



## A Journal of the Anarchist Ideal and Movement

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# POLITICAL JUGGLERY OR REVOLUTION?

The nine learned gentlemen of the U. S. Supreme Court have declared as unconstitutional all the codes embodied in the NRA. The reactionaries greeted the decision with joy, and the would-be fascist press spokesman—Hearst—celebrated the occasion by draping the front pages of his Daily Distorters, in Stars and Stripes. The liberal world met the decision of the Court with keen disappointment, and in some instances, even hailed President Roosevelt as the real victor in the combat.

By its decision, the Supreme Court has nullified not only the NRA act, but also the Frazier-Lamke farm moratorium act, which now hands back immediately the fate of tens of thousands of farmers into the hands of the banks and other land monopolists. Likewise, the same Supreme Court, has before its NRA ruling, nullified the Railwaymen's compensation act.

The significance attached to the acts of the Supreme Court are manifold. Mr. Roosevelt was elected on a platform aiming to put into effect a new social deal for the masses. He had received a majority in the presidential elections, giving him a mandate to this effect. The Supreme Court body comes along then declaring that the will of the majority of the citizenship is void and meaningless, thus vindicating the anarchist position, that; the so-called universal suffrage is nothing less than a huge fraudulent gesture and toy with which the people are allowed to play only in so far as it suits the purposes and interests of the ruling classes.

The contention that is being made by the Supreme Court body that its main reason for nullifying the NRA is first of all to protect the sovereignty of each of the 48 states is a shameless hypocritical attempt to cover up its real aim, which is, to protect the sacred interests of property. The right of the exploiters to continue their reign undisturbed, since judges in each of the 48 states can easily be ordered by them to nullify any legislation attempting a real social change in the economic and political status quo.

Had the Supreme Court not heeded to the voice of the blackest reactionary forces of the land, they would have given sanction to all the ambiguous and camouflage legislation that the wiser exploiters of the land were willing to grant as sort of a sap to the suffering people of the land.

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Those who were able to read between the lines, knew already more than a year ago that Roosevelt and those who are really in back of his new deal schemes were expecting the very thing that the Supreme Court has now done.

That all the new deal schemes were but skillful maneuvers of the exploiters and rulers of the country with which to stem the threatening rebellion of millions of victims of a bankrupt capitalist system was no secret at all to the radicals. Most of us said so as far back as more than two years ago. Were we wrong in our calculations? The fact that today more than twenty-five million people in the country are being fed by the government speaks for itself.

Charity schemes of every sort were devised, CCC camps for millions of hopeless boys were established, in reality, for preparing future military forces, codes upon codes were mapped out in most instances by the employers, everything conceivable was done by the Roosevelt administration and the exploiters of America, except to get of the backs of the exploited masses.

Mr. Roosevelt was fast becoming as discredited as the great engineer of capitalism, before he came to power, Herbert Hoover. The man who announced himself as the one who was going to drive the money changers from the temples, revealed himself as the most faithful champion and servant of the very same money changers. If anyone had some doubts about this, the wage scale announced by him for those lucky enough to obtain some work under the four and one half billion dollar relief grant, \$19 to \$94 per month to sustain a family, must dispell any such notion.

Significantly enough, the decision of the Supreme Court was very well timed with the wave of resentment and criticism that was making itself quite audible against the latest wage scale-scheme of Roosevelt, which is being understood by all, as a forerunner to a general lowering of wages by private employers in every industry.

The decision of the court in nullifying the NRA is also being intended to serve as a saving grace-horse, upon which, the real rulers and exploiters of the country, are hoping to be able in putting across their dummy-ruler in the White House for another term.

Likewise, the decision of the Supreme Court ends,

let us hope, once and for all the faith and trust that the people were misled into placing in constitutional rights, that is, in political action. \*\*\*

How has organized labor, or rather its spokesmen, met the new double-cross act of deceit by Mr. Roosevelt and the Supreme Court?

William Green, the president of the American Federation of Labor was brave enough to offer a threat of meeting any reduction of wages by strikes, as also the threat of driving from political life all those legislators that will not support new labor legislation.

Strangely enough no one has taken seriously the strike threat of Mr. Green. Every one remembers very well yet his betrayal utterances against the General Strike of San Francisco. No one tho has protested his political threat, since the legislation approved by him is the very kind worked out and patterned by the exploiters and rulers of the country, by which they hope to turn the organized labor movement into a semi-government controlled one. Thus, Mr. Green, the fighter of fascist unions in Germany and Italy, is ready to aid in establishing a fascist relationship between the labor movement and the government right here at home, only as long as he and his ilk will remain on the saddle.

The entire history of the so-called organized labor movement in this country has been far from one with which labor can pride itself. The whole career of Samuel Gompers has been one of double-crossing of every true interest of labor, and punishing every sincere protesting group within the labor movement. The height of his act of deceit came with the world war, when he turned into a supper-patriotic informer and bloody war-drummer for the war to make safe the payment of blood money to the American war-profiters.

Mr. William Greene is only walking in the very foot-steps of Samuel Gompers.

There is then very little to expect from the spokesmen of organized labor in meeting the economic and political crisis. The twenty-five million people now living on charity have very little to hope for from that direction, just as those now lucky enough yet to hold on to a job, can have

very little hope left that such labor spokesmen will, or can protect them in the imminent plight which is in store for them.

Organized labor, as well as organized political movements, have never in the history of man's struggle for justice and freedom, proven themselves as anything else but a dead weight and stumbling block in the path of such struggles. This is speaking even of such movements that were imbued with well-intentioned motives. The post-war organized labor and political movements in Great Britain, France, Italy, Germany, Russia, Austria, Spain and many other smaller countries have furnished the most ample proofs for substantiating the assertion just made.

What is there then left for the suffering people to do? How then can they meet such maneuvers as is for instance being witnessed in this country right now? Shall a new joint labor and farmer party advocated by liberals, socialists and communists alike be looked forward to as the Messiah which will bring liberation to the enslaved? Our answer is a most emphatic NO!

Freedom—real economic and political freedom—cannot, never has been and never will be achieved at the hands of any politician, or political party. The destiny of our own fate lies within ourselves. We have the power, and force to achieve everything that is just, if we but will it. We only have to change the long terrodden roads of the past. Instead of looking up to the Wilsons or Roosevelts, MacDonalds or Stalins—we shall begin to look up to ourselves alone.

In striking out upon this new road we shall no longer trust in political changes of substituting one politician for another, but strike at the very foundations of rulership and exploitation via Rebellion, the road of the Social Revolution. The old road has left us as ever before, ruled and oppressed. The new road shall and can bring us Liberation and Happiness, a society of free men, the anarchist society.

The choice between the old and the new confronts now suffering mankind as it never did before. May it at last dare to choose the new road, meet the sun-rise that awaits the dawn of a new day!

MARCUS GRAHAM

## The Inevitable In German Fascism

The basis of military and political dictatorship as of constitutionalism and democracy remains economics. But economical problems cannot be solved by political or military force; if they cannot be improved at all, they will burst whether force is applied or not. For the forces of economic laws and weaknesses are stronger than all human force that can be applied.

Looked at economically, the present regime has still the old impossible roots of economics and is born under the most insuspicious world constellation, if the depression grows deeper and financial break-down comes—as must be surely reckoned with—this regime and its adherents run the greatest risks that any Government had to meet and suffer. If U. S. and France cannot do anything with their gold, no other countries can hope to escape their fate.

It is easier to produce but to make production sell and pay is a different matter. It is impossible to acquire the 80 million Marks monthly minimum of foreign trade surplus. To acquire this sum, all countries must first find export fields in other planets. To hope for world trade is to bet upon the wrong horse. If the miracle does not happen, the resources of the state will be narrowed down to impossible limits.

After all, production under business conditions (even under Bolshevik conditions) cannot be carried on to supply things at real cost price (labour-raw materials price). If it is done, losses will ensue. If production by 4 million persons cannot be sold, there is still less chance of selling what will be produced by 8 or 10 millions persons. The difficulty, nay the impossibility lies in the very nature of business; it can only be resolved outside business conditions, by organizing production and consumption without the necessity for business.

If the present economics break down owing to world conditions (which means also, some inland business conditions), this time there will be no hope of changing the system even into Marxism. Marxian centralist "socialism" will become as impossible as the decentralist private capitalism attempted. That is not all the danger.

Since the present Government has acquired all anti-socialist adherents, the enemies of the present regime will join together and go to any length at everyone known or considered "nationalist". Even the former democrats and socialists will join with any extremist considering that the present regime alone is responsible wholly for the disaster, as it took all the responsibility for betterment upon itself. Exactly the clarification of the cleavage in the last elections makes the danger to the great and small proprietors serious. The hatred generated will make matters worse.

As the economic impossibilities are varied, owing to varied interests demanding satisfaction of only their interests and since all sides cannot be satisfied but only disappointed, the dangers resulting therefrom are too serious, not only to property but to life, it is more than ever urgent to prepare the minds of possessing classes and Marxians alike about the coming impossibility of business and Marxism owing to the breakdown of finance. We must prepare both capitalists and workers for social ownership, and production and consumption without prices and wages to be paid, as the only possible way out when the crash comes on. Otherwise capitalists and labour will lose their lives at the hands of an angry and unconscious crowd, led by intellectual and labour ignoramises into disappointment. Whatever the Government may try as an experiment, this should be attempted for quieting the nerves before it's too late, before the catastrophe intervenes, not due to the fault of the present regime but also owing to external trade conditions, which are not different from the internal.

Marxism must be combatted, can be successfully combatted, only from the anarchist and not capitalist standpoint. Otherwise, Marxism cannot be laid bare as false, unworkable, impossible. Keeping millions quiet about the future explosive possibilities is neither a way to fight Marxism thoroughly nor guiding people into peaceful channels when the system breaks down.

M. ACHARYA



# Resist The Enemy Of Freedom Of Thought!

"The Community which dares not protect its humblest and most hated member in the free utterance of his opinion, no matter how false and hateful, is only a gang of slaves."

WANDELL PHILLIPS.

The news that the Labor Department—Immigration Bureau—presided over by Miss Perkins, the great humanitarian of the Roosevelt Administration, has ordered the deportation of Vincent Ferrero and Dominick Sallitto, is a very serious one. It is serious because it confirms the not at all mysterious intentions of the Federal Government to sternly apply the most infamous laws while at the same time claiming to be wisely reformistic and liberal. It is serious because, apparently, the assumed undesirability of the two accused, rest on denunciations and indications which seem to be very doubtful. It is serious also, because the whole of the proceedings of which the said order is the consequence, springs out of an agnostic publication which under a regime of "free press" has the right to come out and express its own opinion on all matters.

It is a serious news for one more reason yet. Ferrero and Sallitto, branded by the American government as undesirables, Anarchists and enemies of every form of government on the assumption of sustaining an Anarchist paper which never expressed sympathy for Fascism but on the contrary has sharply criticised it, will, one of these days, be put aboard a ship leaving for Italy. And what would the consequence be?

We have under our eyes a very recent example: that of Hugo Fedeli who was given over to the Fascist government of Italy by that of Uruguay. On reaching Italian soil Fedeli was put in prison for a few months. With no charges pressed against him he was acquitted only to be re-arrested after a short while and sent in confinement to the Islands.

Before the Fedeli case there was that of those deported from Argentine who also landed to the Islands of confinement and that of Salvatore Vellucci who, repatriating from the United States of his own free will, was sent to the infamous Islands directly from the steamship on which he traveled without even being given the opportunity to see his wife and children.

Article 5 of the Special Law for the defense of the State reads as follows:

"The citizen who outside the territory of the State spreads and communicates, under whatever form, false, exaggerated and surreptitious news about the internal conditions of the State in a way that would diminish the credit and prestige of same abroad; or who in any way carries on activities detrimental to the national interests, shall be punished with a prison term of from five to fifteen years and the perpetual interdiction to hold public office."

Now then, while unrefutable precedents point as certain the punishment of five years confinement to the Island for anyone reaching Italy with indications of being an Anarchist, it is further evident that for those whom the unchecked assumptions of the Special Tribunal will judge as having carried on abroad "activities detrimental to the national interests" the Special Law for the defense of the State provides a more severe and cruel punishment.

Since there is no Anarchist who—to the dictates of his conscience—wouldn't do all he can to harm Fascism, it is enough that an individual be marked as such—by the government by which he has been deported, for him to be turned over to the attentions of the Special Tribunal and the provisions of the above mentioned Art. 5.

Arriving in Italy then, Ferrero and Sallitto, branded and deported as Anarchists by the U. S. government, would undoubtedly be sent to confinement in the Islands or, most likely, put in the hands of the Special Tribunal which, applying the previously cited Art. 5, could sentence them to from five to fifteen years imprisonment for having carried on abroad "activities detrimental to the national interests" or rather—more appropriate—to the interests of the Fascist dictatorship.

The law for the deportation of Anarchists, solely on account of their opinions is inhumane, barbarous and unconstitutional; it is a resurrection of the Middle Ages and the Inquisition. It is undefensible and unjustifiable. But in cases of this kind we are actually thrown out of the field of deportation to enter the more serious and completely different field of extradition.

Since the mere and simple fact of being an Anarchist—even according to the U. S. laws this is not considered a crime within the province of the penal code—is severely punished by Italy both in an administrative and judicial way, the United States, in turning over to the Fascist government individuals branded as Anarchists, doesn't any more confine itself to expelling persons considered undesirable, but it actually turns over to a persecuting police and a sadistic judiciary persons who have expressed opinions which although constituting no crime in this country are nevertheless punished as such in Italy.

It is inhuman that the deportees should undergo such an ordeal; it is also shameful that the U. S. government and its Immigration Bureau should lower themselves to the functions of police and executioner's helpers for the Fascist dictatorship; but there is here involved a very important juridical principle. What heretofore the Immigration Law has defined as "deportation," that is the expulsion of the individual and his consignment to the country from which he came, has now been changed, by the Progressive government of Mr. Roosevelt, into the great humanitarian Madame Perkins, into a veritable "extradition," in fact the turning over of the undesirable to a government which will readily prosecute and sentence him for matters which—at least up to the present—are considered no crime by the laws of the United States.

What to do?

For us there is no middle course. To resist such abuse as all the others defend the liberty of our conscience, the inviolable right of professing ideas that seem to us good and just; and, if all we must, let us fall as we did in every time and place, the champions of liberty, standing up, without furling up any edge of our flag.

(From an editorial in "L'Adunata dei Refrattari")

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In the time when the "hundred per cent" Americans cannot appease themselves enough with glee over the Supreme Court decision on the NRA and do not cease to speak over the hollowness of the constitution, there are being committed in the country acts, that are a direct violation of those human rights, that are being guaranteed by the very same constitution. We have more than once brought facts of the campaign against alien radicals, that is being carried on by the Labor Department. People are being arrested and sentenced to be deported from the country for no other reason than that of having dared to have an opinion of their own, for criticizing the prevailing order. To these many victims of this campaign against radicals are now added two more, over whom there hangs the sword of deportation and the danger to fall into a fascist concentration camp and possibly to be driven to death.

These are the two aliens: Vincent Ferrero and Dominick Sallitto. Both have entered the country legally, the first 30 years ago, and the last named fifteen years ago. They are not being accused in any kind of a crime, they have not committed any unlawful acts. Their only crime is that, they have their own thoughts about the social order, and this is being considered a sufficient ground for deporting them from the country, where they have spent the greater part of their lives.

What have these two men done to deserve such a treatment? Just this: having had a restaurant in Oakland, they have rented part of their place to the editor of the English anarchist journal MAN! This fact alone is for the Labor Department a sufficient proof to determine their ideas and to condemn them.

It is needless to say, that every progressive, right thinking

To be quite frank, the manner in which the radical and liberal press have reacted toward the onslaught of the "liberal" administration upon our publication and those directly or indirectly related with its existence, is deplorable. Most of these voices of divergent social and political views have failed to realize the imminent danger that, in turn, may sooner or later face them as well.

On this page we are reprinting voices of protest from our own contemporary press, and of some of those who have realized the importance and seriousness of the issues involved. Perhaps the most important issue that effects the two individuals facing exile to Italy, Ferrero and Sallitto, is raised by "L'Adunata dei Refrattari," when it points out, that: with the deportation of Ferrero and Sallitto to Italy, the present deportation law will have been turned into one of extradition, since certain imprisonment, if not also actual loss of life awaits both when arriving to Italy as exiles, presumably associated with such a publication as ours, that has at all times fought and condemned Fascism in every shape and form.

Aside from this issue there stands out now most glaringly the persistent attempt of the government to indirectly bring about the stifling of the voice of this publication. Everything possible has been done by the government in this direction. Not even a common black-mailing gang of any sort would prove itself as cowardly and low. Immigration agents of the government have visited readers of this journal in every part of the country. Some were visited in their houses, others hailed into secret governmental chambers. Alien readers were threatened with deportation, and native ones with criminal proceedings—should they continue rendering material aid to our journal. When the attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union protested to the authorities, one of them, the U. S. Commissioner of Immigration, pleaded ignorance at first. After a few weeks of deliberation he no longer denied these misdeeds, but promised a discontinuance of such practices. He refused to put this promise down in writing. The arrest of Ferrero and Sallitto followed right upon the heels of this promise. Their place of business has been broken up, and now they are both facing extradition to Italy, with the dire consequences already spoken of above. All for the sole reason of having leased part of their premises as a mailing address office for MAN! This is no exaggeration at all, since the greater part of the transcript in the hearings of both men is taken up with distorted words and sentences from various issues of our journal. Furthermore, upon being questioned by the attorney for the two men, immigration inspector Benson admitted at one of the hearings that our journal was being published "legally," goes through the U. S. mail, and that it is not considered criminal to publish such a publication. But, at the same time, he believed that it was unlawful for any alien to lease part of their business premises to a publication that is opposed to any form of government!

The meaning of this admission by inspector Benson can no longer be misunderstood. The "liberal" government at Washington does not approve at all of the existence of such a journal as MAN! It lacks only the common decency, sincerity and honesty to say so directly by ordering its suppression. Such an act would no doubt throw the lie into its face as the often-repeated claimant in being the protector and upholder of the Freedom of the Press.

Cowardly and shameful as the action of the "liberal" government reveals itself then to be, it cannot nor will it be misunderstood by anyone. It stands now unmasked as a far more sinister enemy of freedom of thought and expression than the most reactionary government, since the latter never put forward the claim of liberalism or protectors of freedom of the press.

The friends of Ferrero and Sallitto, (Sallitto is at present detained at Angel's Island, awaiting the court's action on a habeas corpus writ on June 24.) as well as all true friends of Freedom will realize the real enemy of everything that denotes Liberty to think and express oneself—in the government that sits now enthroned at Washington. And by its own misdeeds it will receive the contempt and hatred that it has thereby earned for itself.

Our task, as Anarchists, to point out the government, reactionary or liberal, as the enemy of free thought has been rendered a most simple one by the Roosevelt administration.

Perhaps the American Civil Liberties Union, the Auxiliary Defence Committee and other protesting voices in behalf of Justice may yet succeed to stop the handing over of Ferrero and Sallitto into the clutches of the Fascists of Italy. But whether they succeed to do so or not matters no longer, as far as the liberal government's determination to stifle our voice is concerned. And as to this, we can only say: not even the czarist regime has succeeded to stifle forever the voices of rebellion and justice. Most assuredly then, the "liberal" regime of this country will not succeed—where the czar has failed.

Freedom of thought, freedom of expression and the voices of justice can never be downed as long as there remains but a single human being subjected to injustice. The tyrants of yesterday have learned this only too well. The "liberal" tyrants of today have yet to learn this eternal truth.

person, not mattering to what political tendency he should not belong to, ought to join in an energetic protest against the brutal deeds of the immigration department. It should not be allowed that our two Comrades, Ferrero and Sallitto, should be handed over to the fascist Italy, where the certainty of imprisonment awaits them, if not also the danger of death.

(From an editorial in the "Freie Arbeiter Stimme").

Heemstede, May 27, 1935.

General Commissioner of Immigration at Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

"The International Anti-Militarist Bureau against War and Reaction at Heemstede, Holland,

in the name of the several hundreds of thousands people all over the world affiliated with it; protest sharply against the treatment meted out by the immigration officers to the Italians Dominick Sallitto and Vincent Ferrero, both inhabitants of San Francisco, California; urges that the decision to deport Vincent Ferrero and Dominick Sallitto to Italy be cancelled because the execution of this decision would greatly endanger their lives, and the American Government would thus make itself guilty of a crime against humanity and international law, according which political refugees have at least the right to choose themselves the country of deportation.

INTERNATIONAL ANTI-MILITARISTIC BUREAU  
Han Kuisjen, Secretary

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Habeas corpus proceedings have been filed in the fight against the deportation to Italy of Dominick Sallitto, an anti-Fascist Italian restaurant keeper who has lived in this country for fifteen years and who is the widower father of a three year old American daughter.

The case is being handled by Austin Lewis, counsel for the Northern California Branch of the Union. Legal action is also pending in the case of Sallitto's partner, Vincent Ferrero who has lived in America for thirty years. Both are residents of San Francisco.

If the application for a writ of habeas is unsuccessful, the right of voluntary departure to some country other than Fascist Italy will be urged, the Union declared. Frederick A. Ballard, A. C. L. U. attorney in Washington, D. C., is cooperating with Mr. Lewis in the case.

The chief evidence against the two men, it is reported, is that they rented part of their restaurant building to Marcus Graham, editor of the magazine MAN!, an anarchist publication. No charge is made of any overt act against Sallitto and Ferrero. Their deportation, if it occurs, will be only because of their alleged opinions.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION.

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May 20, 1935.

W. C. MacCormack,  
Commissioner of Immigration,  
Washington, D. C.  
Dear Colonel MacCormack:

Our attention has been called to the cases of Vincent Ferrero and Dominick Sallitto, now at liberty under \$1,000 bail each pending investigation of their status by the Bureau of Immigration.

We wish to register an emphatic protest against the idea of deporting from this country to Italy persons who, because of their opposition to the brutalities of the Italian Fascist regime, would automatically become subject to the most brutal punishment at the hands of that regime.

Ferrero and Sallitto have lived in this country for 30 and 15 years respectively. Sallitto is the father of a motherless daughter, born in this country three years ago. Were he to be deported, his child, unportable in view of her American citizenship, would be left without a family. Ferrero has no children, but after three decades he would be forced to abandon all the ties which bind him to life.

And it is proposed that this be done to Ferrero and Sallitto, not because they have committed any crime, but because they rented part of their restaurant premises to the editor of an anarchist publication. Secret investigations have resulted in no other charges but this.

The arrest of Ferrero and Sallitto has been a serious blow at the Italian anti-Fascist movement in this country. Their deportation to Italy would bring great satisfaction to the Fascist rulers of that country. Is the Bureau of Immigration going to serve Mussolini's vengeance by deporting men innocent of any crime? This organization calls upon you to order the immediate dismissal of all charges against Ferrero and Sallitto.

Sincerely yours,

NON-PARTISAN LABOR DEFENSE

22 East 17th Street  
New York City

Felix Morrow,  
Secretary.

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For over a year, Federal officials have made a determined effort to suppress the anarchist journal "MAN!" and to punish anyone connected remotely with its publication. Subscribers have failed to receive copies of various issues; foreign-born readers have been intimidated by personal visits from government operatives. Vincent Ferrero and Dominick Sallitto, Italian restaurant keepers who rented editorial space to the publishers, have been ordered deported to Italy where certain execution or long imprisonment awaits them. Perhaps, by the time this letter is published, Sallitto will have already been consigned to the tender mercies of Il Duce.

The hounding of this particular radical publication is a grim foreboding of what may happen to the entire non-conformist press if determined resistance is not aroused. This amounts to Fascism in easy doses, the first corrective being administered to an organ of a comparatively weak group. If a paper with a comparatively small circulation is administered such treatment, who can say that the more imposing and influential radical journals will escape its fate? With the arrest of Ferrero and Sallitto as precedents, we can well conjecture what may happen to a printer who dares accept a contract from a radical publishing concern. There are several distinct principles involved in the matter: The tradition of free expression, the right of political asylum, and the right of an individual to rent his property to whom he wishes.

My sympathies with the Communist Party are a matter of record. I disagree with the policy of MAN! concerning the Soviet Union, and I do not think that the anarchist millennium can materialize overnight. But the obligation of every radical group to defend the democratic privileges of another group is as elementary as was the obligation to defend Sacco and Vanzetti. Our interclass differences may be settled after the establishment of the new social order. For the present, it is the duty of all liberal and radical individuals and groups to protest to Postmaster-General Farley against the treatment accorded "MAN!" Equally important is the obligation to protest to Secretary of Labor Perkins against the proposed deportation of Ferrero and Sallitto. We cannot afford to split hairs in a storm!

Very truly yours,

HAROLD PREECE.

(Copy of a letter sent to the "Nation")

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Editor: May I show you where the real stupidity lies that makes Communists, Socialists, Anarchists and all those desiring a New Deal—mad to the boiling point?

Dominick Sallitto is a young Italian who acquired in Brooklyn, N. Y., the trade of making metal hospital furniture. Some five years ago he came to California and now has resided in this country about 15 years. Four years ago he opened a restaurant in Oakland. Always he has been sober, honest, a loving father, a worthy citizen. He is now a widower with a little daughter 3 years of age. He is subject to an order of deportation as a dangerous anarchist. The only evidence is that he once presided over a debate on the relative

(Continued on Page Three)



# MAX NETTLAU'S 70th BIRTHDAY

Fritz Brupbacher

April the 30th, Max Nettlau, the historian of anarchism, was seventy years old. He lives in Vienna in a tiny little room hardly big enough for himself, a stove and a few needed books. There, he toils day and night to complete his works without asking himself if they ever will be printed. Times are hard for men who have only their thoughts and knowledge to sell. We live in an epoch when love is no longer loved, when each one looks for either a master or a slave. But Dr. Nettlau studies the libertarian movement and writes its history. The knowledge of such movement is not wished for by masters nor by slaves; to them, such history is enervating.

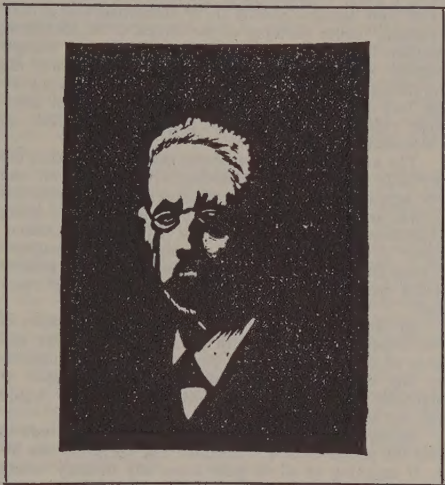
For more than thirty years Nettlau's Bakunin monumental biography waits for an editor, in any language. Still, it is in existence, about fifty copies polygraphed by himself have been spread all over the world. Every one of us who writes about the libertarian movement and upon Bakunin has taken something from Nettlau. Without him we should practically have ignored everything from the history of anarchism.

Now, a 40,000 Volume library collected by his own means is packed up in boxes somewhere. Nettlau is not "rich" enough to install his own library and make use of his own books. Day and night he is at work as the poorest worker and he is as poor as the last of them; for his work is poison to the wealthy of the world. Should Nettlau manufacture ammunitions, he would then live in abundance.

Yes, Dr. Nettlau was born in Vienna. His father was chief gardener for prince Schwarzenberg; he was a republican of the German 48 ths; fatherhood was well understood by him, for he left his son grow like his flowers. Nettlau had a happy childhood growing up in a wonderful garden in Robinson Crusoe and Grimm's stories atmosphere, dreaming of some South-Sea Islands idealistic and free. Later, this dream of a free island passed into his social conceptions. The political dream of the year 1848 remained a part of his life. Already as a youth, he wanted to organize a society of conspirators to fight the tyrants.

When a young collegian he read "Die Zukunft"

(The Future) an Austrian socialist publication. Very early in life he participated at socialist gatherings and meetings. Once, at the Gymnasium, he was already reprimanded for his conceptions; in a composition he had condemned Louis XIV for having made too many wars. He was then told that a prince can never be blamed.



First, Nettlau studied philology. He obtained his *doctorate summam cum laude* for a Cimbrian Celtic grammar. From 1891 on, he published his first work upon Bakunin, and thus the latter was known in our midst.

Later he gave up philology and applied himself entirely to the study of the libertarian movement. He

wrote numerous well-documented articles for newspapers and reviews. He wrote not only a biography of Bakunin, but also one of Reclus and another on Malatesta.

Furthermore, besides the above mentioned works, he published in German three volumes upon the history of anarchism; four more manuscripts on the subject are ready. But these books can not see the daylight. Here, one could ask if the editors are under the impression that there is no more a public of revolutionary readers for such books. Or we should be inclined to inquire if the revolutionary element has lost the taste for everything dealing with freedom.

However, we believe that there must still be one editor for the history of anarchism in a single volume, a book that would consign the essential of the work to which Nettlau has concentrated his entire life. This summing up which we have asked him, Nettlau is now writing it without bothering about its publication. Deep into his heart he has confidence. He works at what he believes to be his task as must work all those who love and advocate freedom.

Again, we, the old ones, cannot conceive our intellectual workshop without Nettlau's work. And I think that it will be the same with the young element, for those who think that freedom is as much needed as our daily bread.

Thus, all of us, friends of freedom, of truth, will say to-day to Dr. Nettlau, on his 70th birthday, that our hearts are thankful for him who has kept the treasures of the anarchist literature through his researches and publications. Nettlau has not worked and suffered in vain. And if he is dear and so great to us, it is much for the reason that he is not only a scholar, but also a man who has lived only for his ideas locked up in midst of his books that speak of them. We shake hand with him with gratitude and wish him in his work many, many more years. No doubt that finally, there will be an editor in some country in the world who will understand the importance of Nettlau's marvelous work.

(Translated by Jules Scarceriaux.)

## STRAY THOUGHTS

DR. J. GLOBUS

There is probably not another man in these United States who is so cordially and so universally disliked and distrusted as our rather well known William Randolph Hearst. Nevertheless it is a sad and ominous fact that nearly a third of the reading public of America read some Hearst publication. Even large numbers of those who consciously realize or instinctively feel the sinister character of the man, go on reading his papers attracted by the lurid descriptions of murder trials and prize-fights in his papers or by the generous supply of "funny" comic strips.

However it is lucky for William R. that he is so utterly comical and hard boiled. This enables him to disregard the utter contempt in which he is held by so many people, particularly, of course, by people of some intelligence.

But then how could a journalist so yellow, so coarse and so lacking in elementary self-respect as the famous Willie be anything but hard boiled to the Nth degree?

### Resist!

(Continued from Page Two)

merits of the two political philosophies—Socialism and Anarchism—and that the newspaper MANI which regularly passes through the U. S. mails, has a box for its mail in his restaurant, as have others.

Such stupid laws make revolution. Even a fish should be able to see this—unless he was born as blind as the fish of the Mammoth Cave. One thing is sure, and the whole world is beginning to see that we are the greatest mockery on earth.

How different from the days when we welcomed the immigrants from Europe, and Daniel Webster sent a man-of-war to Constantinople to rescue the political refugee Kossuth from the governments who thought to save themselves by shooting him, just as we think to prevent revolutionary thought by deportations.

Was ever a revolution prevented by law? O Fish and Kingfish—God help us: and how quiet the engines of freedom are! How quiet the Supreme Court is!

Once we were an empire of opportunity from ocean to ocean—a fertile continent stuffed with treasure. Long, long ago it all passed into the hands of the few by grants and laws made by people's representatives. "Representatives!" It is to laugh. Now the empire is owned by a very few. Coal, water, timber, iron and copper, valley lands and hill pastures—all—courts and Congresses serve property, not humanity—for where the wealth is, there the power will be also.

It is a mistake to laugh at the Kingfish and Father Coughlin. Revolutions are not made by demagogues, but by the real sullen discontent behind the demagogues. It is foolish to laugh at the Kingfish and the new Peter the Hermit, who is certainly not a hermit—unless you can laugh away hunger, unemployment, lack of opportunity and the despotic deed in fee simple which, with the aid of corrupt or stupid Congresses, has lodged this empire and the social monopolies in the hands of a few.

F. D. R. and the brain trust had better give attention to the legal automatic inequality of distribution and opportunity absolutely of the feudal age and devise an economic system which, with equal relentless power, will automatically insist on equality, not monopoly—and above all, on the human vitalities, free opinion, free speech, free press, freedom. The human soul really free. This case of Dominick Sallitto and his baby is more important than the NRA. It is a new crucifixion.—CHARLES ERSKINE SCOTT WOOD. (San Francisco News, June 11, 1935).

\* The debate was not on this subject, but on that of the revolutionary integrity of Marinus Van der Lubbe.—Editor.

I am really as hard up as the average man under the Benign Government and Monopoly. The dollar I am sending as an expression of friendship and admiration.

BOLTON HALL.

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Dear Sirs:

At the request of Edna St. Vincent Millay, I am sending you a check for \$10.00. Kindly send her your paper MANI for one year to above address, also please send her the complete sets of the first two years of MANI. She hopes you will accept the balance as a donation to your newspaper.

EUGEN BOISSEVOIN

## Labor and Spring

As the rays of the sun help the rose unfold its petals, so shall you Labor be the one to open the gates and usher in a new order.

Awake ye then. Too long have you been dormant and docile, your brains are befogged by your leaders whose object is to keep you in ignorance. With the changing conditions, new winds are blowing, a new era is approaching, spring has come to tell us that the sun is shining for you as well as for your masters; it also tells you that some day, perhaps not so far off, you with your brawny arms who build the beautiful dwellings for the rich; you who supply the cities with food and goods; you who run the trains, street cars, elevated lines, buses; you who clothe and shoe the people; you who filter the water so we all may enjoy a cool drink; you who build the automobiles, tractors, elevators, machines, airships; you who print the papers in which others have their say; you who hew, mine coal, iron, copper, gold and many other metals, but have little for yourself—someday you will become master of this very situation which you now look upon unconcerned.

Remember—the vast resources of our land are waiting for the magic touch of your hand. Spring brings new hope for a finer life, not merely for shorter hours and a few more pennies; there's a greater and nobler inspiration in store for you. You have an enormous task to perform, be brave and strong and most of all educate yourself to grasp the opportunity when the time comes.

Upon your shoulders rests the responsibility to rebuild this system we now live in, but that alone is not enough; life must be made beautiful and generous, like the softness of spring with its warm sunshine and zephyr winds that enhance the feeling of a freer life. So must you prepare yourself to make life harmonize with nature. Bear in mind that in our age labor must have unique brains to carry on efficiently; therefore, be on guard ye fore-runners of a new era; come hither, educate yourself. It is to your interest, for you must remember the days of mere talk have past; the old saying "action speaks louder than words" is more appropriate today than ever.

We need a higher state of brotherhood, stronger solidarity, and a radical change in our economic and political order. It is a vital and an indispensable need to create a new heart, a new feeling among all labor and the people at large. These are interesting days; the struggle to carry on should make you (sit up and take careful notice), especially of the "picked and finely polished words" uttered by the so-called privileged individuals who try to "pull the wool over your eyes."

This is not a fantastic dream; it can be done with your own hands and mind. Man has to live right, to make every minute of life a joy, an ecstasy, a passion to wait for the next day to bring new adventures. In the past and present you have proven yourself capable of doing and making beautiful things for others; then why can't you do this very thing for yourself? Think of the old proverb, "Where there is a will there is a way." Now let's see your will to do and to get the things to which you are entitled.

ALEXANDER PECK

The above came too late for inclusion in the May issue.—Editor.

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Reason and persuasion are the only practicable instruments (with which to combat supposed error). It is error alone which needs the support of government.

Truth can stand by itself.—THOMAS JEFFERSON.



# IN RETROSPECT OF CURRENT EVENTS

## A King Jubilates His Reign

For all the minor protests that the King's jubilee has aroused from the radical groups, it must nevertheless be admitted that King George of England was within his rights in allowing the costly enactment of his jubilee.

What of it if the lightning alone, for illuminating the jubilee, has cost over a million dollars? What if millions of Britons live for scores of years on the dole and in abodes unfit for human beings? Should all such trifles be the concern of a King? Preposterous thoughts!...

Have not the enslaved masses of England built up the most powerful Anglo-Saxon Labor Party, (such as the liberals, socialists and communists are now dreaming of and working for in this country) which if triumphant, was to bring about the millennium for the first named, as also liberation from the English yoke for the millions of subjected people in its far-fetched controlled colonies?

What of it—if this chimera dream—as to what a triumphant labor party would do, ended in disillusion and in actual treachery? Or, what of it if Ramsay MacDonald, the Socialist of yesterday, and George Lansbury, the Socialist of today, both participate in the King's jubilee?

No one is to be upbraided, unless perhaps the misled masses of Great Britain themselves.

The King's jubilee, in its true essence, was but a jubilee of the exploiters of Great Britain, and of all its subjected colonies, as well as a jubilee denoting the triumph of injustice over justice, hypocrisy over honesty, deceit over sincerity.

The oppressed masses of Great Britain and its colonies have plenty to learn from all that has happened to them for the last scores of years. If they will not forget the disillusion and betrayal of the Labor Party, the vain sacrifices made by them in the last world war, and the shameless mockery of the King's jubilee at their expense,—if they will not forget all this—and draw the logical conclusion thereof, this last jubilee of a King in Great Britain, may prove indeed to be the last one of its kind.

## Lynching and Law and Order

Every government official is supposedly a sworn upholder of "law and order". In reality, no one disregards and flouts the laws of the land any stronger than the very sworn upholders of the law. One need but look at the amount of brutality that is being displayed by any officer making an arrest, take a glance at a prisoner who has emerged from a third degree ordeal, question prisoners on their experiences with jail officials, or witness any staged lynching—in order to become fully convinced of the dubious role played by the minions of "law and order."

These aforementioned thoughts come to mind when one reads how the highest legislative body in the land, the U. S. Senate, talked to death an attempt to outlaw the ever so often brutal lynchings enacted in the South, particularly upon negroes, by whites.

No one has heard any outcry of protest from our "public opinion" purveyors—the press. Nor has there come a singular word of disapproval from the "liberal"—new-deal phraseologist-parrot of the White House.

Lynching remains then as ever an evil threat to every negro, and many whites as well. They who transgress the very pitfalls erected by man, or who dare to question any injustice, remain as always a prey to frenzied-ignorant mobs and lawless officials. The highest legislative body in the land has given its approval for the continuance of such a state of affairs.

Lynching mobs and the law and order brigade will continue to march hand in hand as long as the people cling to the belief in the need of the kind of a system of society as the one we now exist under, and which must be accompanied by the farcical laws and law enforcers that we have just spoken of.

## Rampant Fascism In America

The march of fascism throughout the country keeps on unabated. Teachers in schools, professors in colleges and students alike are being ousted from the "temples of learning". Legislative bodies in State after State are enacting ordinances which doom any expression of free thought to total extinction.

The rampant chauvenism of the blackest sort of reaction, hiding its ugly face behind a vain patriotism, culminated itself in one of the most dastardly acts yet attempted by this rising spectre of fascism. We refer here to the treatment of Robert Minor, former editor of the communist *Daily Worker*, and David Levinson, International Labor Defense Attorney.

Minor and Levinson went to Gallup, New Mexico, in order to offer defense to the victims of the recent

unemployed mass protests which ended in the killing of several unemployed, a sheriff and the wounding of about half a dozen workers. The government officials arrested over 30 workers, men and women, who are now facing frame-up charges of murder.

The attack upon Minor and Levinson was carried out by a gang, well known to the local and state authorities of New Mexico. Sheriff D. W. Robertson was at once "skeptical" about the story of the attack. C. R. McIntosh, Assistant District Attorney, revealed a shameless sinister attitude, when, instead of investigating the attack, did everything possible to create the impression that the attack was a (?) frame-up story. Attorney General Cummings refused to intervene in the kidnapping affair on a technical excuse.

The action of the government officials can cause but very little surprise to the anarchist who repeats over and over again the fact that every governmental institution (as well as its officials) have been founded and are being perpetuated in the interests of one class against another, chiefly in the interests of those who live at the expense of what they steal "legally" from the produced immense wealth created with the aid of the greater part of mankind.

In the case of Minor and Levinson, the enemies of true freedom can point with glee at the fact that had either of the two have dared to come forward in defending any dissenting Bolshevik, Social Revolutionist or Anarchist in Bolshevik-ruled Russia, their fate would even not have reached the outer world.

Whilst this is unfortunately true, it ought not to blind the people from a realization that humanity has little, if anything at all to gain from any country where a government exists, be it fascist or republican, nazist or bolshevist. The injustices being perpetrated under each and all vary only in degrees, according to the needs of the moment. In the final analysis all will be found ready to employ any means in order to maintain themselves in power.

It is just for realizing in government, the enemy that it really is, to the interests of true freedom, that the workers in this country ought to realize that the rising force of fascism has become now the threatening danger that faces every future struggle for a better world.

Wherever fascism shows its head, it should be met by boycott—as in the reading of its (Hearst) press, writing in it, or even setting it up. Vigilante attacks should be fought back. Fascism should be treated as the pest and scourge that it really is.

It is not yet too late to meet the cankerous pest of fascism, but this must be met by action, not by words alone.

## The Workers and Its Rebels

A negro has dared to have ideas of his own in the State made infamous by its chain-gang treatment of those unfortunate enough to fall into its clutches. The wrath of a Sunday-bible class teacher, in the role of a prosecuting attorney, came down upon Angelo Herndon, the negro in question. With one hand holding aloof the bible, and with the other one the communist literature found upon Herndon—he thundered to a court-house in Georgia: Gentlemen—the fate of our country is in your hands! This youthful negro would substitute another government in place of the glorious one we live under. He would substitute another religion, another family relationship, another of everything you and I hold dear! It is inconceivable that you should ever do such a thing as to find him not guilty! And here I place before you an old statute from pre-civil war days under which you still can sentence the accused to death on the charge of treason. I trust that you will therefore find Angelo Herndon guilty!

And the twelve jurymen understood the bible-prosecutor very well. In finding Herndon guilty, the safety of every exploiter and slave driver would remain secure as ever, and the chain-gang shall be the threatening weapon against any one daring to question the *status quo*. And these twelve jurymen were even "merciful". Herndon's life was spared, and he was sentenced to 20 years in the chain-gang....

The International Labor Defense appealed his case to the U. S. Supreme Court, and these gentlemen, who form the citadel of the present order's system of legalized theft and injustice, refused to set aside the sentencing of Angelo Herndon.

A labor movement that has not risen to a realization of its own strength and responsibility to its valiant rebels must look on in shame at the spectacle enacted in 1887 against our Chicago martyrs, in 1917 against Billings and Mooney, in 1927 against Sacco and Vanzetti, and now against Angelo Herndon.

Capitalism, via its protector, the government, knows how to attack the militant rebels of the working class, and the latter have yet to learn from the first how to strike back in order to free the seized and doofed rebels.

## War and Governments

Our world's statesmen, the ruling powers in behalf of capitalism, have been very much pre-occupied during the last few months. The emissaries and leading rulers have been flying around, visiting each other. Secret confabs were held behind locked doors, hidden away from the people, in whose name all these secret gatherings have taken place. The Stresa conference was so secretive, that none of the hundreds of assembled journalists could obtain any news, except the officially released communications. Now the same show is to be enacted at Geneva.

This sort of secret alignments between the ruling powers is an old game, as old as governments are. Behind

the flag of each country and all the shouting of patriotism stands the ugly carcass of Mammon—bartering and bargaining away the lives, wealth and happiness of every living soul alive as well as of those to be born.

If there is anything new in the recent secret confabs, it is the participation in them by a self-professed revolutionary government, the Bolshevik regime of Russia. A few years ago the mere suggestion of such a thought would render one liable to execution within the domain of Russia. Today one witnesses Stalin secretly confabbing with a representative of the British Kingdom, and the Bolshevik's British ambassador drinking to the health of a King... And the people of Russia are being told as little about the secret alliances bargained and bartered away by its "revolutionary" leaders as the workers are told by the capitalist ruling powers in every other part of the world.

This alone tho is by far not the only evil omen that revealed itself as a result of a triumphant "revolutionary" government reigning in the name of the proletariat. The resulting effects are far-fetched. The secret or open alliance by the Bolshevik government with any capitalist government is in itself the most counter-revolutionary move imaginable! It is in the end, an alliance with one or more governments against the interests of the working classes of every country effected by the alliance. If this is not so, then how can or will any Bolshevik movement outside of Russia be in a position to act consistently in opposing capitalist war aims and war preparations, when their fraternal Bolshevik regime in Russia maintains secret or open pacts with the very same ruling powers of their respective countries?...

The fact is, that the actions of the Bolshevik government have already brought chaos within the Bolshevik movement in France, as it will no doubt bring everywhere else.

The betrayal of the greater part of the Socialist movement in the last world war is to be duplicated with a vengeance by the very same socialists of yesterday, and bolsheviks of today. And this betrayal has already begun long ago, that very moment when Litvinov made the bid for joining the League of Capitalist Nations at Geneva.

Through the road of capturing the State, held forth Karl Marx in splitting the First International, the workers will march on toward their road to liberation.

By capturing the State, countermanded Michael Bakunin, the workers will march upon a road that will bring them deceit and treachery but not liberation.

The action of the socialists in the parliaments throughout the world in the last war, and the present actions of a hundred per cent Marxian Socialist State, furnishes the answer as to who of the two men, Marx or Bakunin were right.

As at all times, to the anarchist, as to its teacher Bakunin, no kind of a government makes the least difference. He looks upon all governments, monarchical or republican, socialist or communist ones, alike. He sees in every State a protector by violence, murder, imprisonment and oppression of a system of society in which the individual is nothing else but a spook in the wheel of a huge machine of destruction. And whenever any of the governments find it payable to the interests of their ruling cliques to declare war upon each other, the anarchist can but point out to the people that such moments are the most opportune for them to strike at every government that declares war, thereby turning all such wars into social revolutions for to end every form of government and exploitation, and with that, of course, also any kind of war.

## Progress and Reaction

Men of progressive outlook, intelligent men, very often fail to realize just how obstructions are placed in the paths of progress, just how the reaction sets in, and instead of the slow, historical advancement among mankind, usually the very opposite is ever taking place. It would be excusable had it been that the turn of events took place after some unfathomed, unprecedented phenomenon, but there could be hardly any excuse when the so called enlightened men fail to see the constant nature of impediment to their own views with which they come in contact all their lives.

Large majorities of these men who read, and think, and view the causes of various reactions that hold humanity in a constant tight grip, go on believing even in the governments curing these ills for them, the governments vested with power by the people who hardly know exactly what the ills are, or their cause, and much less what the cure should be. The reaction sets in with every elected government, regardless how radical in views or promises it is, for to maintain itself in power it must place certain limits on progress, or be lost in the ever widening philosophy of the universe.

Humanity always stands apart from all governments. It always seems natural for it, in its quest for the answer to the meaning of life, to keep pushing onward, and the very nature of every forward move aims always to destroy all forces of reaction that deem to impede. The governments—any political body—then use every violent and deceptive means to control, and better to obstruct any truly progressive movement.

But some day, these men, through mistakes, must realize that it is undesirable, wrong, and dangerous to vest their own power in any one other than themselves, and come to common agreement among themselves in spite of constituted dictatorships; they could then easily overcome the forces that at present hold them to such sorrowful destiny.

W. S. CONKLIN

## MAN!

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Editor, MARCUS GRAHAM

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# IDEAS OF ANARCHISM: "ANARCHISM"

There are two spirits abroad in the world,—the spirit of Caution, the spirit of Dare, the spirit of Quiescence, the spirit of Unrest; the spirit of Immobility, the spirit of Change; the spirit of Hold-fast-to-what-you-have, the spirit of Let-go-and-fly-to-that-which-you-have-not; the spirit of the slow and steady builder, careful of its labors, loath to part with any of its achievements, wishful to keep, and unable to discriminate between what is worth keeping and what is better cast aside, and the spirit of the inspirational destroyer, fertile in creative fancies, volatile, careless in its luxuriance of effort, inclined to cast away the good together with the bad.

Society is a quivering balance, eternally struck afresh, between these two. Those who look upon Man, as most Anarchists do, as a link in the chain of evolution, see in these two social tendencies the sum of the tendencies of individual men, which is common with the tendencies of all organic life as the result of the action and counteraction of inheritance and adaptation. Inheritance, continually tending to repeat what has been, long, long after it is outgrown; adaptation continually tending to break down forms. The same tendencies under other names are observed in the inorganic world as well, and anyone who is possessed by the modern scientific mania for Monism can easily follow out the line to the vanishing point of human knowledge.

It no longer seems necessary to me, therefore, that one should base his Anarchism upon any particular world conception; it is a theory of the relations due to man and comes as an offered solution to the societary problems arising from the existence of these two tendencies of which I have spoken. No matter where those tendencies come from, all alike recognize them as existent; and however interesting the speculation, however fascinating to lose oneself back, back in the molecular storm-whirl wherein the figure of man is seen merely as a denser, fiercer group, a livelier storm centre, moving among others, infringing upon others but nowhere separate, nowhere exempt from the same necessity that acts upon all centers of force,—it is by no means necessary in order to reason oneself into Anarchism.

Sufficient are a good observant eye and a reasonably reflecting brain, for anyone, lettered or unlettered, to recognize the desirability of Anarchistic aims. This is not to say that increased knowledge will not confirm and expand ones application of this fundamental concept; (the beauty of truth is that at every new discovery of fact we find how much wider and deeper it is than we thought it). But it means that first of all Anarchism is concerned with present conditions, and with the very plain and common people; and is by no means a complex or difficult proposition.

Anarchism, alone, apart from any proposed economic reform, is just the latest replay out of many the past has given, to that daring breakaway, volatile, changeable spirit which is never content. The society of which we are apart puts certain oppressions upon me,—oppressions which have arisen out of the very changes accomplished by this same spirit, combined with the hard and fast lines of old habits acquired and fixed before the changes were thought of.

It is not an economic system; it does not come to you with detailed plans of how you, the workers, are to conduct industry; nor systemized methods of exchange; nor careful paper organizations of the "administration of things." It simply calls upon the spirit of individuality to rise up from its abasement, and hold itself paramount in no matter what economic reorganization shall come about. Be men first of all, not held in slavery by things you make; let your gospel be, "Things for men, not men for things."

Now it is perfectly apparent that Anarchy having to do almost entirely with the relations of men in their thoughts and feelings, and not with the positive organization of production and distribution, an Anarchist needs to supplement his Anarchism by some economic propositions, which may enable him to put in practical shape to himself and others his possibility of independent manhood. That will be his test in choosing only such proposition,—the measure in which individuality is secured. It is not enough for him that a comfortable ease, a pleasant and well-ordered routine, shall be secured; free play for the spirit of change—that is his first demand.

Every Anarchist has this in common with every other Anarchist, that the economic system must be subservient to this end; no system recommends itself to him by the mere beauty and smoothness of its working; jealous of the encroachments of the machine he looks with fierce suspicion upon an arithmetic with men for units, a society running in slots and grooves, with the precision so beautiful to one in whom the love of order is first, but which makes him swift—"Rough! it smells of machine oil."

The notion that men cannot work together unless they have a driving-master to take a percentage of their product, is contrary both to good sense and observed fact. As a rule bosses simply make confusion worse confounded when they attempt to mix in a workman's snarls, as every mechanic has had practical demonstration of; and as to social effort, why men worked in common while they were monkeys yet,—if you don't believe it, go and watch the monkeys. They don't surrender their individual freedom.

In short, the real workmen will make their own regulations, decide when and where and how things shall be done. It is not necessary that the projector of an Anarchist Communist society shall say in what manner separate industries shall be conducted, nor do they presume to. He simply conjures the spirit of Dare and Do in the plainest workmen—says to them: "It is you who know how to mine, how to dig, how to cut; you will

know how to organize your work without a dictator; we cannot tell you, but we have full faith you will find the way yourselves. You will never be free men until you acquire that same self-faith."

As to the problem of the exact exchange of equivalents which so frets the reformers of other schools, to him it does not exist. So there is enough, who cares? The sources of wealth remain invisible forever; who cares if something goes to waste. Let it waste. The rotted apple fertilizes the ground as well as it had comforted the animal economy first. And, indeed you who worry so much about system and order and adjustment of production to consumption, you waste more human energy in working your account than the precious calculation is worth. Hence money with all its retinue of complications and trickeries is abolished.

Small, independent, self-resourceful, freely cooperating communing—this is the economic ideal which is accepted by most of the Anarchists of the Old World today.

As to the material factor which developed this ideal among Europeans, it is the recollection and even still remaining vestiges of the mediaeval village commune. . . . We in America never knew the village commune. . . . The idea of the little commune, therefore, comes instinctively to the Anarchists of Europe, particularly the Continental ones; with them it is merely the conscious development of a submerged instinct.

Socialism and Communism both demand a degree of joint effort and administration which would beget more regulation than is wholly consistent with ideal Anarchism, Individualism and Mutualism, resting upon property, involve a development of the private policeman not at all compatible with . . . freedom.

## Love And Marriage

Every sane person will tell you that man-made laws have been the curse of humanity ever since a maniac decided to engrave on tablets or elsewhere the vagaries of his unbalanced mind and to impose them upon a community or society. Such an assertion proves right and just when you consider that man-made laws represent an attempt to hinder or interrupt the course of nature. In other words, they are a criminally artificial obstacle to the efficient activities of the mortals and, like all obstacles of that sort, they are bound to bring about general disappointment, strife and unhappiness.

False marriage, for instance. It's an enforced artificial tie devised to hold together a man and a woman, supposedly in love with each other. Now, assuming that a marriage is a "love marriage," it's apparent that the tie is unnecessary and, besides, a possible breeder of reciprocal repulsion and suffering. If, on the other hand, the tie is a loveless one, whose only aim is support, luxury or ambition, then, it becomes worse than a farce, it's a highly immoral bargain, a prostitution of the worst kind, which often, at best, ends in court, where freedom and that longed-for alimony are decreed. In fact, now and then, you hear a merry divorcee boast of her planning before the wedding to divorce the "boob" and take his money.

Of course, we don't intend to shed tears on such callous bargains. After all, if a rich old fool imagines he can buy a woman's love by wedding her flesh, he deserves to be fooled and fleeced. And when to a woman it's not repugnant to profess love to a "boob" with the intention to sell him merely her body in order to quench her thirst for luxury—then we can only hope that some future generation, born in a less mercantile society and free from legal and dogmatic entanglements, will have a little more self-respect and dignity.

Theoretically, marriage today is still considered a moral institution or, at least, a protection or a necessity; whereas anybody, having eyes to see and ears to hear, perceives what's going on in most "homes," what tempest rages in the heart of so many a married woman, whom social prejudices or economic reasons compel to smile, lie and deceive. And all this on account of that blessed institution called marriage. You can hardly look over a daily paper, without spotting the sensational news of a "love triangle" with the consequent predicaments and often, even that of murder.

Setting aside the daily crimes derived from the interfering of the law with the people's love-making, let us mention the scandal that about a year and a half ago astounded the long beards of King Edward VI school of Chelmsford, England, and the judges and all the believers in the wedding lock and the sanctity of matrimony. The affair is too well known to go here into the details. It was a feast for the English press at the time, and a North-American newspaper brought it up again some weeks ago.

The facts are, in brief, that a certain professor of 48, a gentleman in every respect, was compelled to divorce his wife, 13 years his junior, after seven years of married life. They had no children. The lady came from a respectable family of a suburban town, where, I can reasonably guess, legal unions are arranged mainly by the parents. Most likely, she married the learned professor just to marry and avoid becoming a spinster. The wedding must have had to do with love as much as taking a pill has to do with hunger. At any rate, her married life was quiet, without shocks or complaints. Her principal occupation was to care for her husband's boarder-pupils with motherly love and zeal. But—

Yes, to say it between you and me, you can't fool nature indefinitely, you can't always make a stone out of a living being. One ominous day the gentle and dignified woman felt her heart beat swiftly, a sensation till then

My ideal would be a condition in which all natural resources would be forever free to all and the worker individually able to produce for himself sufficient for all his vital needs, if he so chose, so that he need not govern his working or not working by the times and seasons of his fellows. I think that the time may come; but it will only be through the development of the modes of production and the taste of the people. Meanwhile we all cry with one voice for the freedom to try.

Are these all the aims of Anarchism? They are just the beginning. They are an outline of what is demanded for the material producer. If as a worker, you think no further than how to free yourself from the horrible bondage of capitalism, then that is the measure of Anarchism for you. But you yourself put the limit there, if there it is put. Immeasurably deeper, immeasurably higher dips and soars the soul which has come out of its casement of custom and cowardice, and dared to claim itself.

And if you do some day,—if sitting at your workbench, you see a vision of surpassing glory, some picture of that golden time when there shall be no prisons on earth, nor hunger, nor houselessness, nor accusation, nor judgment, and hearts open as printed leaves, and candid as fearlessness, if then you look across at your low-browed neighbor, who sweats and smells and curses at his toil,—remember that as you do not know his depth neither do you know his height. He too might dream if the yoke of custom and law and dogma were broken from him. Even now you know not what behind bound, motionless, chrysalis is working there to prepare its winged thing.

Anarchism means freedom to the soul as to the body,—in every aspiration, every growth.

probably unknown to her. Her motherly love for one of the boys seemed to take another aspect. Half conscious that she was forgetting all conventionalities, losing every restraint, she shuddered. But the awakening became more potent every day, irresistible. At last, the apparently dormant volcano burst into flames, and one night she entered the dormitory—where 27 other boys were in bed—to exchange kisses with her pet pupil of 18. After several nightly visits, other rooms were used as trysting places. The seemingly asex professor's wife craved now love, real love and life. She had become a living woman in flesh and bones.

Naturally, the affair couldn't go on for ever undiscovered. Some of the other pupils that didn't keep their eyes closed, moved perhaps by jealousy, reported the whole thing to the governors, who, alarmed, called the "dishonored" professor immediately. Ashamed, humiliated, the professor submitted his resignation, which was promptly accepted.

The lady denied all accusation completely and emphatically. But the professor obtained his divorce.

In my opinion, the lady's guilt is not to have craved love and kisses. Quite the contrary. She showed, so doing, that she wasn't a petrified thing, that she was a woman with a natural, normal impulse, that she instinctively knew we live only once, and not so very long either.

Rather, she might be blamed for not rebelling openly against her too peaceful and monotonous existence, instead of deceiving her husband. Moreover, she even denied the overwhelming evidence.

True. But are we not trained from childhood to safeguard the "honor" of the family? And, who knows? perhaps she had been time and again on the verge of opening her heart to the professor. But he was so good to her, so considerate. How could she dare disgrace him before the whole school, before the world? She preferred to keep it a secret, or try to, rather than give him and their families an awful shock. She did not succeed; she, as well as her husband, was disgraced all the more shamefully in the eyes of the bigoted world. She committed moral and social suicide, which, given our accursed prejudices and superstitions, is much worse than physical suicide.

This tragedy, like thousands of others, ought to teach us a lesson. Suppose one party could leave the other at any time, openly and amicably, wouldn't it be better? Isn't it apparent that marriage is the enemy?

Of course, often there are children between; often the wife cannot go with the man she loves because he's poor, while her husband is supporting her. In this case, she's compelled to resort to hypocrisy and subterfuge. Then, there you are; there you see the necessity to abolish all compulsory authority and to solve the economical problem, in order to have a society of free, sincere, noble-minded human beings.

\*\*\* V. ARETTA

*Friends, the hour in which we live is a gloomy hour, but of such is the terrible price of the future. A revolution is a toll gate. Oh the human race shall be delivered, uplifted and consoled! We affirm it. Whence shall arise the shout of love, if it be not from the summit of sacrifice? O, my brothers, here is the place of junction between those who think and those who suffer; this barricade is made of two mounds, a mound of ideas and a mound of sorrows. Misery here encounters the ideal. Here day embraces night, and says: I will die with thee and thou shalt be born again with me. From the presence of all desolations faith gushes forth. Sufferings bring agony here, and the ideas their immortality, this agony and this immortality are to mingle and compose our death. Brothers, he who dies here dies in the radiance of the future, and we are entering a grave illuminated by the dawn.—VICTOR HUGO.*



## DIVERSE OPINIONS

### The Sunrise Colony

In June 1933 there was formed in Michigan State a Colony. Several months before the colony was formed, there appeared in the *Freie Arbeiter Stimme* articles propagating the thought for the necessity of such a form of living. It was in this Jewish anarchist weekly, it can be said, where the birth of the colony took place. The founder was the then editor of the *F. A. S.* (*Freie Arbeiter Stimme*)—Joseph Cohen. The project was a very promising one. Two pamphlets were issued, explaining the whole project undertaken. Every radical thinking person could have been carried away by the idealistic form of life that was to be created.

It was but natural that the first to respond were a group of naive anarchists and other radicals. The enthusiasm was high-pitched. No questions were asked, neither was there much meditation. These people went to create a new form of life. Members kept on joining from various cities, from New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, even from California. The Jewish press without exception began printing articles, giving columns accompanied by photos of the new Sunrise Colony at Alicia, Michigan. Even the *Times* reprinted pictures from the provincial press showing people at work on the peppermint fields.

The colonists labored with enthusiasm notwithstanding the many obstacles, such as lack of water and housing facilities. Even things that weren't to one's heart's desire were let to pass. This was the most beautiful period in the life of the colony. No wonder that people created then such songs as "The Joy of Labor," "Build and Build," etc.

Thus passed the first period of the new colony. Out of the new shell revealed itself something with certain tendencies, from one side showed itself a striving by one person to be considered as the boss who aims at placing his hand upon everything, and from the other side there appeared a striving to provide that here should not repeat itself the very same things that is happening in the trade unions or other organizations. The membership began demanding two things—certificates of membership and certain regulations should be formed. They wanted a constitution, and since no one was against, a committee of 5 people that did not belong to the existing administration was chosen. It was an independent committee, and in a few weeks time they brought in their recommendations that were discussed and finally adopted as regulations for the administration. In the administration committee of 19 to conduct the colony for the year of 1934 were 11 anarchists.

Collisions began between the "founder" of the colony and the members of the administration who stood upon their rights. The end was, that the executive was dissolved, and the boss took such people with whom he was willing to work, wiping out all the decisions that were previously adopted.

The upheaval was made, because it was found that the members were not obedient. This was wrong, it was said (See *F. A. S.* of March 23, 1934) they were not yet sufficiently grown-up for self-administration. And in order to make an end to any possibility that the majority should be against the "great leader," he came to a general meeting at the end of March 1934 with an "innocent plan"—since there are people who are dissatisfied, we will give them an opportunity they should be able to leave! A manifest was then adopted, that those who desire to leave in April 1934 should receive one half of their admission payment, and the other half they will receive within a year....People were embittered, and they caught on to the chance, so it came about that 19 families comprising 35 working-people should leave then. This was done at a time of the year when every hand is needed on a farm. It was justified to "bleed" so much just so as to break the erstwhile arisen opposition, thinking that if these people will leave everything will become quietened....

Having completed this piece of work the ruling powers began to conduct themselves with an iron hand, employing the achieved majority for not allowing opponents to speak at meetings, not allowing to write in the colony paper such things that would criticize the administration. Not having any opportunity to express ourselves we were forced to issue an illegal paper under the name of "The Sunrise Voice" in which we made clear our position, and for which we were placed in the danger of deportation. A resolution was adopted forbidding the issuing of any kind of a paper without the permission of the administration. (*Sunrise News*, June 2, 1934).

The colony work was in full swing and the colonists were afraid that the very sharp fights will destroy everything. The yearly celebration on June 26 was approaching and some of us naive people thought it better to stop the struggle for a while, and to stop the paper.

The work in the colony went on, people expected that if the field work will be a success, everything will be healed. The struggle went on but only in the quite, and unfounded accusations against the oppositionists in the colony paper became the usual event. First it was written and the accusations made, and afterwards it was investigated, but this was a struggle that did not pass the bridge that separates the colony from the outside world.

But here happened something that cast over the Sunrise issue to New York, Chicago, Detroit and to other cities. It came about when a statement of the departed colonists appeared in the *F. A. S.* A meeting was then called in Sunrise, first a secret one of some of the anarchists, afterwards of all. An attempt was made to condemn the *F. A. S.* and Yanovsky as editor for printing the statement. At this meeting it became clear that there are some anarchists who have a different point of view

upon events then have the majority anarchists of Cohen's followers.

Both factions sent statements to the Jewish Anarchist Federation, the Federation thereupon decided not to print anything about the Sunrise colony, not for and not against until a committee will investigate what is happening there. Such a committee was to have been selected at the Middle-West Conference of the Federation. When the Federation will receive the report it will send it out to the groups for consideration, and then take a stand. (Statement to this effect appeared in the *F. A. S.* of July 13, 1934).

At the Midwestern anarchist conference that took place in Detroit at the end of November 1934 it was not allowed to place on the order of the day the Sunrise issue. The name Sunrise was not allowed to be mentioned, even when the question of colonization was being discussed. At the anarchist convention of the Jewish Federation in New York at the end of December 1934 it was not only refused to place the Sunrise issue upon the order of the day, but not even that of colonization in fear that someone may bring as an example—Sunrise.

Although the anarchist-administration was to a certain degree not satisfied that the *F. A. S.* has not heeded them in full, since they wanted only one little thing: that nothing should be printed about the colony without first asking them what they have to say, they just the same achieved their aim, since the oppositionists were silenced so that they could not shout their pain, and the administration of Sunrise that have their paper can do without the *F. A. S.*

The office carried on systematically the work in the direction of fastening themselves on the saddle. Only approved politically minded new members were admitted, and seeing that all this is in the best of order, the administration began to prepare itself for a new election based on democracy, bringing in a so-called new plan for administration where nice things are being spoken of, "Where not everything should be concentrated at one desk," "form separate committees for separate purposes." We proposed some real changes, as for instance that there should not be only one secretary, but a secretariat of 3, not one man alone should have his hands on the correspondence, the protocols, the paper. Even for such a thing as appointed managers to be first ratified by the members had to be fought for. Otherwise, all proposals for rectifying anything were voted down. It was not allowed to make any changes or to reach any understanding. Everything remained as of old. The large opposition minority of 73 as against a majority of 83 was openly derided by the latter (*Sunrise News* Dec. 1, 1934). The result of the great victory at the November 1934 election was, that people became yet even more disappointed and not seeing any possibilities that it should ever come to a change for the better, 14 families comprising 33 working-people left so far in this year of 1935.

Altogether, since the formation of the colony, 33 families, or 68 working-people have left the colony. All those that left are young healthy people, the percentage of those that remained is not great, for hard work, just the same, the "great leader" is not worried too much on this score. Workers will be hired, land will be given out to share-croppers, which is in itself the greatest sort of exploitation. Everything is justifiable only in order to get submissive people! Oh—principles? Who takes stock with such minute things! As long as in the *Sunrise News* it is being written that they are marching toward the goal!

Knowing that members among the Jewish people can no longer be obtained, because here it is already known only too well what the colony really is, emissaries are being sent out to obtain workers without any pay among the Italian, Russian and Spanish workers that are not acquainted with what is going on here, and will think that here is being built the anarchist paradise on this "sinful-earth!"

How justice is being understood in Sunrise can best be illustrated with this fact: knowing that there are a great number of dissatisfied who would certainly leave the colony, if they were given the opportunity, so the executive board recommends a law as to how one can leave the colony. It is needed to sign a formal application, and wait in order, if there will come in money from any new member one will receive one half, the second half will be received when half of the mortgage will have been paid. When this is read by an outsider of the colony it appears quite humane, but in reality it means to take away all the money and tell people to leave with nothing, because not only are no new members coming in, but even those who had at the beginning paid a part of the money and were to come out for various reasons later, have now backed out and plead for the return of their money and do not receive it. In the financial report could be seen names of people whom money is owed for 15 and 16 months, and from the last of July only one member came in who paid in money (and already regrets it). It could therefore be easily understood how people could receive the first half, and the second half would under normal circumstances not be paid out within 10 or 12 years. In reality it means when Messiah will come.

Notwithstanding all this it has not stopped any one from leaving the colony. All those who left this year the colony have not received a single penny, and this is in a time when in the *Sunrise News* of October 20 it is being written, that the wealth of the colony has been doubled, and such fair play is being displayed that people are forced to leave everything behind, and run as from a fire.

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I wish now to make a brief review as to what Sunrise represents to-day, to what the great experiment has been reduced. Since the colony is in existence there has been twice mass leavings, and it happened in the most beautiful

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

time of the year—Spring—when people in the large cities dream already of being nearer to nature. The first group that left received half of their money because it was known that otherwise they would not leave, the second group were forced to leave without money because the administration was fast on the saddle.

There is a difference between the first and second group that left. In 1934 those who left were against the administration, whereas in 1935 a good many of those who left were close supporters of Cohen. This proves that people are bitterly disappointed in the economic phase of the colony, and no hope is seen for the future. Not only have people not had the opportunity of buying clothing for themselves and for their families, but there is no possibility ever to have such a chance.

Not the weaklings have left, as is being written in the *Sunrise News* of March 16, but the healthy, physically and spiritually. Today there is left in the colony Cohen with his fanatical supporters who still believe that they are building a new life. There remained the physically weak and elderly people who submissively turn at the will of the administration, remained also have some healthy hard working people, who would wish to leave but have not the least opportunity and stand looking embittered, helpless, not seeing any way out.

To keep guard over the last group of people has been created all these managers, custodians, with all sorts of punishments and disciplines, it is thus aimed at frightening the "milking cows," and from the dream of bringing into life a beautiful corner where people should live nicer, more ideally, then in the capitalist cities, has become but a racket for a clique that have now more the appearance of agencies as in the cities.

With my writing I wish to reach those who do not know anything about what is going on in Sunrise, because little has been said in the English radical press about it. I wish that people should know that if they go there to work, they should know where to they are going. They should know that Sunrise does not want to be built upon one's own labor, but upon exploitation in all its forms, share-cropping, hired help, and lure Comrades to labor for nothing.

I desire also to openly accuse the Jewish Anarchist Federation of United States and Canada that they carry the moral responsibility for the manner in which anarchism has been disgraced at Sunrise. Not only has the Federation not condemned all this although knowing everything about it, and even admitted that it should not have been so, but the Federation has not carried out its own decision to send a committee to investigate the happenings on the spot. A tactic has been assumed of not wanting to know as to what is going on there. The organ of the Federation—the *F. A. S.*—keeps silent. The Federation can keep quiet. But it cannot escape from responsibility. The experiment has been made by anarchists. Anarchists, calling themselves such, stand now at the helm in Sunrise, and for this reason people have a right to consider the silence as sanctioning what has taken place there. The Jewish Anarchist Federation owes a reply!

M. STEIN

Ed. Note:—*MAN!* was at no time been kept in touch with the founding or continued activities of the Sunrise colony, and therefore unable to pass any definite opinion on the events that have taken place there. The right of the opposition to express themselves is an inalienable right of every human being, and most compatible with our conception of anarchy. Since this right is unfortunately being denied to the opposition by the *F. A. S.*, and the colony itself has its own organ, we deem it fully justifiable to print the above article.

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### Camp Germinal

Dear Marcus:—A Group of us are working hard to develop an Educational Commune here at Germinal. I began alone here March 18th (in commemoration of the Paris Commune), was soon joined by Harry Friedman from Sunrise Colony, some weeks later by his cousin Milton Newman from Stetson, N. J. Last week membership was doubled by taking in three children under six years. This means we must have girls and women here to help us carry on. So this week we are again increasing our Group by the addition of Gardner Derickson, Vivian Rogin Derickson and Julia Friedman, young enthusiastic people who are interested in helping to develop Germinal as the first unit in the University of the Free Life.

We have planted garden and field crops to feed us, later on we shall open and conduct the Summer Camp from the last Sunday in June until Labor Day. After the Camp closes we plan to carry our staff of teacher-workers thru the winter, together with children and youth to board, in the large farm house and in the dormitories. We shall have some cows and poultry to help supply food. Our hay and corn and fodder will be fed to the stock.

Altho we have a staff of teacher-workers already selected for our Sunday Camp activities we are interested in hearing from youth or young people who might wish to live with us and work in the University of the Free Life. If any such read this we hope they will write us for further information. Interested parents can help us by placing their children to board with us at any time, at low working class rates. Libertarian education we feel is the great hope for our movement among the youth of tomorrow. As we build today so will the structure grow with tomorrow.

Anarchy with us is something to live day by day as well as something to work for as an ideal for the future. We are trying to create a place—and after Ger-

(Continued on Page Eight)



# ART AND LITERATURE

## Poor People: 1935

We are no longer sleeping on the benches in the courtroom. Since last December our quarters has been a garage. There are about thirty of us. Ages range from eighteen to seventy. We sleep on crummy cots and because there are not enough to go round some men have to sleep on the cement floor. We get newspapers for bedding and sleep with our clothes on. There are a few blankets that the old men use. The place is cold and damp and the smell of unwashed bodies is sour. It nauseated me in the beginning but one gets used to it.

The cots have never been touched by fumigators or exterminators since I have been here and armies of vermin crawl fearlessly over us. Sometimes I wake with a start and for a cold-sweated instant think I am in the trenches again.

There is a dead automobile storage which is kept on the north side where the roof does not leak when it rains. The puddles form on our side. In the adjoining garage separated from us by a thin partition some coach line keeps its buses and carbon monoxide and oil fumes seep through and we hardly have any ventilation.

During the severe cold we doze off practically hugging a boiler here that stinks of coal gas. Some one usually manages to get a bottle of rotgut whiskey and it is silently passed between ourselves and we stupefy our brains still more.

The men are mostly lean and suffering from hunger and their bodies are infested with sores. There are no washing facilities, no soap, no towels. One youth of nineteen has lost most of his hair. A fellow less than thirty wears a beard and is subject of epileptic fits.

We are a pretty quiet bunch although now and then one of the youths will start "blowing his top" (screaming like mad) but he becomes acclimated in due time. Few of us ever complain. We seem to have little to say to each other.

The city has taken away the relief food order from us—it was two dollars a week—and in its place allots each man thirty-five cents a day with which the Salvation Army is supposed to feed us. The food we get is no better than slop and a number of the men do not show up for their meals preferring to panhandle for something better to eat. Those who stay get Jesus with their meals.

We get some heat from the boiler but every time the garage door is opened it takes a long time for the place to get warmed again.

The Boy Scouts not long ago canvassed the city for old clothing for the unemployed, and when the officials got around to distribute these, they asked payment as if we had money hidden somewhere. They finally gave us some wear which even a horse might shy at.

When we first came here there weren't any cots at all. All of us slept on the cement floor. Somebody protested—some unemployed group, I believe—and we were given cots, though not enough for all of us as I have said.

Pellagra and scurvy attack the men sooner or later and lately my own gums have been bleeding. A sixty-two year old man, a veteran of the Spanish-American war, was taken to the hospital the other morning after lying ill here for three weeks without medical care. He had a skin infection and one of his feet was swollen to almost twice its normal size. He had gone to the hospital clinic and was told to go home and bathe his feet in hot water. One man has tuberculosis. Another coughs his head off. Two are somewhat demented.

The buses drive in and out of the adjoining garage five or six times during the middle of the night with roaring motors, waking us. A cop comes in every night to see whether we have tickets entitling us to sleep here. These constant awakenings have so exhausted us that most of us lie around all day in a dazed condition trying to catch up with some sleep.

All of this may seem rather incoherent but after all coherency is only an attractive word. The funeral parlor near us is attractive too. But I no longer think of it ironically.

HAROLD LAMBERT

## Food For Thought

(Fragment.)

In certain regions, when the peasant wants to make his land fertile, he sometimes uses an energetic medium; takes hold of a horse, opens its veins and, with whip in hand, runs him over furrows; the horse bleeding runs across the fields that extends under his trembling feet, the soil that he trods on becomes red, each plowing furrow drinks its part of blood. When half done, falls with the sweating pain of agony, its force to get up again to give to the avid soil the rest of his blood, without even keeping a drop for himself. At last it falls dead. It is buried in the fresh red soil, all its existence, all its body goes into the rejuvenated soil. This seed of blood is converted into wealth, the soil thus nourished will abound in wheat, very beneficial to the peasant.

Things do not take place in any other way in the history of humanity. The legion of great unfortunates, of the ignored and glorious martyrs, of all men whose own misfortune work for the welfare of others, all those who were forced to sacrifice themselves or have gone across the world sowing their own lives, bleeding from both of their open sides, as if it were an open fountain; they have fecundated the future.

(Translated by L. Raymond).

GUYAN

## Skull From Verdun

Skull from Verdun,  
Like a white rose, blooming  
On the ebony surface of my desk,  
You cost four coins—  
Four little silver coins.  
Cheap for a hero's head!  
It is hard to conceive  
Your grotesque angles  
Clothed in blooming flesh,  
That thrilled to girl's caress,  
And knew a mother's soft lips.  
But you did not know them long,  
For you were torn from these—  
Torn from sweetheart's caress—  
Torn from a mother's care,  
And thrown into a world  
Peopled with rats,  
Lice,  
And lieutenants.  
You had only the groans of dying men  
To fill your ears.  
The odor of rotting flesh  
To fill your nostrils,  
The sight of mangled bodies  
To fill your eyes.  
You saw the reaper, Death,  
Not with a gentle scythe,  
But a scythe that ripped  
And flung  
Young arms—  
Young limbs—  
To the four winds!  
You heard the sharp teeth of rats  
Grating on the bones of men,  
And saw the buzzards,  
Great symbol of the army,  
Fighting,  
Ripping,  
Tearing,  
Clawing,  
For their pound of flesh!  
Lovely palaces and governmental buildings,  
Were filled with plotting, scheming men,  
Devising your death.  
The stench of rotting flesh  
And groans of dying men,  
Cannot penetrate thick walls  
Of governmental buildings,  
Or equally thick heads therein.  
Grim relic, from Dead Man's Hill,  
The youth that proudly bore you  
Died that a lie might live,  
But the lie died with him,  
And the scheming liars lived  
To sell his grinning skull  
For four bucks—spot cash!

FORREST T. FRAZIER.

## Hades Excursion

The devil pointing with his forked tail  
Proudly showed me his most populated department.  
The place was teeming with walking,  
Crawling and stumbling bodies,  
And on close inspection I found  
That their eyeballs were white.  
"Blind," I thought.  
The devil nodded, "No, they are blind to you and others,  
But their eyes have turned inwardly;  
So that they may worship at their god's shrine."  
And hades, the devil, and the department of ego  
Were gone in a cloud of smoke.

FRANK ANKENBRAND, Jr.

## Americanism

Mumbling, "I pledge allegiance to my flag"  
These forty children, standing at salute,  
Repeat the memorized long words and drag  
Their thoughts to slow attention. One boy, mute  
And sullen, is remembering the day  
His father fell before the brist tattoo  
That mowed him and his comrades down like hay  
Because they challenged privilege for the few.

The Orphanage now had the younger kids,  
And charities provided milk and bread  
Until his mother found some work . . . His lids  
Smart with the tears he hides with lowered head.  
"Come, Joe," the teacher chides him warningly.  
"Join in and sing!" My country 'tis of Thee . . .

KATHLEEN SUTTON.

## The "Dick"

Because his innermost is senseless brute  
Because he loves to torture and destroy,  
Too cowardly to take the open route  
He hides behind the law, a cheap decoy;  
Protected by a badge, a gun and club  
And harnessed in the laws' stupidity  
The dick proceeds, a savage Beelzebub,  
And disembowels with avidity.

His only aim to satisfy his lust;  
He is a vulgar sadist, unconfined,  
He loves to snatch his victims from the just  
And agonize the weaker unresigned;  
He is the slime of a perverted rule,  
The mixture of a rattlesnake and mule.

JACK GREENBERG.

## Book Reviews

Socialists in Parliament, by Guy A. Aldred, Paper Cover, 82 Pages. 25 Cents. 145 Queens Street C. I. Glasgow. Scotland. (Also obtainable through MANI)

The subject undertaken by Aldred is one of vast importance, especially so to those millions of workers in every part of the world who have been giving and in many instances still continue doing so, their moral, material and very often even risking their lives in the aiding of all those triumphs that the Socialists have achieved in the parliaments of the world. The historian, who will in the future undertake to do full justice to this important subject will undoubtedly fulfill one of the greatest needs in the literature depicting the social and political struggle of the oppressed and the exploited masses. The pamphlet of Aldred ought to serve as sort of foundation upon which an historian should be able to bring forth such a work.

Aldred has gathered a mass of evidence, factual proofs to substantiate his conclusions, that; every governmental or parliamentary triumph of the Socialist movement in any part of the world has terminated in disillusion, disappointment and actual treachery to the very interests of those workers who were to benefit from the achieved victories. No sincere socialist or student of the struggle for justice can very well afford to ignore or miss this pamphlet.

Aldred's work falls only short of becoming a complete historical account for two reasons: First, the mistake of amassing too many facts of one given country (Great Britain), the inclusion of many insignificant events, and chiefly the needless length to which Aldred resorts in giving details of certain issues being dealt with. The second defect of the pamphlet lies in not dealing at all, or very little, with the activities of the Socialist victories in every part of the world.

Another defect that mars the value of the pamphlet lies in Aldred's attempt to inject himself, just as Upton Sinclair is so want of doing, on every occasion.

Despite these defects, it remains a pamphlet worth the while of one's study and perusal.

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Bolshevism: Promises and Reality, by G. Maximov. Paper Cover. 20 Pages. Ten Cents. The Free Society Group, 1241 N. California St., Chicago, Ill.

In his introduction to this pamphlet, Dr. Reiner stresses upon the hope that the assembled indisputable evidence gathered by the author ought to prove itself as most convincing even to the ardent pro-Bolshevik. One wishes that this hope should have been borne out by the contents of the pamphlet. As for the evidence brought forward, Dr. Reiner is certainly correct in his evaluation of it. The author of the pamphlet has read, as is evident, nearly everything that Lenin and his associates have written in the original Russian language. The importance of the revealed evidence can best be illustrated by the following extracts from the writings of none other than Lenin himself:

"The basic rule, the first commandment of any true revolutionary movement, should be: Do not depend upon the 'state'; depend only upon the power of your class. . . No 'state' is able to be of help to the worker in the village, to the agricultural worker, the daily worker or to the poorest peasant, to the semi-proletarian, if they are unable to help themselves."

Again quoting from Lenin:

"There must be no forbidding of political agitations, nor should agitation be monopolized. The constitution of a free republic cannot forbid peaceful manifestations, or any mass demonstrations of any party or any group."

Such incontrovertible evidence could have proven itself as the most effectual mental weapon in combating the prevalent intolerant attitude so predominant in every pro-Bolshevik circle. If it fails to become such an effectual weapon, it is chiefly due to the spirit of embitterment in which the entire pamphlet has been written. The author of the pamphlet has no doubt had his full share of bitter experiences with the Bolshevik regime, but all this had no place in being transposed, when he attempted to write a critical treatise upon a subject that goes far beyond the personal experiences of one individual. The pamphlet had everything to gain by being written in a non-reproachable language, which in turn, being written as it is, can only have the effect of dissuading any pro-Bolshevik from caring to go much farther than the very well-intentioned introduction of Dr. Reiner.

The pamphlet likewise suffers from many technical errors, although the Free Society Group has been very diligent in every one of its three previously published pamphlets. I for one, would therefore wish that a pamphlet containing such an array of indisputable facts should be re-written and reprinted in a manner and shape which it could really prove as a force in enlightening the sincere pro-Bolshevik followers.

M. G.

## To A Modern Judas

You were not flamed by the fires  
of the centuries,  
Nor were you cursed as heavily as  
you might scribe,  
Yours was the life that the crowds  
soon forget—  
Not strong enough to curse, but cheap  
enough to bribe.

JAMES NEILL NORTHE.



## Anarchy and Psychology

Let us face the fact that we consider ourselves mentally superior to most other people. We are not dumb voters ballyhoed to the ballot box. We do not kiss Bibles in court rooms. We do not kiss crosses in church and a communion table is no more sacred to us than a kaffeeklatsch. We would probably hold "last supper" anniversaries to remember the Great Libertarian of Nazareth but paganism Christianity has hopelessly jumbled the calendar. We do not believe in the sadistic blood-rite of capital punishment developed by ancient moon-worshippers. And some of us realize that Capital is an economic myth and the State a devilish superstition, a habit rendezvous of race-thoughts, an "error of mortal mind," a fear-and-fetich museum.

Don't you see, my Comrades, that social Revolution is nothing less radical than a complete reversal of thought processes? Education, Friendliness, Example in our own living and Faith in Universal Law will bring about gradually, surely this social Revolution.

I am not apologizing for being a Theosophical Anarchist or a New-Thought Friend, or a member of the *Oh Gow Tong* (The Way Religion Society) which bases its anarchism on the ancient Taoist precepts of Lao-Tze, the Old Boy of China. Just as I think all anarchists are intellectually superior to Bolsheviks, Tories, Hamiltonians, Marxians, Chauvinists and "Reformers," so do I believe the anarchism of my own groups is superior to Anarcho-Communism and Anarcho-Syndicalism.

But why do I think this?

Because I am an Egoist and the same Egoism that makes me an Anarchist conditions and reflexes my entire life, and, alas, not always in the most pleasant ways. Hence, I turn to Psychology as a new road to Freedom.

I make it a social Psychology because I imagine that all my problems involve other persons. "Persona" means mask. But our masks are bigger than our "selves" and we trip over each other's masks in our mad stampede to safety from the old Dragons of Money, Capital and Government.

To take off the mask of superior Civilization, false thought and vagrant purpose, to transcend the "Psyche" of wild, weedy emotion, to find the Ego of the True self, is the mission of meta-psychology.

"Beyond Good-and-Evil", beyond the feeble Relativity of adolescent laws and shibboleths, lies the adult manhood and womanhood of Universal Good.

Freudianism conditions life on the sex urge.

The Economic Behaviorists of Russia condition life on food (or, rather on the absence of food, Hunger.) But nature is as prolific as man. It is not bread we want, but Freedom to eat the bread that is so plentiful.

If Comrade Graham publishes this, I shall proceed to show that Metapsychology will solve any problem. Metapsychology is the road to Freedom which any disciple of Max Stirner can take in the crowded city to find Thoreau at Walden or *Whitman voyaging to India*.

VERNE PEWITT ROWELL

*Edit. Note:* We do not think that there can be such a thing as an inferior or superior kind of anarchism. One cannot attain part-liberty, and call it liberty.

Neither can we conceive the compatibility of a mystical religion—Theosophy—with anarchism.

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## Diverse Opinions

(Continued from Page Six)

minimal many other places,—where our young people, children and youth, may live together and practice our ideas of an ideal society, free from the preexisting prejudices and the economic slavery of capitalism.

With Greetings to all Comrades from The German Cooperative Educational Commune, Jamison, Pa.

JOHN G. SCOTT

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## Tropical Colonization

Editor, MAN!:

I thank you for the copy of your worthy periodical you sent me here. Permit me to say that at various stages of my past evolution of sociological thinking, I was successively (1) a socialist, (2) a communist, (3) an anarchist (in my Stelton and Mohegan Days). Now I have reached a fourth stage, a stage beyond anarchism. What is that?

You may know that about a year ago I organized a Tropical Colony in Panama, which at present has developed into a rapidly-growing community. This Tropical Colony was established on the basis of certain philosophical sociological concepts, which I may explain as follows:

1. Contrary to the Marxian view that capitalistic industrialism is a normal stage in social evolution and will lead to the Utopia of communism, I claim that Industrialism and Capitalism have been a fatal disease which will soon destroy civilization.

2. Contrary to the communist optimist who sees Communism to be the next step forward in social evolution, I see universal chaos and a New Dark Age of mechanized savagery right before us.

3. Civilization is soon to be plunged into a wholesale slaughter which will be the most horrible event that ever has befallen humanity. The nations are armed to the teeth and are ready to tear each other apart. Devilish inventions for the destruction of city populations are now in the possession of military experts, secretly kept until the war starts. This war will mean the complete destruction of modern civilization.

4. Under such conditions (and such are the conditions) we have two alternatives: (1) To play the part of cattle led to the slaughter house, (2) To go to a land of peace and plenty, where the ravages of war will not touch us, where nature is abundant in her generosity and fruitfulness, and where we can live a natural, healthful life, in complete freedom from enslavement or exploitation in any manner or form. THIS MEANS TO COLONIZE IN THE TROPICS.

When one civilization is on the verge of disruption, a group of pioneers have always gone forth to a new, unsettled, virgin land to commence the beginning of a new and better civilization. This is how humanity survived and went onwards. Unless a group of pioneers now go forth to a new land, rather than permitting themselves to be butchered, there will be little hope for humanity.

I therefore see Tropical Colonization as the One Way Out at present. My Panama colony has proven that this thing can be successfully done. At present I am engaged in organizing other tropical colonies, and all who are interested should get in touch with me. My anarchist friend in Sweden, Nicolai Scheierman (a Russian) writes he has a group of select people from all European countries ready to leave Europe prior to the coming massacre and settle in Central America with us. I intend to soon leave for Guatemala, where many anti-Nazi Germans are colonizing. All interested in this work may communicate with me at: 5207 - 15 Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

DR. WALTER SIEGMEISTER

The general spirit, motivating Dr. Siegmeister, is undoubtedly a well intentioned one. As to whether his proposed One Way Out will, or rather can, in this present age of Speed, Rulership and Madness prove as the immediate solution remains to be seen. What assurance is there for Dr. Siegmeister that the evils of our present civilization will not, sooner or later effect the new experiments as well? Although Dr. Siegmeister himself does not speak of it in the above letter, it is nevertheless a fact that he himself was forced to leave the first tropical experiment he has founded, and this fact can cause no surprise when one reads in "How to Live" of March 1935 a report of the leading spokesman—Jack Friedman—wherein he proudly reports: "We have a deputy sheriff in the colony now and last week the colony presented him with a brand new gun. Thus the community here is firmly established and on the way to very big things."

Readers who become interested in colony projects ought to be very cautious, and meditate aplenty, before embarking upon experiments which in the end may prove very disillusioning.—Editor.

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## From An Editor

Surely was happy to write up your splendid publication, and received several numbers. I am inclosing copy wherein find mention. It would be a pity for you to miss this because you, like myself in my work, need encouragement and appreciation. My own work is about as unpopulous as yours and quite as unprofitable.

For years I have enjoyed the principles of anarchism—and always correct people when they wisely (?) define it. Opposite of course from what it really is. It is a beautiful ideal. I admire your work and shall take occasion to notice it whenever occasion permits.

We had to reduce the number of pages to keep along and cut in every way to keep afloat. Hope in the human heart keeps alive all that makes life endurable.

Your name is on our list—attended to that pronto, because I wanted the exchange very much. I have been an admirer of Emma Goldman these many years and never missed an opportunity of attending her lectures.

Was introduced to her once, by her affable manager, but she was brusque—anything but affable—however I excused her under stress of her evening's work. Why should she wish to know people in her audience, even an editor—which may mean nothing—and another woman at that? I understood her complex, and admired her none the less.

Many thanks for the issue. I shall place them on file and refer to them for inspiration.

I like your motto—"Man is the measurement of everything."

I am a renegade and enjoy anything that is not regular and conventional. I read everything I can get on Socialism—about Russia and all that gives genuine information. We get very little of that in the dailies.

I wish you all the success you so richly merit.

Faithfully yours,

JEAN ROBERTS ALBERT

(Editor Vegetarian and Fruitarian)

## FOUND GUILTY

A sort of after-May celebration was enacted at Orange, N. J., on May 2 by 35 local youth organizations. Present society, and most of its institutions were placed on trial. 2,000 persons applauded the verdict which found society guilty of:

- (1) Employing workers at starvation wages.
- (2) Inadequate instruction to youth on choice of a mate.
- (3) Forcing youth, because of the dearth of jobs, to postpone matrimony.
- (4) Surrounding youth with hazards to morals, such as obscene literature and gambling devices.
- (5) Maintaining a harsh attitude toward ex-convicts.

## Under The Iron Heels

Dear Comrade Graham;

Just a few lines to let you know that I did not write to you before because I have been a fugitive from the police. A few days ago I was arrested by them, and am now in jail.

I will send you a chronic about the events, as they are now, and will not say anything of the past events because I think that you know all about these.

Since the persecutions here are so terrible, all our means are gone. Many of our Comrades are persecuted by the police and we have to feed them and see that they are in a safe place. But, to do this, we need funds, and we haven't got a cent.

We also have many Comrades in jail, awaiting trial, and need funds for obtaining lawyers to defend them. We therefore appeal to you to do whatever you can for us, by bringing this matter to the attention of all individuals and groups, and to call upon them to do for us everything possible, as soon as they can. If this is done, we shall be able to look after our Comrades, and try to get them out of jail. Failing to get material aid, everything will be lost.

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The above letter is from the pen of one of the active Comrades in Spain, whose writings have appeared in MAN! We deem it safer for him, not to use his name. He has also sent us an address on which we can send direct aid. MAN! will gladly re-forward and acknowledge all the monies sent in.—Editor.

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The Spanish Bulletin is the name of a new publication of which the first issue made its appearance in May. It is devoted chiefly for giving over in English all documentary evidence of the part played by the CNT (Anarcho-Syndicalist Federation), and IAF (Iberian Anarchist Federation) in Spain. The subscription price is \$1.00 per year. All correspondence should be addressed to: Box 1, Station D., New York City.

## Financial Statement

(April 15 to May 15).

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DEFICIT FROM LAST ISSUE.....	1.79
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## Replies

Walter Starrett:—Your letter in which you offer to become a regular collaborator of MAN! was read before the International Group. Any one whose views coincide with the general spirit of our journal is welcome to join as a collaborator. Your stipulation, that most of the time, your views will be divergent from that of the journal's makes your collaboration impossible. You know of course that dissenting views are welcome on the discussion page.

The ms. you sent, aside from its overdue length, is not the approach nor attitude that the reactionary book of E. D. Martin demands, according to the editor's understanding.

As to your claim of having sent one or two dollars to MAN!, but have never received a copy of the journal, we can only say, that we never received any word or money from you until the above letter and ms. reached us.

We cannot supply the missing copies you ask, but still have a few files of the first two years, and these are forwarded upon the receiving of one dollar.

Since you speak of Tom Wright, we may as well say, that an inquiry came from New York City as to whether he was forwarding any money to MAN!, for the sold copies he was disposing. We were sending to him 50 copies of every issue during the first year, but never received a single penny for these. As a consequence, we discontinued sending him any papers at all.

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The opinion of the editor on the get together question, raised by the three articles of Comrade Sebastian Faure, is unavoidably delayed for a subsequent issue.

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Smith College Library of Northampton, Mass., informs us that the present price of Miss Eunice Schuster's Native American Anarchism is \$2.00 per copy. It can also be obtained through MAN! at this price.