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GEORGIA — A SYMBOL OF INJUSTICE TO THE NEGRO

The traditional savagery of the South is being invoked against those who question the existing viciousness and squalor. Militant workers have been framed, tortured, and murdered for the high crime of demanding bread. When the offender happens to be a Negro, all the hypocritical institutions of society spew forth hatred and prejudice. The case of Angelo Herndon mirrors perfectly the Southern social order; supported by sweating black shoulders, enforced with hemp and shotgun.

Herndon, a young Negro of twenty-two, has become an integral figure of the Southern epic. The more informed workers of this section link him quite justly with Nat Turner, Earl Barlow, and John Brown. To radicals throughout the world, this tubercular youth has become a symbol of all the suppressed resentment and aspiration latent within the Negro people. Under virtual sentence of death, he continues his activities in the few months of liberty that may remain to him. If the courtly Fascists of Georgia succeed in shackling him, his very agony will become an inflaming saga to his people.

Angelo Herndon is no synthetic revolutionist educated in the lush atmosphere of a Village studio. The rough life of an itinerant worker has shaped his conception of class forces and given him fervent attachment to his own economic group. At the age of thirteen, he was already digging coal and thinking deeply. The misery of a company town in Ohio, the segregated Negroes even more miserable than the underfed white miners, the weekly pay envelope with only a few coins remaining after innumerable deductions—this is the stuff on which rebels are made. Was all of this necessary, he wondered, this grunting and groaning of human beings for the enrichment of other human beings?

The years have answered that question for Angelo Herndon. His instinctive militancy found expression on the day that he picked up a badly printed leaflet in a shabby Birmingham street. "Workers of Birmingham, White and Negro; Would you rather fight or starve?", the leaflet read. "Come to a mass meeting at three o'clock. Unemployed Council."

"I thought this was a pretty good idea and went to the meeting," Herndon said later.

Within a few months, the young Negro from Ohio had become a zealous emissary of discontent. Half-starved and sick, he led hunger marches which wrung food and clothing from amazed white relief officials. At the risk of his life, he penetrated into the plantation areas imbuing hopeless share-croppers with a determination to resist the landlords. Village barbers and constables declaimed nasally about lynching Angelo Herndon. But always he was able to escape through the warning of "the grapevine telegraph."

Mass suffering had reached its peak in 1932 when Herndon went to Atlanta. Six Negro and white unemployed leaders faced electrocution for "inciting to insurrection." The "incident" in question consisted of a leaflet showing a Negro and a white man shaking hands. Left without direction, the unemployed of Atlanta were becoming demoralized. Angelo stepped into the breach, and kept the organization functioning. For this example of ability, he earned the undying hatred of the city authorities who were congratulating themselves that "the Unemployed Council had been killed."

The state of Georgia suspended all relief in June, 1932. One thousand desperate men and women, led by a tubercular young Negro from Ohio, congregated in front of the Fulton County courthouse. The county commissioners took the hint and voted a special relief appropriation of \$6,000.

From this time, Angelo Herndon became doubly a marked-man. Stool-pigeons dogged his tracks; unemployed workers were intercepted and questioned in an effort to locate his residence. The Atlanta gendarmerie concentrated their efforts on arresting a frail black boy who had shown the temerity of exercising his intelligence.

Finally, the troublesome black boy was seized in the corridor of the Atlanta postoffice. The mills of Georgia justice began to grind after having been fed with an obsolete sedition statute. This statute, enacted in 1861 and now slightly modified in phraseology, read at the time of its adoption;

If any person be in any manner instrumental in bringing, introducing, or circulating, with the state any printed or written paper for the purpose of exciting insurrection or resistance on the part of slaves, Negroes, or free persons of color, he shall be guilty of high misdemeanor which is punishable by death.

Literature, found in Herndon's pockets at the time of his arrest, was introduced as damning evidence by the state. Assistant State Solicitor John Hudson, a weird combination of preacher and politician, spat and shrieked hysterically during the trial. Herndon sat gravely in the witness chair, refusing to deny his views for the chance of freedom. Workers in the audience frequently applauded his courageous answers to the prosecutor. History will record that a member of the South's despised race was actually placing the Southern economic system on trial.

Indictment of a Negro is practically tantamount to conviction anywhere below the Mason-Dixon line. The carefully selected jury found the defendant guilty as charged. These magnanimous servants of Georgia politicians returned an ironical recommendation of mercy, awarding the prisoner from eighteen to twenty years on the chain-gang. In reality, this sentence is even more barbarous than would have been the death-penalty. John L. Spivak, author of Georgia Nigger, has thus described the quality of mercy meted out by a state which was originally founded as a refuge for poor debtors;

If Angelo Herndon goes to the chain-gang, he will live in a cage like a wild animal, a cage crawling with vermin; he will be worked on the Georgia roads from sunrise to sunset. He faces an iron collar around his neck and chains around his feet. He will be left hanging in stocks from wrists and ankles, until he becomes unconscious.

And should he escape death by torture—and I found no record of any prisoner who lived out ten years on the Georgia chain-gang—he may be shot—"trying to escape."

For twenty-six months, Angelo Herndon lay sick and half-fed in Fulton Tower prison, awaiting successive appeals to higher courts. His tubercular condition became worse due to the inadequate medical care provided by his jailers. His cell-mate died; and, for twenty-four hours, the prison authorities maliciously failed to remove the corpse. Keepers taunted him while doling out his scanty rations. As a climax to these consummate tortures, the Georgia Supreme Court affirmed his conviction. The written opinion specifically sustained the exclusion of

Negroes from juries and the use of the terms "nigger" and "darker" during the trial.

Now the United States Supreme Court has upheld, in effect, the decision of its Georgia contemporary. In an amazingly ingenious opinion, the sovereign magistrates at Washington have declared that "the defendant invoked his constitutional rights too late." Does a judicial transgression become valid through the passage of time? Is a clear principle of equity operative today and inoperative tomorrow? The United States Supreme Court has answered all of these questions with a decisive "yes." And that "yes" may prove to be the official negation of the struggle waged by Southern workers and share-croppers.

For if Angelo Herndon, free on bail for the past year, is released to the tender mercies of Georgia, then every Southern working-class movement may be driven underground. In the eyes of those who administer the sovereignty of this impoverished cluster of the state, every independent thinker is "a damned Com-mu-nist." The conviction of Herndon can be used as an apt precedent to outlaw every organization committed to the abolition of the profit system, regardless of the tactic or theoretical program advanced. In particular, the Negroes will find this official pronouncement of the Supreme Court used to smash their attempts at organization.

"You may do what you will with Angelo Herndon," the young Negro said when he was convicted. "You may indict him. You may put him in jail. But there will come thousands of Angelo Herndon's! You may succeed in killing one, two, even a score of working-class organizers! But you cannot kill the working class!"

A spirit like this is too valuable to be crucified on a chain-gang. Thousands of voices must demand a rehearing of the case before the United States Supreme Court. Thousands of signatures must demand his freedom at the hands of Governor Eugene Talmadge, of Georgia—the chief executive who has the unenviable distinction of setting up the first American concentration camp for strikers. Ours is the responsibility. Angelo Herndon must go free!

HAROLD PREECE.

Mussolini and Bourgeois Democracy

They believe—and wrongly—that Herr Hitler is the avenger these days because of Germany's rebellion against the Versailles treaty.

The avenger is Mussolini, and war! For years Mussolini has been a procurer of broken treaties. He has openly proclaimed it on several occasions. His personal paper, *Il Popolo d'Italia*, has upheld him in this against the "defeatists" of the old Democratic parties; those parties who followed a policy of 'international parliamentarism,' which was (and is it still?) the League of Nations.

That was in the days when Mussolini was considered in Germany as the greatest personage of world politics since Bismarck.

The days of Italian-German love affairs! Following them and by their aid, Hitler became master of an armed Germany!

Hitler was necessary to Mussolini in order to get his extortion money (Mussolini's, not Hitler's) out of France.

It would be a gross error to believe that the nationalism of one country blows on that of another in order to make of it a direct ally.

For example, Hitler himself blows on French nationalism, not to make an ally of France; but to use France in his game, by exasperating French foreign politics. The alliance, the cooperation between two nationalisms, and two fascisms, is always enclosed in the frame-work of rivalries between States.

For Mussolini a German Democracy meant weakness in his war policy; just as Nazism was an aid to him, both in his external and internal politics. A pacific German Democracy, seeking to modify the rigors of the Versailles treaty through pacific pressure, and through the influence of the labor forces of Germany, of France and of Europe—there was the greatest danger to the Italian dictator. It would have made more paradoxical his gross method of provocation in international relations, which from time to time have been obliged to become more reasonable because of England's intervention. In a word an atmosphere of calm always rendered more anachronistic Mussolini's megalomania and his endless nationalist hurly-burly . . . *Baillat!*

German Nazism therefore was indispensable to him.

He aided it with money, and with his personal press, that is, with the whole Italian press.

He exalted it with all his force of rhetoric.

He wanted it in Germany and in Austria, without foreseeing the consequences of the disappearance of popular forces in the two German-speaking countries—that is, in what concerned the *anschluss*.

The consequences of the difficulties between these two Fascisms, Austrian and German, obliged him to stay on the side of Austria. But the conditions indispensable to the militarist incontinence of Germany were already there. And it is on him—on Mussolini—that weighs the major responsibility for this incontinence. (Although we should not forget his brother Pius XI, who hoped with the aid of the very faithful Dollfus to improve the fortunes of Catholicism in Austria, after the destruction of the labor and socialist movements.)

Today the forces of ruin and cataclysm are unleashed, and

whatever expedients Mussolini may use to cover up his game of agent provocateur in international politics—the same game he always played among the political parties of Italy—that in no sense changes his criminal responsibility and his wilful and essential complicity in the politics of Herr Hitler.

And now see how successful the Italian Duce has been with his extortionist methods in France: "Since I have succeeded in letting loose against you, France, the terrible menace of a militarist Germany, the moment is at hand: give me money in exchange for my alliance. For the war, the terrible revenge, is here at your Eastern frontiers. And if the war is not to be immediate, you will have to adapt yourself, dear Latin sister to a Nazi Germany which has ground under the wheels of its camions your cherished Versailles treaty."

That is the language of Mussolini.

In effect France has given him money—carte blanche in Africa, and also some territory in the African desert.

Perhaps Monsieur Laval thought: the madman will go and hide his face in Abyssinia, and will leave us in peace in Europe.

Too late and too stupid!

Perhaps the Negus Neghesti will himself be able to live in peace; for the consequence of Mussolini's politics are lighting war in Europe before starting it in Africa.

And M. Laval leaves Rome crying, "Vive Mussolini!"

I do not say that the general conditions for war in Europe and in the world did not exist outside of Mussolini and Hitler: far from it. I say that precisely for that reason it was imbecile to play with a pyromaniac, accomplice of another pyromaniac in Germany, who had a lighted torch in his hand.

And now, yes, vive Mussolini!

But, although—at least in appearance—Mussolini has broken with Hitler, the only ones who can really cry "Vive Mussolini!" are the German militarists.

For without Mussolini in Italy, nothing at all of Hitler in Germany!

Vive Mussolini!

Agreed!

But—after the aforesaid plots—Mussolini has others in store, even greater, in order to make life difficult (his own expression) for Democracy: including French Democracy.

It was under the very auspices of the Committee of Action of the University of Rome, that there took place on December 16th last, at Montreux, Switzerland, "The First Universal Fascist Congress" with the attendance of delegates from fourteen countries of Europe. The "Francistes" were there!

Mussolini, then, can do his work, against his Democratic allies, with the aid of his political Fascist allies, and in the very interior of France!

But . . . if bourgeois Democracy asks nothing better than to find its lingo, why complain?

ARMANDO BORGHESI.

THE SOCIAL STRUGGLE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

AUSTRIA. When 5000 socialist mourners attended the burial of the Vienna former Councilor, Dr. Otto Gleckel, initiator of educational reform, the police attacked the mourners and made numerous arrests.

Socialist Defence Corps men of Vienna were sentenced to terms, ranging from one to eighteen years imprisonment, on April 18.

BULGARIA. The invasion of a festival held by communists in Eruna, resulted in the deaths of 3 policemen on April 24.

CANADA. Several unemployed were beaten, two arrested and windows were smashed when 200 unemployed attempted to storm the government relief office of Niagara Falls, Ont., on April 27.

Starving men and women at St. Johns, New Foundland, who descended upon 40 food stores were brutally attacked by the police on May 10.

CHILE. Strikes by students at the University of Santiago brought forth an order from the police to close the University.

CHINA. The government executed 20 rebels on May 19 for "plotting" its overthrow.

CUBA. A battle between government soldiers and supporters of the former administration of Grau San Martin cost four lives on May 4.

Jose Garcia Angulo Terry was shot to death on April 11 by a military firing squad of Havana, being the first civilian to be executed by military authorities in the history of the Cuban Republic.

The Reporters Association of Santiago had appealed, in vain, for clemency.

FRANCE. A political meeting at Benelet, France, on April 30 cost the life of one policeman and 10 people.

The month of July witnessed the greatest anti-fascist demonstration in the history of Paris. No less than 200,000 people participated in that united front outpouring. For once—Socialist, Communist and Anarchist movements united in a real unity front—which served notice upon all the fascists of France that the spirit of freedom and justice still burns fiercely within the heart and soul of France.

As a result of a forbidden demonstration on July 19, over 1500 were arrested.

August 4 witnessed a wave of strikes, the chief one being at the Brest naval arsenal. Soldiers and guards attacked the workers resulting in 13 injured workers and seven of the enemy. The deflationist program of Laval, reducing wages, has brought about the wave of strikes.

GERMANY. In Hanau 74 were sentenced to a total of more than 150 years at hard labor.

The death penalty will be invoked by Nazi Germany in their attempt to exterminate pacifism.

The Propaganda Ministry admitted on April 26 that Friedrich E. Houseman, internationally known mine leader was "shot when attempting to escape". His friends charge that he was murdered on April 15. It is said that he refused to accept an offer of the American Federation of Miners "to go to America, saying he preferred to continue living in poverty among the native miners."

The flare-up of Mr. Hitler's representative at the ripping of the German flag by a crowd of 2000 people from the Bremen, at New York City, only goes to show how much nazism hates to have their misdeeds exposed. The protest demonstration had two objects: to protest the reign of terror by the Nazi regime, and chiefly to protest the seizure of Lawrence Simpson, an American seaman, from the liner Manathan in Hamburg on June 29 by the German police for alleged distribution of anti-Nazi literature.

GREECE. August 5 witnessed an uprising of workers who took possession of the city as a wave of general strikes began in protest of the movement for a restoration of the monarchy. Police officers and soldiers were wounded with the workers suffering two deaths and about 30 wounded.

ITALY. War preparations against Ethiopia have increased the war upon all anti-fascists. During the first five months of 1935, 225 were sentenced to 1,225 years in prison, according to "Opera Italiana" (The Italian Worker), published in Paris. During the nine years of Mussolini's reign, more than 3,000 anti-fascists have been sentenced by the special tribunals to 13,000 years in prison.

MEXICO. The General Strike in the city of Puebla on April 11 has cost two lives, and injured 20 persons within 24 hours. Threats to use the militia, in addition to the local police, made by President Lazaro Cardenas, ended the strike.

PALESTINE. A hunger strike of prisoners in Haifa and Jerusalem revealed the fact that no less than 52 Communists were imprisoned for alleged "illegal activity." Aba Acheimer, a Zionist-revisionist was released after serving an 18 month's sentence for "leading an allegedly terrorist organization."

PERU. Antonio Miro Quesada, a leading government official of Peru, and his wife were slain on May 16 by a 19-year-old student Carlos Stiers. On May 19 twenty rebels were slain by constabularies, in the same province.

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS. Three village officials and one civilian lost their lives in a battle in Laguna Province, P. I., on May 15.

The Sakadistas uprising in the Philippine Islands on May 3 cost 60 lives and 100 wounded. The revolt was in protest against the U.S. bondage. The U.S. Governor reported:

No trouble that cannot be controlled is expected. Over 500 rebels were jailed and the U.S. war dept. kept 20,000 soldiers ready to crush the uprising.

SPAIN. Marcelino Fernandez Torres was sentenced to death on April 6 at Oviedo, Spain, for the killing of Roman Cossio, a priest. A bomb, said to have been set off by terrorists, in an attempt to hinder the Holy Week procession, killed one and wounded two at Saragossa, Spain, on April 18.

UNITED STATES. The attack upon the unemployed miners at Gallup, N. M. on April 4 left 2 workers dead and 5 seriously wounded. For the death of the Sheriff 32 workers are facing charges of murder. No one has been arrested for the murdering of the 2 workers. Scores of Mexican workers have been deported without even a hearing.

In a court of Wilkes-Barre, Pa., Theodore Linkiewicz, president of the insurgent miners union, Joseph Swilp, financial secretary; Steve Olshefski, chairman, and James Bristin, secretary, were sentenced to serve five to ten years imprisonment on the charges of a dynamite plot, in Warrior Run, where homes of scabs were blown up. Cyril Washco was sentenced to one and one-half years for assaulting a scab, and Peter Kimbert to six months on a similar charge. Peter Rudoski, taunted for scabbing, placed a dynamite cap in his mouth, ignited the fuse and killed himself.

The four officials of the infamous torture prison camp at Mecklenburg, N. C., who were charged with causing the freezing and eventual amputation of the feet of two negro prisoners were freed by a court order.

One thousand prisoners went on strike at the Ohio Penitentiary in protest against the Parole Board.

150 fascist students invaded a meeting of the League for Industrial Democracy at Madison, Wis., dragging three boys and a protesting teacher to be ducked at Lake Mundota.

Michael Califano, a painter, was beaten by nazis of New York City for selling reproductions of his anti-Nazi pictures. 25 of his anti-Nazi canvas pictures were slashed.

100 jobless attacked the city relief office of Charleston, Ill., when failing to receive food orders. Five were arrested.

Bullets fired upon strikers at the United Alloy Company of Canton, Ohio, seriously wounded one woman and three men on May 28.

Forcing negro jail victims to work under unbearable heat temperatures, five negro men dropped down dead on August 9 at the Angola State Penal Farm. Eight others were prostrated.

On July 3 the city of the rich man's vacation resort Miami—witnessed a unique scene. As the city Commissioners were debating the release of funds to feed the hungry ones, 1500 men, women and children—appeared crying and shouting: "We Are Starving!" The boast of the Chambers of Commerce that business barometers zooming to new record heights while thousands hunger was bitterly assailed by spokesmen of the starving.

The investigation committee appointed by Mayor La Guardia of New York City on the recent outbreak at Harlem, populated mostly by colored workers, places the chief blame on the unemployment and insecurity of the negro, the report goes on to say:

To this must be added their deep sense of wrong through discrimination against their employment in stores which live chiefly upon their purchases, discrimination against them in the school system and by the police... It is a grave state of affairs when the inhabitants of a large section of the city have come to look upon the men in police uniforms as lawless oppressors who stop at no brutality or at the taking of human life.

The Harlem Chambers of Commerce issued a protest against the report and defended the "good work" of the police.

The International Labor Defense has issued a report of the number of workers who paid with their lives in the various struggles for the last six months in these benighted states of the union. No less than 22 lost their lives, not to speak of the scores of wounded. The 22 included five negroes. One was lynched for organizing the share-cropper in Alabama, and four during the Harlem attack by the police. The list of victims are as follows:

Columbus ("Pink") Walker, Rossville, Ga.
Frank Petrosky, Larksville, Pa.
Valentine Rascavage, Hanover Township, Pa.
Paul Knight, of Santa Maria, Calif., El Centro, Calif.
Kenneth Eldridge Hamaker, of Westmoreland, Calif., El Centro, California.

Abraham Young, Negro, Sladen, Mass.
James Thompson, Negro, New York City.
Edward Laurie, Negro, New York City.
Andrew Lyons, Negro, New York City.
August Miller, New York City.
Ignacio Velarde, Gallup, New Mexico.
Solomon Esquibel, Gallup, New Mexico.
Andy Latiska, of Port Arthur, Ohio, Toronto, Ohio.
Edris Mabie, Springfield, Ill.
Ray Morency, Stockton, Calif.

Fonie Stephens, La Grange, Ga.
John W. Duster, Omaha, Neb.
George Melhelm, Canton, Ohio.
Dewey McCoy, Omaha, Neb.
W. H. Kaarte, Eureka, Calif.
Thomas Wilestrom, Negro, New York City.
Harold Edlund, Eureka, Calif.

Chicory Corners

Where Ale Street runs into Chou Plaza one corner is the express customs office and the other is a cheap restaurant. When a customs clerk insisted on sending Emma Goldman's essays to the national capital for inspection, I said audibly "Oh Hell", and they told me I could be arrested for profanity in George Windsor's premises. But Emma's essays came back intact, as did Tom Bell's "Edward Carpenter" and a pamphlet by Hippolyte Havel, and so that feverish incident was closed.

It's the fashion around Chicory Corners to treat Anarchism lightly. Even Mr. Wong, on account of whose highclass eatorium Chou Plaza is named, thinks Oh Gow is an inferior religion, not at all in the same class with Kun Gow and Yah Show Gow. Nor is Mr. Wong much more impressed by Fut Gow. He isn't. Very unwillingly am I forced to suspect that the Taoists and Buddhists of Canton are not as good people as they might be.

Mr. Wong not only makes excellent chop suey and rarebits but he is a patient language teacher and someday I hope to be able to correctly pronounce the name of Lao-tze, that is to pronounce it in correct Cantonese. For, Mr. Wong being honest, honorable and fair-minded, points out that what is correct in Canton might be wrong in Peiping or Nanking.

There you are. Life is just like that. On the fulcrum of Relativity swings the Maypole of civilization.

Where Ale Street runs into Chou Plaza you can get soup and crackers for a nickel at the Hamburg Lunch. And on Sunday afternoons when genteel business is almost absent and the slot machines are locked, the sessions of the Havajava Club attract a half platoon of Libertarians. Havajava Clubs recruit their memberships from the odds and ends of humanity. Havajavans are a synthetic race of people who have lived in dreams that never came true. Their tired, broken bodies enshroud haggard souls.

You find them in every large city, a long way from home and their spiritual *heimweh* is pathetic. They huddle alone in dim hall-bedrooms or skylighted attics, sometimes in pinched permanency for long years at a time. And sometimes they move periodically from one cheap flop house to another. They flock about a sort of Brazilian Consul who manages to manipulate credit for coffee, they sit long hours on park benches, haunt public libraries and help to occupy chairs in free lecture halls.

The Roosevelt Administration

On August 15 the sergeant-at-arms, C. W. Jurney, of the Senate, was hunting for the chief brain thief of the Associated Gas and Electric outfit, Mr. Hopson. As he approached the rooms of B. B. Robinson, Chicago thief utility representative, he beheld an unforgettable scene; at a banquet table were seated Marvin H. McIntyre, President Roosevelt's secretary, Lawrence Wood Robert Jr., Assistant Secretary of the treasurer and Amos Carter, publisher of the Fort Worth Star Telegram... Mr. Robinson admitted that for the last six months he has been busy in Washington throwing parties to the legislators and rulers at the Capital City.

The innocent great American-citizen-voet need no longer doubt as to how deeply and sincerely Mr. Roosevelt's administration is after the leading utility thieves of the country....

In Defense Of The Harlan Miners

The new campaign by the American Civil Liberties Union to aid Harlan county coal miners now serving life terms in Kentucky prisons since 1931 for the alleged "murder" of two deputies during a strike clash is being powerfully aided through the official report just released by the investigation commission appointed by Governor Ruby Laffoon.

Chosen last February to look into "the unrest long existing in the southeastern Kentucky bituminous coal fields," the commission composed of three soldiers, Adj. Gen. Henry H. Dehnhardt, chairman; Maj. Oren Coin; Capt. Hugh Gregory, and a civilian, Rev. Adolphus Gilliam has turned over to the Governor findings that bristle with condemnation.

"It is almost unbelievable that anywhere in a free and democratic nation such as ours, conditions can be found as bad as they are in Harlan county. There exists a virtual reign of terror financed in general by a group of coal miner operators in collusion with certain public officials; the victims of the terror are the coal miners and their families."

Revealing that the reign of oppression "reached its tentacles into even the Church of God," the governor's commission lamented that "The reprisal on the part of bankers and coal operators were practiced against the ministers who had the courage to criticize from the pulpit."

Most of the charges of brutality made in the past against the "forces of law and order" in Harlan county were substantiated. The commission found that "homes of union miners and organizers were dynamited and fired into, and because it was draped over a United Mine Workers' organizer's car, the American flag was defiled in the presence of and with consent of peace officers sworn to uphold the principles for which it stands."

"The principal cause of existing conditions is the desire of the mine operators to amass fortunes through the oppression of their laborers which they do through the sheriff's office," the governor's commission charge.

Friends of civil liberties are urged to petition Gov. Laffoon to continue the Harlan clean-up by pardoning the seven miners.

(INDUSTRIAL WORKER.)

At a meeting of the General Board of the Shoe Workers Brotherhood, St. Pisces arose to demand a financial accounting from Frank Godwin, who played such a miserable role in the Sacco and Vanzetti case. Six strong-arm thugs thereupon attacked Pisces. Pisces' brother avenged the attack by hitting Godwin. Godwin afterwards had R. Pisces arrested, and charging him with a knife-attack. A Pisces Defense Committee has been formed, appealing for aid. Its address is: P. O. Box 831, Brockton, Mass.

Their faces may be haggard and their steps feeble and slow but the living lustre in their eyes tells me plainly that they have a rendezvous with life. They are naturally cheerful and friendly when with friends. Roustabout Wobblies come and go.

Anarcho-thises and Anarcho-thats know how to wrangle with their Comrades and barter with gentiles for blue eagles or king's money. But the Havajavans with their quiet ways and the protoplasmic urge in their souls seem to me the final hope of Libertaria. They are the Old Invincibles.

Did I say that we lived in dreams that never came true? Yes and No. Our dreams do come true for better or worse, but we get no credit, derive no profit from our dreaming. We believe not in patents and copyrights. In five or six years a lot of things have materialized in the objective world of men and nations that seemed very weird, intangible, fantastic dreams at the hectic after midnight sessions of the Riverside Kaffee Klatch in Krim's cafeteria on Sherman Square, Manhattan. New inventions, political upheavals, Anti-Semitism in Germany, many things were mirrored in the long marble-top table when we met nightly seven years ago.

The tall handsome Swiss who was our Brazilian Consul foretold some of them. The Mystic Occult Rainmaker and the Russian count discussed others in advance. I was in the inner circle known as the Mocha Guards, close to the Brazilian Consul, and heard the preliminary confessions and slain altbross stories of the ancient mariners. I met the wife of the long lost Charlie Ross of Philadelphia. I got the inside dope on the Protocols of the Elders of Zion and all the current Messiahs from Prince Immanuel to Father Divine. I was invited to join the Arrochar Order of the Rose and the fellowship of 1000-year-old Mahatmas in the Himilayas. Television hasn't caught up with us yet. We pierced the future and swapped prosperity dimes while discussing chain letters and "The Perception of the Negative".

NEILS TURNSPUR.

Van Der Lubbe and Earnest's Last Will

Many "documentary" pretenses relative to the conflagration of the Reichstag have been harvested without control by the radical, extreme radical and reactionary press. Why should we pay them particular attention? First of all, it is impossible to ascertain the authenticity of Earnest's last Will; just as it would be impossible to verify the very existence of "Roehm's list of lovers." All that can be said is that the two versions reciprocally exclude each other. The "Brown Book" makes Roehm the center of the plot and Van der Lubbe his tool. The version attributed to Earnest contains no allusion to Roehm and shows the meeting of Van der Lubbe in Berlin as a pure chance. In supposing that Earnest's last Will were false, it is nevertheless worthwhile to call the attention to the fact that the makers of documents, in view of the actual noted facts, dare no longer to impute Van der Lubbe's complicity with the Nazis.

However, it is true that to find buyers upon the international press market, such documents must bring Hitler and Goering into the Reichstag fire. But the two

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THE WEAPONS OF FEAR

It seems almost paradoxical that on the very spot where George Washington, the man of the hour in the Colonial fight for freedom from Great Britain was officially greeted by the city of New York in 1873, that we should have been gathered to illustrate the very negation of this freedom supposedly expressed in the Constitution of this country. And it seems equally paradoxical, in these times when the great judicial body, namely the Supreme Court of the United States, has declared unconstitutional the great pillar of support for Mr. Roosevelt—the N.R.A., a supposedly artistic work of great mental effort, that we should have been gathered to declare equally unconstitutional—and this because we have definite facts to substantiate our statements—the laws which interfere with the basic rights of every individual, the right of freedom of expression, freedom of thought.

But as we all know, or rather, as the rulers of this vast land would have us believe, there is a fundamental difference between them and us. We are merely the great multitude on whom are daily thrust laws of every consequence, while they are a privileged few making the laws for us to obey. Still, let us see if there really is a difference and what this difference really is.

In thinking of this situation, involving the lives of two free-thinking individuals and, more than that, the attempt to crush the voice of freedom, we must remember that it is occurring in a country which for 159 years has been tolling the bell of Independence—and what Independence!

America—the land of virginity, the land of equality—yet the land of starvation and oppression. America—the land fertile with natural resources and potential wealth—yet the land whose baptismal symbol is corruption. America—rich with educational centers—yet the land whose youth resorts to crime for want of education.

This land of virginity, a haven for all the oppressed and refugees of the world, was not for long to resound in its beauty of freedom and equality. It is true that the national revolution, the fight for independence, was brought about by the flaming spirit of 1776, but—and this is important because it shows that bribery and corruption are the pillars of American Capitalism—nowhere in the the Constitution do we find the mention of the Declaration of Independence. The makers of the Constitution, who were practical property owners guided by their mercantile interests, were concerned with the preservation of the sanctity of private property and not the freedom of the colonists who fought to loosen themselves from the chains of Great Britain. It was not until 1789 that the first Amendment to this constitution was adopted—an all-important Amendment assuring the freedom of speech and expression to the people of the United States of America.

And yet this nation, founded by political and religious exiles with the intent of giving to the world a new deal in freedom of thought is today exhibiting some of the most ruthless and absurd laws restrictive of this freedom.

The fact that Ferrero and Sallitto, aliens who have entered legally into the United States, are to be deported from the country where they have spent the most fruitful years of their lives, where they have used their energies for further enriching the Capitalists of this land, this fact alone is the revocation of anything human, justifiable and constitutional.

The fact that the United States Government no longer confines itself to the expelling of individuals it deems undesirable but, rather, is turning its Immigration Bureau into the function of a police squad turning over these individuals to a fascist government where confinement, imprisonment and possible death await them, this fact alone points out that the United States is herself going one step further in making fascism a grim reality. Madame Perkins, in turning the law of deportation of im-

migrants into one of extradition, is today working hand in hand with Mussolini.

Once more, as has occurred in various pages of the history of free thought in America, the labor movement is on trial. The struggle of Capitalism against Labor has been a long and serious struggle. It has continued always, trying to suppress and squelch the voice of freedom; it has continued always in making heavier the chain of Capital's aggression against labor, the chain which is leaving an indelible mark on us. Again it more definitely asserted itself in the deportation delirium of 1919-1920, when at one time 249 radicals were deported on the "Buford". We must bear in mind the era of A. Mitchell Palmer, attorney-general hungry for Reds, the year when Salsedo was found lying on the sidewalks of Park Row, supposedly to have fallen from the 14th floor. And we must remember, too, the most tragic case in American history, a case which makes more vivid the fact that bribery and corruption form the pillars of American Justice. The names of Sacco and Vanzetti have become a symbol to us—they spell struggle and devotion for an ideal to which they sincerely and wholeheartedly gave their lives. It is needless to say more about these two men, except that we learned our lesson. We learned that in government there can exist no humanitarianism; we learned that our freedom depends solely on us.

But we learned one thing more—that in all its boastful supremacy, Capitalism is fighting for its existence. It is convinced and aware of the fact that an outburst of proletarian rights is imminent. It is mindful of the fact that in spite of the dark cloud of injustice hovering over us, sometimes we growl, shake ourselves and spatter a few red drops for history to remember. It is these drops which are a stimulus and inspiration to us; it is these drops which are falling more heavily and more brightly upon the enemy of the people; it is these drops which symbolize the many victims who have come and gone, the supporters and believers of the great ideal of freedom which is the sole redeemer of man, the only expression of life, the only true symbol of happiness.

The case of Ferrero and Sallitto means that the government of the United States has committed another act toward its own destruction, its own defeat. Our work as Anarchists, to point out that no government no matter how liberal or reformistic, can do anything for the good of the people, is now more than ever a simple task. The case of Ferrero and Sallitto is a signal for us to act. We must protest, for we will not let these men be extradited because they have been able to think clearly that which for centuries has been thought and expressed by great thinkers. We must protest, for it is a signal that what

A talk delivered on July 26, 1935
at Union Square, New York City

Aurora Alleva

is happening today to them may tomorrow happen to anyone of us. We must protest, for we will not have the government suppress the voice of freedom as it has tried to suppress an Anarchist publication—an attempt which resulted in the arrest of these two men now menaced with extradition.

And if there is a difference between the rulers and us, that difference lies in the fact that while they are afraid we, in the face of all obstacles, oppression and torture, are always ready, erect, unpliant as iron, ready to defend our great ideal. We are under the sublime inspiration of the ideal of freedom, justice and equality. We are the voice of humanity calling for life. We are the invincible spasm of progress which is opening itself into the future. We are the ardent breath of life and joy. Jails, gallows, deportations—they are the weapons of fear. But they will not stop progress, because truth is an idea and an immortal one as is man's conscience. They strike it, they try to crush it, but they cannot kill it, for persecutions and martyrdom only make it light brighter, its strength stronger, and make it rise more resplendently from the blood of each fallen, every agony and every martyr. Today, more than ever, there lives in the thought of the torture inflicted upon these two men in the vanguard of progress, the infernal hatred and ire for all the enemy. Today, more than ever—long live Anarchy.

In closing I want to repeat the words of Carl Sandburg, an American poet of the present days, words which strike a great keynote:

*I am the people—the crowd—the mob—the mass.
Do you know that all of the great work of the world
is done through me?*

*I am the workingman, the inventor, the maker of the
world's food and clothes.*

*I am the audience that witnesses history. The Na-
poleons come from me and the Lincolns. They die.
And then I send forth more Napoleons and Lincolns.*

*I am the seed ground. I am the prairie that will stand
for much plowing. Terrible storms pass over me. I
forget. The best of me is sucked out and wasted. Every-
thing but death comes to me and makes me work and
give up what I have. And I forget.*

*Sometimes I growl, shake myself and spatter a few
red drops for history to remember. Then—I forget.
When I, the People, learn to remember, when I, the
People, use the lessons of yesterday and no longer
forget who robbed me last year, who played me for a
fool—then there will be no speaker in the world say
the name; The People, with any flick of a sneer in
his voice or any far-off smile of derision.*

The White Rulers' Inhumanity To The Colored Races

(We herewith reprint the greater part of an article by Shepard Stone that has appeared in the New York "Times" of July 28, 1935. It is a most enlightening expose of the white rulers' imperialistic brigandage, to which we can add but very little, but which no sincere student of world affairs can well afford to ignore.—Editor.)

In pushing his plans for war in Ethiopia Benito Mussolini is carrying out an old European custom. During the last half of the nineteenth century the nations of Europe "scrambled" for Africa. Each eager to get the largest, richest and most strategic share. Italy did not come out very well in that scramble. Today Il Duce is trying to make up for lost time.

In pointing his guns at Addis Ababa the Italian dictator is involved in a struggle with Africa's last real independent nation. Liberia, on the west coast of the continent, is controlled by foreign rubber interests. Her independence is more formal than real. Egypt is essentially, from the international standpoint, a part of the British Empire. Ethiopia, alone of the nations on the African continent, is sovereign. Should Signor Mussolini win the struggle he apparently plans to wage, the entire map of Africa will be marked out in European colors.

The African continent is three times the size of Europe; yet the nations of Europe control most of its vast area. Today France and Great Britain are the great African land owners, with other European nations far behind. Relatively few Europeans have migrated to Africa. The climate has been the barrier.

Africa's approximately 11,460,000 square miles are divided among the nations as follows:

	Area Sq. mi.	Population
France	3,967,610	35,440,500
Great Britain	3,409,610	47,251,900
Italy	946,734	2,210,000
Belgium	922,083	11,500,000
Portugal	787,608	6,604,950
Spain	128,696	784,300
Egypt	350,000	15,000,000
Ethiopia	350,000	10,000,000
Liberia	45,000	1,750,000

The annexation of Ethiopia by Signor Mussolini would mean the addition of land three times the size of Italy to the colonial possessions of that country.

Outside the Italian colonies Africa offers its white owners great resources in gold and rubber, cotton and diamonds, fruits and timber, the less precious minerals and other commodities. Merchants and

diplomats have worked hand in hand to get the most out of the land and the natives who form a cheap labor supply.

Though Britain's African possessions make up only one part of the empire upon which "the sun never sets," they are nevertheless of great importance in London's scheme of things. To guard the sea route to India and the Far East, London has progressively taken charge of strategic spots from Suez to British Somaliland to Cape Town.

British surplus capital has found its way into innumerable economic channels, from the production of ivory to ostrich feathers. Gold, diamonds, fruits, hides and skins, ostrich feathers and other products come from South Africa to enrich Britain's income.

France, too, has large political and economic stakes on the African continent. French African troops play a large part in the plans of French generals, sitting in Paris and making plans for the defense of France in Europe. Parisian merchants and investors obtain much of their wealth from their African possessions.

Little Belgium, a dot on the world's map, extracts enormous fortunes from the Belgian Congo, in area seventy-eight times as large as the mother country. King Leopold II, who was stirred by Stanley's search for Livingstone, left his country a huge legacy built up on the sweat of the Congo natives and the resources of that area. Copper, oil-palm, copal, diamonds, coffee, cocoa, rice, cotton, tobacco and diamonds produced in the Congo enrich the bankers and burghers of Brussels.

From Portuguese Guinea and Angola the merchants and investors of Lisbon receive wealth in the form of similar tropical goods. Spain, once one of the greatest colonial powers on earth, is now one of the smallest beneficiaries of colonial enterprise.

Thus Signor Mussolini's activity in sending military machines and men to East Africa is but the latest page in a chapter which was begun when the Portuguese navigators, Diaz and Vasco da Gama, rounded the southern tip of the continent and established trading posts at various points along the coast. That chapter, from beginning to end, contains some of the cruelest deeds in the history of European imperialism.

Where the white man, as in the exploration and subjugation of the American continent, was unable to achieve his ends peacefully he resorted to guns and powder.

British colonial administrators have many selfish as well as moral reasons for wanting to see the peace preserved. They know that a struggle between Italy and Ethiopia would not fail to have its effects upon 150,000,000 colored Africans, ruled today by a handful of white men.

Patriotism

Patriotism is the provincialism of the militarists. Those members of humanity who glory in uniforms which differentiate them from the rest of their kind are the cause of all the trouble.

One's country is not necessarily the best and most desirable because one happened to be born in it. One might make a similar claim for one's natal street, or natal room. Patriotism is merely exaggerated egotism at best; at worst, in the forms of Chauvinism and Jingoism, it is sheer insanity.

Sentimentality (fostered by religion), and narrowness-of-mind (encouraged by patriotism), cause nearly all the differences that eventuate as race-hatreds, colour-rivalries, and wars.

The officials who preside at altars and flagwagging are the disrupters of human peace and world-brotherhood. Only after the abandonment and supersession of separate states and altars will humanity find itself. There is but one thing uniform throughout the world of men—Humanity itself. All other uniforms are spurious.

(FREEDOM, LONDON.)

Van der Lubbe

(Continued from Page Two)

versions are hard to sustain; In deed, Van der Lubbe and Earnst, each one by himself, would be the authors of the conflagration; Van der Lubbe would have been at a certain spot putting fire to the Reichstag at the very moment the heads of the squad of assault, Fiedler and Mohrenschild, were ready to do the same. The real conflagration would have been the work of Hitlerists while Van der Lubbe would only have caused unimportant damages; and he would, consequently, have continued to ignore the mysterious help brought to his destructive work.

This is what seems to be the truly new version of the Reichstag fire. There are, then, some allusions to the "coal-oil and sulphur" brought there by three fellows; while the "Brown Book" speaks of a quantity of incendiary material found intact after the fire (sic) and taken away in a truck.

From all this, we can come to the conclusion that, leaving aside the most manifest incredible version of a Van der Lubbe "provocative agent," the Earnst's version constitutes a step toward the truth. But dealing with the same case, the fire, two various explanations—Van der Lubbe's initiative and the intervention of the assaulting squad in the execution of received orders—lead to a narrower sky. If we consider that Earnst's confession is nothing but a posthumous revenge against Goering, it becomes easy to persuade ourselves of the second explanation's weakness which is classified by unnecessary suppositions. To us, Van der Lubbe is and will remain the only man who put fire to the Reichstag.

(Translated by J. S.)

A. PROUDHOMEX.

Who Owns California?

In a series of articles in the New York Post, Oliver Carlson revealed how on August 14, 1933 the Standard Oil Company of California signed a secret oil agreement with the state for the oil basin at Huntington Beach, which is valued at 500 million dollars. The state received nothing from the transaction.

Carlson charges that not a single newspaper of California has dared to expose this huge fraud-theft which is now being sanctioned by the Burns project-law, awaiting Gov. Merriam's signature.

Four hundred newspapers on the Pacific coast will soon receive their pay-off in paid advertisements from the Standard Oil Thieves, as will also 41 radio stations.

IN RETROSPECT OF CURRENT EVENTS

Vigilantes, Government and Justice

The plight of the farmers of the country is again becoming unbearable, especially in view of the Supreme Court's declaring the Frazier-Lenke moratorium act as unconstitutional. The first sign of the true feelings of those farmers facing foreclosures evinced itself at Plattsburg, Mo., when three marshals attempted to foreclose a farm. A crowd of 500 farmers attacked the marshals, taking away their weapons from them. Thereupon, Judge Otis who gave out the order for the foreclosure, called together a grand jury. The Department of "Justice" was appealed to, and its head, Mr. Cummings, promptly dispatched his federal men to the scene.

When Robert Minor, communist, and David Levinson, attorney, went a few months ago to investigate lawlessness of law upholders in Gallup, N. M., they were kidnaped and beaten. But Mr. Cummings remained dumb and deaf to the pleas for the "Justice" department to do something.

Last year a similar case happened in the infamously-ruled El Centro, Cal., when attorneys for the American Civil Liberties Union were likewise kidnaped and beaten. And Mr. Cummings acted as in the New Mexico case.

In the golden state of the U.S. Standard Oil Company—California—grows the most important fruits and vegetables in the country, being also the highest priced due to early seasons of the climate. The main orchard and vegetable lands are in the hands of the richest thieves of the State. The help used by the thieves is chiefly composed of Mexicans and Filipinos. The pay given to them is as low as 50 cents per day. The American Federation of Labor never found it necessary to attempt in organizing these men and women. Last year the Communists attempted it, with the result of having workers wantonly murdered and crippled by the police and vigilantes, and having eight members of their party now serving long sentences of imprisonment.

Some people in other parts of the country may not know what the word vigilantes means in actuality. It consists of all the "esteemed" citizens of the vicinity: every exploiter and robber of some one else's labor, every government official is an open or secret member of these rich men's bestial violence organizations. Wherever a worker mumbles a protest or dares to demand decent wages and working conditions—there appear the vigilantes. Hidden behind masks these cowardly thieves and rulers upon other men's toil and lives attack the workers—not stopping even at rank murder, as in Visalia, Cal., last year.

At this very moment the Vigilante Skunk-Thieves of other men's toil are again doing their dirty work, this time in Sonoma county. On Aug. 21 they descended upon a list of suspected radicals and ordered each one to leave the country and kiss the American flag. Three men did so—but two—Solomon Nitzburg, a chicken rancher, and Jack Green, a sign painter, both long residents of Sonoma refused to promise anything or kiss the flag. Nitzburg fired several charges of a shotgun but was overcome by tear gas shells. Both men were afterwards brutally beaten, tarred and feathered, and afterwards dragged through the streets of Santa Rosa.

The minions of the law and order brigade were not making the least attempt to stop these shameful doings. Most likely they were secretly, behind the masks, participants of the orgy. And we can bet anything on earth that the "gentleman" at the head of the Department of "Justice" in Washington, Mr. Cummings, will not send any of his aides to investigate the vigilante misdeeds in California. He will not do so, because the very institution of government is one of violence and murder.

The man who marches out of every police station with a club, blackjack and gun does not represent anything else but lawful brutality. The man who sentences other fellowmen to undergo punishment, is but a part of the same lawful brutality and inhumaneness that constitutes the foundation of government. Every jail, every soldier, every hangman, every government official—what else do all these denote but the sheerest form of brutal violence and murder? How can then anyone expect of the institution of government and violence to move a finger in behalf of those who are its victims? The only time this gentry begins to move heaven and earth is when one of their henchmen meets the sort of treatment meted out to their victims, as happened at Plattsburg, Mo.

The workers robbed, beaten and ruled under the present reign of capitalism ought to be the first ones to realize as to why any participation by them in the upkeep or electing of but a single government official

is in reality giving their own sanction upon the very robberies, misrule, vigilante brutalities that capitalism and its government protector perpetrate upon them. It is only when the workers will be able to realize its real enemies that it will be in a position to fight these back, no matter under what mask or cloak they will hide their dirty carcasses and assumed roles of dispensers of "justice". Then, and not before, will there come an end to the reign of skunk-vigilantism, exploitation and its double-cross "justice" dispenser, Government.

The Power of Labor

The news of another general strike gripping a city of this country came as somewhat of a thunderbolt. All the news-press agencies, including the self-boastful informative New York Times didn't carry a single item of the impending general strike at Terre Haute, Ind., until after the strike had already begun. And Mr. Louis Stark of the Times afterwards admitted that not only has a general strike issue been brewing there for over a year, but that a similar situation is confronting most of the industrial cities of the country. It is thus quite clear as to the kind of news agencies and newspapers we are depending on for information. But the brass-check fraternity doesn't like to be called the names they so righteously deserve.

The general strike at Terre Haute lasted but 48 hours—July 21-23, 1935. It was the third general strike in the history of this country, and the most complete of all. Not a single wheel of industry moved. This is admitted by everyone. It showed the power of Labor, if it but wills to make use of it.

The issue involved was as in the San Francisco general strike of a year ago, one of solidarity with workers carrying on a long drawn-out lone battle against a ruthless corporation, protected by all the minions of law and order. In this case it was the striking workers of the Columbian Enameling and Stamping Company. From the very outset of the idea for a general strike in sympathy with these striking workers, the officials of the Central Labor Body of Terre Haute did all in their power to prevent the inception of a solidarity general strike. When it did come about, it was after this Central Labor Body had voted against a general strike. Furthermore, the very same leading officials of the same Central Labor Body did everything possible to bring about an immediate end of the general strike, and it was an organizer of the A.F.O.L. and former president of the Indiana state federation of Labor—Thomas N. Taylor—who broadcasted over the radio the calling off of the general strike.

The "Labor" Department of capitalism's government, including the infamous McGrady, assistant labor secretary, and his boss—Miss Perkins, did all in their power to bring about a quick end of the general strike.

Last, but not least, should be mentioned the capitalist system's chief convincing power of righteousness—the militia, with its martial law declaration, the reign of sheer brutal force. (And even at this moment martial law still prevails there).

This history but repeats itself. The very same acts of treachery with slight variations, were enacted by the paid spokesmen of labor in San Francisco as in Terre Haute. The government henchmen did the same dirty work. So came to an end another magnificent attempted demonstration of the great spirit of solidarity that lies but dormant with the workers everywhere. For the time being the workers have lost again. But in the long struggle for freedom the general strikes of Seattle, San Francisco and Terre Haute are only harbingers of a far vaster struggle that is ahead for the toilers of this country, and for that matter, throughout the world. A struggle that will have to be uncompromising to the limit, and to be carried on not only over the heads of every insincere paid labor spokesman and trickery schemes of labor departments of capitalism's government,—but against these treacherous Judases, as well as against every institution and individual that personifies the exploitation of man by man, as well as the rule of man over fellow-man. And such a struggle will no longer be a singular general strike in one lone part of the country, but a Social Revolution in every city, village and hemlock of the entire country.

From defeat to victory that ought to be the lessons of the general strikes at Seattle, San Francisco and Terre Haute.

For, the power of labor is invincible. And the future will prove this beyond any doubt.

The Mad-Dog Unmolested

The bestial and brazen manner in which the mad-dog regime of Germany is attacking the Jews and persecuting the Catholics is perhaps less to be amazed at than the attitude of the governments throughout the world who are having diplomatic and commercial relationships with that regime.

Our "own" de-mo-crat government went to all lengths in apologizing for the tearing down of the German flag of the Bremen in New York City, but had not a single word of protest against the outrageous doings of the Nazi-mad dogs. The vague and meaningless prattings of Mr. Philips of the State Department about its well known concern for justice and freedom didn't even fool the Nazi henchmen, who seem to be well versed on our "statesmen's" hypocricies and misdeeds, as their retorts to the governor of Massachusetts has shown.

And the "revolutionary" Marxian regime of Russia has yet to voice one word of protest against the same regime.

And thus one could go on and on, naming country

after country, all of whom not a single one has raised a voice of protest against the misdeeds of the Nazi-insane-gone regime of Germany.

An ordinary mad-dog when seen anywhere is shot to death by "civilized" man. A mad-dog-gone regime over a whole nation is left unmolested to devour, destroy and annihilate every human being that stands in its way. Thus it has been in the days of Czarism and thus history repeats itself now in Germany.

Only the awakening into a social rebellion by the outraged and misled people of Germany can and will yet end the shameful butchery-regime of the Hitler-mad-dog reign.

Third International Changes Front

After avoiding to meet for many years the real figure-heads of the Third Communist International at Moscow called a conclave. The Communists throughout the world promptly obeyed the call. But more even than that. The "key-note" addresses on every important subject were, in most instances, not at all delivered by the leading spokesmen of the party in Russia, but by those of various other countries. Whether the alliances and agreements with capitalist countries or the back-down on every important social question was the cause remains for each one to make one's own guess.

Lacking the courage to go to the root of fascism which is now engulfing the world, for the simple reason of having in the end to find itself guilty as the real germ and pattern upon which fascism grew up and shaped itself, the Third Communist International has issued the edict to its adherents to unite with every liberal, democratic or socialist faction to stave off the very fire it has itself kindled and alighted: fascism. The semi-fascist Roosevelt, denounced as such all along by the communists, becomes now in the "ideology" of the infamous Reichstag renegade Dimitrov (who demanded from the Nazi butchers the head of Marinus Van der Lubbe) the one who is being fought by the real would be fascists of America. The "social fascists" of yesterday, the Socialists, become now under the benediction of the new encyclo from Moscow "our brothers" as the N.Y. Daily Worker puts it. In short, opportunism of the rankest sort, never dreamed of before by a Bernstein comes to life, via the ultra red r-r-r-revolutionary Third Communist International. Instead of general strikes and revolution the workers are urged to ask for better doles and all sorts of palliatives, which in turn can but best aid in perpetuating the status quo of the present capitalist order.

On one hand the Bolshevik government makes secret and open agreements with capitalist governments. On the other hand it urges its followers to aid in keeping the capitalist governments alive.

The same but yet more brazen shamelessness is revealed in the Third Communist International's stand on war. Even the mild-mannered Socialist preacher Norman Thomas couldn't stomach this, and he writes in the American Guardian;

Apparently the Communists have gone over wholeheartedly to the position that there may be good wars between nations. This was precisely the position of the majority socialists in 1914, a position which the Communists have bitterly decried. . . . There is no reason under the sun to think that international war will really be in any true sense anti-fascist. Between capitalist nations it will be war for profit, and anti-fascism will only be a moral justification of it for popular consumption.

The very same logical reasoning of Thomas could be applied to every act of compromise and opportunism adopted by the Third Communist International, including the one for labor parties.

The anarchist press has long, long ago predicted that in the end the ultra self-styled communist International will be found in the same fold within the Second Socialist International. "Birds of a feather, stick together". The children of Karl Marx are but brothers in the flesh, and sooner or later they will be found embracing one another.

What lesson is there to be derived from all the compromises upon which Karl Marx has embarked, down to that of the communists of the Third International? The answer, in a more detailed analytical form, is to be found in the excellent study of our Comrade Pierre Ramus that appears elsewhere in this issue. No sincere student or disciple of Marxism can afford to ignore its challenging facts and logical deductions. "Why Does Anarchism Progress So Slowly?" of Pierre Ramus is not only a challenge to every Marxian school but likewise a most formidable exposition and clarified answer to the very question raised by the caption of the article. The honest student will no longer be surprised at finding the ex-secretary of the Belgian Communist Party War Von Overstraten declaring:

The sincere communists, those socialists finding the way out of their reformist illusions, they should strengthen the anarchist movement, which is solid, has a real basis, is living, and is the only social current being likely to make the social revolution. . . . Only the anarchists have not betrayed the cause of the workers. They have struggled and fought where they had to struggle and fight.

The change of fronts by the Third Communist International, from an ultra revolutionary pretentious course to that of the sheerest opportunism is but an open

(Continued on Page Eight)

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Why Does Anarchism Progress So Slowly?

Pierre Ramus

Many are puzzled by this question, knowing that the ideas of anarchism are the maximum of what is wholesome to man as well as to society. Thus it is very natural that one of our most serious and sincere comrades, but whose mind and heart is easily carried away by good—rounding demagoguery of so called revolutionary phreology (by which I mean slogans which are not liberating the worker, therefore are only pseudo-revolutionary) writes to me as follows:

"In general I am taking very lightly the entire anarchist movement in the U. S. A. Intellectual diversion is about all I can see at the most of those who called themselves anarchists. Certainly, I do not want to underestimate the individual efforts and sacrifices of the few Berkman, Goldman, Janovsky, or to go further back to a grand old man like John Most whom we had, but my approach to the question is from a worker's point of view;—have these people done anything to create a mass-movement? Have they been able to create a following that would in time of a crisis be able to supply leadership and a set aim and purpose? Everyone who feels capable of understanding anarchism is an individualist primarily, and wants his or her interpretation of the anarchist philosophy accepted. Instead of working in an united effort with other comrades, they choose to work for themselves, and hence we have the many attempts of publications in all parts of the country with a small following who devote their strength, for the most part, in squabbling with each other theories. Surely, there must be something wrong somewhere that in all these years the movement by its leadership has not been able to impregnate the younger generation with the magnificent ideals of anarchism. . . . When capitalism was in its infancy there was room and time for theories. But to-day is a time of action, a day of preparing the youth to carry on the civilization on humanitarian principles, or we shall all perish, and much as I may regret it, I must say that I cannot see where anarchism will do the job . . ."

Such ideas are in common vogue with those who think superficially and do not comprehend the way a noble idea is progressing and how the progress of ideas accomplishes itself within society, with which difficulties an unpopular idea, because maligned from all sides, has to cope.

Anarchism aims at the abolition of all governmental authority over the human being; this aim it wishes to achieve because authority is the foundation of all economic monopolies, therefore of exploitation and enslavement. Which, as a whole, must vanish if the basis-authority, violence, i.e., the state, government of man over man—is overcome.

That such a profound, fundamental idea is not easily comprehended by an enslaved people, by the workers, who have been brought up since centuries, nay since thousands of years in thraldom, ought to be understood. At the same time it is clear that no other movement, however large the multitude of its followers may grow, is going to liberate the workers, except the anarchistic movement.

All other movements only pretend to free the individual and society while in reality, when coming to power, exploit and enslave both anew. Therefore all efforts tendered to them to achieve their purpose, however large masses they may gain is wasted strength; and it stands to reason that such non-anarchist movements will, although they have a large following, not overcome any crisis or emergency, not possessing the right principles for this task. On the contrary, we can objectively observe that, although being mass-movements of largest dimensions, viz., social democracy, bolshevism, pure and simple trade unionism, even co-operation, all reform-quackeries, they are failing to solve any pressing problem, in spite of the fact that they are large parties, or have been such, and have reached political power, as they call it.

Just therein lays the real strength and invincibility of anarchism the positive certainty that it will in the future reach its goal, if progress of mankind is not to cease altogether. The anarchists of old standing, as well as these of today, may very well claim for themselves that they are the only preponders of public enlightenment who have not belied, betrayed and misled the workers!

As to the latter, they stand in the dark presence as a mass of folks with a very little clear horizon of intellectual capacity. Eighty years of marxism have brought the workers as a sole gain only the stupid illusion to believe that when they are ruled, exploited and fleeced, even led into the perdition of the bestial battlefield, by mutual suicidal wars, that all this is not bad, if it is represented, concocted and justified by workmen-leaders having become work men-statesmen. . . . The workers allowed themselves to be daddled by marxism into the fallacy that only as a big majority they can come into their own, and that for this purpose it was necessary to utilize that what keeps them eternally immature—the ballot-box.

With what result? That social-democracy has, just in those countries where it counted millions of adherents, been smashed first by the much smaller fascist-organization; that bolshevism, from the very inception of its gaining political power, becoming the "proletarian state", became the forerunner and teacher of fascism, has not only not solved the social problems, not overcome the economic crisis, but gives an example to the whole capitalist world to what extent one can subdue and fleece the worker by the worker, if one labels the latter "socialist statesman", "communist commissioner of the people", or "soviet-commissionary", "workers-council".

Not only have these movements in no way overcome the world-crisis, but they, together with trade-unionism, have created a world crisis for the entire workers-movement, by having brought the workers so far as to adapt themselves to the needs of monopoly, instead of teaching them how to overcome monopoly, which latter aim only anarchism offers. Knowing, as it does, that only monopoly, not any natural causes, create the world-crisis for the workers.

The overcoming of the world-crisis were no hard task at all, were the workers only without any awe before authority. They need only, as a mass-minority, to start in to work without the consent of the employer and for themselves, instead of for capitalism and government.

Anarchism thus grants alone the solution of the great problem of today. But just this is not offered, or combatted, by all the powerful parties. And the workers do not do the only rational thing, but beg for a "dole" or believe in the fraud of a "New Deal".

It is not the fault of anarchism or its pioneers that the workers made no headway. Since 1842 PROUDHON, since 1862 BAKOUNINE, later on through the International Alliance of Brotherhood, within and without the first International Workingmen-Association, still later, from 1872 on, by the Jura-Federation in Switzerland and other countries, foretold the workers their doom if they did not heed the tenets of anarchism. Unheard-of sacrifices were brought by the anarchist movement of every country for the real enlightenment of the workers. Yet, they did not heed, they believed the toadstool of the marxian politician or in the bargaining of trade-unionism with the master for "a fair wage"—not seeing that within the governmental money-monopoly and by the monopolization of the means of production, all wage-betterment must prove illusory, just like "social reform-laws", only given or denied according to circumstances, solely in order to sidetrack the worker in his intelligence and in his fighting capacities.

The only "fault" I can find with the anarchist movement and propaganda, that is that it is imbued by an overflow of pure idealism, if this is a fault, and which I deny.

As a whole the anarchist underestimates the sluggishness of human nature, the power of prejudice, ignorance, and the density of corruption, by which factors the present system is upheld, and which are not only prevalent within the circles of the powerful ones and the exploiters, but also, also within the ranks of the subdued and abused workers. Although the anarchist very certainly rejects the marxian formula of the class-struggle, in its aim of erecting a dictatorship of the proletariat (tantamount to a dictatorship of proletarian upstarts over the proletariat, through proletarian tools;

the S. S. and S. A. gangster-organizations of Hitler—himself a former worker—are in their rank and file all proletarians. . .) still even the anarchist clings yet also to an undue idolization of the proletariat. One does not clearly perceive that all government violence is perpetrated and its authority, as well as capitalist exploitation, upheld by the vast majority of the proletariat. (For which reason it is nonsense to speak of an existing or historical "class-struggle", as, Marx taught it; unfortunately, the marxians keeps on to reiterate this phrase, in spite of 1914 till 1918, and while the workers of diverse countries are standing before a second world-war which, if not impeded and prevented by anarchistic anti-militarism, is going to play the marxian "class-struggle" by bringing not only the proletariat of a would-be "socialist" (Germany) and a would-be "communist" (Russia) country against each others' throats and gas-poisoned lungs. . .) In reality the worker as such is not fighting in any class-struggle for his interests; he is either fighting for the interests of liberty, which is tantamount with mankind and humanity, or he is the very pillar and instrument of tyranny and monopoly.

If the worker, from his own point of view and interest, wants to consider fairly the social problem and his present situation within it, he must soberly confess to himself:

"Anarchism alone has told me the truth for the past and present, while all other movements have told me only lies, have misled me; as a worker I am today poorer and more enslaved than ever before, on account of the fallacies of marxian and the "dialectical" metaphysical demagoguery of its political spokesmen, who are by no means more honest than the fascistic ones."

* * *

It is a wrong notion to believe because anarchism has different factions, groups of elements who constantly polemize against each other, that therein lays a source of weakness. This was only then the case if such polemics are not based upon honest convictions, in spite of divergency, all uniting within anarchy, the social order without any centralized violence, but serve secretly other aims and objects, bickering in a mean, slanderous, dishonest way. People who are so acting are no anarchists, even if they wear its mask, to use an expression by Shelley, the immortal genius of anarchistic poetry. Such elements are of that kind which comrade Anatole Gourellek has branded in one of his excellent articles as follows:

To discuss ideas, to converse about the tactics and methods for the realization of these ideas, study the happenings and acts which produce themselves in the ideological movement of ours, this is necessary and useful. But to discuss ideas and study phenomena is one thing, and to soil and slander comrades and movements, this is quite a different matter . . .

There are some who want to introduce a certain political tendency into the anti-political movement and direct it according to their will and caprice. And all those who do not agree with them, they criticize, insult and condemn. The tyranny of such men is unbearable and terrible. They demoralize the weakest and destroy the good what had been done by the best anarchists and idealists. . . .

And if some one permits himself to reproach such a "comrade" for his conduct, calling his attention to the evil what this does to the ideas, these men do not hesitate before anything and pour out waves of expectations in any periodical which lends itself more to mean attacks and personal knocks, than to the propaganda of the ideas and principles of anarchism, poisoning with its miasmas the idealistic atmosphere and contaminating with its abject vomit the whole social and anarchistic movement.

The manner how to put a stop to such phenomena in libertarian surroundings is to educate the human personality in every man, awaken in man his noble and humanitarian sentiments and elevate his idealistic and moral standard. Because in order that real co-operation should flourish and occupy such a place which it ought to occupy in the ranks of the anarchists, it is necessary that the human personality be conscious and consistent in our ideas. When man will be conscientious and morally noble then by themselves disappear vanity, envy and hypocrisy. (Quoted from "Problemas del Anarquismo moderno: El Compañerismo" by Anatole Gourellek in "La Revista Blanca," Barcelona, May 24th 1935.)

Despicable elements are, of course, in every popular movement. But the anarchist movement has to fear them the least, because it safeguards free discussion and thereby developing an independent self-determined conception within its adherents about every controversial problem. What concerns the latter, I consider it to be the strength and value of the anarchist movement not to be dogmatic, but to give each individual the opportunity for free expression. If it is honest in purpose and aim the parties in polemic will meet, sooner or later, within the intellectual realm of anarchy; whoever, which side, does not converge in it, history and mature experience will prove.

This process of clarification by the pressure of time shows itself by the way, also in the quite burning problem of late years, whether it is compatible with anarchism to stand for the slogan and aim "All power to the workers-councils" or not? The peculiar view that it is compatible was taken by the German syndicalists, under the leadership of Erich Muehsam and others; remarkable enough it is even at present still upheld by the syndicalist IWA. (see their organ "Die Internationale", Amsterdam, 1934, Nr. 2).

With a feeling of profound satisfaction I perceive that our French contemporary "TERRE LIBRE" (June 1935) has taken up this problem. It has by no means suppressed the standpoint of Erich Muehsam whose horrible and bestial assassination by the Nazi-gangsters of Germany does not give anybody the right to make believe that Muehsam's intellectual standpoint was in conformity with anarchism. "T. L." therefore brought at full length the more with marxian coinciding views of Muehsam on the above topic. At the same time and in the same number of the journal it refuted them editorially most excellently, ("To divide up the political (or economic) functions between representative organisms of abstract elements in society (or deposit them with certain exclusive keepers of certain interests) this means to restore the state, either under its parliamentary or under its corporative form, it means to negate federalism and to betray the social revolution.")

Intellectual, not mean controversy within a movement of ideal aims is always a sign of health and inner progress. Where else if not within anarchism, that is the cardinal idea against all dogmas, should there be free exchange of controversial views for the common good of the idea?

In fact this is absolutely necessary. If anarchism should not have to fear similar downfalls, in the time of its realization, through the lack of clarity of its own adherents, as was the case with marxism, suppressing all intellectual opposition and arguments, thereby not testing all the social problems.

Looking very attentively upon the international anarchist movement it is not to be denied that, while it has the great mission of enlightening the working people foremostly and freeing the people from the cobwebs of the authority-veneration-insanity, it has also the great task before itself of elucidating its aims and means for its own adherents. Both activities are distinctly necessary. Speaking for myself, I dare not decide which one is the more necessary. Because, while it is important to enlighten the masses—of what use is it if the anarchists themselves, who will always be the pioneers of social-revolutionary activity, are vacillating in definitions of their aim, are not clear as to immediate ways and means in the question of emancipation?

* * *

That the masses would and could not grasp the idea of anarchism easily is hardly true. But why underestimate the fact that no other idea has to overcome as many obstacles in order to reach the ears of the masses, as anarchism. The simple truth is that it has never, not even once, as yet been able to really reach the masses. In order to achieve this one needs wealth, the large circulation of the press, the cinema—and broadcasting-facilities, at one's

command. When and where did anarchism ever have such opportunities?

Only as long as anarchism can but reach small minorities the powers that be allow it free expression. As soon as the danger approaches that this perilous idea—namely for the violence of authority—can reach the ear of the broad populace, then at once all rights of expression are suppressed by government, then going frankly over to fascism. It proves the consciousness of moral perversion and the indefensibility by which our enemies, the rulers by force, by laws and jails and hangmen, are permeated. They can only risk to allow anarchism to be heard when it is weakly voiced, or badly represented, never daring to face its problems at the free rostrum and forum of speech, using freely the printed word or the ether-waves, in free discussion with it. Not even when social-democracy had great power in Austria it was possible for the anarchists, although they were willing to pay for it, to make use of the radio, to make known their standpoint to the most burning questions. Government, the state, authority knows that it is impotent in front of the science, common sense and truth of anarchism; it can only assert itself by strangling the possibilities of free expression.

* * *

Is this condition for anarchism a reason to despair? Not at all.

As a movement anarchism has as its main task to create and uphold everywhere a staunch federation of autonomous groups exclusively of its own principles for propaganda and direct action in face of every social, economical and political emergency. The people must always feel that there are anarchists amidst it. Thus anarchism will be ready for the social revolution as within it. The latter will be brought about by the matured initiative of the people, the intelligent and dissatisfied, against misery and wrong; by the repeated experiences of disappointment with the promises of government, by its fraud, injustice, by its expression of life-crushing annihilation which monopoly, rulership and war-interests of the "powers that be" bequeath upon the masses of the population.

The anarchist has to, without tiring, continually to call the attention of the people upon all manifestations of governmental slavery. It is not important whether he reaches many or not; conditions of injustice, violence, legal robbery and exploitation reach each certain percentages of the people, without these being told the cause by anybody. But they do feel themselves outraged, exasperated, in constant wrath, in protest; and thereby the moral and psychological basis of the present system is undermined, people become instinctively more anarchistic than we, the conscious anarchists, can even surmise ourselves. Before the French revolution, how small was the circulation which the encyclopedians had at their disposal within at that time mostly illiterate population of France! Yet how wonderful did in 1789 all those ideas realize themselves to which the encyclopedians had given, decades before! The downfall of the French revolution in 1794 is due to the very insufficiency of the general ideas, dominating the revolution. This proves that just the proper ideas are of supreme importance before any revolution.

For the anarchist the main and cardinal thing is: to be and remain as clear as possible in their sole aim: anarchy. So long as the different groups of sincere followers of this principle are themselves not clear about many very important ways and means and the fundamentals and fulfilment of the ideas of anarchism—do not let us be too impatient of desiring a too great headway, do not let us compromise in order to cater to the whims of "masses"! We might gain them but thereby lose our principles, and a too swift headway might be, if on the path of immaturity of our own minds, one immediate perdition, as was also the case with other parties which have grown in numbers swiftly at the cost of conviction and clarity of aim.

However ardently everyone of us must wish a speedy realization of our ideal, still, we must not be blundered to the fact that as Erich Muehsam very correctly once wrote in "Le Reveil—Il Risveglio" (Geneva): *We anarchists wish to conquer, but only by the realization of our principles, not by something which is against them!*

The latter is inevitable if we were catering to gain the masses at the cost of principles. Let us be clear about one thing: The masses will thereby not gain anything, loose again and again everything, remain befuddled, and we would become accomplices of all that! Do not allow the anarchist cause to be abused this way. Let us voice our clear, truthful ideas, the negation of all government of man over man—and let the masses make their inevitable sad experience, until they find the sentiment and spirit of anarchism, the only harbinger of their salvation.

We anarchists are no church-missionaries in telling the people that we can "save" it from the dire experiences it must make, as long as it does not turn towards anarchism. No man, no people can be saved from the doom who do not save themselves. All we have as a solemn duty to accomplish, is to save the purity of the ideas of anarchism for the workers, the people at large, because thereby alone it does not loose the opportunity of saving itself, the only salvation in which we anarchists believe.

* * *

It were the greatest misfortune for mankind would anarchism compromise itself with any of the new-anarchistic movements of our time, with any of the factions (like, for instance, the "Trotzky"-group etc. . .), by combining with any authoritarian group of marxian democracy or proletarian dictatorship, whatever its name. Those who advise thus, are plainly to do so, forget that the demagoguery of authority (social-democracy etc.) has had its day, and is as smelly as pieces, like in Germany, Italy, Austria and so forth, never to come again. It has been superseded by Authority, without demagoguery which is going to stay, until conquered by non-authority, anarchism.

Now to combine with any of the marxian factions would be more than the criminality it was in 1919 and afterwards when some "anarchists" combined with bolshevism; it would be sheer folly. Because marxism is bankrupt in all aspects forever; it would mean that the anarchists have either to struggle in order to bring it into power, or to struggle for it that marxism should regain its power. In both cases this would mean suicide for anarchism.

Let no one believe that in front of the international reaction it might be necessary to unite with the marxians, in order to avoid the victory of fascism. The awful experience of the dictatorship in Russia proves that the conquest of power by marxism means nothing short of a red fascism, annihilating anarchism still more so than the white fascism. (In Italy, Malatesta was at least allowed to live; in bolshevik Russia all our leading comrades have been assassinated.)

* * *

The mission of anarchism in the present period is to save itself from the onslaughts of authority, to fight against the very principle of authority which never before has dared as frankly to take all the responsibility for the capitalist-governmental criminality of things as they are now, a responsibility which was until hitherto slyly veiled by marxism in all its forms. In this historical moment, anarchism has to combat nothing else than its arch-enemy, the cardinal foe of a free, well-to-do mankind—viz., Authority. And nothing short of Anarchy is to cast into the hideous face of all cracies, whatever name they may wear. Never before has such a grand opportunity been for the anarchists, and just because the danger of doing it has greatly increased, it is the solemn duty of the anarchists to be worthy of the hour of time and history. Let anarchists beware of being misled by side-issues, by palliatives, by reform-quackery of all calibre, which also tends to encroach the activities of our government by various methods. . . . Nothing short of our only issue: anarchy, have we, as anarchists, to promote in these days. Only then will mankind emerge from the present crisis more clear-minded and nearer to final emancipation; only then can we expect the turmoil of reaction that will have perished in its failures, to be the great and only conceived consoling for the workers, who will then recognize that only under the guidance of the anarchistic ideas they can achieve liberty and welfare for all.

(Continued on Page Six)

ANARCHISM—Ramus

(Continued from Page Five)

Only if we are constantly combating every advent of marxism toward power or recapturing it, just as we have to combat any other authoritarianism, only then can we expect that the unfortunate, misled and sacrificed followers of marxism will turn to us, as far as they are honest and bright-minded, and come to our ranks with the splendid veracious words of that former "communist", the ex-secretary of the Belgian "Communist" Party and one of the founders of the now self-exposed and compromising "Third" International, with the words of War van OVERSTRATEN as follows:

The anarchist movement... a precise economical, social and political platform... From it alone can come our salvation... The sincere communists, those socialists finding the way out of their reformist illusions, they should strengthen the anarchist movement, which is solid, has a real basis, is living, and is the only social current being likely to make the social revolution... Only the anarchists have not betrayed the cause of the workers. They have struggled and fought where they had to struggle and fight. May all real revolutionists bring to them their help, exert themselves with all their strength to make disappear the weakness of the anarchist movement, so that the ever growing wave of fascism can be conquered and, instead of it, be established anarchist communism.

Action is a very good thing, most important, but only if it serves a clear aim. Action for an unclear, mischievous thing leads to a miscarriage however well meant the action may have been.

The anarchist movement cannot accelerate the natural course of time and the process of maturity; it can only accelerate, increase the clarity of the thinking intelligence there is within society. Actions growing out of this will come when the times are mature for them. And then only they are of lasting duration and utility in their effects.

It seems as though the biological process of life does not want the swift and rapid realization of ideas, however impatient we may individually be about it. One could sociologically reproach anarchism for its slowness of development, if other groups of the social movement would solve these problems quicker which anarchism is out to solve, promises to settle. But the bare fact is that other organizations do not solve their own radical problems, nor any others, quicker; on the contrary, they complicate only the real problems the more. And inasmuch as they all concertedly combat, slander, malign anarchy and the anarchists, it is rather grotesque to demand of anarchism, which just on account of these others cannot make a swifter and very desirable quicker headway, to "do the job".

Let us be clear about one thing: All the other movements offer, by the aid of government, to its leaders very positive emoluments and material benefits. Of course, at the cost of the bleeding, suffering masses. Only anarchism has nothing to offer its spokesmen, short of the realization of the ideal. Is it then any great wonder if so few leaders of thought dare to come openly to it, when they have to loose materially by it very much now-a-days; or is it to be marvelled at the fact that many workers of superior capacities, instead of aspiring to be elected—I perceive, even Upton Sinclair lets himself be carried away by this mean and to the workers most harmful ambition—and hoodwinking their fellow-workers, or instead of getting fat trade-union-jobs, by keeping the organized workers in the bondage of capitalism, are not rather coming to us? Expecting this from men as they are mostly in the present time and system, would be folly on our part. Let us make no mistake about it.

So long as the workers are still dumfounded and believe in leaders (to which pernicious belief marxism has "educated" them, fascism gladly taking over the inheritance)—they are not mature yet for self-responsibility: They will be abused, suffer by this lack of reasoning-capacity. But this is not the fault of anarchism which teaches them constantly, not to believe in leaders, nor entrust them with any power.

Anarchism needs idealism, self-determined, sacrificial spirit and fortitude of character. Is it to be blamed that the present corrupt system, crowning with gain corruption and meanness, does not endow many individuals with these sterling moral qualities, needed to become anarchists? Not at all. Only minorities have, in the course of history, been able to gather these characteristics within themselves, and still they, the minorities, have alone moved history and even evolution, as far as they went until now. The main thing is that those who have become anarchists remain true to their faith and work for it with endurance and untiredness.

Anarchists have their spiritual gain unto themselves. It is absolutely wrong to maintain that anarchism has not achieved anything. Did free thought not achieve anything because there are still churches in existence? The corroboration of the principles of freedom, by sparing its followers from the doom to which authority and marxism condemn their followers, this is an inner blessing and the source of highest inspiration which only anarchism offers and affords.

How many of our powerful opponents have, in the time of the breakdown of the strongest social-democracy and practically all the "communist" parties of Europe, withstood the ambush of governmental violence as strong as anarchism has? While the tenets of all other parties have been disproved by history and experience, only the banner of anarchism is floating boldly today! It is no exaggeration, if I say:

Only anarchism and active anti-militarism, imbued by the former, are in the presence as yet feared by government, knowing them to be their implacable foe, never to be overcome, because resting in the individual decision and action of the anti-governmental personality, which cannot be robbed of its conscience by nationalistic and patriotic delusions!

Also capitalism and militarism know that only the anarchistic idea is now-a-days the ever present danger for them, impossible to overcome by all the powers of government. Only recently the "Geatape" (Secret State Police Department in Germany) had publicly to confess that the explosion of the huge murderous armory-industrial plant and factory at Reinsdorf, in the month of June 1935, was due to the action of anarchist-communist-anti-militarist elements, being absolutely opposed to any war whatsoever (not only to an "imperialistic" one, like the marxians...), If, in America, the pure and simple Federation of Labor must use in its demagogic slogan of a "General Strike" at least as a threat—who, if not the anarchists, were the first apostles of this economic action, becoming now the slogan of even the not as yet anarchistic masses, forcing the leaders to make use of the very name of this mass-action! If workers in fascist Poland and other countries do no leave the factories but take possession of them—is this not the unconscious spirit of anarchism, manifesting itself? If we see everywhere that evermore individuals receive the obedience to the state when calling upon them to enlist for the mass-murderous purpose of war, we therein witness a tremendous spread of the ideas of anarchism, although only in a part-field expressing itself as yet. And against whom, if not against the feared anarchist, do practically all government decrees laws of heavy penalties against the sabotaging, destruction and damaging of war-implements of mass-murder during war? No marxians were ever taught such anti-militaristic actions. Not even syndicalists have taught it to their adherents. The governments know fully well that only from anarchists they have to fear such actions. And is not the very fact of fascism an incontrovertible proof that the governments, democracy, had no other resort and refuge from the fear of anarchy than in fascism, its dictatorship being made easy to the government, seeing that marxism of the bolshevik dye leads to a glorification of the most despotically form of authority, namely dictatorship, if only implanted by upstart-workers and intellectual schemers of the people! And why must governments hypocritically mask and veil their real armory-business-interests in militarism and war with "peace"-phrases, by the constant claim that all they do is for the "welfare of the peoples", were it not for the fear of anarchism, for the fear that the mind of the masses can easily be awakened to the fact and assertion of anarchism: that

Sparks Of Progress

No Limit to Graft. Mr. Joseph Silverman Jr. is a high muck amongst the ruling politicians. As such he drafted a plan whereby the General Motors Corporation and the Chrysler Motor Company were to split contracts for \$10,000,000 worth of trucks for the civilian Conservation Corps and the army by refraining from competitive bidding. Mr. Silverman was to receive \$750,000 for his efforts. Dennis Mahoney, New York City detective and candidate for U.S. Marshall admitted arranging with Bert C. Brown, chief of the Secret Service in Detroit, to introduce Mr. Silverman to executives of General Motors there.

Birth Control via Capitalism. Out of 23,352,990 married couples in U.S., 7,447,328 had no children. The Census Bureau doesn't disclose as to whether this wave of birth control was voluntary or enforced by the present system of capitalism.

In the Workers' "Fatherland". No less than 55 bodies of officers and men of the Soviet Baltic fleet and students in Red naval schools lost their lives when a submarine was rammed and sunk in the Gulf of Finland on July 25, 1935.

The Hoboes' Fate in Free America. One lone railroad line, the Missouri Pacific, reported the killing of 269 hoboes on its freight trains since January, 1933.

A Cigar Box and Government Grafters. Representative Patton of Texas swore that the wrapped box which he has carried out from a utility executive was but a box of 50 five cent cigars... Incidentally, the already admitted fund expended by the utility sharks to kill the "death sentence" bill has now mounted to over a million, including of course the 50 five cent cigars given to Representative Patton.

Prize Liar and Hypocrite. Mr. Luigi Pirandello has come to America. His interviews bristle with falsifications and hypocritical gestures. Italy wishes to civilize Ethiopia, "a barbaric nation", and furthermore, the people of Italy are fully in accord with Mussolini's plans. (Arnold Cortesi, the fascist press representative of the N.Y. Times admitted on August 18 that the great majority of the people in Italy were against the "plans" of Mussolini.) He also denied that upon orders from Mussolini he failed to come on the vessel which brought here his advance secretary. Evidently Mr. Pirandello is a prize liar and hypocrite as well, and one wonders as to whether it was these two recent evinced virtues that brought him the noble prize for literature...?

"Cheerful News" from the New York Times: General Motors had a consolidated net income of \$52,219,467 compared with \$31,510,371 in the first quarter. Bethlehem Steel had a net income of \$1,800,000 against a net loss of \$607,298 in the first quarter.

A Complimentary Adv. on the New Deal. A Joplin, Mo. newspaper ran this adv.:

Dandy way to make money; buy this thirteen acres for hog raising. Sign up with the government to not

all governments are the quintessence of violence and the very social evil!

Thus it is wrong and misleading to say, that anarchism is not getting "to do the job" of solving the social problem. I maintain on the contrary, that if not anarchism is going to do it, then no other idea, party or slogan will save the workers before their doom! It is up to them to speed evolution and turn it into the social revolution. Anarchism gives them the thought, the method and aim: If they do not make use of all these possibilities, it is their own fault if they go down, not the fault of the only liberating message, which liberates at once the individual from the thralldom of superstition and self-enslavement, giving the mass the ever ready way towards emancipation.

Herbert SPENCER, surely one of the greatest philosophers and scientists for centuries to come, has very properly laid it down that mankind can only reach its goal of progress when it has learnt "to deduce from the biological laws of life and the conditions of existence what kinds of action necessarily tend to produce happiness and what kinds to produce unhappiness".

For the social problem only anarchism teaches this, and the workers as well as mankind at large will reach emancipation only when they will have satisfactorily determined—what tends to produce happiness and what unhappiness.

There is no event in the history of our time, there is no sequence of happenings, may they be good or bad, that does not adduce new blows to authority—in the vanity of its attempts to cope with the social problems; and which does not adduce new proofs as to the veracity of anarchism, being the only solution out of the turmoil of today. How is it that this is not grasped quickly by society?

Because even in the whole of nature we perceive changes not performing themselves swiftly and straightforward, but from the lower to the higher, as well as passages from the higher to the lower, at least temporarily. Thus Herbert SPENCER like ELISEE RECLUS have shown that evolution is impossible without the latter phase, called by SPENCER by the name of "DISSOLUTION". Mankind must therefore, out of cosmic-biological-sociological basic principles, undergo a positive and a negative evolution, a *progressive* and a *regressive* one, in order to reach an ever higher standard of social life.

Anarchism therefore does not need to fear the present period of regressive evolution. It is germinating already tremendously many elements of the coming progressive phase of evolution. The present reaction is, against its own will, removing many obstacles for anarchism, and is proving its own incapabilities as well as of those other ones who are our enemies, the foes of liberty.

Thus even the reaction is freeing the field in many free aspects for that eternal spirit of anarchism which is indomitable. It makes the way free for that next phase of progressive evolution in which only anarchism will be the harbinger of the social-revolution,—annihilating the basis of violence, thereby establishing the society without centralized crime,—viz., without government.

Deeming the above study of comrade Pierre Ramus as a contribution worthy in being made the amplest use of, the book department of MANI suggests its publication in pamphlet form and likewise contributes the first ten dollars to such a fund. Individuals and groups are invited to contribute to the fund and state also how many copies they can use.—Editor.

raise, say 500 hogs. It will pay you \$1,000. That will pay for the acres and have some left.

Educator Head Sets Example. E. C. Gibney, until his death, head of the Bureau of Extension Activities of the New York City Board of Education was found to have misappropriated \$41,000 in a period of eight years.

The Onward March of Charity. New York City reports on July 27 that its relief cost of 1935 will mount to \$200,000,000 as compared with \$7,493,412 in 1929. It is also expected that the cost of relief in 1936 will be \$450,000,000! The number of families on relief is now 355,904, that is, about one and one-half million human beings in the metropolitan city of the country alone.

Cause and Effect. Percy Jacoby left for his fox terrier Buddy a comfortable home and \$20 a week for the rest of his life. On the same day—August 17—when this became known, Mrs. Cecile Canle, 26 was found with her 3-year old daughter, famished. She died at the hospital. The child survived.

Republican and Democratic Collectors. Patrick J. Hurley, President Hoover's Secretary of War has admitted in receiving about \$100,000 from the Associated Gas and Electric Companies, chief "utility" robbers of the nation. Joseph P. Tumulty, President Wilson's Secretary, admitted receiving from the same source \$109,000.

Destroying Nature's Gifts. George H. Shoaf, writing from Los Angeles in the *American Guardian*, states that the abundant crop of lemons this year which lowered the price to five cents a dozen led the California Fruit Growers Exchange to destroy 22 tons of lemons in La Brea, Wash., near Pomona, and many more tons were dumped in the Dimas Wash near San Dimas. Now the price of lemons has jumped of from 50 cents per box to \$8.00!

California Keeps the Pace. Clyde L. Johnson, age 24, was in jail as a suspect for the killing of Frank R. Daw, chief of police of Dunsmuir. A small crowd of vigilantes went to the Yreka jail, seized Johnson and hung him to a tree. In 1895 the same fair Yreka perpetrated four lynchings within one year.

Justice—New Deal Style. Federal relief agencies of Kansas are charged with forcing young men to enlist in the CCC camps. For protesting this fascist procedure Kenneth Gilpin, Ollie Sklokan, Jeannette Allen and Jack Shaw were arrested.

Teachers Must Not Teach the Truth. Out in the land of the vigilante, Eureka, California, a teacher in the person of Victor R. Jewett, at the Junior High School happens to have ideas of his own, and even has the sagacity to make these opinions known to others. So the Chambers of Thieves (commerce) and its Daily Liars (press) are after his scalp. His salary has been cut, and he was just now finally dismissed. A Teachers Union Defense Committee has been formed in his behalf with headquarters at 7918 Outlook Ave., Oakland, California.

The Criminals Are Caught! Writes the N.Y. Times on August 15, P.1.: "700 seized in parks as 200 police open drive to end crime... Most of the men arrested were pitiful, unkempt delinquents who had been using doorways and parks for homes, paper for sheets and their arms for pillows, eking out near starvation existences by panhandling..." Mayor La Guardia, his police department, the whole damned present system of injustice ought to, if they can, be made to feel the shame and crime which they perpetrated upon 700 victims of our own crimeful disorder of life.

Civilization's Progress in Figures. The statisticians have the floor: within a period of ten years, from 1923 to 1933 productive capacity of the individual worker in American factories increased 46 per cent. The labor cost per unit was decreased 36.5 per cent in the same period of time. Wages increased ten per cent from 1923 to 1929, and from 1929 to 1933 decreased 30 per cent. Who received the benefit? Let the millions of unemployed find the answer.

BERT HILLSIDE.

Oriental Immigration

The question of this discussion is one in whose ideal are supported two large factors—the love of humanity, equality and justice, and the removal of the curse of ignorance from the earth.

Race discrimination, since the history of the world has shown itself in all its barbaric, narrow and absurd forms is world ignorance. When any nation refuses to comply with and render equality and dispel all possible human discrimination with any race in the world, that nation proves itself as in a very low standard of civilization.

When the Chinaman, the Arab, the Japanese or any other human being of Oriental origin consents to leave his native land and go to such a distant one as America, where he probably knows no one, there is a reason for it. They would not leave China (or any Oriental country) if they were satisfied in living there. The country they have left is for them a land of starvation, ignorance and injustice for the poor working class.

They leave their lands with the hopes of finding a better position, schools to send their children to, and in short, the necessary things that tend to make one happy. They go forth with the intentions to better themselves and the lives of their children. Does that not clearly indicate to anyone that he who is not content with his present position in life, and who strives to better it, has already a great amount of intelligence? Does that not indicate want of progress? And, now tell me, what modern civilized country refuses to progress? With such a will, to better his family and himself, the Oriental starts out on a career in a land which is not so cruel as to refuse to teach the ignorant nor to shelter the persecuted, and he establishes himself in civilization in knowledge.

Every ignorant thing should be taught, every uncultured thing, civilized, so that the world should gradually disappear from ancient barbarism. It behooves every intelligent person in this country just to realize that if we ourselves were not taught from babyhood onward, since we could first speak and walk, to learn between right and wrong, good and evil, we ourselves would be but now barbaric people.

(Delivered at a school debate)

FREDA DENISON (Age 16).

ART AND LITERATURE

HAUNTED

I.

On a rusty iron cot, standing in a dark corner in one of those 10-cents-a-night flops located in the slums of the city of P— where tattered and bedraggled men find repose from their tired and chill-beaten vagrancy, lay a dejected form, meditating on the fate of the ghostly figure that was still haunting him.

Mike, that is his name now; but it wasn't always so. Up until he came to this dejected state he had been known as Mr. Creston L. Millford, a man of reputable appearance and fine behavior. He looked not over forty years of age, and though, holding a reliable and well-paying position he chose a solitary life, occupying a small apartment in a secluded section of the city, as is the custom with bachelors.

One cloudy afternoon Mr. Millford was comfortably reclining on a sofa, reading his favorite page of a newspaper, when suddenly his sense of smell was disturbed by a peculiar odor. He inhaled a few whiffs of it and at once concluded it was asphyxiating gas traveling from an open jet.

Quick as lightning he jumped from the soft-cushioned seat, and after a close examination of his own chamber, which proved in order, he followed the scent to the floor right above his. Instinctively he felt there was a tragedy behind the top door. Feeling, himself, on the verge of a fainting spell from the poison which increased in volume every moment, he broke into the door with all the strength he could muster and upon dashing into the room he beheld a sight that seized him with horror. The room was almost filled with the odious fluid hissing out from the open burners of a gas range; and there, half-way under the table, with one leg caught in the elbow of an upturned stool, was an elderly man lying in a semi-cuddled position showing no signs of breathing life.

A hurried dash to turn off the gas openings followed, windows crashed open, help was summoned, and finally the lifeless form was carried off by an ambulance to a nearby hospital.

Clang, clang, clang! sounded the ambulance bell in her dash to save a human life.

Bang, bang, bang! exaltingly beat the heart in Mr. Creston L. Millford at the great human deed he had performed.

II.

Just about two weeks had elapsed since the tragic occurrence, and during the time Mr. Millford went about his tasks without being disturbed by any memories of the part he played in the tragedy. Then, one other afternoon Mr. Millford was again reclining on the sofa, his favorite reading matter in hand, when of a sudden the door of his room slowly opened and in came a man, looking about fifty years of age, slightly bent at the shoulders, whitish hair, big bulging grey eyes which constantly stare in one direction, and a stern, unchangeable expression spread over a dark and gloomy profile.

Like a ghostly apparition the strange form began moving slowly towards Mr. Millford, staring all the while with his piercing grey eyes, until he halted a few paces in front of him.

"What do you want, sir?" he asked of the stranger. The stranger stood awhile unmoved, and then, in a voice as though coming from a phantom being he spoke thus:

"I am the man you caused to come back to life."

"Yes?"

"Yes."

"Well?"

"Why did you do it?"

"Hm—well,—that was the only human thing to do, wasn't it?"

"The only human thing to do, eh? But have you ever experienced the mental torment one has to go through anticipating a cruel death? No—I shouldn't think you would; you seem too content with your lot to contemplate such a horrible thing."

"But sir, what do you mean?"

"Because your selfish deed will only cause me to live through again the frightful agony of a self-inflicted death."

"But why must you? Is there no way you can adjust yourself to this life?"

"That is a thing impossible, sir."

"Impossible! How so?"

"How, I ask you, can one face the struggle when his doom is definitely sealed? Here I am a man passed the useful age; I have worked in the textile industry since early boyhood, only to be thrown out by the machine and the economic depression. I have no home, no family and no friends; have not a coin to buy a meal or pay for a lodging; my health is undermined, my courage broken, life is ebbing away; and what is more, I cannot even look into the remaining future because, if there ever is a revival in the trade my bench will be taken by a younger and more productive craftsman. And you want me to continue living!"

"But my good sir, why so despair? Surely there are yet many good people in this world who will be glad to help you. Besides, there are ever so many charitable institutions especially organized to care for the victims of our economic depressions."

"Ah, there is where you misjudge the nature of a human being. You think all can humiliate themselves into accepting a charitable dole. Some will, of course, but others would receive death as a welcomed gift rather than submit to such degradation. But that is not all; you may think it odd yet it's a fact nevertheless that while

some benevolent employer would rather give a job to an unemployed man who is the support of a family organized charity will reject a lone man because of it . . . Do you understand?"

So saying he turned and started slowly for the door, leaving Mr. Millford seated on the sofa utterly amazed and perplexed. Before he could manage to reflect on the unusual—if not dramatic—visit the door had closed and the stranger was out of sight.

III.

That strange episode in Mr. Millford's life left a mark of destruction upon him. From that day on he could find no peace with himself. He passed troublesome days and sleepless nights. Always there appeared before him that ghostly stranger, demanding sternly: "Why did you do it? Why did you bring me back to life to endure such misery? Why? . . . why? . . . why? . . ."

It haunted him and gave him no repose. He could no more pursue his daily occupation and lost the confidence of his employer. At first the employer was inclined to overlook the sudden delinquency, hoping it was only a temporary reaction, but seeing no signs of recovery he was obliged to turn him loose.

He felt he was drifting. A grey color spread over his temples; the shoes wore off and the clothes became shabby. He could not muster enough strength to brace up, for always he was followed by the pitiful sight of that living ghost who persistently kept up a bewailing exhortation: "Man, what have you done?"

With these thoughts pressing on his mind Mike was awakened from his melancholic slumber by a slight touch of a human hand. He rose up in a half-sitting position and recognized Dan, a chum of his from the nearby corner bed who had a kind of pity for Mike in seeing him always in such mental delirium.

Book Review

The Spanish Anarchists and the October Revolution by D. A. de Santillan. (Grupo Comunismo Libertario. 3361 Bagley Ave., Detroit, Mich. 30 pages, mimeographed.)

This pamphlet succeeds in drawing somewhat of a clarified picture of the events that lead up to the last October tragical-fiasco-revolution, and also of the parts played in all these events by the various governmental, political, economic and social movements.

The Socialist party comes out of this pamphlet, so thoroughly exposed, that its defenders will have more than a strenuous task in endeavoring to justify or vindicate their position. Santillan contends that the "united front" in Catalonia, centered around the "Esquerra", and in which the Socialists played the leading part, instead of making any sort of a sincere effort to obtain the aid of the most powerful existing economic organization, the CNT, not only hadn't they done this, but actually went to the government with the hope of crushing the CNT. When a last minute attempt of getting the cooperation of the CNT materialized, no guns and ammunition was given the latter with which to fight, and when the defeat of the uprising came about, the guns and ammunition which the "Esquerra" denied in having, were seized by the government. It is Santillan's belief that what the Socialists were out for was to gain power for themselves as a Socialist dictatorship, on the style of the Bolsheviks in Russia.

The cry of treachery raised by the socialist political tricksters of Spain, and afterwards taken up by the socialist press throughout the world, was then but a sort of catch-the-thief cry act, for which there is very little defense to be made.

In speaking for the CNT, Santillan asserts: "There can be no revolution of a social character in Spain without us, and much less against us."

Assuming therefore that such be the case, may not then one put to a test the CNT and its role in the Spanish attempted upheavals during the last three years, especially from a libertarian point of view to which the CNT claims adherence to?

Santillan has nothing to say for the unforgivable role played by the CNT in the January, 1933 uprising which it had aided in inspiring, only to renounce it afterwards as an uprising backed by the monarchists.

The defenders of the CNT have at that time offered a defence: that the editor of the leading CNT daily who wrote the denouncement of the uprising was reprimanded.

But has the CNT changed or learned anything from that indefensible act? Let us take the events of the last October revolution, as Santillan, its spokesman gives them.

"In Catalonia," writes Santillan, "the relative passivity of the CNT and the FAI (Iberian Anarchist Federation) was both the result of the impossibility of preparing themselves in the course of a year . . . for any revolution . . ."

About Asturias, Santillan writes:

There in Asturias our forces are in a minority in comparison with those of the socialists. That condition lead our comrades to the conviction that unless they entered into an agreement with the proletarian groups of different social tendencies, nothing positive would be achieved by themselves alone. The Labor Alliance was formed. (P.21)

Did the CNT back the Asturian comrades? Santillan states on Page 22: "What is important to know is why were the Asturian rebels forsaken by the CNT and the socialists. . . In the first place, the news monopoly of the government made it impossible to learn anything of

"Tell me brother," he whispered to him, have you committed a murder?"

"Nope!"

"A rape?"

"Nope!"

"I see, you're an escaped-one."

"H. h."

"Well, from the way you're haunted like a beaten dog I reckon you must've done somethin'."

"Sh— sh—, can you keep a secret?"

"Say, brother, when it comes to bein' dumb I'm what you call an expert, get me?"

"Prick up your ears then and listen: I have saved a man's life . . ."

But Dan wasn't in the least perturbed by the strange confession. He merely relieved himself from a stream of tobacco-fluid and muttered: "Somehow, Mike, that don't seem to make sense . . . If you care to be a real pal you've got to tell me the whole secret."

And so in whispering confession Mike was relating his story to Dan, who, between discharges of tobacco streams, listened very attentively to the yarn of circumstances that brought him to his present misfortune.

"And now, broken in spirit, overwhelmed by mental torture, I have detracted from the normal course of social life and resigned myself to the fate of a degraded outcast."

As he was thus absorbed in his chat with his friend Dan, Mike suddenly stopped horror-struck. "The Ghost!" "The Ghost!" he yelled at the top of his voice.

Yes, it was he,—the living corpse. He came in with his usual slow step, side-moving to a corner across from Mike's and placed himself there 'without moving or twitching a single muscle of his body. Only when his eyes met those of Mike's, a sigh of relief could be discerned on the tired, age-worn face of the stranger . . .

SAMUEL POLINOW.

what was happening in Asturias . . . And when reliable news was received it was too late to do anything.

Seemingly having forgotten what he had just written on Page 22, Santillan writes on Pages 23: "But the CNT, although in full sympathy with the Asturian rebels . . . had to hold itself back in order not to magnify the proletarian catastrophe."

No stronger contradictory admission could have been made by the worse enemy of the CNT.

It is under the labor of the contradictory statement of it having been "impossible to learn anything of what was happening in Asturias" that Santillan makes the yet more futile attempt to absolve the CNT from the infamous act of broadcasting over a governmental radio station in Barcelona an order to the striking workers to go back to work. Significantly enough, Santillan is generous to admit, that: "perhaps this was a mistake, (the broadcast order) and it was considered as such by the general membership of the CNT and the anarchists, because a few hours later all the responsible committees of the organization offered their resignations. Everything would have been different had we even suspected that in Asturias a real fight had been started." P. 15. Here one could again point at the admission made by Santillan on page 23 that the CNT central body "had to hold itself back in order not to magnify the proletarian catastrophe."—which admission really explains the reason for the broadcast.

Thus the unforgivable act of January 1933 repeated itself again in October 1935. The same sort of resignations and admission of having acted wrong.

It appears to me that Santillan has succeeded to indict and expose the dubious role of the Socialists in Spain. But equally as well he has attempted to give a clean bill of health to the CNT in a manner that leaves the reader in a maze of doubts and questionable suspicions as to whether the CNT has not been also guilty of playing politics, the politics of a body considering itself omnipotent, the sole force that can and must control the destiny of any successful revolution in Spain.

Someone has as yet the very much needful task of writing a true history of the role of the CNT and of the Iberian Anarchist Federation in the revolutionary upheavals of recent years in Spain. But it will have to be one who is courageous enough to make known all the facts, no matter how much or how deep it may hurt individuals, organizations or movements.

It seems to be sort of an inherent ailment of every organization, by the very fact of it being an organized body, that it has to assume, when triumphant, the role of the dominant dispenser of the fate of a people. And history has proven it over and over again that every organized body becomes at the height of its success, the greatest stumbling block on the road for achieving the very aims it has set out to obtain. And even the CNT, with its sincerest and best of intentions seems to be no exception to the rule.

MARCUS GRAHAM.

Vulture

War is a vulture on sinister wings
Flapping above a demolished trench,
Gloating of regions of slime and stench.
War devours with gluttonous beak
Bodies that used to be clean and strong,
Sinking his talons in rotting flesh
Which once had lived with laughter and song.

LESLIE SAVAGE.

The Fight Against Deportations

The habeas corpus writ applied for in behalf of Dominick Sallitto has been denied by Judge St. Sure of the Federal District Court in San Francisco. Austin Lewis, attorney for Sallitto, notified that he will appeal to the Federal Circuit Court.

The Auxiliary Defence Committee of San Francisco has a new address, and all mail should henceforth be sent to: Auxiliary Defence Committee, P.O. Box 1589, San Francisco, Cal.

It remained for Mohegan Colony at Crompond, N. Y. to achieve what neither San Francisco, Los Angeles, nor New York could. Word has just reached us that on Sunday, August 18 the colony held a united front mass meeting to protest the deportation of Ferrero and Sallitto. The successful meeting was addressed by Carl Brodsky of the Communist Party, Sam Weiner of the Anarchists and Herbert Mahler of the Industrial Workers of the World. Why Brodsky or any other spokesman of the Communist Party could not have participated in the mass meeting held in San Francisco, Los Angeles or New York—still remains unanswerable, or rather indefensible.

The protest meeting held in Los Angeles on Thursday August 15, proved a great moral and material success. A crowded hall listened to speakers of various organizations addressing the meeting. The speakers were Martimer Dawning, Dave Tollman, Melmen, Clinton J. Taft and A. R. Martin.

The following resolution was unanimously adopted and sent to Francis Perkins, Secretary of Labor, Washington, D. C.

We, citizens of Los Angeles, representing various organizations, assembled in mass meeting August 15, 1935 to consider the plight of Vincent Ferrero and Dominick Sallitto of San Francisco, who have been ordered deported, are convinced;

First that their deportation will be an act of cruel, unwarranted persecution that will result in their incarceration for long years in an Italian prison and possibly in their death;

Second, that they are being penalized for no overt act which they have committed against the government or any individual but for certain beliefs which they hold and because they belong to an unpopular minority group;

Third, that deporting such men is contrary to the traditional spirit of freedom of America and essentially a violation of the constitutional guaranties of free speech, free press and free assembly.

Therefore we wish to enter our protest against the deportation of Ferrero and Sallitto and to urge you to do everything possible to have the deportation order quashed.

To all friends of freedom, who have regard for their liberties; International Labor Organizations, Fraternal Societies, Trade Unions and working class political parties;

Friends and Brothers:

Two Italians, legal residents of long standing in San Francisco, California, have been arrested for renting office space to a Libertarian journal called "MANI". The government objected to certain articles printed in this paper, charged that these men held ideas of Anarchism and proceeded to order their deportation.

This is an almost unprecedented violation of the principles of freedom of opinion and speech, and freedom of the press. This ordered deportation, if allowed to be carried out, will send these two Italians, Vincent Ferrero and Dominick Sallitto, to prison in Italy or even to their death!

Therefore, a special conference has been called for Wednesday, August 21, at 1241 N. California Avenue, at 8:00 P.M. at the Workmen Circle Hall. You are invited to send delegates for the purpose of protesting this injustice and planning further aid to these victims of this vicious deportation order.

Fraternalty yours,
General Defense Committee,
Local No. 1 Chicago.

M. FAGIN, WM. THOMPSON, A. S. GILMARTIN

P.S.—A protest mass meeting has been arranged for September 13 at Bowen Hall, Hull House.

The fight for the liberation of Ferrero and Sallitto, two Californian anti-fascists who face deportation on the charge of being anarchists, was carried to New York City where a protest meeting was held on Friday July 26th in Union Square.

A thousand workers gathered in the south end of the square to listen to the speakers, who represented various political trends present the case. It was pointed out that the two men if deported to Italy face under the existing Italian statutes from five to fifteen years for propagandizing against the Mussolini regime here. It was further pointed out that evidence against the two anti-fascists was of the flimsiest nature; the only evidence brought forth by the U.S. Department of Labor against them was that they had subtended space to MANI, an anarchist publication.

The speakers who spoke at the meeting were: Aurora Alleva and Bartholo Provo of the Italian group, William Taback of the Freedom group, Dwight Morgan of the Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, Herbert Mahler of the I.W.W., Charles S. Puner, attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union, Anna Sosnosky of the Stelton group, and Abe Bluestein of the Libertarian group. Sam Weiner of the Vanguard group acted as chairman.

The deportation proceedings against two Italian Comrades, Vincent Ferrero and Dominick Sallitto, charged with publishing the anarchist paper *Mani* in San Francisco is much more ominous a phenomenon of our political life than it may appear on the surface. Coupled with a systematic effort on the part of the authorities to terrorize and intimidate the readers and subscribers of that magazine, it appears to be a part of the general campaign of our would-be liberal government to deprive the anarchist movement of the last shred of civic rights still enabling it to function openly. A few more blows of that kind and a movement rooted deeply in American traditions, and the very spirit which went to make the best there is in American history, will be altogether driven underground.

Against this renewal of the infamous Palmer policies, which, by the way, were also instituted by a "liberal" government, every liberty loving man must raise his voice of protest. Thus far the liberal and radical world (this holds true of the anarchists as well) has been too remiss in the defense of the civic rights of anarchists. It is too often forgotten that it was the laws directed against the anarchists that became the opening wedge in the general curtailment of civic liberties pursued by the government since that period.

The fight against the deportation of the two Italian Comrades should not be left to anarchists only. A general campaign of protest based on the common efforts of the radical and liberal world should be instituted immediately. As wide a mass support should be created for it as possible. Mass meetings, resolutions of protest, collections of money, the aid of sympathetic trade unions should be undertaken immediately. It is a fight for the general principles of liberty, for the defense of a haunted and persecuted movement, for the rights of the foreign born to a minimum of human rights among which must be included the one to hold an opinion as to the political and economic future of humanity. It is a fight against the rising wave of fascism and as such it should be embraced by every progressive man and woman of America.

Protesting the ordered deportation of two Italian anti-Fascists, Vincent Ferrero and Dominick Sallitto, a mass meeting was held in San Francisco, Cal., by the Workers Party, Socialist Party, the I.W.W., the Northern California Civil Liberties Committee, Tom Mooney

* Neither Ferrero nor Sallitto are charged with the publishing of MANI—Editor.

Molders' Defense Committee, the I. L. G. W. U. and the Non-Partisan Labor Defense.

If reported to Fascist Italy as the government plans, Sallitto and Ferrero are subject to a sentence in Fascist dungeons of five to fifteen years under a law specifically passed to cover anti-Fascist citizens who have been residing outside Italy. This makes the deportation equivalent to extradition. Recently Italians arriving from Argentine and Uruguay were immediately seized upon arrival and sentenced to long terms on the dreaded penal islands.

The protests to Washington of many workers' organizations and the attention to the case has received here has prevented their deportation so far, but they are still in imminent danger.

Working class organizations are urged to protest to W. C. McCormack, Commissioner of Immigration, Washington, D. C. and to send notice of their action to the Non-Partisan Labor Defense.

Marcus Graham, editor of "MANI" notified the other organizations which cooperated in the protest meeting that he had requested the I. L. D. to participate also. Roth of the I. L. D. expressed a willingness to cooperate but said that she would first have to take the matter up with the Communist Party. After a conference between the I. L. D. and the C. P. which took nearly two hours, Graham was informed that under no circumstances would the C. P. or the I. L. D. appear on the same platform with the W. P. or N. P. D. Then to further disrupt the mass protest, the C. P. organized a rival meeting on the same evening at which the counter-attraction was Leo Gallagher speaking on the NRA.

(THE NEW MILITANT.)

The "Vegetarian and Fruitarian"—edited by Jean Roberts Albert reprinted in its August issue the first leaflet "The New Inquisition" that has been issued by the Auxiliary Defence Committee. The editor makes this introduction to the full reprint of the leaflet:

We are giving the following not because we are anything, politically or otherwise, but we are always for justice and always plead for the "underdog". That is why we are vegetarians—for mercy, for humanness, for justice. Such things should be widely known regardless. England years ago learned to let them talk undisturbed—no harm was done. Freedom of speech and press in England, and no one's thoughts analyzed and vivisected.

"Cultura Proletaria" has reprinted in full the second circular of the Auxiliary Defence Committee—"Shall These Men Be Extradited to Italy?" It only left out the address where to send material or moral aid. The *N.A. Boleno* (Esperanto) has had a write-up on its May-June issue. The weekly "*Il Corriere del Popolo*" of San Francisco, "*Il Proletaria*," and "*la Stampa Libera*" have all carried stories of the case. "*El Luchador*" of Los Angeles has done likewise. The Maryland Leader, the Industrial Worker and the New Socialist have had various write-ups on the case.

Readers are asked to forward us clippings re-case in any other publications not mentioned herein. The communist press and all its controlled "impartial" organs have still not as much as mentioned the case.

JOHN UJICH, a lumber worker from the Northwest was seized by immigration agents during an unemployed protest. He is now ill and being held at Ellis Island, pending final decisions of the courts. He is ordered deported to Italy, although he does not even speak the Italian language, since he comes from a part of Austria now belonging to Italy.

OCTAVIO PONS, another active unemployed worker of Tampa, Florida, is facing deportation to Cuba, and possible death there. The attorney of the I.L.D. claims that Pons is a native of Tampico.

Mrs. STELLA PETROSKI, mother of eight children, from the Anthracite Mine Fields faced deportation to Poland as a dangerous anarchist who is accused of wanting to "take your gun and shoot the government." She has been fifteen years in this country. The I.L.D. is defending her.

Summary deportation of striking Mexican workers in Gallup, New Mexico, is being charged by defense attorney for the I.L.D.

Replies

AMMON A. HENNACY: To my understanding of anarchism, Nicholas Lentz's evaluation of religion is far more anarchistic than your own approach, or rather defense of religion. To assert as you do, that "violence is really atheistic" is not only attempting to distort the issue, but to improve on Webster . . . If you were not to assume in arguing as an anarchist, but as a rank pro-religionist, your letter would be printed. MANI does not know of any anarchist school calling itself "religious anarchist." If there ever would arise one, we would combat it as a contradiction to one of the basic principles of anarchism—the negation of authority—divine as well as earthly.

H. H. LEWIS: You write: "I love machinery and science . . . even if I have gotten a reputation as a poet. Sure, I think that your Bakunine mysticism is the bias that cannot stomach my verse. Mere dedication to your dying sect would have bettered it in your estimation . . . I'll get translated in the beloved Motherland, USSR." Perhaps you do not even realize, my dear Lewis, that you yourself give me the best answer as to why your poetic creations are anything but poetry. I doubt also as to whether you yourself are aware as to what mysticism has to do with the man who demolished all mysticisms, including that of marxism, in his eloquent "God and the State." But if Bakunin's "mysticism" has aided me in recognizing bad poetry, I feel proud in considering myself one of his disciples. Your having dedicated bad poetry to a "dying sect" would not by a long shot make it good. It augurs well for you that you are able to kid yourself . . . I'll get translated in the land as the beloved Motherland, USSR," is your parting shot. I only hope as long as Fred Beal, one of the Gastonian refugees. It should do your sincere soul an immense lot of good. I mean such an experience. Hope to review Weiss's pamphlet of poems. Send me his address, as I would like to mail him copies of this magazine, which you "consider . . . very vicious."

INA DRAPER DE FOE: Your wish to be taken off the mailing list has been fulfilled. I deeply sympathize with your own feelings, and even agree with you that "hatred will never win out in any battle," although you seem to have little to say about the causes that bring forth all the prevalent hatred in the world at present. And since you assert: "that there are such things as God and Justice. I still believe in them"—might it not be expecting too much from you to point out the existence of either? The pages of this journal are open to you for such an exposition. Of all the scores of poets that have graced the literary page of this journal you are the first to withdraw because MANI does fight the causes of all existing hatreds and, most of all, for justice, although it does not believe in the God idea.

Financial Statement

(July 15 to August 15)

INCOME	\$85.15
EXPENDITURES	\$108.15
DEFICIT FROM LAST ISSUE	\$ 19.97

INCOME	\$128.12
DEFICIT	\$ 85.15
DEFICIT	\$ 42.97

RECEIVED FROM GROUPS

Crompond N. Y. \$5.00—T. F. Chicago, Ill., \$1.20—Philadelphia, Pa., \$10.00—Los Angeles \$5.00—San Jose Triun \$5.00—Los Angeles \$2.00—F. S. G. Chicago, Ill., \$3.40—T. F. Chicago, Ill., \$7.50,

IN RETROSPECT

(Continued from Page Four)

admittance of its utter bankruptcy, in the boast of being the sole force capable to bring social liberation to the workers. It is in fact its own death warrant, and at the same time should serve as an eye opener to the workers throughout the world—that the real road toward genuine social liberation rests with no party—but with themselves alone.

The "New Deal" March To Fascism

Acute suffering of millions of people continues throughout the land. Demagogues of all sorts, in governmental office or out of it, are offering schemes and plans—and as we have repeated ever so often—all these remedies tend to do everything under the sun except to show the people the most direct manner in which to free themselves from the roaches that are eating up their bodies, part by part.

A shameless demagogue-congressman, named Dies, has brought forward a bill to deport all the aliens and promptly: our unemployment evils will be cured forthwith. We will not speak of the very "christian" attitude embraced in such a move, for congressman Dies no doubt goes to church only once a week, and for but an hour or so, and he is therefore not bound to be a strict believer in christianity. It will therefore suffice to point out that if the demagogue in question would be taken seriously and at his word, no living soul in the country would be left here, including that gentleman himself, since we are but all aliens in the true sense of the word—Mr. Dies means of course non-citizens. Well and good—even if all such would be deported, Mr. Dies knows, or should know, that unemployment would not be cured thereby.

The new tax plan of Mr. Roosevelt has not even as yet been enacted into a law and our esteemed fraternity of the biggest legalized thieves in the country such as: J. D. Rockefeller, W. K. Vanderbilt, H. J. Fisher, C. S. Woolworth, S.S. Kresge—and a host of other gentlemen—thieves have already begun to give away millions of their accumulated stolen fortunes—to those whom they can control in full.

When the late Theodore Roosevelt began his trust-busting camouflage campaign, it finally led to the enactment of the Sherman Anti-Trust law. Today—all the trusts are decentralized into hundreds of "affiliated" bodies, with the same gang of robbers at the head-controlling power as when there was no Sherman anti-trust law at all.

Mr. F. D. Roosevelt's taxation plan upon stolen wealth, if ever enacted into a law, and if not declared as "unconstitutional"—is likewise going to prove but a huge hoax, as far as the rich robbers of the land are concerned. Their well arranged books will show that they have hardly any fortune at all that is left taxable!

We turn now to another phase of the workings of Mr. Roosevelt's new deal—that will show how sincere or insincere his entire scheme really is.

The relief administrative bodies in all the principal agricultural parts of the country have taken the position of dropping from their rolls anyone refusing to accept labor offered on farms. The main office at Washington has decreed that:

Any person on relief who refuses a job will be cut off immediately.

It is already a well known fact that the wages offered on farms is below the relief allowed by the government. The action of the relief administration becomes then, in turn, an apparatus for aiding every employer of labor to lower wages to a degree below that of the charity allotment itself!

That the relief scale of Mr. Roosevelt's scheme is non too generous was proven in New York City where a strike of workers on relief, skilled men of the building trades, against the set \$94.00 a-month-scale has taken place.

The military demagogue Hugh Johnson spilled plenty when he asserted that the \$94.00 a month scale was a 50 per cent increase over what the skilled workers have been earning for the last five years! If the workers could only digest the significance of this admission. And in order to force the workers on relief to lower the scale of wages, Johnson, La Guardia and Hopkins have decreed that either workers accept the wage-scale offered or be jailed for non-support of their families. Mussolini and Hitler are not far ahead over the "new deal" administration.

In the light of these recently developed events our condemnation of the new deal of Mr. Roosevelt as a well-conceived scheme of deceit and trickery by which to perpetrate the present system of chaos, disorder, want, misery and inequality should continue unabated, becomes fully vindicated.

If Franklin D. Roosevelt were not to be the tool-spokesman of the Raymond Moley—General Electric Swope—Clique of the wiser rich thieves of this country, he could, within 24 hours, put a complete stop to the exploitation of man by man. He might be "impeached" for making such an attempt. But the attempt alone would vindicate his sincerity.

As matters stand now, the workers, who are the leading sufferers, in this age of plentitude where abundance is being curtailed, destroyed, and kept from them—have but to realize that no party or politician is ever going to help them—as long and until such a time as they begin to help themselves. Only then will we witness an end of the brazen era of legalized robbers and political demagogues and deceivers of every sort and description—ruling the land supreme.

MARCUS GRAHAM.