise, strikes the chord of his entire strain by protesting against confusion of government with society. "Society in every state is a blessing; but government, even in its best state, is but a necessary evil, in its worst state an intolerable one; for when we suffer or are exposed to the same miseries by a government which we might expect in a country without a government our calamity is heightened by the reflection that we furnish the means by which we suffer." It is difficult to believe that his view of government was more favorable after his experience in the French National Convention than before.

During the generation following the death of Jefferson (1826), there were many American Anarchists, tho most of them are rather obscure, and the Anarchism of others has been artificially kept out of sight. First in literary celebrity stand Emerson and Thoreau, who require a place by themselves. The sons of William Lloyd Garrison tell us, not only that he was an Anarchist, which numerous passages in his own correspondence prove, but that his friends found some difficulty about entering him for entering his anarchism in a crusade against all positive institutions. Colonel Greene's book, "The Blazing Star," little known, I believe, except among American Anarchists, puts in rather fanciful form the exact doctrine of Godwin and the historic-transcendental school which followed Hegel. The Blazing Star is the idea of human perfectibility. It is "the improvement of original mind." Like Godwin, like Shelley, like Byron, like Emerson, like Thoreau, like Condorcet, like Proudhon, like Herbert Spencer in his best essays, such as that on "Over Legislation," Greene perceives that authority, in every form, "counteracts the improvement of original mind." It is the antithesis of the Blazing Star. It is the chilling fog of precedent; that is, of old time ignorance and barbarism. The doctrine, historically vindicated with considerable ability, is not this meaningless cant that if men were perfect they would be free for absolute individual freedom: it is that every step towards the perfection of humanity begins with some assertion of absolute individual freedom.

As regards the economic aspect of Anarchism, the first place among Americans belongs to Josiah Warren (grandson of that Warren who fell at Bunker Hill). He shared in the innumerable experiments of the Fourieristic type which at one time were tried in America, and, as he tells us, became wearied, without being discouraged, by their uniform failure. At last a light broke in upon him. The fault of existing economic and social arrangements is not too much competition, as the Communists were in the habit of saying, but too little. In a world of landlords, charters, monopolies, and legislative restrictions, free competition is nowhere to be found, because absolute individual freedom is nowhere to be found. The plan, adopted by all Communistic sects, of putting the members under restraints more severe than those of ordinary society, may succeed when there are few enough of them to be united by a dogmatical religion like that of the Shakers, but not otherwise. Therefore, it is wrong in principle. The way to reach the golden east is to sail west across the open sea. Free competition must reduce prices to the cost of production; which would be practical Communism. This American anticipation of Marx and Proudhon, from whom it does not appear the author learned anything, attracted the very respectful notice of John Stuart Mill.

It is an open secret that our great lawyer, Charles O'Connor, was an Anarchist, and that is why he declined to be a candidate for president of the United States.

Thus purely indigenous English and American Anarchism is much earlier than the French, German, or Russian kind. It is, therefore, quite a mistake to regard Anarchism as a peculiarity of the "foreigners," against whom there is so much foolish prejudice. Anarchism is the child of our own institutions; and they have got to rear it.

## Condorcet—The Philosopher of Anarchy

There was, indeed, one French Revolutionist, the famous mathematician and *Philosopher* Condorcet, who really was an Anarchist, as early as 1794, when he died, leaving his views embodied in a posthumous work, "The Progress of the Human Mind," upon which his fame principally rests. Nothing is more inspiring than the optimistic tone of this book, written in daily expectation of the guillotine, by one who had seen all his plans frustrated, his party proscribed, and the great movement which drew him from his peaceful studies into the heated arena of politics disgraced by the atrocities of the Great Committee. The perfectibility of humanity is the central idea. Condorcet was not, like Godwin, Shelley, Byron, Emerson, or Thoreau, a Transcendental pantheist; at any rate the tone of his reasoning was altogether Positive and materialistic. Man, originally only an animal, distinguished by limited powers but unlimited ferocity and rapacity, has proved indefinitely improvable because his strength is all in his intellect, which, unlike any bodily gift, can be cultivated and developed *ad infinitum*. The original form of social organization, Condorcet perceived, was no tin family but the nomadic horde. With the domesticating of animals, property and marriage came in. These two stages of human progress, and the next, that of primitive agriculture, are known only by inference. But for the rest we have records. Subsequent progress is divided into six stages, of which one is assigned to Greek civilization, one to Roman, a third to the Middle Ages preceding the Crusades. The fourth extends to the invention of printing; the fifth to the rise of inductive philosophy with Descartes; the sixth to the French Revolution. Condorcet prophesies that the same causes which have so far determined the progress of the human mind, will introduce, with the next stage, equality of nations and of individuals. It will be recognized that the nations are not equal in material power, they are in respect to the value of those functions by which they severally contribute to human advance; and the same is true of the individuals composing each community. To tyrannize over a weaker person, or nation, is, accordingly, to cripple humanity, and thus to injure the oppressor. The perfectibility of humanity being thus recognized, progress, hitherto spasmodic and frequently impeded

by contention, will become uniform and rapid. There are reasons for believing that these sanguine predictions were not visionary. *The Revolution*, as radicals call it, that great Revolution, which began in England with the accession of George III, and in which the revolutions of America and France are only incidents, originated, as we have seen, in the realization by a few, that humanity is indefinitely improvable, and that Law, our inheritance from ignorant barbarous ancestors, is the standing obstacle to "the improvement of original mind." That Revolution, however it may be practiced, is not likely to end until recognition of its fundamental principles becomes general.

Condorcet, however, left no party. He died just in time to escape the guillotine. The French Revolution was not at all an Anarchistic event; tho some ignoramus suppose it was. Its watchword was always *la loi*, from the first contests of Louis XV with his parliament to the overthrow of the Great Committee's tyranny by a simple vote of the Convention. The number of prominent Revolutionists who were lawyers is among the most significant peculiarities of the movement. Anarchy reigned during the Revolution only at those periods when the imbecility and senility of law had made it disregard a necessity too palpable for denial. The French Revolution contributed to Anarchistic sentiment only thru the frequency of the occurrences of its legislative absurdities—that people must *thou* and *thee* each other, wear liberty-caps and working clothes, etc., etc.—were Red Republican affectations, with which Anarchists have nothing to do.

## Proudhon, the Formulator of Anarchism

It was not until about 1848, that Proudhon formulated Continental Anarchism.

Meanwhile the soil had been prepared in other ways. The metaphysical doctrine that man has a "natural right" to do whatever does not "invade" the "equal rights" of others, and that "restraint" on the conduct of individuals should be limited to preventing such "invasion," has often been confounded with Anarchism, but is really very different. Like all metaphysics, it states a principle so wide as to involve what Kant would have called an "antimony" which nullifies it in practise. Who is to decide what does invade the equal rights of others, and therefore require restraint, if not the government or dominant power? Jefferson's coquetting with the Scarlet Lady, who hails from Rome, and whose name is Authority, probably give him a better claim than has anyone else to be presumed the father of this bastard Anarchism, on which the title of Individualism has been fixed. It wore, at any rate, for pinafore, the French Declaration of the Rights of Man, which is very like a piece of his work. But its most successful dry-nurse has, beyond a doubt, been Herbert Spencer. Now Anarchism, as we have traced it, is not metaphysical but positive. It affirms, as Carlyle would say, not the speculative Rights, but the practical Rights of Man. It affirms, not barely that men ought not be governed by their fellow men, but that they cannot be so governed without a certain compliance on their own part; and that such compliance depends upon their being previously deluded. The proof of this is inductive. It consists in proof that whenever men chose, they have been able to get rid of authority and restraint, and to introduce Anarchy into certain important departments of human action, with results invariably favorable to what they regarded as their best interests. During the interval between 1760 and 1848, this had to a great extent been done. Jefferson and Franklin had popularized the idea of Anarchy in religion. Adam Smith had brought into favor Anarchy in trade. The later economists, Bentham probably in particular, had so enlarged upon the mischief which legislation and politics do to business, that many bourgeois writers, it is well known, have, following them, come as near to Anarchism as possible, and only apparently shrunk from endangering the sacredness of "property"—out of fear for their personal interests, or perhaps lest they should quarrel with the dominant class. Herbert Spencer, as usual, is the great example. During the same period, Saint Simon had grasped the notion of social evolution, and predicted that thru the same economic series of causes and effects which made the bourgeois system supplant the feudal, ownership of industrial establishments by the operatives would displace it. The German Transcendentalists, carrying further the principle of the Reformation, which affirmed the supremacy of subjective *faith* over objective *law*, had traced the soul's orbit to itself, and proclaimed the emancipation of individual man. Carlyle, Emerson, and Thoreau, had popularized their text for English readers. The writings of all three are quite Anarchist in books. Here, it may be said, we have certainly reached metaphysics at last! Not, however, in such a manner as to make it the basis of Anarchistic theory or practise.

## The Role of Marx and Bakunin

The three principal authors of Anarchistic movements on the Continent, were Proudhon, Marx, and Bakunin. All three began as representatives of the Hegelian Left. All acknowledged indebtedness to Saint Simon, and to Adam Smith's disciples, especially Ricardo. Marx is to be classed with the other two, because his speculations were altogether Anarchistic. As one who had learned of Saint Simon, he saw in national governments military organizations foredoomed to pass away with the advance of industrialism. Whatever functions of a permanent character they possess must devolve upon *trades' unions international* in range. It was only after his first book, *Das Kapital*, that Lassalle's Social Democracy that he became too much of a politician to act with Bakunin. The fact that these eminent men disagreed so much, no more prevents their being the authors of the great Anarchistic movement than a similar unfortunate truth prevents our regarding Luther, Zwingle, Calvin, and Socinus, as the principal figures in the Reformation. They were distinguished by strong traits both of individually and nationality. For that reason each had a work which no other could do.

Proudhon's writings are much easier to read than those of Marx; and accordingly he has received more general credit for deep thoughts, such as that that property is not derived from the labor which produces it but from the primordial claim of the government, bestowed on individuals in forms of legislative enactments, or, in our time particularly, charters of monopoly. But in truth Proudhon is important to Anarchism chiefly as an agitator. His use of the word was alone no small exploit. It was like capturing the enemy's favorite piece of artillery, and turning it against him. The bulk of Proudhon's fifty volumes consist in correspondence, tracts, pamphlets, newspaper or magazine articles, and other publications of the journalistic type. His celebrity rests chiefly on terse, epigrammatic, and paradoxical sayings, such as "Property is Robbery," or "Liberty is not the daughter but the mother of order." The ideas are good enough to keep anything so well written alive and insure its circulation as missionary literature for a long time. But the Proudhon was the most careful and deliberate of journalists, who never wrote a hurry, still less an off-hand article, often compelled to write without much previous reading, often (witness his tract on the Malthusians) writing about what he did not understand.

It hardly appears as the any one of the three knew rightly in what his own principal strength consisted. Marx doubtless hoped to be the organizer; but this function devolved on the very apostle of Chaos, Bakunin. It is the Bakunin wing of the Anarchists, acting as individuals, rejecting direction, hitting hard, and hitting at everything instituted, who have made Anarchism a terror to tyrants and monopolists, absolutely rendered the king business extra hazardous, compelled "those who make the quarels" to do the fighting, figured as reserve in the revolutionary movements of Spain and other countries, effected visible political results, like the victory of universal suffrage in Belgium. It is usual to say that Bakunin's ultra-destructive tendencies were the reaction against Russian despotism. I should have said that in his transcendental nihilism, so mystical and so sceptical at once, we might discern the imaginative superethereal temper of the Slavonic race. Yet it is Russia which has produced the most unlike type of Anarchism possible—the purely religious and pacific kind. Tolstoy has no doubt made more converts to Anarchism than Bakunin; and he may make a great many more. To represent Anarchism as a corollary from Christianity is indeed to disregard the logic of facts, and to sacrifice the sacred principle of individualism to the first principles you may draw any practical corollary you please. But Anarchism doubtless is something more than a corollary from the moral



precepts of Jesus, as Tolstoy says it is. They retain their freshness, perhaps in greater purity for their never having been reduced to practice; and they have the great advantage of being perforce admitted supreme in authority by that very Antichrist whose efforts during nineteen centuries have been devoted to explaining them away. The real position of Marx among authors of recent Anarchism is that of the scientific economist. He is described by the unfriendly critic of the Encyclopedia Britannica as *jacule princeps* among assailants of existing institutions, a man of vast learning, candor, and acuteness—his principal work on "Capital" as "the philosophic history of the bourgeois system." His strength is largely due to grasp of the Evolutionary philosophy, so powerfully reinforced toward the end of his life by Darwin.

In the later history of Anarchism, nothing is more remarkable than the way it has gathered strength, like some mighty river, from tributaries whose sources lie far apart. Not by eclecticism, putting together views or parts of views with little regard to consistency, but by virtue of a central position—as that attitude which covers the whole field of man's intellectual possessions in regarding "the improvement of original mind,"—does Anarchism critically filter into itself the strength both of Positive and Speculative philosophy.

## Crime and Punishment

The physical discoveries of such evolutionists as Lombroso and Krafft-Ebing have dealt a blow in the most vital spot of the government-superstition by disclosing the radical viciousness of those methods thru which Law affects to protect us against Crime. Law, not to mention its foolish multiplication of mere *mala prohibita*, has no other method than terrorism. Either "warning" or "removing the offender" is the sole purpose of its penalties. Even before criminology began to assume the character of a science, humane and judicious persons required to administer the law had partly found out its error. Warning does not warn. Removing one offender makes more than one. The penologists sought to substitute reformation for intimidation, and prevention for reformation. The misfortune was that their new humane plans did not succeed better than the old barbarous one, "Intimidation," one of the most distinguished among them used to say, "does not intimidate; reformation does not reform; and prevention does not prevent." To this confessed bankruptcy in the protection-against-crime corporation or trust, Criminology brings a release. All reason, all excuse even, for continuing the insolvent business disappears upon evidence that this does more harm than good. Now Criminology teaches that neither Born nor Habitual criminals can be reformed. The former class, so far as they are dangerous, need not sensibly increase the population of insane asylums; the best chance to get rid of the latter is better social arrangements, under which whole subclasses, pirates, for example, highwaymen, and braves have, thru extensive countries, disappeared. Occasional criminals can be reformed. But if a method of making this impossible be wanted, it is formulated in the words "trial and imprisonment." The bulk of professional criminals are not, in the eye of science, Habitual. They are Occasional Criminals, whom private exhortation and dismissal might have saved; but whom publicity; disgrace; bad companionship; Fagin and Bumble, Hawkshaw and Moss, acting together; have made distinguishable from fellow criminals by choice only thru certain physical stigmata. It is against the professional class of criminals that law is supposed necessary for our protection. The open secret that law principally makes them, cannot be kept a secret long. Its effects on popular reverence for law may be predicted. Cowardice is the secret of that reverence; and fear, once enlisted on the other side, will send our civil authority "after our grandfathers' swords and pistol. In European countries, now, as during slavery times, ahead of America, the effect of criminal psychology has already been to abolish entirely most important parts of criminal law. The contempt with which criminologists treat what remains, is extreme.

Almost simultaneously with criminology, Ethnology, another outgrowth of the Evolutionary philosophy, comes to the support of Anarchism in due season. Those views on the genesis and dissolution of institutions advanced by Sir John Lubbock and other special students of man's primitive state, are not very unlike Condorcet's; but they have the advantage of being put in a more popular form and sustained by a far wider induction. The earliest society was only a horde. King Mob is therefore the father of all sovereigns. The troop were called Wolves or Snakes, from their habits, and were proud of the title. They venerated wolves or snakes, and believed themselves descended from an animal like that whose name they bore—which animal was the Totem, or national deity. Their customs (naturally) are so absurd that they must have been abandoned long ago, but for that superstition which attributes them to the Totem's omniscient direction, and presumes that Chaos would instantly follow men's disregarding his instructions. From the earliest times, we can trace a divergence in his character. There is a common law, of immemorial antiquity; and there are, long before there is writing to record them, ordinances or statutes, evidently having an intelligible origin—usually something in the nature of a treaty between hordes. The common law has the advantage of being modifiable by the instincts of the people, whom it therefore always in a measure suits. It has the disadvantage of being grossly irrational. The statutes are evident attempts to better it; and often have the great advantage of repealing large portions. But they have the disadvantage of being arbitrary—commonly not being adapted to the people's habits and instincts. The true remedy for common law absurdity is the increase of general intelligence, which brings people to see that it is absurd. The great obstacle to improvement is the superstitious reverence for hereditary, that is for barbarous, institutions, which makes getting rid of them impossible until they become next all endurance. If, to illustrate, punishment, instead of being beneficial, is as noxious as every penologist has long known it is, why do penal laws continue to multiply? If a matter so private and personal as dress is as full of unsanitary and even morally mischievous absurdity as all the caricaturists have been making it out for a century, why is conformity to fashion exacted, not only by Mrs. Grundy, but even, in a great measure, by the civil authorities? Because, at the root of those common law principles enforced by the Totem's omniscience, so far as this is credited, lie two grand superstitions called in the South Sea Islands *utu* and *taboo*; of which the latter teaches that such and such actions, many quite harmless to men, are offensive to the spirits, while the other teaches that such actions must be punished, or the spirits will be angry with all of us, and—in short, "we shall have Anarchy." Knowledge of such truths can scarcely fail to excite a wholesome spirit of Protestantism against Government and Grundy.

## The Emancipation of Woman

In a very different, and I admit, highly questionable manner, the followers of Swedenborg have brought transcendental individualism to the masses. However ill we may think of their dogmas, their influence is not to be despised. They have insured, for one thing, a wide diffusion of tendencies ripe for Anarchistic use. Scratch a Spiritualist, and you will find an Anarchist. There is still another point of view in which the movement is of use. It has been very intimately associated with the emancipation of women. This great reform was long almost confined to America; and it is from America that other nations have so far chiefly learned. But the emancipation of women, as Bakunin observed, is indispensable to the social revolution. Not only is their influence necessary to an important part of that emancipation which the men desire for themselves; but the increase of population must frustrate all attempts to prevent an upper class from rising by trampling down a lower, as long as the subjection of women makes such increase inevitable. The emancipation of women is among those fruits of the bourgeois system preluding its own passage, which were anticipated by Condorcet and Saint Simon. It began in the factories; and so far as rights of employment or property are concerned, was doubtless indebted chiefly to the convenience of the capitalists. Even here, however, it would hardly have been effected if the women themselves had not found energy to seek and courage to contend for it. What always chiefly militated against their progress was sexual subjection. The war against that has produced a long train of confessors and martyrs. It has been the chief inspiration of the poet Whitman, who crowns the line of native American Anarchists, and whose rapid increase in power and popularity is now manifest, aside from anyone's opinion about the quality of his art.

## Facts and Comments

**The Nation Goes On Relief.**—Despite all the lying propaganda of the present rulers at Washington, the relief rolls are mounting, having now reached the number of 22,375,000, an increase of more than five million in the last two years!

**The Gestures of Hypocrites.**—Mr. William Green and Company are now appealing for a chest fund to aid persecuted workers of fascist countries. Very generous indeed! But how about the persecuted workers right here at home—that Mr. Green and Company spy upon and thereby aid in railroading to prison and exile?

**Accepting the Court's Challenge.**—The strike of the newspaper guild on the Newark, N. J. *Ledger* has been a most inspiring courageous one. Failing to defeat the strikers, the employers had one of their judges issue an injunction that forbids the strikers from even using the radio to state their side. Heywood Brown, president of the American Newspaper Guild, promptly accepted the challenge of the courts by announcing a broadcast over the radio! That is the kind of militancy that employers fear, and which the labor movement lacks.

**The National Recovery Administration** has just published a report prepared by the Research and Planning Division in which it is said:

Note that although payrolls in December, 1934, were only about 60 per cent of the total in 1926, dividends and interest were 150 per cent of their total in 1926. In short, the income enjoyed by those who received dividends and interest was 50 per cent higher than in 1926, even though the national income has declined nearly 40 per cent since that date and volume of production has declined by one-third.... Clearly the recipients of profits have not failed to enjoy their proportionate share of the increase in industrial recovery.

**A Compliment to the Religious Preachers.**—According to the Brooklyn Church and Mission Federation, the National Biscuit Company has appealed to 300 Pastors to aid in breaking the strike of the bakery workers by furnishing "god-fearing" ladies to act as scabs.

**Judas Iscariots Make Peace.**—Donald Richberg is no longer a "traitor to labor" according to the kiss and make-up photograph upon which the smiling trinity of labor Iscariots—William Green, Sidney Hillman and John L. Lewis are greeting him. Now the workers can feel more certain than ever before—that only they themselves can and should protect their own interests. As Clarence Darrow has said so wisely: "...labor must depend upon itself.... The NRA safeguards are on the other side. The whole thing was obviously made for the rich man—for big business."

**Preparing the Human Slaughter.**—On March 6 Great Britain, that is its Government, announced that its naval expenditures for this year will be 60,050,000 pounds, or 10,539,000 pounds more than in 1934. The following day, the Senate politicians of U. S. raised the Army Appropriation Bill to 400,000,000. All the other governments of the rest of the world are not sitting by idly, either.

**The New Ally of Hearst-Fascism.**—Up to now so long ago Benjamin De Cassers kept on parading as a "radical". Those who knew him closer were aware that all is antics are but fulminations of a Nietzschean madman disciple that will not stop at employing any method in order to maintain his liaison as a "free pie card artist". Having reached the end of his rope, he has now become the chief mud slanderer of radicals in the Hearst-fascist press. No self-respecting radical will miss him, nor will they pay any too much attention to his mad-barkings.

**"I Got Nothing On My Conscience."**—Thus speaks the Executioner Robert Elliot, who turned the switch that stilled the voice of Sacco and Vanzetti, and of many other victims of the present order, and who is now awaiting

The dissemination of Anarchistic tendency has thus become sufficient to render ineffably ridiculous the plan of repressive legislation. Those who propose that, could hardly wish for statutes more drastic than were enacted in France after the death of Carnot. These laws, unequalled in cruelty and absurdity since those of Queen Elizabeth, and rigorously enforced so long as they could be, almost made it criminal to think Anarchism. They actually did make it criminal to defend Anarchism in conversation or private letter. The result is well known. Only eight years have passed since then, and already the whole literary world of Young France is Anarchist open-mouthed. Is not one such experiment enough?

The real strength of Anarchism is, however, not in count of heads but weight of brains. Nothing, obviously, can be a more absurd, or I venture to add, more hopelessly "played out" way of gammoning the multitude than to call Anarchism a movement of the ignorant class. It has always been eminently a movement of the literary and scientific class. Its obstacles always were simple ignorance and the "compound ignorance" of half-education. But these obstacles are much too far overcome for restoration. As long ago as the Home-Steak conflict, a very unfriendly critic (Charles Dudley Warner), while lamenting the growth of Anarchism among the masses, confessed that it "came down from serene height". Like the Prophet who, for solitary converse with Jehovah, scaled the mountains on whose summit there is always sunshine, the Anarchist stands above the clouds and beholds the uproar and darkness pass away beneath his feet. The doctrine of Anarchism is the truth of Science. The power which secures the progress of Truth is omnipotence. No weapons framed against her shall prosper. Fulminations against what can be proved, are decrees against the earth's motion. Whatever they may hurt, they will not hurt the demonstration. They can neither prevent the earth from moving, nor even their promulgators from moving with the earth.

**The attention of groups and individuals is called to the fact that beginning with this issue all articles in the series; Ideas of Anarchism will be reserved for four weeks. By retaining the type we can reprint any such article in pamphlet form at the nominal cost of \$31.00 or \$37.00 per thousand, and for every additional thousand \$28.00 or \$34.00. The difference in price depends on the use of news or book paper. For any further information write to MANI!**

to turn the switch that will kill Bruno Hauptmann. One wonders if this depraved inhuman butcher of men has a conscience at all!

**Direct Action Brings Results.**—A march of 3,000 unemployed at McAlester, Okla., caused Gov. E. W. Marland to sign an emergency bill appropriating \$1,500,000 for immediate relief. Commented the Governor:

There is no question but that the situation is dangerous. These people are out of work, they are hungry and are demanding relief.

**Workers' Lives Are Always Cheap.**—The September hurricane in Japan brought death chiefly to the working class, since most of their dwelling places are made out of wood and paper. No less than 850 workers' children were killed in the collapse of such buildings. The "upper" classes did not lose a single life.

**While The Corporations Burst With Rising Profits.**—At least 500 men are living in abandoned coke ovens in the Connellsville coke region of the Steel Corporation.

**On the Right Path.**—The Central Labor Union of McKeesport and Duquesne, Pa., as also District I, Amalgamated Assn. of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers and many workers in various other coal mining districts have voted to boycott reading the Hearst-fascist press.

**Prison or Starvation.**—The Muskegon Chronicle of February 14 reports this case:

Amos Corey, 57, was sentenced by Circuit Judge E. C. Pugsley to serve from six months to two years in the state prison. According to the testimony, Corey had carried hay in bags two miles from a barn to his starving livestock. An investigation disclosed that a peck of white beans composed all the food in his house. It was stated that Corey was a good neighbor for 12 years, but lately he had been acting queer. His cattle were sold by humane officers.

Some thoughtful reader should send this clipping to the saviour in the White House.

**The Truth Is Taboo.**—The Racine Association of Commerce in Wisconsin as also the American Legion didn't like an exposure of their attacks and sluggings of radicals and the smashing of the Communist headquarters that appeared in the *Nation* of Feb. 27th. So they bought out all the copies from the newsstands.

**Blind Justice.**—Saul Singer and Bernard Marcus were freed after serving 23 months for the biggest bank collapse in American history. Henry W. Pollock, a former State Senator and director of the same bank was freed without being sentenced.

James Trout of Louisville, Ky., was sentenced to death in the electric chair for an armed holdup in which he took \$433.

**Reports and Reports.**—On March 18 some Senators at Washington discovered that the report of NRA Research and Planning Division was doctored for general release. The following paragraph was found missing:

That while pay rolls in December, 1934, were only about 60 per cent of the total in 1926, dividends and interest were 150 per cent of their total in 1926; that code fixed minimum wages showed a marked tendency to become maximum; that 40 per cent of the workers employed under codes are working more than 40 hours a week; that the big industries in general were allowed to fix the lowest minimum pay scales and that the NRA is costing the country \$55,000,000 a year to operate.

**Afraid of What?**—Chester H. Rowell, editor of the reactionary *San Francisco Chronicle*, also an official of a pacifist organization, writes on March 23 in that paper:

If this war breaks out in Europe, its end will see the entire Continent bolshevik or anarchist. The leaders of business know this, and their voice joins with that of the leaders of the government for peace at almost any price.

Nice admission for a pacifist tool of capitalism....

BERT HILLSIDE

## The Martyrs of Spain

This report has been sent to the "Syndicalist" from Spain:

Since the middle of December twelve anarcho-syndicalists of Alcaniz have been in prison awaiting their sentence. These members of the CNT (Confederación Nacional del Trabajo) had taken an active part in the rising of December 1933. In the beginning they were sentenced to terms of imprisonment, but the Public Prosecutor appealed to the Spanish Supreme Court. The Supreme Court has just sentenced ten of the accused to death. No further appeal is possible, and the sentence can only be annulled by the intermediary of the Government, in this case the President of the Republic.

The ten CNT members from Alcaniz are in the greatest danger. Their names are: Pascual Garcia Fuster, Gabriel Arinjo Milian, Felix Jimeno Pona, Ramon Moles Jimenez, Elseo Fermin Otero Bondia, Francisco Tello San Nicolas, Eusebio Capis Lanusa, Francisco Frau Latorre, Ignacio Quilez Moreno and Mariano Legido Gallego.

It is necessary for all the Revolutionary Labour Organizations abroad to send immediately telegrams of protest to the President of the Spanish Republic and to demand the annulling of the death sentence.

Since the above account, sent to us by the International Antimilitaristic Commission of Holland has been written, the death sentences have been commuted to life imprisonment.

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Be not uneasy, discouraged or out of humour because practice falls short of present in some particulars. If you happen to be beaten, come on again.—MARCUS AU-RELIUS.



# ART AND LITERATURE

## Voices from a Cemetery

Svoboda was to receive the Iron Cross, or some other military medal, I don't remember just now.

Anyhow he declined the award.

Naturally the Brigade was down on him for refusing; that was to be expected, of course. But that they would make things so hot for him, nobody imagined. The poor devil didn't have a minute's peace any more.

Everything that he did, and the way he did it, was wrong. He was never finished serving for one punishment or another.

Should there be any dirty, mean, or heavy job:—

"First year volunteer Svoboda!"

When someone was wanted for sentry or patrol:—

"First year volunteer Svoboda!"

If he had crept away somewhere to take a nap. immediately:—

"First year volunteer Svoboda, we need another man to go on guard duty."

He made a request to be transferred to another regiment—no use.

He reported sick—examined and O. K'd—more punishment.

He reported himself voluntarily for a flame-thrower—no use. The swines tortured him to the very marrow.

Until finally, he didn't know what to do, so he shot himself in the upper arm, in order to get away from the company.

Naturally, they recognized it as self-inflicted right away and poor Svoboda was taken out of the dressing station and put into a company made up for prisoners.

Three weeks later he hanged himself.

A Corpse: "But how could that guy Svoboda be so foolish as to put a bullet through his own arm!"

"In my company they would go that one better. When one had his belly-ful of the stinking dump, then quite simply, he went, with special permission, to the nearest hospital, into the syphilis ward—usually they would be visiting an old pal—and for a couple of cigarettes you could buy the most beautiful case of syphilis or gonorrhea. And so three days later you had the ugliest pimples in full bloom: Adieu! Westfront! Off for home.

"Later, of course, the fake was found out and then no more visits to the syphilis ward were allowed.

"But then, of course, there were plenty other opportunities of catching those drawing-room colds.

"Another Corpse: "The smartest way was to make it with soap, a bit more painful of course, especially when they thought it was not above board, and they painted you generously with iodine. But at least you weren't dosed with syphilis. Candidly it was wonderful."

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In Cambrai we used to go at night to the railway sidings and grab cabbages from the freight cars for a make-shift screw.

Well, of course you can't expect to get a thrill from just singing love songs of women all the time; that's not enough, must have something a little more tangible."

Another Corpse: "In a Hungarian training camp in Macedonia the recruits were quarantined for fourteen days after a medical examination on account of a contagious outbreak, and were not allowed to leave camp!"

"The first night, the beautiful enemy waited—waited as usual in the three nearby villages. But on the second night the first of them approached the barbed-wire fence round our quarters. With success! And on the third night they almost all came. Truly the prickly wire did scratch somewhat but that did not detract much from the pleasure of intercourse."

Another Corpse: "Oh, all that is nothing yet.

"You should have been in Kiel when about a dozen ships of the line came in after a couple of weeks on the high seas. Boy, how they carried on with the shore-pillows."

Another Corpse: "Shore-pillows, what are those?"

Another Corpse: "Why, whores, of course.

"In those times it was not unusual for one to be held up twenty or thirty times in one night.

"And then round the harbour, in the parks, in doorways—you could, sometimes, scarcely find a place not occupied. Those who didn't have the experience simply can not picture the situation.

"The whole town was a single whore-house."

(Silence).

Another Corpse: "Disgusting.....!"

Another Corpse: "The sexual urge is stronger than all. Stronger than Militarism. That is one consolation anyhow.

"The mailed fist has overcome everything, even the will to live, the urge for bread. But with the urge toward the other sex Militarism has not even thought of combatting.

"The picture of that Hungarian training camp in Macedonia, simple and symbolical, must have been an excellent example."

Another Corpse: "Yes, if we had known the truth before.... Then nobody would have risked playing war with us."

Another Corpse: "If we could only go to those still living and say...."

Another Corpse: "But we can't."

(Silence).

Besides, nobody would listen to the voices of us corpses.

The people love their important lies too well. That is the tragedy of it.

SARAH KREISLER

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It can never be unpatriotic for a man to take his country's side against his government; it must always be unpatriotic for a man to take his government's side against his country.—STEPHEN T. BYINGTON.



## Let there be Peace

I.

Oh, cherish life! O Love what is thy gain—  
White limbs stretched out to form a cross of pain,  
In shadowed vale of death where mothers lie,  
And years of nourishing in tender care—  
If, for some tawdry symbol, youth must die?

II.

There is no flag that's worth one human tear;  
There is no bible, god or state so dear,  
Nor any reason, decent, sane or fair,  
That in the carnage of mad, jungle strife,  
There should be sacrificed one human life.

VERNE DE WITT ROWELL.

## Famine

Hunger stalks raw-boned and gaunt,  
upon depression's highway;  
Her pallid cheeks and hollow eyes  
threaten menacingly;  
Her rattling skeleton is clothed  
in scraggly flesh;  
Her sneering, bloodless lips are twisted  
in a cynical smile,  
Concealing poison fangs where cruel  
pointed teeth  
Invoke the spell of death.

She performs a sinister dance  
of macabre twistings;  
Like a writhing cobra, she entwines  
her body about her miserable captives,  
Infesting their flesh  
With crawling maggots of nausea.  
She enters halls once barred to her,  
and presides at empty banquet tables.  
Hostess to tragic victims  
of unsound financial system.

She commits no outright murder,  
but sentences her victims  
To gnawing physical pangs,  
and spiritual humiliation.  
She fetters them with weakness and disease,  
And leads them in her triumphal march  
To the precipice of hopelessness.

Crying out, fainting, they struggle  
for freedom,  
But with relentless brutality,  
She dips them in the lye of undernourishment;  
The emerge benumbed and weak,  
No longer able to protest.

She is traitor to all humanity;  
Loyal only to her dark master, Death.

CAMILLE DU BARRY.

## If Freely—

If freely into space,  
I could outstretch wide  
Mine arms  
and feel the  
Caress of a breeze—  
Not the touch  
of cold pillars  
Of stone  
Chilling the heart.

If freely into space,  
I could open wide  
Mine eyes  
And see a  
Bright horizon —  
Not tall, grim  
Shadows  
Groping in the dark.

If freely into space,  
I could hear the  
Twitterings of the birds  
Re-echo —  
Not the sharp metallic  
Clang  
Destroying faith.

If freely into space,  
Sweet resonant  
I could sing  
Melodies —  
Not the harsh discordant  
Notes  
Breeding hate . . . .

LISA LUCHKOVSKY.

## Billy

The bigger homes were far more cold,  
The boulevards more chilly;  
"Ninety-nine" poor had never a fold,  
And the "one" no love for Billy.

Billy was held to the breast of a girl  
Starvation had made a mother . . .  
They froze to death near the gate of the churl  
Whose web had caught another.

LLOYD FRANK MERRELL.

## To My Son

My little son, I ask these things for you;  
Vision that wrests from life its better share;  
Not fame or greed of gold to bow with care,  
But wealth in work accomplished right and true.  
And I would ask your heart to be quick to do  
That for which faith and courage will prepare  
Your strength, forfeiting easy ways and fair  
For one trod solely by the lonely few  
Who toil through endless days and sleepless nights  
To peaks transcending all ephemeral lust  
The little mind conceives—My son, be bold!  
Carry the torch whose crimson radiance lights  
The paths of brotherhood, humane and just,  
That you may be no slave—no Joseph sold!

KATHLEEN SUTTON.

## Mammon's Triumph

Well may you strut, you rulers of our time,  
Our human clay you've molded to your bent;  
Days were when prisons were anathema  
But now the dread of bars and locks is spent.

They who transgressed would hide or flee the pale  
And tremble at the thought of serving time;  
Your leadership, howe'er, has worked a change,  
For bread and beans men smile and welcome crime.

Like fleas and ants at every beck and turn  
Your legal "don'ts" sting, leap and creep about,  
And most who strove to steer within your law,  
Now love it as your statesmen do the gout.

There is no lure like seeing seas of good  
While drowning in a salty wave of want,  
Of knowing you let plenty go to rot  
While they starve on in hunger, sick and gaunt.

And they who slaved for crumbs alone now feel  
Honesty is the gangster's "stop thief" shout;  
They court the jails who shiver in the parks,  
And those within are envied by the ones without.

JACK GREENBERG.

## The Water Drops Song

G. M. Sierra

Do you know what the water drops say when they slowly slide down the opening crevices of the rocks in formation of pearly tears?

They sing and say:

"We are small, of little value, we don't accomplish much, or any titanic labor, but by falling down one after the other for days and years and centuries we will destroy the rock!"

"We are constancy!"

Do you know what the water drops say when they come together in the bosom of a heated boiler, when they strike against its metallic walls?

They sing and say:

"We are small.... but animated by strange fever that impulsates us, for the benefit of man, we surpass time and distance; with our help man will be able to perforate mountains, through our medium he will free himself from abysses, with our help he will fly over the waters like a swift breeze... we will give his body wings, invincible potency to his work, and turn his darkness into light.

"We are power!"

Do you know what the water drops say when trembling in waves of tenderness, of pain or anguish, falling from the eyes of a sensitive humanity?...

They do not sing; they are silent; but speak through their mute language, with all their eloquence and incomprehensible silence...

"We are the soul!..."

(Translated by Louis Raymond)

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## Let Us Get Together

Thus, away with pessimism which brings forth discouragement and inaction. Let us react.

Now, what is to be done to give back to our movement its lost vigor? We have to (a) rebuild groups there, where they existed and again have the precious advantage to associate the efforts of each Comrade to the efforts of all in taking them away from the weakness of isolation; (b) coax the anarchists and sympathizers, who live in the same surroundings, to get together and form groups where none exist; (c) help the old and new centers of propaganda to remain in steady relation.

I have already stated and it could not be repeated too often, that what anarchism suffers the most from at the present time, is caused by the dispersion and the scattering of forces.

Surely, the common danger compels human beings as well as animals to get closer together, and we see organizations, leagues, parties, quite busy in... uniting. Is it for the best or for the worst? I do not wish to discuss the fact just now, I simply record it. It seems to me that the scattering of our forces, while these mass movements are going on around us, is one of the causes of our weakness and restraint; that instead of militating in dispersed order, we should fight in closer ranks, and I am convinced, should we adopt such a policy, our numerous enemies would soon have to reckon with us; many Comrades would shake up their apathy, react against their state of torpor and low-spirit, regain courage and thrust, be ready bent to fight more than ever in a daring, virile and fearless way. For the particular time and the urgent danger render necessary a propaganda zealous as well as an energetic fight.

Consequently, what is required, is to get together in order to regain a momentous place in the social movement and a proper role in the dramatic action now being played.

Get together! But how?

I don't think that we should wish to see a certain kind of—unity—among the Libertarian elements; such unity would call for sacrifices upon the ideological ground.

Indeed, tactics would then compel some Comrades to rid themselves of personal convictions and, the surrender of some of their views, more or less, would break the glow and energy of which every libertarian is capable of, when he fights upon the ground of his own preference; and no doubt, it would also weaken the contributive part of each to the general and common task.

But with a little good will and above all without hair-splitting, a certain—unity—would be possible. Then, in faithfully respecting the convictions of every one, and leaving to each individual the choice of methods of propaganda and doings, would be easy for anarchists of various tendencies to meet upon a common campaign of action, each time circumstances would require it, and when the gravity of events would demand it.

To obtain such result, we should only have to compare the importance and the number of questions upon which all anarchists agree or differ. Not so long ago, the three libertarian fractions; syndicalist, communist, individualist anarchist were using unjust means to fight each other. At that time I asked them to put an end to such a fratricide quarrel by a proposition called by me "The anarchist Synthesis."

Some Comrades thought and are still thinking that I wanted to try a kind of theoretical and practical fusion of all libertarian tendencies. It is a mistake, one, no doubt, brought about by the word used to express the need of a wished for and possible reconciliation.

About that time, the anarchist movement bitterly suffered from our inner discussions, rough quarrels, violent polemics which, in offering to our enemies the rueful sight of our divisions, greatly harmed the diffusion of our firm ideas in also providing our treacherous opponents with fearful arguments they, then, used against us.

And so, it was urgent to put an end to the overflow of wrongs, malevolent incriminations, unqualified slanders that seemed to be the work to which the various anarchist fractions devoted their time and energy.

In fact, the synthesis only tries to stop those wretched behaviors, in affirming and demonstrating that nothing essential or fundamental between the various schools of the anarchist movement could stop them from uniting their strength (without blinding their conceptions) against the common enemy: the principle of authority.

Then, I said: "The principle of authority expresses in the economic, political and intellectual domains: capitalism, the State, religion and the imposed moral."

The converging aim of all forces of Anarchism is to undermine and sap this principle and in such a powerful task, there is room for each and every one. Consequently, nothing stops the anarchists from getting together; better still, everything impels them to spare themselves reciprocally and to direct the totality of their attacks against the principle and institutions which the ones and the others have the firm will-power to destroy.

What I said then, I repeat again with a conviction strengthened by the tragic hour we are living in.

Fascism, the most brutal, aggressive and arbitrary form of the oppressing State and the sowing of the seeds of capitalism; war, the most repulsive expression of mass slaughter, destruction, devastation, savagery, insanity and collective crime; the unemployment crisis with its sinister and fatal trains of odious waste, revolting contradictions, privations and unnamable distresses: All these facts and menaces are of one kind to help increase the hatred inspired to us by the ignominious social organization; they render more indispensable than at any other time, the voluntary bringing together of all anarchist elements.

Such getting together is indispensable and of an extreme urgency if we don't want the doors leading to our hopes and realizations to be shut for an invaluable time.

Yes, oh yes, this get together, I emphasize is as urgent as it is necessary. With it, all can be saved. Without it, all might be lost, because the ferment of libertarian re-

## A Letter from New Zealand

I duly received the copy of "MAN!" I have read every word of it and have enjoyed it all. This is the first paper of its kind which I have received, and it seems that our desire for Freedom and Justice finds an equal desire and intensity of feeling and action in your movement. Unfortunately, this desire for equal justice and equality of opportunity does not find sufficiently fervid expression in the hearts of the majority to whom it means bread, clothes and shelter. Yet, ONE DAY that expression will take place with dire results to those who would restrict that Freedom as well as to those who would give it its fullest expression.

Such is the ignorance of mankind in general. But for all the evil which we see threatening us, we must go forward without flinching, prepared to take what comes our way, opprobrium or praise. Everywhere we find that it is only the few who are prepared to put their backs into the fight and STICK IT OUT. We are of that number and we welcome you as men of equal stamina and purpose.

Your denouncement of Roosevelt is thorough and to the point. He is a blackguard of the first and worst type. A man who, by his affected graciousness blinds the people to his true purpose and methods to attain it. His Alphabetical Government will go down in history as either the most insane or the most cruelly treacherous. He has the people dangling like worms on hooks, grimly smiling at each attempt of theirs to extricate themselves from the toils he has wound round them; safely and gratifyingly reassured that even the worms nearest the point of the hook struggle to keep the ones further down from making any successful attempt to get off. Witness the strike breakers at 'Frisco. Green is a traitor equalled only by MacDonald and Snowden in England, and the Labour Party and officials in New Zealand, and Australia. It is not to their interests that the workers win freedom. Did they do so these parasites' jobs would come to an end. The exasperating question which I often put to myself is: "Why do the masses tolerate this exploitation by their own kind?"

America has had a history of repression and wholesale murder second only to Communism and French Terror. It does not matter whether the murderer is of high degree or low degree, he remains still a murderer, and as the ones of Low degree outnumber the others as 500 to 1, it is principally to them that the present condition of the masses is due. So long as they have freedom to elect their own men by a secret vote, so long is their poverty due to themselves. The people must free themselves, none else can accomplish that for them. They are their own masters. The few at the top are as helpless without the aid of the low degree workers as a new born babe would be in the jaws of a tiger. Tolstoy was right when he asked some workers "Who are the Police? Who the tax gatherers? Who the soldiers by whom you are taxed and shot down? These are yourselves. Do not be soldiers, do not become tax gatherers, do not become policemen, and then you will be free."

But, when you say that to these poverty-stricken men and women, they ask you, "What alternative have you to offer us? In the army, the police force and the Civil Service, we receive food, clothes and shelter. Can you give us those necessary things now?" They even say that to-day, when there is no need for them to become hungry in order to cast a vote. I am afraid that it will be necessary for all those to undergo much more hardship than they undergo at present, before there is any real slide towards any BASIC reform.

Your exposition of the Marxian doctrine is masterly, and I congratulate the writer. Russian workers were and still are being sacrificed to a dead god, a hollow shibboleth, the meaning of which remains buried under endless word-spinning (If ever it had any true meaning at all). Russian kills and tortures Russian in order that that Freedom which I am sure most Russians wished for and had for centuries dreamt of, may be withheld from the masses. Lenin is held up as a great man, but is one great who enslaves his people by chicanery? It is said that this great (?) man repented for his muddled-headedness on his deathbed. That, to my mind proves that he was anything but great. A death bed repentance benefits none, yet, all the time, the solution was there for him to put into practice. He saw too late that Freedom and Justice was not to be won by wholesale repression of expression and equally fervid action. It is queer how people will dub a man great who has been the cause of the slaughter of millions of people; who will sympathize with some one who has been killed by a man, driven frantic through poverty, even though the murdered one has left 6,000,000 pounds, drawn from the labours of his (?) subjects, while he himself never earned one mouthful of bread in all his life. But he is no worse than John D. Rockefeller, Pierpont 'Morgan, Roosevelt, Mellon, the aristocracy of England, etc. Being so proud of their "blue blood" and ancient ancestry one would think that they would be too proud to live off the earnings of the poor. Not they. On the contrary, they state that it is they who "provide the natural resources" for the poor so that they may, with lifelong struggle, live and rear more workers in order that "MY LORD" may continue his parasitical existence.

E. W. NICOLAUS

volt, of which the anarchists alone are carriers and sowers, once lacking, the masses will continue to sink deeper into the infectious mud of passivity and will sink in it to their very neck.

Stop! This article has just about overstepped its limit. It is time that I postpone it till the next issue—and readers, do not get excited—it will be the end.

SABASTIEN FAURE

(Translated by Jules Scarcieriaux)

"Le Libertaire"

## A Letter from Billings

Box 10699, Represa, Calif., March 28th, 1935

Dear Friend:

Your letter of the 22nd instant with enclosed money order for five dollars reached me in due time and I wish to thank both you and the Pittsburgh Libertarian Group for this much appreciated donation. The Libertarian groups in both Pittsburgh and Philadelphia have remembered me for many years and have exhibited a feeling of solidarity that I shall not soon forget.

I also wish to thank you for your kind offer of a free subscription to your paper although I am afraid that because it is published in the State of California I would not be allowed to receive it. The rules here prohibit the admission of all papers, periodicals, books and magazines of a radical or liberal nature and all publications printed in the State of California. When any publications of an inadmissible nature arrive here they are withheld and destroyed.

However, I appreciate your kindness nevertheless and assure you that I deeply regret that I am unable to take advantage of your offer.

With all good wishes to you and your friends among the Libertarians, I am,

Sincerely yours,

WARREN K. BILLINGS

## An Appeal to Aid Political Prisoners

The Chicago Branch of the International Workers' Association has issued an appeal for aiding the Anarchist prisoners and exiles of Bolshevik-ruled Russia. Under the appeal are signed Alexander Berkman, Emma Goldman, N. Maximov, Mark Mratschny, Milly Withkopf-Rocker, Rudolph Rocker and W. Volin. The address of the treasurer is:

B. Yelensky, 3332 Potomac Av., Chicago, Ill.

## Other Committees

Committee for Political Victims.—Leopold Faure—Poste Golbert, Boite Postale 70, Marsiglia, France.  
International Defense Committee of Anarchists.—Hem Day—Boite Postale 4, Bruxelles, Belgium.  
For the Political Victims of Argentina.—Obreros en Madera—Diaz Veloz 3882 Buenos Aires, Argentina.  
Committee for Anarchist Political Victims of Italy.—Jean Riberyon—Boite Postale 21, Bureau 14, France.  
Committee for the Children of the Imprisoned.—Carlo Frigerio—Case Postale Stand 128, Geneva, Switzerland.

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