

RUDOLF ROCKER

TESTIMONIAL TO
RUDOLF ROCKER

1873-1943

25c

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HONORABLE MENTION

—Must be made of the fine cooperation and support given by numerous organizations to the work of Rudolf Rocker in favor of freedom in America, particularly here on the Pacific Coast:

- Kropotkin Literary Society, Branch 413, Workmen's Circle, Los Angeles**
- Freie Arbeiter Stimme, (Oldest Yiddish Weekly in America)**
- Dr. Herman Frank, Editor. Published in New York City.**
- The Stelton Modern School Group of Los Angeles.**
- Associated Roman Forums, Dr. Frederick W. Roman, Director, Los Angeles**

The host of others among Eastern Americans, British, German, Spanish, Portuguese, Scandinavian, Dutch, and even Chinese groups can not be overlooked.

A bibliography of this published work, intended to be printed herein, is not now available, but would indicate the widespread acceptance of Rudolf Rocker's written books in the world.

A TRIBUTE TO RUDOLF ROCKER

By Dr. Frederick W. Roman,

Editor: Roman Forum Magazine

Regent: University of California

Director: Associated Forums, Ltd.

Having reached the milestone of three score and ten, it is quite natural that it would occur to admiring friends that the occasion demanded a period of pause and meditation on the life and achievements of one who has experienced much of the rare and unique in world history. Our friend, Rudolf Rocker, had several misfortunes! Among these was the fact that he was born a century or two too early! If democracy and freedom live there is some possibility that his type of thinking would have found better toleration two or three centuries hence, and may probably be in full vogue a millenium hence! However, it was quite necessary that he should suffer thus; otherwise it is possible that the creation and the crystallization of this genius might never have been brought forth to full fruition. It was also necessary that he should be born in Germany. Germany was a country, by virtue of long and learned traditions, that could bring forth a genius of this type. Also, it required the necessary restrictions of liberty that held their force in Prussian militarism and in crystallizing oppression to bring out the striving for freedom that characterizes the life and thought of Rudolf Rocker. His genius for thinking is genuinely German; likewise his toil, his persistence, and his willingness to make unending sacrifices, are German, too.

Again, it took an England to tolerate this Free Spirit for a long period of time, and finally even our America—not too awake and sensitive in the higher reaches of freedom—to complete a kind of existence that made life possible and at the same time did not fully prevent the blossoming and the blooming of this Independent Spirit of Thought and Action.

Today Rudolf Rocker is deeply prized by a small group of intellectuals here and elsewhere, but the field of true appreciation must await some coming generations.

The world is too engrossed and centered on things material, on the environment, and



DR. FREDERICK W. ROMAN

a world close at home, to be able to encompass a thought that ponders a world.

"*Nationalism and Culture*" offers a challenge, a field of reminiscence that will furnish the faggots for the flames of freedom that will glow in the illuminated centuries to come. This volume contains the sentences and the phrases on which will rest the bulwark of thoughtful meditation for the generations yet unborn. In its detail it may not always be accurate—it would be surprising if future history should make such a record—humanity never has had too clear a vision of the future. The most that one can expect is an inspiration. Rudolf Rocker has come forward with the aspiration. He has led the vanguard toward the light. He has depicted the tomorrow in dim outlines. The potentialities of open avenues have been indicated and mankind has been definitely set on the march toward light and the open plains for the wanderings and the habitations of free men!

ROCKER — THE HUMANICIST

By Dr. Arthur E. Briggs,

Author: —The Concept of Personality

Dean of Metropolitan University, Los Angeles



DR. ARTHUR E. BRIGGS

Rocker's contribution to American thinking is among the very best of that rich treasure of emigré or refugee talent which has so abundantly come to us through the successive purges of totalitarian Europe since 1917.

Unfortunately Rocker has become known to only very small circles in this country. But his thinking has a value that should entitle it to a first place in the work of publicists.

Those great fundamental principles of social philosophy which have long been so distinctively American have had no better interpreter from a European author than from Rocker. He is closer to the liberalism and democracy of Jefferson and Lincoln than any writer I can mention.

I think he is also the best interpreter we have had of European culture and nationalism. I can illustrate this by comparing him with Spengler and Sorokin. His brilliancy and breadth is similar to that of Spengler without the idiosyncracies which detract so much from the conclusions pronounced by Spengler. There is nothing dull in Rocker nor is he the prejudiced special pleader that Sorokin often

is. And Rocker is quite free from the cynicism that vitiates the understanding of both Spengler and Sorokin.

On comparing Rocker with another of directly opposite viewpoints, Pareto: The scholastic garments that cling so tightly to Pareto and Sorokin that abstractness seems to be the very nature of them, is not so obvious in Rocker. Scholarly as are his works they have always a literary flavor. With somewhat the laborious scholarship of a German he writes with the brilliancy of a cultured Frenchman. As Valery and Duhamel write. But there is an earnestness in Rocker that one associates with German character at its best, as in Goethe, Schiller and Heine.

Rocker is a man of the world rather than a nationalist, and therefore his clearly expressed attitudes are cosmopolitan. One of his main themes is the opposition he believes necessarily to exist between nationalism and culture. He is a most ardent protagonist of human freedom, which he conceives as the opposite of the power of some men over other men.

In such conflicting dualisms one might think Rocker to be addicted to Hegelian or Marxian dialectic, but his doctrine is an anti-thesis which those high priests of totalitarianism could never have admitted to their dialectical process.

By describing Rocker as a humanicist, I do not mean that he is known as such. Were I attempting here merely to interpret Rocker's own views, I would not try to arrange his thoughts under the heads I have chosen. That is to say, I do not pretend here to be just a critic of Rocker's ideas. Rather I am undertaking to draw from his expressions and illustrations to support ideas of my own. That, I think, is entirely justifiable if one's purpose is so understood. It becomes then no misrepresentation of the man.

But I do feel a great affinity with Rocker's main thought. Yet I do not entirely agree with him. I will not attempt to disguise that. I take Rocker to illustrate my theme because his thought is so profoundly explicative of my humanics.

Therefore, I cull from his work, taking only a very little of its cultural riches, some of his thoughts that fit into the subject of humanics, the science of man. For Rocker is conscious and promotive of nearly every fundamental premise of humanics.

I will first gather some of his ideas on these elementary premises, and then arrange certain of his viewpoints in relation to the great divisions of humanics. The latter correspond to a philosophical classification of the sciences which spring from the five main or most elemental aspects of human nature. These are, first, the mechanical nature of man expressed in physics, chemistry and technology; second, the vital nature of man, or his biological aspect; third, the psychic nature of man and its correlative sciences of mind; fourth, the social nature of man, and the corresponding sociological sciences; and fifth and lastly, the esthetic nature of man and the science of esthetics which is concerned with the arts of beauty, taste, and human happiness. These are each objectified in cultural entities, such as machines, biological inventions, the sciences, social institutions, and fine arts.

I shall take principally from three books written by Rocker: his *Nationalism and Culture*, *The Six*, and his last work, *Pioneers of Libertarian Thought in America*.

To explain the term "humanicist," humanism is a philosophy; humanics is a science. Rocker is aware of humanism rather than of humanics. But a sound philosophy of humanism will have already anticipated many of the principles of humanics. Rocker has the spirit of a scientist, and he is a humanist. Therefore, I name him a humanicist.

Rocker recognizes especially the greatness of the humanists of the Renaissance and of the eighteenth century. He marks the contrast between the authoritarianism and nationalism of Luther and the cultural humanism of Erasmus which was repelled by the illiberality of Protestantism (N. & C., 114, 127).^{*} He recognizes that they (as all humanists) based themselves on the great premise of Protagoras, the Greek contemporary of Socrates in the Fifth Century, B. C., who said the individual man is the measure of all things (128). Indeed, the test and measure of good in any thing of culture is its effect upon human personality. We will see that emphasis placed by Rocker upon every aspect of culture, whether

machines, life forces, ideas, societies, or arts.

Thus, as to mechanical forces, Rocker will not yield to the dogma of Marxism known as materialistic determinism (23, 115). Therefore he protests against the sacrifice of men to technique, the degrading of man into a machine, for the perfect functioning of the productive process (524). The human rhythm must not be chained to or determined by "any definite scheme or schedule" of a mechanical sort (ibid). And it is directly asserted that every compulsion of man to labor decreases his productive ability (526). The "big machine" is the menace of mankind; but for Rocker, as we will see, that is a sociological rather than a technological fact (526).

Rocker takes measure also of biological doctrines concerning the role of human beings. Following Kropotkin he sees clearly that great principle of mutual aid as far more important in the evolution of every species than the pitiless struggle for survival. Mutual aid indeed is a higher and more progressive and capable form of struggle for existence (470). Unhappily Rocker appears to fall into the egregious error that "man was not the creator of society, but society the creator of man" (471). On the contrary, as a very eminent ethnologist, V. Gordon Childe, has recently said: "Man makes himself." I think, however, contradictorily with his own views, Rocker has erred by deference to Kropotkin's theory which overweighed the social factor. As when Rocker asks and answers the question: "What importance, after all, have all the trifling peculiarities distinguishing members of different human groups—which at best are all that can be established and which are, in the end, only results of trained-in understandings, ideas and habits—in comparison with the over-bearing effect of an idea or concept of the universe which belongs to all men with equal force and strides on across all artificially constructed national boundaries"? (471). Is that Rocker's conviction? I say no! But his answer is not clear. It seems only to deny the binding force of national ideologies (472), with which on ethical grounds we agree. Humanics values the individual differences in men, and the new biology (Julian Huxley) attributes to the exceptional variability in men the exceptional capacity of men to progress evolutionally.

Rocker also makes distinction between biological principles as to races and those vitiating "race theories whose advocates have

^{*}The letters signify the book and the numbers the pages cited in First Edition of "Nationalism and Culture."

ventured to judge the mental, moral and cultural qualities of particular human groups from the real or imaginary characteristics of a race," and says: "The undertaking is extremely risky." (298). Mankind is a single race (301). In man environmental influences are probably more productive of physical variations than race crossings. (304). He disposes quite completely of the false assumption that heredity provides a predictable determinism as to the character and possible attainments of a man (316ff). Acquired characters which are not transmissible by heredity are most influential in the behavior of man. Ideas, indeed, rule men more than the primitive urges of love and hunger. (320). Rocker's chapter on racism is the most unpleasant to read, because it is so terribly and revoltingly true.

It is in *The Six* that Rocker has explored the mysteries of the mind or soul of man. In three pairs or contrasted types of men he has found the apparent contradictions of life capable of solution: that Faust and Don Juan may at last join hands in "a realm where intelligence and impulse are at one" (237); that the gloomy reasonings of Hamlet may be dispelled and the madness of Don Quixote may be cleared away when deed is linked with understanding (243-5); that there is harmony when the introverted soul of Medardus the monk and the extravertive spirit of Heinrich the poet, so futile when separated, may come together in the merging of the ego and the other, the "I" finding itself in the "We" (252-3). In the story these followed six several roads to the self-same goal. It teaches that these, each pursued alone, exhaust the spirit of man, but happiness and life will spring anew from the union of intellect and impulse, of act and understanding, of inner and outer self. Together, Rocker believes, they solve the riddle of the Sphinx, the pains and sorrows of man's inquiring nature that seems so hopelessly lost in doubt in the intellect of a Hamlet or Faust, or so madly alluring in the lust of Don Juan or the imagination of Don Quixote, in the frenzy of the poet or the dark stirrings of religious zeal trying to save its own soul.

In a review like this I cannot expand to include much of Rocker's sympathetic expression of thought concerning the mysteries of the human spirit. I mention only a little to show his drift of humanism. He portrays Mephistopheles entering the study of Faust and

tempting and corrupting him with the promise of knowledge and understanding to depart from his belief and faith in God and to sink himself in the lust of love. But disillusioned Faust discovers that "God and Satan are of the same race" (36). No dependence is to be placed on either. Man must help himself, liberate himself, and save himself. (37).

On the other hand, Don Juan is a cynical realist. He spends no time on ultimates like a philosopher does. He lives for and in "the pleasure of the moment" (44). He is not bothered by morals. But lusts at last burn out and leave the riddle of the Sphinx unsolved.

Is a Hamlet thrown upon the resources of his own brain any better off? Trusting to thought and reason his instinctive nature becomes confused and in that confusion he loses the strength of will and deed. Logic is just as powerless before the Sphinx. (103).

But will that noble knight fare any better on the road, for all that he is attended by a realistic serving man deeply engrossed in the things of this world? No. For idealism and realism can never be known to each other. The Sphinx remains unanswered.

On the fifth road (151) travels the monk, worshipping Mary, the Mother of God. But sinful thoughts obtrude upon the holy vision. And the Devil gets him. As in the Garden of Eden, self-knowledge betrays him. He knows himself as Jekyll and Hyde. The Sphinx is unanswered.

On the sixth road roams the poet, and seems to come from the great mystic realm of being in the pre-birth cosmos. The "I" comes out of the "All" (190). The poet dwells in the dream world. He is not burdened by the thralldom of the "I." Verily the poet sheds beauty all about him as he goes. His songs make all the world to revel in beauty. He frees mankind (196). He goes seeking the beautiful blue flower in the valley. He can convince no one of its reality. At long last he finds it. He uproots it and wraps it in his bosom. He hurries back to the world of people, but it has become a place of horror and of pain. He finds the people and goes to deliver them. The little blue flower is their salvation. But when he withdraws it from its wrapping it "lies wilted in his hand." His harp strings broken, the people drive him away. The social tragedy of the pure hearted dreamer, the poet, (Ibsen's *Enemy of the People*, as Haldane thinks every

benefactor of the race must inevitably be, to be rent, torn or killed by the mob), is the last sad beautiful figure of *The Six*.

And so he ends his journey at the feet of the Sphinx, sinking in the desert sands.

The story of *The Six* is a parable of the mind or soul. Is it reasonable that pursuing these six separate paths or roads, each one comes to the end of the journey and discovers there that all roads lead to the Sphinx and the riddle of life is answered by the merging there? Is it true that the vice and delusion of each is purged at the feet of the Sphinx? It sounds suspiciously like the solution of Nirvana. Despite the liberties I have proposed to take with Rocker's thought, I hesitate to conclude as his conclusion what seems obvious to me, namely, that the cosmic Sphinx must continue to be a riddle, but in the spirit of man, and there alone so far as we may now know, may there be union of these several aspects of human nature. In the philosophies of Hume and Dewey, I find somewhat of a riddling of the riddle. They do not pretend to cosmic profundity but only to a working explanation of man's behavior. But the Sphinx aside, I think Rocker has very profoundly plumbed these aspects of human nature and discovered a human unity or union which is workable.

Let us return to Rocker's other work for his analysis of the social being of man, where he appears more hopeful though not optimistic.

I think any one must be impressed by Rocker's work that, for all the artist he is, his passion is for social reform. That is his continuing affinity with Kropotkin. Freedom and justice are his watchwords.

But justice is a term of the law. Rocker distinguishes between state law and common law, and gives approval only to the latter. Not even in the law of the democratic state can he discover a germ of justice. It is in customary or natural law, whose sole source is the culture of the people, that justice has its seat of authority (N. & C. 86). I think there is a wavering in his argument here.

When he declaims against democracy, it is the false pretense of democracy in Rousseau. In his *Pioneers of Libertarian Thought in America* he approves the genuine democracy of Jefferson and Lincoln. Occasionally glimpses of the same truth appear in his *Nationalism and Culture* (312).

One who cherishes freedom will hesitate

to subscribe to the assumption that the folkways and mores of natural or customary law are flexible enough for the need of social progress (86).

One must agree with Rocker, I believe, in his thesis against nationalism. His protest against the doctrine of social determinism is just as valid. (342, 521). But it is not culture that is to be served, as he supposes (344). That is the same error of personifying an abstract entity, as when it is assumed that the end of man is to serve society. With truer insight Rocker insists upon "the personal objectives of the individual" (350). Otherwise freedom has no human meaning. But he concedes that society is only an instrument to serve the personal objectives of individual men as far as may be done with due regard for the equality of individual rights? (519). He does assume that the elimination of "the struggle for political and economic power" will safeguard the interests of all. But how is that to be attained? He seems to rely wholly upon automatic or natural processes of culturization, once external political compulsion is removed. This point of view seems to suffer from failure to recognize the existence of other coercions besides the political. Today the main excuse for political power is to place a curb upon excessive economic power. As Drucker has pointed out, the economic organization also exercises power akin to political power. In any social organization it is the same. Even if political power is not separately specialized as a function, it will still exist, though in disguise in some other social form. I think Rocker's description of religious or ecclesiastical power also proves that (54). Social organization and social power are synonymous terms. They are incidental to the Great Society. Culture itself is an instrument of power.

What Kropotkin and his followers and all the extreme individualists as well have failed to understand is the true function of constitutions and other governmental checks and balances to restrain the unjust and unequal exercise of power. Constitutional democracy is the only adequate solution that has yet been devised.

It is the great merit of Rocker that he has identified the advancement of culture with the extent of personal freedom. His work is primarily a demonstration of this great premise of humanics. Thus in Greece, and particularly in Athens, unusual freedom de-

veloped (367) and in consequence "the Greeks are perhaps the only people who were able to achieve the highest in every field of culture." (359). Likewise in the Italian medieval republics or free cities, "If we leave out of consideration the city republics of ancient Hellas there never was another period in the history of European peoples which produced in so short a time so great a wealth of works of culture." (420).

What makes a culture is in part its outstanding men of genius. "The personal always takes first place in artistic work." (498, 474). And that includes architecture, although Rocker says: "It is the most social of all arts and in it is always manifest the will of a community." (480). And architecture is usually anomalous as to its creator. (481). In this conclusion Rocker overlooks some facts such as that the remarkable Gothic cathedrals were that kind of a collective enterprise which extraordinarily enshrines individual craftsmanship. As he says: "The Gothic cathedral is not a centralized structure." (489). Had it not been so much a product of individual craftsmen it could not have had that unique characteristic of being "a structure of articulated members, in which every part breathes with its own proper life." (489). As it has been often remarked, the individual craftsman did not fail to inscribe his name on his particular part of the work of the whole. In the public buildings of Athens individual craftsmanship also left its distinctive mark.

The humanism of the Renaissance led to a yet higher development in some respects in a very great single architect, Michelangelo, of whom Rocker says: "He strove always for a subjectivizing of art." (493). In our own country it is only necessary to mention the great individual names of Thomas Jefferson and Frank Lloyd Wright to understand that architecture also has its names and expresses the characters of the individual men who create it and recreate it.

All of the arts, as Rocker emphatically urges, rise and fall as the freedom of men rises and falls. It is true of every art, as Rocker says of speech: It "is not a special organism obeying its own laws . . . ; it is the form of expression of human individuals socially united." (283).

Coming then to our conclusion, as we find it confirmed by Rocker: Humanics provides a scientific program for the solving of the world's problems. Rocker has emphasized

the evils of power in nationalism and religion. He has not perceived that the problem is one of culture also. Yet in our analysis of his thought under the five principal aspects of human nature, we have seen that his data confirms our judgment and criticism to a considerable degree.

Thus we find Rocker in agreement that what has been sometimes assumed as the evil of the machine is rather a vice of social organization which subordinates man and attempts to mechanize him. In answer to those who think that the evil is inherent in man's biological nature, Rocker takes and develops Kropotkin's view that mutual aid and not destructive struggle between men is and always has been the path of social progress. The assumption that natural conflict of races is at the basis of all wars Rocker shows to be merely an ideological fallacy which has no foundation in biological facts.

If then we turn to psychology for explanation of the ills that afflict man and seek there the remedy, Rocker urges powerfully that the ill lies in the one-sided or one-track pursuit of ends or goals. The man of action must join hands with the man of thought; the intellect must not crush out the man of passion in him, but nevertheless the passions must be kept under the wise guidance of reason. The individualist must not quench the sympathies of the social man; nor may the social man despise the lone vigils of the soul. That is the message of *The Six*.

Of the social evils Rocker singles out what Nock phrases as "Our Enemy the State." It is especially in Rocker's view the embodiment of the vitiating principle, power. In *Nationalism and Culture* he makes an elaborate argument against identifying culture with what he contends is really its negation, the state or nationalism. I wish he had made a more discriminating criticism. The evil is the super-state, over-weening nationalism. In his *Pioneers of Libertarian Thought in America* he has attained a better understanding of the problem and recognized partially the special genius of Jefferson's and Lincoln's solution. The true democratic process is not derived from Rousseau but from Jefferson. We must remember that not all is democracy which is named such. For my part, I do not distinguish liberalism from Jeffersonian democracy.

Finally, if our culture is decadent, what is the cause? What is the cure? The facts which Rocker adduces show clearly that

where freedom prevails there the genius and welfare of men is abundant. Where society is characterized by centralization of power, genius declines or disappears and economic distress ensues. The welfare of mankind cannot endure slavery in any form. A great people is a free people, not ingrown or isolated from neighboring cultures. The good of any society can be only in, for and through the advancement of each and every individual man.

So brief an analysis of such comprehensive thinking as characterizes Rocker's work makes his rich content seem poor and unattractive. I think, however, it may have value for introduction if it makes less confusion for the reader suddenly immersed in its flood of learning. In him a great thinker has come among us. His judgments are excellent. His

interpretations are those of great insight to the cultures of the Western world. To understand our time and its turgid currents Rocker is the best of guides. To redeem our world from its ills his remedies are excellent medicine; they stand proven by time and experience of the broadest world scope. Whatever he has written is more than worthy of perusal. The three books I have referred to are indispensable books. It is the exceptional privilege of ourselves to do something to give them a much wider circulation, because their message is so vital for the rescue of culture from the deadening forces of oppressive power! Their watchwords of freedom and justice are the symbols of healing virtues for the ills of individual men as well as of societies. The humanism of Rocker, if not science, is so close that we may claim him as a humanicist.



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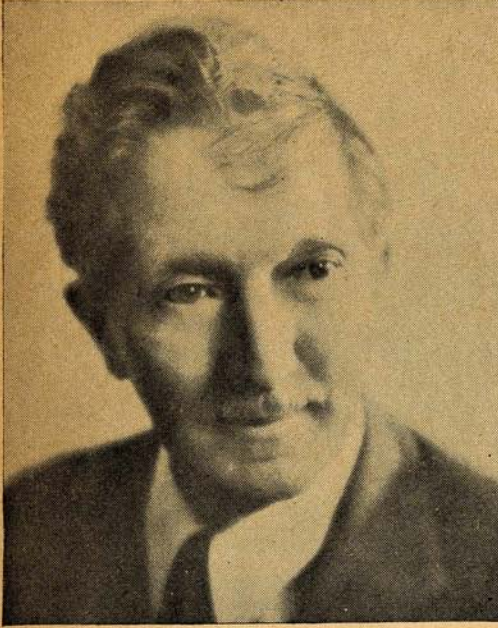
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RUDOLF ROCKER — Nationalism and Culture



—Photo by Odiorne.

WALTER E. HOLLOWAY

Rudolf Rocker is seventy years old. I gladly join the multitude of his friends throughout the world in celebrating the occasion. Most heartily I send him cordial personal greetings and wish him many returns of the day, as many as comfort of body and peace of mind are his, sufficient to allow him to continue his work for the freedom of all mankind. A longer life than that I do not want for myself and would not wish for a friend—it's a thing to reserve for one's enemies, if he has them and is vindictive enough to wish it even for them. A man's work is a major part of his life and this is especially true of a man like Rocker who lives in and for his work. May his health hold and his strength continue for many years!

As a member of the committee that published his "*Nationalism and Culture*" in America, I have been asked to write an article to form a part of the symposium in honor of Rocker. My friendship for the man and my appreciation of his work prompt me to do so and the insistence of those restless rascals Cook and Yaffe, who are always hounding me to do something, has overcome my indolence. I shall leave to others who have known

By Walter E. Holloway,

Author: "*The Rubaiyat of Today*"

President: Rocker Publications Committee

Rocker long and intimately the pleasant task of telling you about his long and useful life, and shall confine myself to a few remarks about his work. However, I can not deny myself the privilege of remembering that I met him personally a few times and recognized a man of sturdy mind and gentle heart, deeply devoted to the cause of Liberty and possessed of the qualities of affection and loyalty that make him a valued friend. Contact with him has left with me a strong and lasting and agreeable impression.

Rocker has written many books but his "*Nationalism and Culture*," in my opinion, easily takes first place in intrinsic importance, especially at this time. I shall limit my remarks to this book. In a brief article, one cannot undertake a detailed review and exhaustive criticism of a book of some six hundred pages, packed with data of all forms of human activity covering the entire range of history from the days of ancient Greece to our own times. That would require a book in itself and more ability than I possess but I may be able to give you the gist of the book and fasten your attention upon some of its most significant points.

As the title indicates, Rocker's desire is to focus the Searchlight of history on the influence of Nationalism upon Culture in the long struggle of man for Liberty. The struggle of nation against nation for self-expression and power and conquest has played the chief role in history since the curtain first rose on the drama of human life on earth. It has profoundly influenced Man's Life, in all of its phases, his Culture, his Civilization, his Progress, his success or failure in realizing the supreme instinctive desire of his heart—PERSONAL FREEDOM and the right and opportunity to build a home for himself, his woman and his children. That struggle still goes on. In fact it has grown in intensity since the last war—World War No. 1—and now rises to a climax in World War No. 2.

Nationalism has been on a rampage all over the world. It has taken a specially ag-

gressive and virulent form in Germany and Italy and Japan. In Russia, where for some years following 1917 we saw Inter-nationalism making progress, Nationalism again emerges in full force. In Great Britain Churchill says: "We intend to hold on to our own," which appears to include India. He hasn't forgotten Kipling's "Recessional":

"God of our fathers, known of old,
Lord of the far-flung battle line,
Beneath whose awful hand we hold
Dominion over palm and pine."

And in America, if you want to know what is really going on behind the scenes, read the financial papers and listen in on the conferences where the "big boys" gather to discuss the prospects of post-war profits.

The problems which Rocker discusses in his book are, at bottom, the very problems that are up NOW for settlement. Upon a sane settlement of them depends, in large measure, the future of mankind: his civilization and progress and happiness, if not his very life. I know of no book more appropriate for TODAY'S READING. (It gives me much satisfaction to note that John B. Hughes, a News Commentator of ability, recently commented favorably, in his Radio program, upon Rocker's "*Nationalism and Culture*.") I'd like to make it a "MUST READ" in our State Department, our Halls of Congress, our Diplomatic Service, our Universities and Colleges, our Press, our Radio, and among our people generally.

We are in the midst of a global war, destructive not only of life and property, but of cultural values. Now more than ever it behooves those, who love Liberty, to be informed, to think straight, and to act honestly and courageously to save as much as we can of Libertarianism whose enlightened influences are threatened with extinction all over the earth. The wolves of rapine are loose, the lust of power in their hearts, and the slaver of slaughter driveling from their mouths. War stimulates emotionalism, heightens prejudices, and distorts vision. We are prone to over-love our "friends" and over-hate our "enemies" and forget the fundamentals of freedom, to forget that ALL MEN are entitled to Freedom. Even if our "enemies" are not deserving of freedom, it is well to remember that we are not likely to get or keep it for ourselves without granting it to them. In fact we never shall. Peace which is anything more than an armed truce can never come to a

tortured world except through the UNIVERSAL APPLICATION OF JUSTICE.

Again I say that I wish our "moulders of public opinion" would read Rocker's book.

There is a general agreement that the "conditions of peace" should be discussed now. They are being discussed now but anyone familiar with the last "Peace" recognizes the danger that the "same old mistakes" will be made inevitably unless A CLEARER UNDERSTANDING OF THE FACTS IS HAD. I see small evidence of this. Libertarians, at least, could read Rocker's book. They could try to see clearly, think calmly, and act soberly and courageously, and hold fast to the essential principles of Liberty and Justice. With these things in mind let us take a look at the present, in the light of the past, and try to steer a straight course for the future. Otherwise we shall miss the true meaning of Rocker's book.

"*Nationalism and Culture*" is not a perfect book. No book is—not even my own. (I hope you see me smile as I say this!) Thomas Hardy once said: "I have written many books during my long life and now that I am old (he was near ninety) I look back and wish that I had not started to write until I was past fifty." I am sure that every thoughtful man must feel the same way. I never pick up what I wrote even a few years ago without finding fault with it, in manifold details, even though I adhere to the theme in its main aspects. It is in this spirit that I venture to comment upon some phases of Rocker's book. For every point of disagreement I find ten of agreement. The book is a great and useful book and deserves a place in the library of every serious student.

Rocker wants man to be free because he regards Culture as a flower that comes to full blossom only on the stalk of Freedom. "Where Freedom flourishes Culture flourishes and where Freedom languishes Culture languishes," is an axiom that runs through every chapter of his book. (The wording of the axiom is mine but I am sure that Rocker would agree with it.) He insists that Society (the ensemble of social institutions) is "natural" and that the State is "artificial." Society, being "natural," (as he thinks) — the outgrowth of instinctive human relations throughout the ages — he regards as wholesome and conducive to progress.

The State (under whatever form — Monarchy, Republic or Dictatorship), being ar-

tificial, man-made and coercive, he regards as prejudicial to individual freedom and therefore to Culture. As a broad generalization I accept his conclusion. I would go even farther than he does in his animadversions on the State. I think the State is not only "artificial," man-made, but made by a few classes of men: namely, the priesthood, the "divine-right" rulers, the thing-holders, the philosophers, and other "seekers of power," or their supporters, but I can not accept his eulogy of Society. Society, too, it seems to me, bears the earmarks of human handicraft. It, too, is largely man-made. It is not, as the anthropologists say it is, the natural outgrowth of the interrelations of ALL MANKIND.

It was made by the same interested parties who made the State and for the same reasons. No, it was not ALL MANKIND, who made Society, any more than it was ALL MANKIND who made the State. This assumption, made by anthropologists generally, appears to me a gross error. That Rocker acquiesced in it is to be regretted. Even the able Franz Boaz did not seriously challenge the assumption. All social institutions, (Society) of which government is but one, had their origin in the self-aggrandizing machinations of primitive priesthoods. By whatever name they were known: miracle-workers, makers of magic, medicine-men, they were self-appointed agents of some "divine" power, and they constituted themselves the "government." As wielders of "temporal" power they "made" the laws and as the "interpreters" of "spiritual" power they "made" the "sins." And in both cases they collected the "fees," the "taxes" and the "tithes."

These soothsayers were the first kings. As time passed various other classes, by reason of power acquired in one way or another, forced their way into the government. Soldiers were the first to get in, then land-lords and recently labor-leaders. The change in government has not been as marked as the change in the "leaders." It's a long and sorry story which can not be told here. Saint Paul formulated the slogan not only for the priests but for all "King's Men": philosophers and educators, politicians under whatever mask they hide: "The powers that be are ordained of God. He that resisteth the power resisteth God, damnation." In other words if we do not follow our governors like a puppy follows his master we shall land inevitably in hell. (Hell

is another of the inventions of these miracle-mongers.)

The clergy have always been sensitive to Paul's admonitions and still are. The "philosophers" only slightly less so. And the less said about politicians of all sorts the better. The point I am making is that "Society," like the State, is artificial, in large part, and, blindly acquiesced in, is restrictive, coercive, and destructive to personal initiative and liberty. Customs rule us with insistent force just as laws do. In many ways even more effectively. G. B. Shaw once said: "An Englishman is a man who thinks his national customers are natural laws."

But Rocker's main thesis stands: The State is artificial and coercive and unopposed tends to destroy the individual. Progress from early days until today has consisted in limitations put upon governments by men struggling for personal liberty. We should remember that institutions are made for men and not men for institutions. We should learn wisely to disobey. You should read Harold Lasky's "*The Dangers of Obedience.*" So, while I can not follow Rocker in his hopeful distinction between State and Society, I hasten to say that my criticism adds to rather than lessens the significance of his theory concerning the effect of Nationalism upon Culture. In pointing out that Society, as well as the State, is artificial and coercive I am merely saying that Society also tends toward absolutism and, therefore, may defeat and destroy Progress and Culture.

As Libertarians we must rest our hopes of Liberty upon modifying Society also. A book that isn't worth criticism isn't worth reading. Rocker's book very decidedly is worth both. It is provocative of thought. Reading it sends me constantly to other books: to Kronotkin's, to Jefferson's, to Harry Elmer Barnes' "*World Politics in Modern Civilization,*" to other writers from Plato to Russell. Any book that can do that has my recommendation and the writer of it my appreciation and gratitude.

In connection with the duty of Libertarians to resist the encroachments of authority I must remind you especially of Jefferson. My early intellectual life was saturated with our Colonial history, our struggle for Independence, and the literature of the French Revolutionary Period from which Jefferson and Franklin derived much of their determination to defend and preserve personal liberty.

Jefferson distrusted government. He insisted upon putting definite limits to its powers. He was not a member of the Convention that drafted our Constitution but he wrote to Patrick Henry from France, urging him to resist the adoption of the Constitution unless and until a Bill of Rights was included. That is the history of the first eleven Amendments which were adopted with the Constitution.

Jefferson knew that the History of Progress is the history of the struggle of the people to limit the powers of government. The great Magna Carta, wrested from crazy King John in 1215 is a specific limitation of powers. The Bill of Rights, wrested from autocratic King Charles in the seventeenth century likewise is a specific limitation of the powers of government. That is why Jefferson insisted upon a Bill of Rights in America. It is largely to his splendid fight against the reactionaries of his time that we owe our Bill of Rights. His: "That government is best which governs least," should be carved on the Public Buildings in Washington, D. C. today.

Jefferson had the same love for and confidence in the common people that Lincoln and Kropotkin had, and Rocker has. This is significant. It speaks well for Rocker and should commend him to American readers. Rocker, as a refugee from Hitler's Germany, should find a sympathetic hearing in this country. When I read Rocker I keep thinking of Jefferson. Let no one think that my concern over the centralization of power in Washington is an idle and baseless fear. I have watched this gradual assumption of power for nearly fifty years and studied the growth of Court Prerogatives, under the interpretations of the Supreme Court, and I do not hesitate to say that Jefferson, were he alive, would voice extreme anxiety.

Shortly before his death, I talked with Senator Robert M. La Follette, Sr., about his long struggle for Liberty in and outside of the Senate, and I can never forget his melancholy reflections over what seemed to me a splendid and courageous career. When I complimented him upon his accomplishments he said sadly but with utter sincerity and simplicity: "I haven't accomplished much, young man," and then added wistfully: "Perhaps things would have been worse if I hadn't tried." Just so! And there is an admonition to you and me to bestir ourselves and resist arbitrary tendencies today. "Eternal vigilance is the

price of liberty." It really is and I may add that it is the mark of good citizenship.

Under War Powers the Federal Government is reaching into the lives of individual citizens to an amazing degree. Much of this assumption of power is unnecessary even from a military standpoint and reflects the desire merely to "regulate for the sake of regulation" if we are to believe Fulton Lewis, Jr., who broadcasts "The Top of the News" from Washington. It would pay you to tune in on Mr. Lewis. I'm sure you would be better able to distinguish between "meddling and muddling," and efficiency. I am not here impugning anybody's motives but merely discussing methods. Such constructive criticism as Mr. Lewis often makes is a service to the cause of Liberty.

We shall get, I think, a clearer concept of the relation of Nationalism to Culture, when reading Rocker's book, if we keep in mind the profound influence that technological processes have had throughout the ages, especially in modern times since the invention of labor-saving machinery. We need to keep in mind the relation of Leisure to Culture and that leisure has been vastly influenced by labor-saving machinery. Rocker refers to the splendid Greek culture of the classical period of 300 B. C. as proof of his thesis that where Freedom flourishes Culture flourishes.

There was, to be sure, a magnificent efflorescence of culture in "democratic and liberty-loving Athens": Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides flourished as poets; Aristotle, Plato and Socrates expounded their philosophies; Phidias carved his beautiful statues; Demosthenes delivered his impassioned orations; Herodotus and Thucydides recorded their histories; Democritus made a commendable beginning in science; and even Pericles, though he was more a politician than a statesman, was a brilliant man. But the freedom of the few thousand citizens of Athens, which enabled them to develop this splendid culture, rested upon the subjugation of many times their number of slaves. Actually the FREEDOM for cultural activities of the citizens of Athens rested upon SLAVERY.

It may be said that this was necessary at the time. Without labor-saving machinery leisure of the few was impossible except through the slavery of the many. Grant that! But this is not the ideal of the Libertarian of today. It is not Rocker's ideal. He and we want liberty and leisure and culture for ALL.

MANKIND. A decent civilization can stand and endure on no other basis. So, we must take Rucker's illustration in defense of his thesis of liberty as the basis of culture in the light of the historical facts. It is not a repudiation of his thesis but it is an admonition to look carefully to the circumstances of the times. The same animadversions may be made as to the Mediaeval Period when the Revival of Learning took place. The culture of the few rested upon the leisure of the few and that in turn rested upon the serfdom of the many. The explanation is the same as in Athens: there was no labor-saving machinery.

But what of TODAY? We have labor-saving machinery NOW. The big machine does the work of an hundred or a thousand men. Clearly, if the machine's ability to create leisure for men were applied to creating leisure for ALL MEN, instead of a FEW MEN, there would be the opportunity for Culture for all men instead of limiting it to a few men. THAT is the ideal of the Libertarian. THAT is the ideal of Rucker. And herein lies the force of his great book, "*Nationalism and Culture*." Even now when the machine makes leisure and liberty and culture possible for ALL, the State can be used to defeat this supremely desirable end. It can be used still, as it has been used in the past, to prevent progress. It is SO USED. Americans are horrified by the use of the State in Germany, in Italy, and in Japan, to regiment and enslave their peoples, to stifle self-expression and initiative. This, we see, strangles Culture.

Rucker has pointed out this inherent tendency of the State throughout all history. That the danger is still apparent is clear. Now more than ever it is clear. Instinctively America and Great Britain, where the struggle of the individual to limit the powers of State has made most progress, fear the spread of this tendency through the world. We are right in fearing it. Life without Liberty is DEATH. But we should remember the long struggle even in democratic countries to check the same tendency. The struggle in England. The struggle in America. We should remember Jefferson. The tendency is still alive in England. And it is alive here. Good citizens strive against this tendency AT HOME as well as ABROAD. Libertarians have a heavy responsibility to strive against it to the extent of their ability. We should strive to inculcate and maintain a sane and

healthy public opinion, and keep alive and functioning a sturdy opposition to the too-strong drift toward complete bureaucracy at Washington, which if not curbed, will inevitably stifle all self-expression and render our people incapable of performing their normal and necessary activities. This all-absorbing bureaucracy can very well defeat the fair ends even of democracy. That is why I have mentioned Fulton Lewis, Jr.'s Radio program.

Also, I should encourage you to listen to Raymond Gramm Swing who recently has criticized the unnecessary suppression of news. His program is introduced with the slogan: "Only an informed America can be an invincible America." These are healthy actions and should be encouraged. And above all the complete story of the dangers that inhere in all governments, from which not even democratic governments are immune, is told graphically in Rucker's "*Nationalism and Culture*." It is PRESENT DAY reading. All the happiness and misery of life, all the joy of accomplishment and the tragedy of failure, all the drama of human life:—all these are involved in the long struggle for FREEDOM. And the struggle still goes on. You have a part to play in it.

Also, I think Libertarians should avail themselves of the tremendous advantage which science gives them in their arguments for Liberty as a basis for Culture and the improvement of social conditions. Rucker has given us the fundamental elements of the historical argument for Liberty: "Where Liberty flourishes Culture flourishes," but science shows WHY this is true. Darwin proved that "Function begets organism." Life must be FREE or it cannot continue. LIBERTY IS LIFE, TYRANNY IS DEATH. That is the voice of immutable NATURE. Interference with functional activity, physical or mental, strikes at the very heart of life. Put an arm, a perfectly healthy arm, in a sling and it will atrophy and decay. Put a brain in a straight-jacket of authoritarian suppression of thought and expression and you'll get a moron. That is why there are so many morons abroad in the land. We should not forget that NATURAL LAWS are a force in democracies as well as in dictatorships—in America as in Germany.

Free thought and free speech and free press are not only POLITICAL but BIOLOGICAL necessities. Suppression in America has the same destructive effects as in

Italy; like causes have like effects EVERYWHERE. There are no exceptions or immunities. If we forget those things we may easily lose the whole substance of what America, with its history of comparative freedom, is striving to hold and increase: LIBERTY. We are on sound scientific ground and have every right to claim that LIBERTARIANISM is the only philosophy that promises a reasonable hope of the solution of man's problem on earth: the making of a HOME ON EARTH, comfortable and beautiful, for all the children of men. It is the "last best hope of earth," and NOW is the time to strive to this end.

We should not forget that reactionary tendencies can and do gain strength, under war pressure, even in democracies. There are serious proposals in Washington to resort to conscription of labor and compulsory assignment of jobs. This is highly dangerous. It sounds like "conscript labor." The "pay as you go" tax bill, if it carries with it the collection of the tax "at the source"—from the worker through his employer—is not as "pretty" as it may seem. Old King Charles will turn over in his grave, sit up and say: "Now why the devil didn't I think of that?" Improvident people accustomed to installment buying, may like the idea of paying taxes that way, but it is, nevertheless, a dangerous infringement of personal liberty. Even labor union men are beginning to object to such collection of their dues.

As Rocker has pointed out there are dangers inherent in Nationalism, whatever form it may take: Monarchy, Dictatorship, Democracy. What hope then is there for the human race? Does it lie in Inter-nationalism? Perhaps, but not necessarily so. It depends upon the nations making up the inter-nation. A convention of house-breakers doesn't make a group of honest men. Unless individual nations "clean house" at home and come into the Inter-national Court with clean hands, any attempt at World Comity will fail at this time, after the war, as the League of Nations failed after the last war. I recall Woodrow Wilson's famous Fourteen Points: self-determination of peoples, peace without reprisals, free world trade, etc. and etc., but what happened? You really should read John Maynard Keynes' *"Economic Consequences of the Peace"* and John Dillon's *"Inside Story of the Peace Conference."* They tell why the League of Nations failed. And they also tell

why a Council of United Nations, made up of victorious nations determined to exclude conquered nations and keep them for an indefinite period under military occupation, would fail.

The present prospect in the plans being discussed for Peace are not encouraging. Great Britain has no intention of coming into Court with "clean hands." Churchill says: "We intend to hold on to our own." He means, I am sure, the British Empire—India et al. That he does mean this is evidenced by the action of the British Labor Party, as told in today's London papers. (April 4, 1943) The Labor Party (not the Labor Ministers in Churchill's Cabinet) call upon the Government to announce their intention to put the colonies—all of them, India included—under Inter-national Mandate, in such manner as will guarantee complete freedom to the colonies, within a reasonable time, and meanwhile guarantee them unimpeded free trade, without monopolistic advantages to Great Britain. And they say THIS is the only POSSIBLE SURE FOUNDATION FOR PERMANENT PEACE. Unless Great Britain does this there is no chance of securing the cooperation of the East in World Comity. Wendell Wilkie told us that when he returned from his world trip. It is true.

You can not found NEW RIGHTS UPON OLD WRONGS. Nothing short of JUSTICE — world-wide and all-inclusive — will serve as a basis of Peace now. A Super-Nation, made up of self-aggrandizing and exploiting nations, could be and would be even a greater menace to Liberty than anything this weary old world has yet seen. It could be and would be the SUPREME TYRANT. And it would fail and war would come again to drench the world in "blood, sweat and tears." It would come inevitably because such a Peace would not be a Peace but an armed truce. Sullen peoples would gather strength, in spite of suppression, and revolt. The world would be a volcano in which subterranean gases accumulate ready to burst forth with fire and destruction.

There is something in the human breast that will not forever be suppressed — that something is LIBERTY. England has known the value of free speech and free press, at home. Can she never learn that they have the same value ELSEWHERE? And LIBERTY, in all its forms is in the SAME CATEGORY! The British Labor Party is

to be commended for speaking OUT at this time. Liberty-loving people in America should, also, speak out NOW while Anthony Eden is here to get us to agree to England's plans. (The British Labor Party says THAT is Eden's mission.) We must build a foundation for Peace this time that will hold up OUR HOUSE OF HOPE FOR THE FUTURE.

The prospect is not bright. Global war means global mortgages. Bonds by the million billions—a load to break even the back of old Atlas who is said to have carried the earth. But, on the other hand, the world's peoples have a chance such as they never had before. In Athens the leisure of the few rested upon the slavery of the many. Culture and liberty were limited to those who had leisure. Now, by reason of labor-saving machinery and science, leisure could be the lot of ALL MEN.

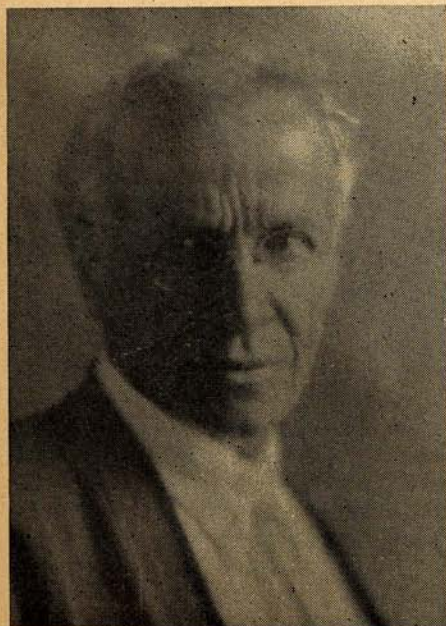
If we had the sense and will to do it, we could build a decent world. IT IS OUR JOB. NO ONE AND NOTHING WILL DO IT FOR US. Nature doesn't guarantee the success of the human race. There is no teleological purpose in Nature that assures us that we will not land up in the rock beds of the earth as fossils as the mammoth and the mastodon did.

Evolution, as taught by Darwin, does not mean that progress is necessarily onward and upward. Nor is it necessary that we should go down and out, as Spengler thinks. The matter, with all its possibilities of success or failure, is in OUR HANDS. The stuff is here out of which we can build a HOME ON EARTH. But to do so means that WE SHALL HAVE TO LEARN TO PLAY FAIR WITH EACH OTHER ALL OVER THE WORLD. ONLY JUSTICE, IN THE END, WILL SERVE US NOW.



CONCERNING —

“BEHIND BARBED WIRE AND BARS”



—Photo by Odiorne.
RAY E. CHASE.

By Ray E. Chase,
Translator of
—Nationalism and Culture
—The Six
—Anarcho-Syndicalism
—Behind Barbed Wire and Bars
—The Life and Times of Johann Most

From December, 1914, to March, 1918, Rudolf Rocker was interned by the British government as an alien enemy. The story of his experiences and observations in an English concentration camp during that time is told in his book, "*Behind Barbed Wire and Bars.*" The book presents a picture of a terrible but somewhat neglected aspect of the war that is unsurpassed by any factual narrative to which that bloody period has given rise.

A score of writers have told impressively the tale of what the war did to the bodies and the minds of men in the trenches and on the battle line; Rocker shows us what it did to the bodies and the minds of men who never saw the battle line or the trenches, in particu-

lar, what it did to their minds. He shows us a traditionally generous and tolerant people stampeded by the rabble-rousers and the yellow press into fanatical fear and savage, cruel hatred, a government dragooned by the same agencies into a policy of senseless brutality against helpless and harmless men and women. He shows us these helpless victims regimented, starved, insulted, maltreated, driven to insanity, to suicide, to fanatical fear and savage hatred on their side. He shows us individuals; heroes, cowards; weaklings, giants; high-minded gentlemen, pusillanimous cad; ignorant laborers, learned pundits; sailors, workmen, artists, journalists, doctors — thousands of men of a hundred sorts, overwhelmed by a common disaster because of a common misfortune: they had all been born under a different flag. He shows the effects on them of what was done to them.

He shows us English officials whose conduct and attitude make us blush for our humanity. He shows us others whose fineness and magnanimity give us a warming thrill. He shows, in short, with quite pictorial clarity, that small but complicated world into which the war had shut him.

The story is the most devastatingly convincing because it is told without a trace of national prejudice or personal rancor. This does not mean that it is told dispassionately; Rocker is not a dispassionate person; he is, as I have said elsewhere, incapable of indifferent attitudes: his sympathies are too easily stirred and too profound for that. The story is not told altogether objectively, for much the same reason; what went on in Rocker himself was for him such an integral part of the drama that he tells it, simply, straightforwardly, just as he tells the rest.

The story is impressive and important as a

picture of an ugly aspect of war; it is entrancingly interesting as a human document; it is highly readable just as an adventure story. It is revelatory in the insight it gives us into the mind and character of the author. Sympathetic, humorous, understanding; admiring, affectionate; angry, contemptuous; proudly — sometimes stubbornly — defiant; tactfully—but never humbly—conciliatory, he set himself courageously and devotedly at the task of taking as much as possible of the curse out of the life of his fellow prisoners. By his courses of lectures on literature, history and social problems he relieved the deadening monotony of prison life and at the same time opened new intellectual vistas to many of his hearers. He arranged to get books for them; he helped to organize concerts and classes; he listened to their troubles and encouraged and advised them. After the first year, as the elected representative of the interned them, he organized and directed the internal affairs of the camp and dealt in its name with the English officials. The story cannot be summarized; it requires the book to tell it.

Mention must be made of the rapid but graphic sketch of the difficulties in the radical groups in London growing out of the divergent views of the war, which Rocker presents at the beginning of the book. His account of his distress at being obliged to take a stand in opposition to that of Kropotkin, whom Rocker describes as the great event of his life, moves one deeply. But here, too, we cannot summarize.

It has been a delightful task to translate the book. I think it is an important book; I know it is an interesting one; many parts will be read again and again by those who read it at all. I predict that there will be many such.



REVIEW OF TWO ROCKER BOOKS

By Herbert Read

Published in "The Criterion" Magazine,
London, England, July, 1938

ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM. ITS HISTORY IN SPAIN. By Rudolf Rocker. (Secker and Warburg, London)

NATIONALISM AND CULTURE. By Rudolf Rocker. (Covici Friede, New York)

Rudolf Rocker is the most distinguished living exponent of the theory and philosophy of libertarianism. These two new works by him differ widely in method and score. The first is short and polemical. It has been inspired by the necessity of explaining to a public that had almost forgotten the existence of such people the presence of two and a half million anarchists in Spain. But for the outbreak of the civil war, the public would still be kept in ignorance of the fact that among the varieties of socialism is a practical alternative to marxism. Such a conspiracy of silence has been possible because almost everywhere, except in Spain and South America, the socialist press is entirely in the hands of marxists, or of socialists committed to an authoritarian and bureaucratic organization of society—

In "*Anarcho-Syndicalism*" the author traces the history of socialism from the beginning of the industrial revolution, and shows how in the very first formulations of socialism two distinct doctrines existed, one authoritarian and finding its great exponents in Marx and Engels, the other libertarian and finding its great exponents in Proudhon and Bakunin. The conflict between Marx and Bakunin was not merely a difference about political strategy, it was not even a clash of personalities, except in so far as personality and thought are identical. It was a fundamental distinction in philosophical and political concepts, a distinction far more fundamental than that which is commonly supposed to exist between communism and fascism. Anarchism is best conceived as an extreme form of liberalism, it regards the freedom of the individual as a necessity at every stage of social evolution. Marxism on the other hand, is as absolute as the monotheism which was in its founder's blood, its freedom is as remote as the blessings of paradise, and everything is subordinated to the establishment and maintenance of immediate power over the

lives of all who live within its domain. Proudhon perceived this very early in its development. Writing to Marx on the 17th of May, 1846, he said:

"Cherchons ensemble, si vous voulez, les lois de la société, la monde dont des lois se réalisent, le progrès suivant lequel nous parvenons à les découvrir. Mais pour dieu—après avoir démolé tous les dogmatismes a priori, ne songeons point à notre tour, à endoctriner le peuple, ne tombons pas dans la contradiction de votre compatriote Martin Luther, qui, après avoir renversé la théologie catholique, se mit aussitôt à grand renfort d'excommunications et d'anathèmes, à fonder une théologie protestante."

But Marx, as Mr. Edward Muir once showed in an excellent essay which was published too obscurely, proceeded to follow the spirit and method of Luther to the extreme limit of dogmatism and intolerance. Between the socialism of this authoritarian type and the liberalism of such idealists as Godwin, Proudhon, Owen, Bakunin, Tolstoy and Kropotkin there can not and never did exist the least resemblance. That many young people in England, including the reviewer, should during the past twenty years have allowed their instinctive liberalism to become entangled with a doctrine so utterly opposed to their essential principles, can only be explained by the ambiguity which characterizes the whole terminology of socialism.

Mr. Rocker, having explained the historical divergence of anarchism and marxism, traces the development of the anarchist movement in various parts of the world. His smaller book is, in fact, historical rather than constructive, and it might have been more valuable if it had included a more precise account of syndicalist organization. We need a practical plan for the existing trade-union organization to evolve into syndicalism lines. It is largely a question of the abolition of trade union bu-

reaucracy and the abandonment of political action; of a greater degree of autonomy in work shop and district; of federalization instead of centralization. If anarcho-syndicalism is to make any progress in this country it needs, not only a new name, but a precise program.

"*Nationalism and Culture*" is a work of altogether different order. In about six hundred large pages it surveys the whole range of human culture, and as an analysis and interpretation of history offers itself as an alternative to the comparable works of *Marx*, *Pareto* and *Spengler*. Its main purpose is to controvert all forms of fatalism—religious, political or economic. Its guiding principles is that "the causes which underlie the processes of social life have nothing in common with the laws of physical and mechanical natural events, for they are purely the results of human purpose, which is not explicable by scientific methods. To misinterpret this fact is a fatal self deception from which only a confused notion of reality can result." Naturally such a doctrine is in direct conflict with historical materialism, and the main purpose of the book is to provide a defense of individualism against those interpretations of history which would reduce culture to a by-product

of social and economic forces. Those institutions which express the "will to power" and determine the forms of social expression are shown everywhere and at all times to be in conflict with the true cultural values of mankind. "The whole of human history has up to now been a constant struggle between the cultural, creative forces of society and the power aims of particular castes, whose leaders put definite bounds to cultural efforts, or at least tried to do so. Culture gives man consciousness of his humanity and creative strength; but power deepens in him the sense of dependence and of slavish bondage."

It is impossible to give an adequate review of a book so dense with facts. I can only state that where I have special knowledge as in the history of art, I have invariably found these facts correct. Their interpretation is another matter. I do not say that this "Weltanschauung" is destined to supersede all others. There is a grain of truth—even a vein of truth—in *Spengler*, in *Pareto* and in *Marx*. It is the obsession with this one aspect of truth that vitiates their systems. I find *Rocker* more tolerant, more modest, more aware of the essential values in culture. In one word, I find him infinitely more sympathetic.



TRUE VERSUS UNTRUE STATEMENTS

By William Zuckerman

The controversy raised by the rather unfortunate articles of Mr. Albert Jay Nock in the *Atlantic Monthly* has, to my knowledge, produced one perfect refutation of Mr. Nock's theory and has given one complete answer to his arguments. The refutation is perfect because it is made up not of words, but of deeds; the answer is complete because it replies to vague theories and strong prejudices in terms of a life, rich and colorful, whose very existence denies the lie that non-Jewish "Occidentals" and Jewish "Orientals" can never mix and understand each other. The incident also draws attention to a remarkable character living obscurely in our midst and doing a work which is unique not only in our times, but in all ages. That unique life and personality, which in themselves are a striking

denial of Hitler's racialism, are those of Mr. Rudolf Rocker.

Mr. Rudolf Rocker is a well-known writer and lecturer on labor and social problems, an author of many books which have attracted the attention of students of social theory. He is known more in Europe, particularly in England, than in the United States. In London, before the First World War, Mr. Rocker was a figure to be conjured with in the labor and social-reform movement of his day. He was one of a galaxy of stars who clustered about the brilliant prince Peter Kropotkin in the days of his exile in London, where he and his group strenuously opposed and effectively countered the influence and theories of Karl Marx, particularly those which put Society and State above the Individual. Mr. Rocker,

apart from his academic and philosophic interests, also had the practical ability of an organizer and leader, and that brought him to the front of the early labor movement in Great Britain in the days of Fabianism. An historian of that movement will not be able to pass the work and the influence of that small group of brilliant men and women in which Mr. Rocker occupied a leading position and which fought valiantly for the principle of the dominance of the Individual in the midst of a world which had already then become thoroughly socialized.

But it is not this part of Mr. Rocker's activity, interesting as it is for its influence on social trends in England and still more on the Jewish labor movement in the United States, that makes him the unique figure that he is, particularly for Jews. There is something else that entitles him to that distinction. Mr. Rocker is, what Hitler would call, "a pure Aryan." As he himself put it in a recent series of articles, he comes from "an old West-European German family which had lived for centuries in the South-West of Germany." In a sense, he can be said to be a fellow-countryman of Hitler. In his youth he had absolutely nothing to do with Jews, for the simple reason that he had never met one until the age of 18, when he left his native village and went to Paris. And yet, this non-Jew and German has chosen to lead a most remarkable *Jewish* life and career. He has not only settled among Jews, lived among them, mingled with them and shared their lives and suffering, but he has done what no other non-Jew has been known to do. He has learned to speak and write Yiddish, has become an excellent lecturer and writer in that language, has edited Yiddish magazines, and has become a prominent teacher and leader of Jewish working people in England.

In this respect, Mr. Rocker stands out prominently even in that limited circle of modern non-Jewish friends of the Jews whom the plain Jewish people call, *Ohavei Yisroel* (lovers of Israel). For even in that brilliant galaxy of great non-Jewish personalities in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, who gave much of their lives and efforts to serve the Jews, from Emile Zola through Vladimir Korolenko, Maxim Gorki, Lord Balfour to Colonel Josiah Wedgewood, there is not another person who has so thoroughly assimilated himself with the Jews and with their culture as did Mr. Rocker. In distinc-

tion to all other non-Jews who defended the Jewish people outside Jewry, this German "Aryan" chose the unique way of serving the Jews by coming to live amongst them, by learning their language and sharing their poverty and suffering with them. He married a Jewish girl from the East Side of London, became a Jewish lecturer and writer; in fact, he led in every way, except in religious rite, the life of a modern Jew, the perfect example of the modern *Goy*.

Mr. Rocker came to London in the eighties of the last century. At that time Jewish life in London Whitechapel was at its highest and best. The stream of Jewish immigration from Russia and from the whole of Eastern Europe flowed largely through England and so it happened that London became, for a time at least, a lively, interesting social and cultural center of Jewish intellectuals of all kinds, of artists, writers, journalists, social theorists, and Jewish workers. Most of these people were bound for America: London was for them only a brief stopping place. Nevertheless, even this brief stay exerted a powerful influence on Jewish London and even New York. There is not an important Jewish immigrant leader in the United States who did not serve an apprenticeship of some kind in London: Abraham Cahan, Benjamin Feigenbaum, S. Janofski, Jacob Adler, Maurice Schwartz and a host of others who have later become prominent figures in Jewish life in America.

It was at that interesting period of London's Jewish life that Mr. Rocker, too, came to London, settled in the Jewish district and since then made Jewish life (or to be more exact, the life of the Jewish working people) his own. Because of his native German language, he easily learned to speak Yiddish and being by nature a brilliant speaker and lecturer, he soon became the actual leader of the Jewish labor movement in London of that time. The advantage which he had above the other Jewish leaders was that the latter were all in London only temporarily, as guests and passers-by; their minds were in America and they could not find the interest to concentrate on London Jewish problems. Mr. Rocker, on the other hand, had come to London not as a prospective American immigrant, but with a view to becoming a native, and that immediately put him in greater harmony with the mass of the Jewish working people who had also come to settle in England.

Another reason worth mentioning is that while all the Jewish leaders of that time were Socialists and Marxists, Rocker was by temperament and study, an Individualist and philosophic Idealist. And for some reason which has not yet been fully explained, the Jewish working people of that period, at least, in London (in the opinion of the present writer, this tendency is not confined only to London Jews, but is shared also by others), were more inclined to Individualism than to mass-socialization, and to Idealism more than to Materialism. The latter had become the vogue in the East Side of New York and ruled the minds of the first Jewish immigrants to the United States for a full generation, but the Jewish labor movement in London always was and remained predominantly Individualistic. Mr. Rocker admirably fitted into this spiritual mold and this made him the virtual leader of the Jewish labor movement in Whitechapel of that period.

He led the first Jewish strikes in England against sweatshop labor; he organized the first Jewish Trade Unions in London; he was for London Jewish workers what the late Joseph Barondess was for the New York workers. But he was not an ordinary Trade Union leader; nor was he a mere orator for the sake of oratory. His interests have always been more than economic; Mr. Rocker is primarily a man of culture and spirit, and he is also a scholar. And so it happened that this German *Goy*, deeply rooted in German culture and language, learned to write Yiddish and became the editor of well-known Yiddish publications, *The Arbeiter Fraind* and *Germinal*.

This innovation and special service of Mr. Rocker to the Yiddish language and literature was his introduction, through translation, of the great classics of world literature into Yiddish. The Yiddish literature of that period was anything but European in its aspect. It began with Mendele and had reached its apex at that time with Peretz. *The Arbeiter Fraind* and the *Germinal*, under Mr. Rocker, were the first Yiddish journals to introduce a European and cosmopolitan strain into Yiddish literature by publishing in translation the works of Gorki, Tolstoi, Ibsen, Maeterlinck, Knut Hamsun and other great moderns.

When Hitler came to power, Mr. Rocker was in Germany, and he had to flee for his life because of his advanced social views as

well as his unique pro-Jewish activity. Soon the wave of refugees from Nazi oppression, which has enriched American life with so many brilliant personalities, brought to this country also Mr. Rocker and his wife. Here the couple lives now, greatly beloved by literally thousands of Jewish friends and admirers. Mr. Rocker is continuing his lectures in Yiddish and his Yiddish contribution to the *Freie Arbeiter Stimme*, the oldest Yiddish weekly in the United States. He also continues his scientific sociological studies. His latest book, *Nationalism and Culture*, is a monumental volume devoted to a refutation of Hitler's racialism and nationalism run mad. Mr. Rocker is now in his seventieth year; he looks the typical Southern German that he is, except when he begins to speak his juicy Yiddish interspersed generously with Hebrew words and sayings; then no one would believe that he is not the average Jewish intellectual of New York or London.

When Mr. Nock recently published his contributions in the *Atlantic Monthly*, devoted to the theory that the "Occidental Arvan" and the "Oriental Jew" can never truly understand each other and share the same life, Mr. Rocker was naturally aroused to refute this lie. Appropriately enough, this German, who writes his native language as an artist and also English well, wrote his reply in a series of Yiddish articles in the *Freie Arbeiter Stimme*. It is a pity that Mr. Nock and the readers of the *Atlantic Monthly* could not read these contributions, for their lucid logic and powerful arguments are most convincing.

But stronger than his argument and more lucid than his logic are the simple facts of Mr. Rocker's own life which he tells in one of these articles, as a refutation of Mr. Nock's claims. His lifetime of service to the Jewish people, his profound understanding of their innermost thoughts, aspirations and hopes, which have raised him to the position of a teacher and leader of Jews, his great sympathy for them which enabled him to mix with them, acquire their culture and share with them their inner life, as thousands of Jewish friends who love him and whom he loves,—all this tells a story not only of a beautiful, selfless life, but also of the ability of civilized man to rise above his inborn prejudice and turn hatred into love. It also presents the most powerful reply to the lie of Mr. Nock, Hitler and all else.

RUDOLF ROCKER AS KNOWN TO ME

By Harry Kelly,

Organizer: Ferrer Modern School

When I think of the millions of goose stepping Germans, many of them committing the vilest atrocities, and, if we are to believe those who warn us to avoid condemning all Germans, many more are too cowardly to oppose them, my balance wheel is Rudolf Rocker. I have known many Germans but none as well or as intimately as Rudolf.

Time, that indefinable thing that solves all problems and cures all ills, grows misty when it comes to remembering when we first met and really began to know each other. To the best of my recollection, it was in the very early days of this benighted century. He came to see Voltairine De Cleyre then on a visit to England and a guest in our house in Anerly, a suburb of London. It was a long time ago and is now a vague and shadowy recollection. We had spoken from the same platforms but hardly knew each other. However, I often heard of him and his work in the East End where he had settled and was very active, often speaking several times daily and editing a weekly paper in the Jewish language which he had learned in an incredibly short time. The work must have been thrilling to compensate him for the meager diet and poor living accommodations he received; and he must have had a strong constitution to have stood it.

We grow excited these days about food rationing as if it were something new when, as a matter of fact, rationing for one part of the population has existed for untold generations and existed in those days. If you had money you ate, if not, there was what is now called a scarcity of food products. However, if one can survive on bread and potatoes, as I understand Rudolf did, there are other compensations, affection and appreciation and Rudolf got so much of both, that he became, in time, a unique figure in our movement as well as outside it.

It may have been an accident that he went to live in Whitechapel or it may have been the idealism which existed in that part of London. There are other districts in the city as poor as Whitechapel but they lack the idealism of that section. Whatever the reason, he settled there and became so much a part of its



HARRY KELLY

life for twenty or more years that he became known wherever there are poor Jews and that, my dear reader, is in every one of the five continents. Not that it is so extraordinary, but upon my return to America I found that Rocker was as well known to the hundreds of thousands of Jewish workers here as if he had been born and lived here all his life.

We had not seen each other in many years until I visited Berlin in the winter of 1921 and '22 but I knew something of his life and work during those times. With the usual stupidity of the ruling class, he had been arrested at the outbreak of the war in 1914 and interned in a concentration camp in England as an enemy alien, notwithstanding that all of his adult life he had been fighting the Kaiser and all he stood for, while the ruling class of England was fawning on the grandson of Queen Victoria. But to expect logic and intelligence from this class is to expect the impossible. After a time someone must have whispered in the ear of the responsible official and Rudolf was allowed to have his books and

even to lecture to the three thousand odd prisoners. In March 1918, Rocker was sent to Germany, but having lost his citizenship, the German government sent him back to Holland where he stayed until the revolution broke out in his native country.

Although not a Prussian (he was born at Mainz in the South of Germany) he settled in Berlin where he resumed the work he had been doing in London only this was with members of his own nationality. He was living the same poor existence as in London but was hopeful. And when a man is busy and hopeful he is usually happy. Berlin was not a happy city in those days but possessed one priceless advantage over the present in that one could really breathe and express an opinion and to the wishful thinker there were hopes that the socialist fatherland might in time build better than its predecessors.

However, it was hardly reassuring when a strike broke out among the railway, subway and street car workers and later the electrical workers for better pay (the marc was then about 180 to the dollar) and fewer hours. The city was in darkness for an entire week and I hoped that, after talking revolution for years, I was finally about to see one. Alas, it was the usual false alarm, for the socialist president ordered the seizure of the union's funds. This action together with the attacks by the Social Democratic party, through their press and by posters pasted all over the city, broke the strike. Incidentally, the men were promised immunity from persecution but the promise was broken and many of the men were penalized and the strikers denounced as enemies of the fatherland. This after three-quarters of a century of preaching Marxian Socialism with a socialist president in office.

Not long after that Rudolf came to New York at the invitation of the Jewish comrades, he toured the country, lecturing on a variety of subjects related to our movement. However, before starting out a reception was tendered him at the Manhattan Opera House (now Manhattan Center) filling the house, and anarchists and socialists vied with one another to do him honor. After the tour he returned to Germany and remained there until the very eve of Hitler's rise to power, when he escaped on what was literally the last train from Berlin. After short stays in Paris and London he came here and has lived in America ever since.

Nothing has been said here about Rudolf's books which is left for other friends to deal with, the committee responsible for the publication of this testimonial to him on his seventieth birthday. Suffice it to say he has known and worked with men and women like Kropotkin, Tcherkesov, Reclus, Malatesta, Jean Grave, Sebastien Faure, Nettlau, Louise Michel, John Turner, Tom Bell, Alfred Marsh, A. Shapiro, and in this country, Voltairine De Cleyre, Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, Joseph Cohen, S. Yanovsky, Dr. Michael Cohn and many, many others. He has written books that have won the high praise of such men as Einstein and Thomas Mann, edited papers and delivered hundreds of lectures to literally hundreds of thousands of men and women in his long and active career. No man in the European and American revolutionary labor movement is more highly honored or more deeply loved by so many people for his scholarship, love of humanity and, above all, his personal integrity than Rudolf Rocker. It is impossible for me to say all the things I would like to say about him, because it would embarrass both of us if I did, for we meet frequently.

In conclusion, about twenty years ago some of us organized and built what we had hoped would be a libertarian colony in the beautiful hills of Westchester County, about forty-five miles from New York City. It has turned out like so many similar enterprises, a disappointment to some of its founders. However, one of the few consolations to this writer is that Rudolf has chosen this colony as his retreat. (Mohegan Colony, Crompond, N. Y.)

Life is by no means ideal but he likes the place. It is quiet and beautiful. Although restricted in his movements, for he is designated an "enemy alien" with his faithful friend and comrade, Milly, and their son, Fernin, he sees friends and comrades and is alive every minute. We see each other often, dream the same dreams, have, what the world calls, the same illusions and look forward eagerly to the day when Hitler and Hitlerism is banished from the earth and humanity begins again with redoubled strength and courage to rebuild a shattered world wherein men will see themselves not as German, British, Russian or American but as human beings, all trying to make this a golden age after a night of darkness and cruelty.

OLD REMINISCENCES AND NEW IMPRESSIONS

By P. Gustave

A page from The Book of My Travels

Seemingly it was only yesterday, when possibly for the phlegmatic people of Berlin, it was simply an ordinary, monotonous day. A day, so similar to the identical monotony of the preceding days, which indicated for them nothing more than the mute pages of the calendar; marked the sum total of their faded yesterdays, and pointed out fatalistically the tragic road to their eternity.

Ah! But for me, yesterday was an extraordinary evening. A day of festivity when everyone and all things were imbued with a spirit of jollity and charm. It was as if Nature and all folk vowed to enhance and glorify the festive mood until eventide.

The entire city of Berlin, with its millions of inhabitants, was bathed in the glorious perfume of May blossoms. The trees, the green leaves swaying provocatively, murmured mysteriously and nodded an invitation to all who passed by to participate in the great occasion. The heart, seared by years of thirst, became refreshed as though it drank from a hidden well. The mind, in which many years of war, fear and doubt created a waste, a moral desolation, became revived. A new world was being born.

On this night, Rudolf Rocker had agreed to leave his interminable work, to stroll and chat with me.

Dominated by a preponderant desire for an exchange of thought, we crossed town and entered one of the Berlin coffee houses, where the music, at intervals, accompanied this mood so harmoniously.

And yet, something, something inexplicable, something that only the soul can fathom, happened to us that evening. Silently and in thought we sat side by side. We pretended to give our attention to the music. Again in pretense, we watched the other people. From time to time, in our exchange of glances, there was undeniably the suggestion that we were in study of one another. It often appeared as though we were astonished by the obvious change undergone in each of us.

Now to me, pictures out of the past swam by. I saw him in his youthful years. I saw the fair round face, the head of blonde hair

that characterized so strongly a certain type of his racial descent.

The face of his youth was completely transformed. His grey-white hair, the grey Van Dyke beard, were reminiscent of a French artist—a benevolent, cheerful humorist and satirist, who, in the point of his beard, derided the world.

Suddenly, I was aware that he, in turn, was appraising me. Now, then, what was my appearance today? I wondered if he didn't silently laugh at the patch of circular baldness which crowned my head, associating this specific baldness with a partially-fed, somewhat despondent-looking bourgeois. However, I found comfort in the memory of the picture I presented in the days of my youth. That faroff young man with a forest of black hair, whose melancholy shone so poignantly through a swarthy complexion. That young man who did not displease his feminine comrades.

And so, apropos of this remembrance, were thoughts attendant to the scenes of days gone by.

We were silent . . .

The orchestra was playing excerpts from Hoffman. Rocker began to speak, much as if the notes of the music inspired his words. He understood music. Knowingly he discussed the composer, his life and works; then generalized about the men of music. His mood changed.

I began to hear about his experiences in the dark days of the First World War, how his family and he were persecuted. He talked on about his youth, the home of his birth, the excellent wine for which his birthplace is famous, about his beloved consort, his Milly. Now he recalls his many comrades, and, his old friend and teacher, P. Kropotkin, to whom he was so fervently devoted.

The mobility of his face, the emotional content of his voice, adequately framed the intensity of his words. In the lionine timbre of his voice there was, alternately, the thunder of hatred—the spring of gentleness.

Yes, irrevocably, here is the good fighter, the stalwart rebel, the profound thinker, the soaring poet—a man to be cherished.

FROM NEWS AND VIEWS

By John B. Hughes
Radio Commentator

Now I want to turn to the story of an event, a man, and a monumental study of the world's political problems.

Very quietly and without much fanfare, one of the most astute political philosophers of our time celebrated his 70th Birthday last Friday, March 26, 1943, in Crompond, New York. The man is German-born Rudolf Rucker, who has long been known in liberal political circles in Europe, but who is not so widely known in the United States. Mr. Rucker, like so many other brilliant Germans, is a refugee from Hitler's brand of government—in fact, Mr. Rucker was among the first who found it necessary to leave Germany after Hitler's rise to power in 1933. He escaped with his life and with the manuscript for a book called "*Nationalism and Culture*" which was translated by Prof. Chase and printed in the United States by Covici-Friede in 1937. It is about that book, rather than about Mr. Rucker, that I should like to say something this evening.

"*Nationalism and Culture*" is Mr. Rucker's interpretation of Western Civilization, his analysis of what we call Western History, and as such it provides a background on Europe and Western Life which we must understand if we are to contribute anything to the maintenance of a peaceful future world and the realization of the Four Freedoms. Mr. Rucker's interpretation is broad enough to include the various interpretations of history which have been popular for the past hundred years or so—he admits a certain validity to the economic interpretation of history, to the historians, stemming from Darwin's scientific theories, and so on, and to these he adds his own view that "*The Will to Power*" has played an important part in writing the record of Western Civilization.

In tracing that record to our modern era, Mr. Rucker concludes that most of the world's ills at the moment are attributable to the rise of Nationalism. The modern tendency of peoples to maintain their nationalistic integrity has been in conflict with the growing economic interdependence of all nations—and for that matter, in conflict with the cultural aspects of human life, which include not only artistic achievement, but the



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production of things, and the expansion of knowledge . . . all of which are international in character, despite the assertions of "Master Race" theorists.

This does not mean that a strong international world government would offer mankind a solution or a cure for the times. Even in too great a centralization of international power and control there is the danger that political and economic power will become concentrated in hands of an international minority which would exercise that power to achieve world totalitarianism. Rather, as Rucker sees it, the need is for a loose world Federalism, and the more loose and more flexible the better.

He bases this view on his argument that man's greatest cultural advances are made in the eras of the greatest decentralization of political power. He points out that the ancient Greeks were united by a common culture, not by a national political system. The small Greek city-states combined homeland and fatherland in a single idea—and this homeland was small enough to be comprehended in its

entirety by a single mind. All political, economic and social aspects of any city-state were as familiar to its inhabitants as these things are now familiar to the inhabitants of any middle sized American City. Each of the numerous Greek City-States had its own constitution, and its only unity with the other city-states was a cultural unity of ideas and ideals, knowledge, science and art. The Greeks had no conception of a political unity over all of Greece. This suggests a potent thought for our shrinking world—the thought of the cultural unity of all nations uniting them as a whole, while each retains its own political system. The United States of today is not any wider in point of time than was the city-state of Athens—and we expect the width of the United States, and of the whole world, to shrink still further in the future.

The more this process is speeded up, the greater the necessity for Mankind to think in terms of interdependence and unity . . . a necessity now obstructed by Nationalism. One of Rocker's principle accomplishments is the manner in which he demolishes many a fond rationalization of the super-patriots, rationalizations about Nationalism, the causes of war, about politics and economics. He points out that in nature man is subject only to physical laws,—the laws governing the motion of the earth, the laws governing birth and growth and death—but man is *not* subject to any *natural* law in shaping his economic or political or social life. The physical aspect of man may be subject to the laws of evolution—but his *social achievements are not*. Slavery, or freedom are not the inevitable results of the laws of evolution—and the greatest achievement of man would be his acceptance of the responsibility for his own actions—to stop passing the buck to fate for his own failures.

We have come to accept the idea of the economic interdependence of the nations of the world—it is Rocker's lesson that the world is likewise interdependent in the realm of culture. The spiritual hopes and aspirations, the intellectual pursuits of science, art and literature cut across national boundaries, and are the product of collaboration just as completely as the present United Nations' security is a matter of political and economic and military collaboration. The best proof of the universality of ideas can be found in the fact that the United States, Great Britain and other democracies contained many persons

sympathetic to the Nazis or to Fascist ideals—and that Germany and Italy contain persons sympathetic to democratic orders. The reactionaries for the sake of reaction are *not* confined to the Axis alone.

Another lesson made plain by Rudolf Rocker is the *tendency* of men everywhere to *forget* that government is an *instrument* of the *people*, that the people are *not* the property of *government*. We have been forgetting that Capitalism, Socialism, Democracy—all such patterns of government are *not* an *end* but a *means*. One of the questions to be answered in our time is whether *politics* will use *men*, or *men* will use politics . . . whether the minorities controlling the capitalist system will be allowed to use Capitalism for their own ends—or whether the capitalist *system* will be made to work for the *common good of all*.

Mr. Rocker apparently does not feel that the Capitalistic system can be reformed. In that, I for one, do not agree with him—in fact there are many points on which I do not agree with him—but I can appreciate the justice of much of his attacks on Capitalism, on Democracy, on Christianity, on Socialism as these things have been developed in the United States and Europe. If some of the things he says are displeasing, they also indicate certain weaknesses and faults which must be rectified. If some of his arguments do not seem justified, they are nevertheless valuable in pointing out the dangers to be avoided in the future.

Perhaps some of these arguments might even *now* be changed by Mr. Rocker, since his book was published in 1937, and the war, has changed the aspect of our times to a degree we scarcely have begun to appreciate. But unchanged and unchanging is Mr. Rocker's recognition of the fact that "freedom of the individual is secure only when it rests on the economic and social well-being of all." If Mr. Rocker is critical of things as they have been, it is because of his firm conviction, that Individualism must be reasserted. As his translator, Ray E. Chase puts it: "Rocker has made it his guiding principle to take man as given and, taking him as given, he finds him altogether too complex and incalculable to be formulated at all—unless it be a formula to say that he is complex and incalculable.

"And the standard of value, the test that he applies to cultures, institutions, social forms, is that they shall leave to this incal-

culable complexity the *utmost possible freedom*—the utmost opportunity to be complex and incalculable. His indictment of authority is that it seeks always and inevitably to make man simple and calculable, seeks to make sure that he will always do the expected thing at the expected time; and so must always decree that he may do only certain sorts of things at all." In working with this standard, Mr. Rocker has sought to place our present era in its proper perspective in relation to the full sweep of known History. He sees it in this light, and I quote him: "that the Era of Revolution is not past, but that we are still in the midst of a process of tremendous social change the end of which cannot yet be foreseen." The compelling logic of this point of view is undeniable. One who accepts it cannot help regarding the latest events of the period, the World War, the social movements of the times, the revolutions in Central Eu-

rope and especially in Russia, the changes in the capitalistic economic order, and all the social and political changes in Europe since the War, (World War One) as separate manifestations of the same great revolutionary process. For four hundred years it has again and again stirred up the whole social life of the European peoples, its remote effects are today observable even in other parts on the earth.

"The process will not end until a real adjustment is made between the personal objectives of the individual and the general social conditions of life; a sort of synthesis of personal freedom with social justice by the communal action of all—such as shall again give content to society and lay the foundation for a new community." From Rudolf Rocker's "*Nationalism and Culture*." . . . a book which may never win universal agreement, but which should have as universal an audience as possible.



SOME REMINISCENCES OF RUDOLF ROCKER

By Tom Eyges

I may say with certainty, that should I attempt to tell the reader all my experiences and the impressions left with me all these years since I first met my dear Comrade Rocker, I would surely have sufficient interesting material to fill a good sized book, with pretty good reading matter.

I will at this time, content myself, with some remarks forming a short sketch of reminiscence for the period of nearly half a century.

It was about forty-seven years ago when I first met Rudolf Rocker. It was on a Friday evening in Spring of 1896, in "Sugar Loaf" at Hanbury Street, London, England. The "Workers' Friend" group held their regular weekly public gatherings with lectures on various social, economic and political subjects at the "Sugar Loaf."

Beside the weekly lectures, the Comrades published a weekly publication "The Workers' Friend." The publishers being working men—were to be sure—financially extremely poor and in order to raise funds, we had a



RUDOLF ROCKER AND TOM EYGES

committee of two standing in the hall at the door, each with a hat in his or her hand, wherein the incoming audience dropped a penny or two—sometimes a six-pence,—to raise a maintenance and guarantee fund for the publication. That evening, Milly Witcap (Milly Rucker) and I were the committee.

Comrade Handel lectured that evening on the subject of "Variety in Sex and Relationship."

During the lecture, a tall, handsome, blond, young man came into the hall. Suddenly there was a commotion. It was caused by the lecturer, who seeing the young man, motioned to him to come up on the platform. The audience turned around to see who it was. The young man shook his head and took a seat near the door.

When Handel finished his lecture, questions followed and then the usual customary discussions. Comrade Sacks disagreed with the lecturer on some points, which were too radical for him, and during his objections he called out, "if this kind of free love is a part of anarchism then my ideal is dead"—and he tore his lapel off his coat.

The tall young blond turned to me asking why the man tore his coat. I explained to him that was a customary way of one expressing or demonstrating grief and despair in the event of death of someone that is dear to him—a religious ritual custom. The newcomer smiled good-naturedly.

I introduced myself to him and asked him his name. "Rudolf Rucker," he replied. I then introduced him to Milly Witcap. They shook hands and that was their first meeting and acquaintance.

Somewhat later, by the effort and invitation of Milly, Rucker came to our group meeting. When we asked him to deliver a lecture on one of our usual Friday evenings at "Sugar Loaf," he consented.

Well, I am completely at a loss to narrate the unexpected surprise, we, the Comrades, and the audience received, that memorable evening. The eloquence of his delivery, the inspiration, the enthusiasm, the delight of the deep impression, took the audience unaware and simply kept the listeners on edge.

And, no wonder; there stood a handsome young man speaking extemporaneously in a fine solid ringing voice, delivering in a splendid vocabulary, thoughts rich and effective and with such warmth all forming one delightful perspective symphony of impressions.

The subject was: "Anarchism in Nature."

Oh, I was then a young man in the twenties, and that evening revealed to me a new world with new views and understanding with new enthusiasm for the Libertarian Ideal.

One year passed.

Rudolf and Milly Rucker took a trip across the ocean and came back to London, to our house. We then lived in Mare Street, Hackney.

I had the pleasure to teach him the Jewish Language with my meager knowledge of it, which he mastered within a few weeks.

Rucker and Milly went to Liverpool, England, where Rucker started a monthly publication in Jewish, aided by the comrades of that town—"Das Freie Wort."

When the first number of the publication arrived in London, the comrades were simply delighted with its contents.

The publication of the "Workers' Friend" in London at that time stopped, because the Editor, Comrade Frumkin, left for Paris.

We insisted on Comrade Rucker to come to London to edit the "Workers' Friend." He answered the call.

A new life sprang up in the radical movement in London with the reappearance of the "Workers' Friend" and the monthly publication of *The Germinal*, edited by Rudolf Rucker, and his series of lectures on historical events of Revolutionary Epochs and also on Literature of various languages.

His influence kept growing and with it grew the ranks of new recruits into the radical movement consisting of sympathizers of the ideal as well as admirers of Rudolf Rucker.

Rudolf Rucker had thousands of admirers in the East End of London, but he never used anyone of them to his advantage. As an Editor of the two publications he was to receive fifteen shillings a week, but there was seldom that much cash in the Treasury and many a time—as Secretary of the "Workers' Friend Group"—I paid him his salary, the sum of two shillings and six-pence, (a half a crown—about 60 cents). That was all I had, it had to be paid to him on the assumption that even an Editor has to eat occasionally—

The confidence Rudolf Rucker won in the London Trade Union movement was enviable. It got so that the Unions would hardly make an important move without first consulting Rudolf Rucker.

I cannot and shall not forget those monthly "Tea parties" entertainments for the benefit of the "Germinal." At those parties Comrade Rocker invariably delivered his orations on various subjects such as "Mona Lisa," "Michael Angelo," "Victor Hugo," "Francisco Ferrer," "Emile Zola" and of many others which I cannot recall.

In my travels, throughout the United States and Canada, I met many comrades that have participated in those delightful evenings in the East End of London with Rudolf Rocker. Where he read poetry of Goethe, and Shakespeare, the dramas of Ibsen, Strindberg, Sudermann, Shaw and others; and even the recollection of those evenings formed a delightful evening in itself.

The influence, the inspirational effect that Rudolf Rocker caused upon the comrades in those days is astounding, when I think of it occasionally and now.

Unlike other capable intellectuals that invariably carry an air of superiority in meeting people, Rudolf, as I knew him, never displayed such a complex. He always made a stranger feel his equal, readily extending a glad hand with warmth.

I state all this (and it is just a trifle) not with the intention of praising my dear friend and Comrade, Rudolf Rocker: I have no special purpose in particular to do so. It is for no other purpose than to express my sincere gratitude for the inspirational pleasure of his personal acquaintance, his lectures, his writings, his comradely attitude towards myself, my wife and my older children, and it is my sincere wish and hope that both Rudolf and Milly will continue to be with us for many years, so that we can have the pleasure of benefitting from his admirable, fruitful teachings of humanitarian and libertarian ideals for the uplift and advancement of posterity.



WHAT ROCKER'S BOOKS MEAN TO ME

By Cassius V. Cook

Secretary-Treasurer

Rocker Publications Committee

I am one of the great average of society for whom so many lectures are given and numberless books are written. I generally pay attention to what I hear and to what I read. Being glad to patronize lectures, and to buy books I regard as worthwhile, it is inevitable that out of the great multiplicity of what is offered, some are good, much is bad, and many are indifferent.

Within my life — out of Germany — have come astounding things—both men and books. Of the latter, *The Ego and His Own* by Max Stirner, was first published in America in 1907 by Benjamin R. Tucker. It is a book of the highest social significance.

By Stirner's very complete and valid exposition of *enlightened, conscious egoism*, he abolished the basis of faith commonly reposed in God, in Government and in "Mrs. Grundy." He pointed out that God's interests are known to be most important to himself: "woe to all that isn't well pleasing to him." To government, its interests are of the highest concern to itself. To top the climax, all believers in



—Photo by Odiorne.
CASSIUS V. COOK

"Mrs. Grundy"—chiefest of all superstitions—must also be obedient to the important claims she presents, or else are back-sliders.

Thus, in the total interests of God, Government and Grundy, each must give "his all." One arrives at this inevitable conclusion of its remarkable author, Prof. Kaspar Schmidt, who wrote this truth under the non-de-plume of Max Stirner stating always "Nothing is more important to me than myself."

Each of us must give up "his all" for maintaining God's affairs, and for maintaining Government affairs. He must, when demanded, leave sweetheart, wife, family, home and business for furthering the affairs of God and Government else he has not given himself thoroughly. Too, he must abide by the demands of Mrs. Grundy to be a loyal member of society.

This book *The Ego and His Own* says: "What is not supposed to be my concern! First and foremost . . . God's cause . . . the cause of my people, my prince, my fatherland . . . and a thousand other causes. Only MY cause is never to be my concern. 'Shame on the egoist who thinks only of himself.'"

"Let us look and see, then, how they manage THEIR concerns—they, for whose cause we are to labor, devote ourselves, and grow enthusiastic."

"Now it is clear, God cares only for what is his, busies himself only with himself, thinks only of himself, and has only himself before his eyes . . . He serves no higher person, and satisfies only himself. His cause is—a purely egoistic cause."

"If God, if mankind, have substance enough in themselves to be all in all to themselves . . . why, I myself am my concern. The divine is God's concern, the human, man's. My concern is neither the divine nor the human . . . but solely what is MINE."

"Nothing is more to me than myself."

From Germany, more recently, comes another book *Mein Kampf* by Adolf Hitler, in which he proposes "my campaign." It offers a plan of action by which eighty millions of Germans make their lives available under a system of *National Socialism* for dominating the world for one thousand or more years hence. The political majority have put their country and countrymen under this plan. To execute this plan has now become more important to each of them than to carry on and live their lives otherwise. They give "their

all" to the German government, the National State.

There is the abandonment of *enlightened, conscious egoism*, in favor of National Socialism. It becomes a political religion. God is abandoned along with Mrs. Grundy, who represents "society." It is agreed thereby that those who die are being sacrificed by the Government in this effort to erect and maintain a *National Socialism*.

Millions of Germans will die trying to put this plan into effect. More millions of non-Germans will die opposing it.

The Ego and His Own is a book that releases the individual and enables each to serve his own highest interests. Hitler's book *Mein Kampf* makes a slave of all individuals,—each must give "his all" to the State, or else be regarded as anti-social. This is bad.

This Hitler plan has been put over chiefly by those who advocate its tactics through speech and action—not merely by reading this book, nor by contemplating it alone. Men have been moved for long eons of time by what they hear before they could read. Humans have listened to speech for many more thousands of years, than they have read.

Scientists have been burned at the stake—mostly by those who did not read books or by those who believed a book they seldom read.

Rudolf Rocker is a writer who has suffered from Hitler's madness. He finally came to America as a German refugee, actually catching the last train leaving for Switzerland, before Hitler's uniformed brown shirts began to remove every one boarding the train suspected of sympathizing with a "free world." He carried the complete manuscript of *Nationalism and Culture* upon which he had been working for 20 years. He has been Germany's loss and America's gain. Arriving here, finally,—we heard of his book chiefly through persons who had heard Rocker's lecture in London long years before.

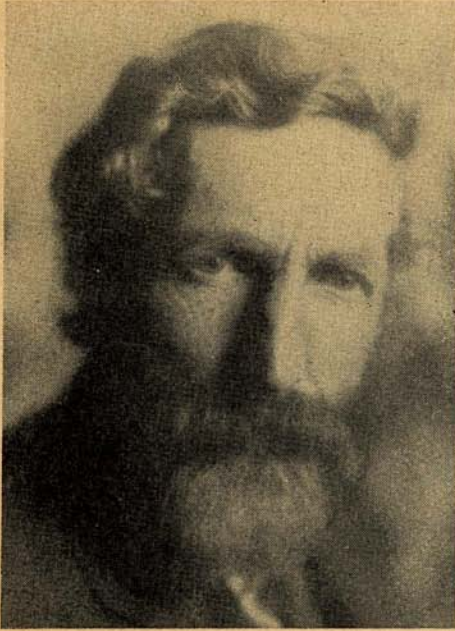
These persons were of Jewish birth, but not believers in any religion. Rocker was known to them, being what they are themselves,—"*enlightened, conscious egoists.*" To them, liberty was far more important than any campaign could possibly be of capturing society and forcing it to abide by a "plan."

Finally, too, Rocker's manuscript arrived in Los Angeles.

Before any new translation could be at-

tempted the manuscript would have to be read by a number of persons whose judgment of its contents could be depended upon to estimate its real value and genuine worth.

Thomas H. Bell was one to whom the manuscript was first submitted. He declared that our European friends had correctly esti-



—Photo by Odiorno.
THOMAS H. BELL

Deceased May 23, 1942

Member Rocker Publications Committee

Author:

—Edward Carpenter, *The English Tolstoi*
—Oscar Wilde *Without Whitewash*

mated its great worth. But Tom himself, like most other sponsors, was European born and trained. Hence, further confirmation of its value was sought also from American-born readers,—Walter E. Holloway, Dr. Arthur E. Briggs and finally Ray E. Chase.

In detail some of its best points were revealed. Convinced, beyond doubt, we of the Rocker Committee, began to cast around for some one able and willing to make the translation. Tom Bell and Walter Holloway were both affected with poor health. Neither had the energy necessary for completing the translation. Dr. Briggs was also unable to undertake the task because he was busy with

the Metropolitan University and his private law practice. What was needed was an able man with little or nothing else to do.

Dr. Charles James was sought out and a dictagraph machine provided for him. Yet, James was European, born in Austria, to whom English was an acquired tongue. It was soon found that this undertaking was so difficult that he would require help, which was secured for him in the person of Prof. Ray E. Chase. Being native born, and a scientist by training, it was finally decided to allow all of Chase's earlier corrections to stand and finally for him to complete the translation alone.

Meanwhile, a synopsis of the content of the book was needed for the Rocker Committee. Rocker had written a synopsis which had already been translated, and Dr. Frederick W. Roman, himself a thorough German scholar, was invited to hear it read. He was greatly enthused and offered to publish this synopsis in his *Roman Forum Magazine*. This done, in December, 1934, The Rocker Committee decided soon afterwards, to print this synopsis in pamphlet form. A large edition was issued. It was published in a size and style that readily could be put in a regular envelope.

As Prof. Chase proceeded with the translation, this Committee began securing subscriptions in advance. This synopsis was very valuable and helpful for this purpose. Dr. Roman's fine cooperation had proven a tremendously helpful factor.

Not only were subscriptions secured, but more money had to be obtained for maintaining Prof. Chase in his long, long work of careful translation. He often declared that this work gave an added zest to life. He was immensely pleased with Rocker's writings, and although already an old man, past 70, he lived to complete not only *Nationalism and Culture*, but to translate for the committee three more of Rocker's books.

The Six (great characters of literature) was next translated and so well liked by Dr. Roman that he published it, serially in his *Roman Forum Magazine*.

The Rocker Committee kept Prof. Chase busy until he had not only completed *Behind Barbed Wire and Bars*—the story of Rocker's four years in a British interment camp during World War No. 1—and also a book about the life history of Johann Most of Germany, who had emigrated to America which in-

cluded much history of the labor movement of his time.

In the meantime, Rudolf Rocker himself reached Los Angeles before Prof. Chase had completed the translation of *Nationalism and Culture*. Apparently speaking the English language with perfect ease, it seemed remarkable that all his lectures were arranged to be given in Yiddish. No! No!—he would not attempt to give a single lecture in English, since—as he stated—he was not a MASTER of our tongue. Yet, it was certain that with only a single piece of literature from his pen in English (this Synopsis) that the American born public would be a long while before they would subscribe for enough copies to make the publication of *Nationalism and Culture* practical.

Not understanding a word of Yiddish, I went to hear Rudolf Rocker deliver one of his famous speeches in that language. In a house filled to overflowing, the usual noisiness of a Yiddish audience was reduced to nothing, and a pin could be heard to drop as he approached the end, yet, no flamboyant speech-making was forthcoming.

Earnestness is the essence of oratory. Rocker put forth his message in eloquence which was very definite and positive. I was immensely impressed by the man and his power. Yet I could judge only by the actions of his audience that he was excellent. By his wholesome management of this Jewish audience (hardest of all people's attention to be held unreservedly) — he was evidently a masterful speaker.

Early in the winter of 1935, accordingly, arrangements were made with Rocker to deliver a single address in English. He seemed considerably disturbed to have it announced, and still more disturbed about delivering an acceptable talk in English. Yet this was heard by a very sizeable audience in the Unitarian Church of which Dr. Arthur E. Briggs acted as Chairman. There, Rocker delivered his "maiden speech" so well that only the organizers needed to know it was his first appearance before an English speaking audience.

The modesty of the man was a marvel. He spoke so nearly perfect that he put to shame persons born and reared to speak English alone. Those, like myself, considered his first effort in English, in comparison to what kind of a speech would have been delivered in German, had the situation been reversed. He was

told thereafter—time and again—by persons who had heard many of the best speakers of our time that he had acquitted himself very ably.

He had agreed to make this effort with men like H. Yaffe, who had heard him more than 30 years before deliver speeches in England in Yiddish, when that tongue was new to him. A special effort was made to get a good sized audience. The faith that was in Yaffe cost him over Fifty Dollars, which was spent advertising far and wide this first Rocker lecture in English. By the same token, it seemed to cost Rocker very greatly in effort. The experiment turned out nobly. It was known at once that Rocker need have no hesitancy in giving English lectures.

Questions were answered by Rocker with the same clarity as other speakers who knew only English. It was evident that Rocker's effort (and Yaffe's) were well justified. He used English so well that hardly a single mistake occurred, and Rocker went ahead without fear apparently, or so much so, that his excuses were soon forgotten. Dr. Ernest Caldecott, pastor of the First Unitarian Church, very kindly acted as Chairman of his fourth English lecture in Los Angeles.

Emboldened by this experience, we next heard of Rocker addressing an audience of university and business men in a leading auditorium of Chicago. So able was his address that over a thousand people heard him, asking numerous questions which he answered with easy grace and confidence. This was the performance of a foreigner and a scholar in a new land, but for which he was paid—some hundreds of dollars. Thus, the evidence of his efficiency—the usual American measure—was made possible through the instrumentality of the woman who organized this meeting, Jeanne Levey of Chicago.

As Americans, we remember the first few hours required for delivery of a lecture, but forget the years of effort *necessary* for a mastery of the subject. Nevertheless, we do not begrudge paying, when a man delivers the goods—as Rocker did.

In future years, further lectures were arranged for him in Los Angeles. At some of these, the late noted Judge Ben B. Lindsey was chairman, as also the brainy scholar, Judge Leon R. Yankwich was sometimes chairman and sometimes also a speaker.

A reception was tendered to Bertrand Russell and Rudolf Rocker Dec. 10th, 1939,

as an occasion of recognition of the scholarship of both men and their courage.

Paul Jordan Smith was chairman of the reception, and handled it with fine grace and dispatch. Three women acted as hostesses to see that everyone of the immense audience was in a good position to enjoy themselves. These three were Sadie L. Cook, Vera E. Hainert and Doreen Tucker.

Among the speakers were two, whose voices will never again be heard,—Prof. Chase and Tom Bell. The latter, suffering from asthma almost constantly since the age of 7, it was wondered how he was able to speak so excellently on important occasions. His clarion-bell voice was unmatched.

A severe sufferer from asthma almost always can secure relief by taking injections of adrenalin. Tom never needed an injection on such an occasion because the excitement of it served—as would anger or other strong feelings—to excite his adrenal glands. They supplied him with an unusual source of adrenalin and practically always Tom could speak when called upon, and spoke very effectively. Next day, with the everlasting asthma, he suffered worse than usual, for which he often resorted to taking adrenalin for relief.

The plain speech of Tom Bell could be

heard by everyone, economical Scotchman though he was. He cut it short while everyone wanted more. He calculated the effect of words, carefully considered and carefully spoken. The keen wit of Paul Jordan Smith, a man who deals with books constantly, pleased and vivified Tom. Tom spoke at his best on that night of December, 1939. Likewise Professor Chase spoke with choice diction, and magnificently clear enunciation,—his last public speech . . .

In the opinion of the Rocker Publications Committee, Prof. Chase had a positive genius for translation. It was recognized that he rendered Rocker's German into such excellent English that it was hard to realize that *Nationalism and Culture* and also *The Six* were not originally written in English. We considered this as the best possible test of what constituted good translation.

His English text was submitted to two expert proof readers before being finally sent to Rocker in New York for approval. Clarence Lee Swartz, himself Editor of *Individual Liberty* by Benjamin R. Tucker, was one of these. Hans Rossner, co-author with Swartz (and other associates of the marvelous text book on *Mutualism*) were the other experts. These two men, Swartz and Rossner, were expert proof readers for long years on a



—Photo by Nancy Roos.

Sadie L. Cook, Vera E. Hainert, Doreen Tucker.

metropolitan newspaper in Los Angeles. Both men have died, as also has Attorney Henry Cohen,—another of the able Mutualistic Associates. He was Editor and translator of Proudhon's *Solution of the Social Problem* written in French and published in English.

During the time of translation Edward Adams Cantrell was busy verifying references and ascertaining facts for translator Chase which proved very helpful in completing the American issue of *Nationalism and Culture*.

Rocker so well liked Prof. Chase's quite perfect translation that he offered him two more books—beside the four completed for the Committee. More than three thousand dollars in all were raised and spent on *Nationalism and Culture*, and the three other books—although Swartz and Rossner did their work of correcting and proof-reading free of charge.

During this time, a Spanish Edition of *Na-*

tionism and Culture was published and also a very fine Dutch Edition. Rocker, reading Spanish and Dutch, as he does a dozen languages altogether, was glad to have his book published, although without bringing him a cent—actually not a single cent—just copies of those books.

The capture of Spain by the Dictator Franco, and of Holland by Hitler, cut short the distribution of both editions in those countries. The fate that befell Rocker as a refugee likewise befell his great book.

Regardless of the fact of Yaffe being born of a father 75 years old, another one of his kind on our committee, would keep us all worked to a frazzle. He so actively represents a number of liberal groups that little or nothing more could be accomplished. There is a limit to one's energies, and what Yaffe habitually proposes for us to do is close to the limit of our endurance.



—Photo by Odiorne.

1st Row: Hans Rossner, Ollie Rossner, Mary G. Swartz, Sadie L. Cook
2nd Row: Cassius V. Cook, Edwards Adams Cantrell, Charles T. Sprading, Clarence L. Swartz

Following Professor Chase's death, after having translated Rocker's history of Syndicalism for a publisher in England, Dr. Arthur E. Briggs completed, in 1942, Rocker's *Pioneers of Libertarian Thought in America* of which Chase had translated only the PREFACE. Dr. Briggs comments upon this—in his article published separately—as one of the most able of Rocker's books. It is one of the finest contributions ever made by a European scholar on the evolution of American Libertarianism.

Rocker shows far, far more knowledge of American Libertarianism than the average liberal possesses. This book is more illuminating to all Americans, who want to know about the growth of freedom in our own country. No European ever has revealed so much enlightenment in so small a book.

In Dr. Briggs' translation this book is easy to read. It offers evidence that of the men working in favor of Freedom among the most noted were men like Josiah Warren, who worked with their hands. One of America's finest and best Libertarians, he invented many items of machinery for printing used today.

In *Liberty and the Great Libertarians* by Charles T. Sprading—a man noted for his great advocacy of Liberty, and who learned three trades in his lifetime—has Josiah Warren and Max Stirner appear on this book between Wendell Phillips and David Henry Thoreau after whom follows Herbert Spencer and Stephen Pearl Andrews. Andrews "founded the present system of phonographic reporting." His book *The Sovereignty of the Individual* was largely based on Josiah Warren's teachings, as was Benjamin R. Tucker's *Individual Liberty and Instead of a Book*.

Our own Tom Bell was thoroughly aware of the history of Josiah Warren, Max Stirner and Stephen Pearl Andrews, as well as of their teachings. Our Committee has undertaken to secure subscriptions for *Oscar Wilde Without Whitewash* in which Tom wrote the story of OSCAR WILDE and FRANK HARRIS, LORD ALFRED DOUGLAS and GEORGE BERNARD SHAW, together with his estimate of WILDE'S SOCIAL VIEWS OF TODAY and this remarkable manuscript has been left and we are trying to find a publisher who will broadcast it and furnish a copy to our subscribers.

Tom had developed a system of taking short-hand in four languages—and too, highly appreciated both the achievements of Josiah Warren and Stephen Pearl Andrews. He also

was immensely pleased with Rocker's study *Pioneers of Libertarian Thought in America*—which was translated into Spanish, now published in Argentine, while it yet awaits a publisher here in America. The best things written too often are least read—even though ready for American printing presses.

Before the Rocker-Russell Reception held Dec. 10, 1939, Hitler began making war on Poland, which elicited a declaration of war against Germany by France and England. Hitler has since captured about all of Europe and much of Russia. Why Sweden, Switzerland, Spain and Portugal yet escape are questions in early 1943. But in the winter of 1939 and 1940, the question of the combination of Russia and Germany was one of the enigmas of World War No. 2.

Rudolf Rocker was heard on this subject in English on several occasions. His explanation that the two philosophies behind Hitler and Stalin were so related that a combination was to be expected, whenever it best served their purposes. This, too, would also explain their future coming-together again. Russia seems so far to have avoided the disease of "world domination" which both Japan and Germany have contracted. If Russia also should "catch this disease" and begin to try to dominate the world with her unmatched supply of resources, there is now no way proposed for stopping them. A World War No. 3 would become inevitable.

Living many years in exile, he acquired the knowledge of several foreign languages. In London he came in close connection with the Jewish labor movement, learned the Jewish language and became editor of the *Workers' Friend* and the monthly magazine *Germinal*. Yet he never delivered English lectures until he met Yaffe in Los Angeles. The best and quickest way to learn any language is among the people who speak it. Rocker is naturally a scholar, raised in Germany and returned to use his native tongue, when deported to that country from England following World War No. 1.

Being free from all superstitions, that usually enslave the mind, his kindness and concern for human liberty, makes him unique among men. His cultural concept of the sociological factors enabled him to offer the highest historical proof that the small Nationalistic view does not contribute to the finest evolution of society, but the highest culture is to be found only where the individual

has the most liberty and is most developed.

There is yet a high, wide field for again proving the validity of equal freedom for all men. That remains for some man of scientific training to offer the world. It is the proof to be obtained by consulting the biological world. Prof. Chase, a teacher of biology, recognized this—but never took the time to offer it. Rocker's forte has been the History of Man. He took twenty years to bring out his historical proof completely.

He has discounted the reasoning of his co-countryman, Spengler, who predicts a final *decline of the west*, and has a more optimistic viewpoint than the Russian philosopher,

Sorokin, now of Harvard University Staff. Rocker graces no university chair, but holds the balanced view that affords some optimism in spite of the terrible predicament of man. Freedom will yet have a chance to solve our social and individual problems—provided only that we keep liberty alive.

Rocker is to me one of the torch-bearers of freedom—in a wilderness of woe-begone humans, who are slaves, serving too much to bulwark the affairs of God, Government and Mrs. Grundy.

What we need is more of Culture, the true culture of the *enlightened conscious egoist* in a world with less of the Sectionalism now called Nationalism.



NATIONALISM AND CULTURE — AT MUCH VARIANCE

By F. H. Butler

—In *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*

Mr. Rocker Makes a Study of 'The Will to Power'

Throughout the Ages

At the outset of a review of Mr. Rocker's impressive book, it is important to say that for one thing, in its departure from the thought-patterns we have learned to expect from voluminous writers on political and social problems. As Mr. Chase, the able translator, points out in his informative preface, "*Nationalism and Culture*" avoids easy generalizations about man and society. For that reason, Mr. Rocker's book may seem less satisfying to some readers than such a work as John Strachey's "*The Coming Struggle for Power*," in which the "inevitability" of political and social upheavals speciously throws on abstract and irresistible destiny the responsibility for our pre-Utopian chaos. Mr. Rocker will annoy Marxists by his impatient flouting of economic determinism. He will simi-

larly annoy reactionaries by his protest against the introduction into politics of the doctrine of original sin—the notion that men, being innately evil, need strong government. For almost the only abstract idea Mr. Rocker develops is that evil inheres, not in men, but in power, which is inhuman and hence anti-social.

Thus refusing to flatter the saturnine complacency of present-day fatalists, Mr. Rocker builds up his argument. His argument, supported by a tremendous amount of illustrative material indicative of vast and eclectic learning, is that nationalism and culture are fundamentally antithetical. Culture has flourished most when nationalism was weakest. A strong, centralized government has invariably been accompanied by a decline in cul-

ture. For a strong centralized government grows not out of the needs of the people, but rather out of the will and power of privileged minorities. Culture is concrete and human; power is abstract and inhuman. The two are irreconcilable. Power in its relentless progress must eventually destroy culture, muzzle the press, inhibit the arts. Contemporary Germany furnishes ample evidence of the trend.

* * *

So far, the argument is familiar enough. What gives Mr. Rocker's book its especial value, however, is his panoramic historical survey of the "will-to-power" and its consequences. He shows how the insane megalomania of Alexander of Macedon debased Greek culture into Hellenism. Greek culture was the product of loosely federated city-states whose inhabitants had no strong sense of national unity. It was the product of diversity, rather than of artificial and arbitrary similarity. It was, furthermore, the product of minds whose cultural affiliations were far more important than their political affiliations.

In this respect, it did not differ from culture in all other ages; for culture knows no national boundaries and has no political bias. Amazingly rich and fertile, Greek culture was immeasurably superior to that of Rome. For Rome was ridden by a series of political self-seekers and power-maniacs whose ultimate Caesarism, Mr. Rocker says, became the historical basis of modern Stalinism and Hitlerism.

Students are apt to emerge from secondary school with the notions that Greece and Rome were two great states, one of which had glory and the other grandeur, both of which "fell" for reasons not altogether clear. From Rome, students learn, we get law, engineering and, among other things, good roads. (The late Huey Long is still praised as a giver-of-good-roads to Louisiana.) There is also "Roman Virtue." Mr. Rocker makes it clear that even the virtuous Cato the Elder was an egregious usurer and chiseler whose Greek-baiting was just as contemptible as the Jew-baiting of Julius Streicher. The great Roman state, uni-



"MODERN TIMES"

—*Brooklyn Daily Eagle.*

fied, centralized and despotic enough to please the most passionate protagonist of modern dictatorship, inhibited cultural development. Much of the massive Roman architecture, many of the engineering achievements, were the work of foreigners. What of Roman literature? Well, there is Seneca, for example, who dallied with liberal ideas in his letters, and who died leaving an enormous fortune, mostly from scandalously ill-gotten gains. There is also Horace, who chafed under the humiliations of patronage-seeking, and Vergil, whose imitation-Homeric "*Aeneid*" is a monumental example of servile flattery addressed to Augustus Caesar. And as a final sidelight on Roman culture, Mr. Rocker mentions the protracted and sadistic exhibitions of the arena, designed to drug the exploited masses into degraded acceptance of the status quo.

Spain under the Moors was a country of political decentralization. Yet it was a country more prosperous economically, more versatile intellectually, artistically and technically, than it has ever been since. Mr. Rocker blames not so much the Church as power politics, which he says, the Church has too frequently subserved, for the expulsion of the Moors and Jews from Spain. "Spain became the first of the great powers of the world, and its political exertions strongly influenced European policy. But with the triumph of the unified Spanish state and the brutal suppression of all local rights and liberties, there dried up the sources of all material and intellectual culture, and the country sank into a condition of hopeless barbarism. Even the inexhaustible streams of gold and silver that flowed in from the young Spanish colonies in America could not check the cultural decline; they only hastened it."

Mr. Rocker goes on to cite the political disunity of Renaissance Italy, whose cultural achievements need no comment, and the strong resistance of the British to centralization of power, as further evidence in support of his view. Wherever absolutism has been defeated or held in check, there culture has thrived. Wherever absolutism has triumphed, as in the state of Louis XIV, there culture

has suffered—not merely the arts, but also manufacturers, agriculture, the whole economic life of the people. For absolutism enslaves the individual and makes him merely the creature of the state; in robbing him of freedom, it robs him of initiative, even of hope. Rousseau's famous dictum in the "*Social Contract*," so often cited in support of strong government, that man must be "compelled to be free," Mr. Rocker regards as the product of a "sick brain."

Indeed, one of the best features of Mr. Rocker's book is his critical examination of political philosophers from Plato on. He finds much to condemn, much to deride. Even supposedly enlightened philosophers have only too frequently transferred to the sphere of politics the theological doctrine of original sin. If you persuade the individual that he is by nature worthless and sinful and that he gains in moral stature only when he subjects himself to the authority of the state, you have already reduced him to slavery. And that kind of persuasion has been the burden of a great deal of political theorizing. Mr. Rocker attacks Hobbes, Kant, Hegel and a host of others for their lack of ethical content, for their persistent reference of human problems to inhuman abstractions. For the abstractions used to justify modern despotism are merely sophisticated versions of old theological abstractions. Ideas are today, as they always have been, useful to tyrants. Facts tend to undermine tyranny. Knowledge of truth conduces to freedom. Hence the business of government always and everywhere has been to distort or suppress the truth. Hence government always and everywhere has been actually or potentially evil.

* * *

Our educational systems seek from the very outset to inculcate a wholly factitious reverence for the state. By the time our high school students make their annual pilgrimages to view the imperial splendors of Washington, D. C., they are probably, most of them, susceptible to almost any kind of nationalistic flubdub. The monstrous error in their education, Mr. Rocker would doubtless say, is that those youngsters have been taught to regard themselves as less important than the state, to regard human beings as less important than abstractions. If people woke up to the fact that they are primarily human beings and not merely citizens or sinners or Japanese emper-

or-worshippers, war and exploitation would cease. Such an evolution would, of course, be much more profound and sweeping than any Marxist revolution, but in some such revolution lies almost the only hope for humanity. In pointing out such a possibility, even though

it be unrealizable, Mr. Rocker has performed a great service.

“*Nationalism and Culture*,” by Rudolf Rocker, translated from the German by Ray E. Chase. New York: Covici-Friede, \$3.50.



RUDOLF ROCKER AND SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IN GERMANY

By Augustine Souchy

Translated by Dr. Arthur E. Briggs

In 1911 the widow of Joseph Peukert came to Berlin from America to request that Gustav Landauer consider publication of the memoirs of her deceased husband.

This circumstance recalls in the circles of our friends the old liberal movement in Germany and Gustav Landauer's reply: "There lives in London a notable man. He writes in German exceptionally well, but he is also a distinguished writer of Yiddish. He is an outstanding orator, and he reaches by his writings the libertarian literature of the Yiddish movement. He is not yet old to the old-timers, but he has belonged for more than a decade to the movement. That man is Rudolf Rocker."

It was then I heard Rocker's name for the first time. In 1919, after the troops sent by the Social Democrat Noske to Bavaria had expelled the Council of the Republic from Munich, Gustav Landauer was bestially murdered by the soldiers. Yet the dream of the German Republic was accomplished. The fighters for freedom expelled by socialist laws and who remained in exile were finally permitted to return to their socialist homeland.

With them also came Rudolf Rocker. Then I had the opportunity in Berlin to become acquainted with him. My first meeting with Rocker in 1919 gave me a better impression of him than I had expected. Rudolf is a personality such as one seldom discovers. He stands not only above things but towers high over the run of men.

In the new Germany Rudolf began to work. He talked to the workers concerning

real socialism which they must create for themselves, not of that kind which is decreed by the government. He spoke of the new Germany which must be constituted on the federal principle. He opposed the militaristic Prussians and pleaded for recognition that only a federalized Germany could make the people independent and be a guaranty of peace to neighboring peoples.

These doctrines were not to the taste of the Social Democrats. The Weimar Constitution was indeed democratic but centralistic in its character. In the Rhineland there was a separatist movement and the Social Democratic government put Rudolf Rocker and with him Fritz Kater under "protection." The real reason for that was to disguise the fact that from Rudolf Rocker's publication of propaganda a great part of the industrial workers in the Rhineland and Westphalia began to turn toward libertarian ideas and to abandon the Social Democratic associations. It saw in that a threat to Social Democracy which it desired to divert by the sequestration of libertarian propaganda.

Rudolf Rocker was not the man to allow this to turn him aside from his purpose. Restored to liberty he was again a restless battler for his ideals.

About this time there was a free opportunity for new ideas. The spirit of youth was like foaming new wine that bursts out of an old leathern bottle. A large part of the labor unions realized that Social Democracy found itself in a false position and sought a new orientation. Rudolf knew how to direct

the undeceived masses to new goals and inspired them with new ideals.

The libertarian movement was divided in two camps. In one they propagated in the traditional manner the ideas of freedom and a state-free society. In the other, revolutionary trades organizations according to federalist principles grouped themselves independent of political parties. They set for themselves the goal to fight for the economic emancipation of the proletariat.

A clear conception of the realizable goal should have been neither the one nor the other. The man who did most to bring about and establish a clear objective in that movement was Rudolf Rocker. He expressed the formula of true libertarianism. He made known among the German workers the ideas of the First International not previously known there. He placed in the foreground the theory that the workers through taking over management and production must change capitalistic to socialist enterprise. Only through the worker himself can socialism be realized. This doctrine went far beyond the Social Democratic comprehension according to which the free folk-state decrees socialism. Rocker made clear that the labor unions must accomplish this work. Similarly he opposed the "pure" ideologies which repudiate the class struggle and which spread the idea that the workers cannot through ideological propaganda alone attain their goal.

In numerous speeches before the workers and intellectuals and in many debates with the politicians of the Weimar Republic Rocker had made known in Germany the ideas of libertarian socialism. Old and young listened intently to the powerful speeches of Rudolf Rocker, which in masterful formula made known the new doctrines of libertarian socialism. In books and brochures he gave to the German workers ever and again new impulses. A whole school of younger elements took to

itself Rocker's doctrines. Rudolf had become the founder and theorist of German Libertarianism.

This movement alas, was not strong enough to overcome the Social Democratic and communistic trend, and as Marxism in its weightiest and most radical form came to ruin, there arose in its place the authoritarian ideas which climaxed in Hitler and his horde preaching National Socialism. The prophetic word of Rudolf Rocker was realized: Socialism must be free or it cannot exist.

Rudolf was forced into exile for the second time.

The comrades in America can now alone preserve what he had accomplished in these last ten years. The moral and spiritual regeneration of the German people would be furthered more after this World War by the publication of this book, *Nationalism and Culture*, than by whole volumes of new statutes and decisions. *This book should be proposed for award of the Nobel Peace Prize.*

We stand at the point of a change in the times. At the end of this War Germany will be compelled to make a decision between undergoing a centralized Prussian militaristic organization or building up anew on federalized principles its freedom in every sphere. Only a federalized Germany in a new European federation can guarantee peace in Europe. Rudolf Rocker's counsel will be of immeasurable worth in the coming years.

I and all of the fighters for German freedom, now living in exile wish our friend and teacher, Rudolf Rocker, on his 70th birthday, health of body and renewed freshness of spirit. May he keep both, that his mighty word may save those of the young generation from despair and lead them to new ideals and new goals.

Los Tuxtlas,
Ver. Mexico.

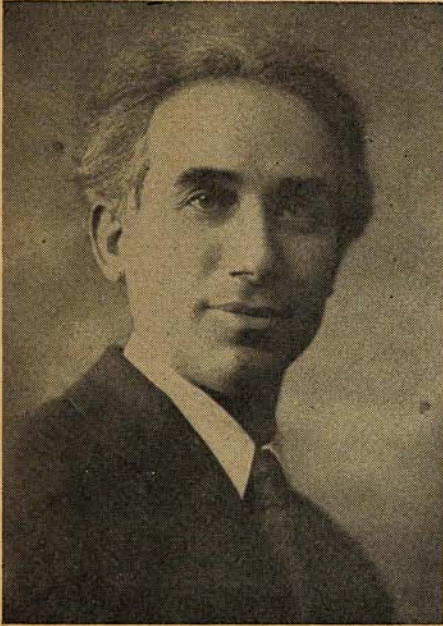
At the end of February, 1943.



SOME GLIMPSSES FROM THE PAST

By Joseph Ishill

Director: Oriole Press



JOSEPH ISHILL

Written for the 71st Birthday of my beloved friend Rudolf Rocker.

. . . Often in my early life, in a little-known corner of the Balkans, I would walk through the denseness of the forests or the open spaces of the fields, and with full breath absorb the enchanted panorama of green with its undulating background of blue mountains.

Toward night the little stars would comfort my eyes from the tiny porch of my father's home, and I would listen to the delirious fluting of the nightingales on the still coolness of the evening air—but once in a while this heavenly enchantment would be broken by the harsh and vulgar hoot of some owl, noisily cutting through the woods, seeming to come from nowhere and passing into nothing. Nevertheless, it sounded like the reveille to some obscene battle. Afterwards all seemed peaceful again. No mortal creature would have dared disturb this cosmic stillness for fear that Nature itself might suffer from the harsh intrusion of tramping feet. . . .

Thus would I sit alone for hours and medi-

tate on the enigma of life and people strewn across the universe, comprising so many thinkers, libertarians, philosophers and poets who left their immortal imprint on the fabric of humanity and have woven their energies into its pattern.

While I was then reading the works of authors like Goethe, Schiller, Heine, Boerne, Lenau and others, I cannot understand why these very thoughts should be associated with the home of Gutenberg, the great inventor of moveable types, who in those days saw in his invention the medium of releasing mankind toward the higher spheres of thought in a world of darkness, bigotry and superstition. Gutenberg was one of the world's greatest torch-bearers; the problems of that world were for the people themselves to solve in the way most adaptable to their needs and circumstances.

Here in the historic city of Mainz on the Rhine, where Gutenberg was born, another torch-bearer of truth and justice came into the world 400 years later to disseminate the gospel of Man's freedom. This was our dear friend Rudolf Rocker, and the coincidence is entirely harmonious with the mission: Mainz—Gutenberg—Rocker.

One was a printer, the other in his early youth chose to be a bookbinder. This vocation often gave him the opportunity of indulging in the contents of unbound books that were beyond the reach of one in Rocker's class—not to mention "forbidden" books which never reach the shelves of public or institutional libraries. These books are cherished as sacred possessions and locked in private bookcases for their owner's delectation. This sort of "snooping" must have given Rocker the sheerest delight. The sort of reading "when no one was looking" must also have given Rocker the incentive of becoming what he is today, a man of great erudition. Among various volumes in the bindery, he also happened to run across some with revolutionary meaning. For it was right after the French Revolutionary period, and books were smuggled in from other frontiers which for the intelligent binder yielded their mysteries. He was the first to absorb those "secret" contents, and in the days when Rocker was ap-

prentice in this trade, the air of Europe was everywhere vibrating with revolutionary and transforming actions against old feudal and monarchic states.

Then and there, Rocker saw the light and meaning inherent in the printed word; he saw that Nature in all its manifestations was revolutionary and not static, and to this end he dedicated his entire life.

If Rocker is today what many of his readers know him to be, it is because he has seen in his early youth in the bookbindery, the printed word which for him and for me and for many others, symbolized the sentient truth for which he stood firm through all these years as rebel, philosopher and, above all, uncompromising thinker.

Rocker is still more than that, for in the long span of his life, he has contributed much original and research work which today enriches many a libertarian library, not to mention his versatile and numerous lectures which are all highly interesting and educational. This is the man who from early youth to his present age of 71 has given so much of his precious time to unfolding the scroll of knowledge to a people who had no other resource or the background to acquire it. (Here I especially mean the many years he had dedicated to the radical Jewish element in England by means of lectures, the editing of a weekly paper *Der Arbeiter Freund* and also the highly literary periodical *Germinal*.)

It was Rocker who for the first time showed the Jewish reading public in general that higher standards of world literature existed to be understood and appreciated than, for example, such insipid, juvenile and banal trifles as Goldfaden's *Zwei Kuni Lemels*, *Schmendrig* or the *Babe mitten Einikel*, or Schumer's bombastic novels and similar stuff which by the longest stretch of imagination could not be classed as literature.

I can definitely say that through Rocker's influence and agitation, the Yiddish literature has developed such a high standard that I fear I cannot make an adequate comparison with the development of any other nation's literature.

In this short article I cannot hope to particularize or analyze any of his works. This task I leave to others perhaps more competent

as to which are analytically most valuable to the student as well as general reader.

How peculiar and ironic those universal manifestations often are which tend toward opposite directions and then in some strange way, beyond the inflexible rules of the exact sciences, seem to parallel one another when seen in proper perspective. Here was Gutenberg, teutonic by birth, trying to spread more light in his time, or as Goethe on his death bed said: *Mehr Licht* to a people groping in darkness. The germ was the idea in its technical phases, but the purpose, tendency, the often subconscious emotional urge that exalts the most material inventions into the realm of the unappeasable spirit, was unquestionably the inevitable advance toward the revolutionary era and that freedom to which mankind has striven from the very moment it was aware of itself as man.

So from Gutenberg's city after almost half a millennium rose another great spirit, another torch-bearer of enlightenment to continue the sacred mission of man's liberation, Rudolf Rocker.

What ironical embarrassment it must be for the present bestial hordes howling their pure "Aryanism" to know that a man like Rudolf Rocker, so splendid in spirit, so fine in intellect, should have gone over so completely to a race which is too great for them to merely despise and which they bitterly hate, persecute, and seek to annihilate.

None in the entire Nazi hierarchy can boast of a purer Teutonism than Rocker, yet this grand soul has gone to the Jewish people to whom he devoted his entire life, over 50 years of educating and uplifting them from darkness to light, at the same time also to be recognized as equals in new fraternization with other nationalities.

The way of saints is a thorny one. Rocker knows that to serve mankind, one must endure harsh things—the harshest from man himself.

All who are oppressed and seek liberation from the fetters of tyranny salute you, then, you great and good man, on your 71st birthday—apostle of liberty in a world chained to so-called civilization.

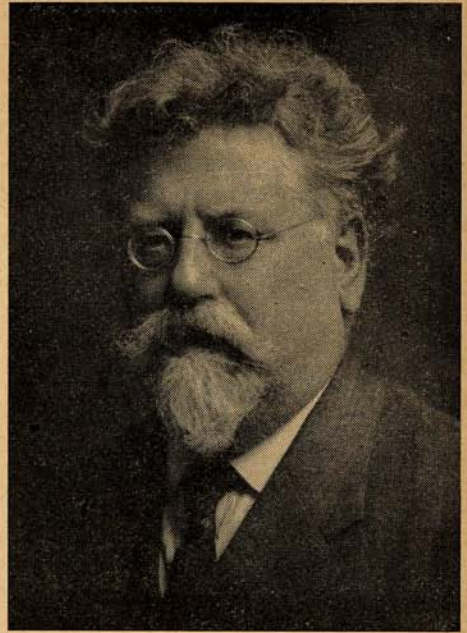
Berkeley Heights, N. J.

Feb., 1944.

*Impressive Opinions
by Important Persons
About a Significant
Book*

“NATIONALISM AND CULTURE”

By Rudolf Rocker



—Photo by Odiorne.

RUDOLF ROCKER

What Translator Prof. Chase says about this book!

Some reasons why this book is important to you.

Today throughout the world States are being made over: made over peacefully under the forms of ordinary constitutional procedure, as in the United States, England, and (formerly in) France; made over violently by the usurpation of power and its maintenance and enforcement in the hands of a dictatorship through force and terror, as in Germany and Italy; made over by armed intervention from without, as in China; made over by a combination of these processes, as in Spain; but definitely and drastically made over everywhere by one process or another.

By whatever process and in whatever form this reshaping goes on it is accompanied and characterized by two significant manifestations:

First, an intensive centralization of governmental power, involving an almost complete surrender of control by local or district units and an extension of the activities of the State into fields in which it has not previously intervened since the downfall of the absolute monarchies.

Second, a resurgence of nationalism such as the world has perhaps never before witnessed; nationalist feeling that in some countries approaches hysteria; nationalist structure of the State, aiming at economic self-sufficiency, cultural separateness, hostility to other states and their peoples.

This reshaping of States carries with it many and far-reaching consequences to you:

The status of the individual is being fundamentally altered. His economic independence and his personal freedom are subjected to increasing and already drastic limitations.

Cultures are being changed, in some instances, as in the United States, almost unconsciously, though rapidly, in the course of the accepted processes of adaptation to the changing conditions; in some instances, as in Germany, abruptly by authoritative decree. In the latter case a people is given a new set of social concepts, a new set of ethical values, a new set of artistic and literary norms, new manners, new morals, a new religion, even a new diet, by cataclysmic, revolutionary com-

mand; in the former they acquire these in some degree by their own acquiescence in change.

Are these changes, that go on, good changes?

A new world is shaping for men and women to live in. Is it a better world or a worse one than that which they have lived in?

In either case is there anything that they can do about it?

You probably do not feel very sure of the answer to these questions. We want to tell you of a book which will help you to formulate answers if you have none, to revise or confirm your answers if you have already formulated some.

Nationalism and Culture by Rudolf Rocker is a detailed and scholarly study of the development of nationalism and the



—Photo by Odiorne.

RAY E. CHASE
Translating Editor.

changes in human cultures from the dawn of history to the present day and an analysis of the relations of these to one another. It tells the story of the growth of the State and the other institutions of authority and their influence on life and manners, on architecture and art, on literature and thought.

It traces the evolution of religious and political systems and their relation to the authoritarian State on the one hand and to the people on the other. It analyzes the Nation as alleged community of race, of culture, of language, of interest.

It presents in its 574 pages a series of cross-sections of European society at successive historical periods and relates them to one another.

It offers copious illustrations of the literature of every period and country.

It is at every point illuminated by the interpretative comment of the author, scholarly, brilliant, poetic, human.

It is the ripened fruit of thirty years of intensive and devoted study by a man in every way fitted for the task.

In the following pages we present you with a few of the opinions expressed about the book by great thinkers in many fields. We are sure that you will want to possess and to read a work that has appealed so strongly to men like Bertrand Russell, Albert Einstein, Thomas Mann, and the other distinguished men whose comments fill the succeeding pages.



From the World's Best-Loved Scientist

FIRST LETTER Translation from German:

I have not been able to reply to your request until today, because I had first to study Rocker's work carefully. I find the book extraordinarily original and illuminating. Many facts and relationships are presented in it in a novel and convincing fashion. I am, to be sure, not in agreement with its fundamental attitude of purely negative estimate of the function of the state. This, however, does not prevent me from regarding the book as important and illuminating. I am sincerely grateful to you for sending it to me.

With distinguished regard,

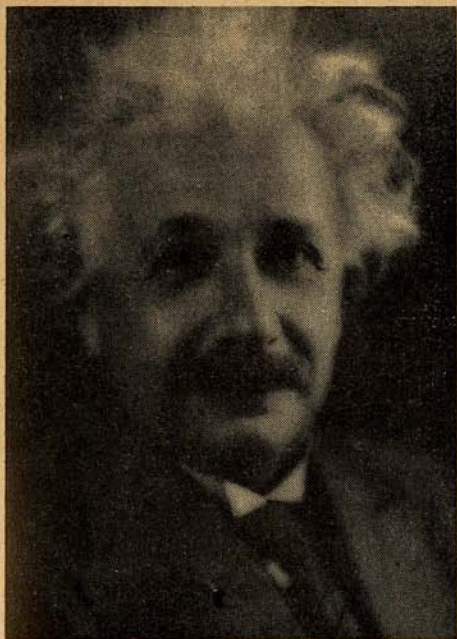
A. EINSTEIN.

SECOND LETTER Translation from German:

The little book you wrote me about has just arrived; I shall certainly read it with great interest. In my opinion the work *Nationalism and Culture* is deserving of the highest respect. I have studied it throughout, and I learn that specialists in this field are also interesting themselves in its behalf.

With friendly greetings,

A. EINSTEIN.



—Photo by Odiorne.

ALBERT EINSTEIN

Louis Adamic on Rocker's Book

"With its impressive scholarship, forthright thought, on-pushing spirit, and dynamic analysis of the central phases of the problems of human culture and progress, the book may

well gradually become regarded as one of the most important publications of the 1930's. Any attempt to get it read is a praiseworthy effort."

Charles A. Beard,
Distinguished Historian
and Social Thinker, Says:

"Rocker's work illuminates fundamental problems of contemporary life and invites students of history to widen the range of their observation and thought."

America's Most Widely-Read
Philosopher

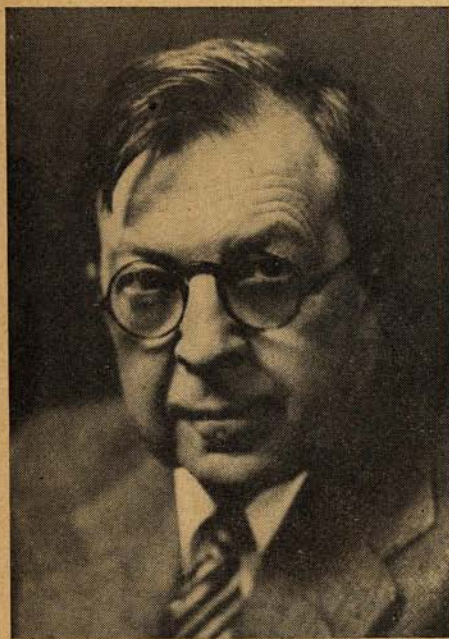
A magnificent book, written with profound understanding of man and history, and expressed in language of amazing power and brilliance.

WILL DURANT.



CHARLES A. BEARD

From a Historian and Man of Letters



—Photo by Pack Bros.

RUPERT HUGHES

Great books, like other great monuments, owe their publication as a rule to the generosity of a few enthusiasts. So "*Nationalism and Culture*" comes to us through the generosity of Rocker Publications Committee.

This book is truly monumental, the life-work of an unusual soul whose enormous learning has fed his artistic fires instead of smothering them. The author traces culture from its beginning down to now, and shows how incessantly mankind has permitted and encouraged its basest tyrants to crush the aspirations and destroy the achievements of its loftiest spirits. The tyrants climb to power by invoking racial prejudices, fallacies, and patriotic fanaticisms; then use them to crowd the people back into barbarism and servitude, while the deluded populace connives at its own degradation and cheers the very men who enslave it. Thus almost every hope of united action by all mankind has been nipped as soon as it blossomed.

This book in itself is a startling illustration of its own thesis; for its brilliant author was driven from his native country by the Hitlerian government. It is a glorious thing for our country that he has found a shelter here, and that his great work first appears in a translation so deft that it reads like an original text.

RUPERT HUGHES.

Once Germany's Leading Man of Letters . . . Now an American

Dear Sirs:

I thank you heartily for sending me Rudolf Rocker's great work, "*Nationalism and Culture*." I am sincerely happy to possess this important, profound, and richly intellectual book, and wish that it may be put into many hands all over the world. It will be a good guide and helper to everyone who is concerned with the problems of our times and yearns for enlightenment. For myself, I am

impressed with the importance of the existence of such a book, which by its great qualities may serve as a counterbalance against the misleading doctrines that are being propagated today with such dangerous intensity.

With thanks, once more, and my most respectful greeting.

Your very devoted,

THOMAS MANN.

From the Author of "The Culture of Cities",
also "Technics and Civilization"

Nationalism and Culture is an important contribution to our thought about human society: it is the work not merely of a keen, well-poised mind, but of a deeply humane personality. The tradition with which it affiliates is one that has never been absent from American thought, from Paine and Jefferson on through Thoreau, Emerson, Whitman, and William James: the point of view it expresses needs double emphasis today, when one form or another of totalitarian despotism professes to embrace the hopes, the allegiances, and the possibilities of human society.

Rudolf Rucker's wide historical background, his richness of reference, his deep organic humanism give to his thesis far more than the academic qualifications it likewise possesses. *Nationalism and Culture*, in short, is a book worthy to be placed on the same shelf that holds *Candide*, *the Rights of Man*, and *Mutual Aid*.

LEWIS MUMFORD.



LEWIS MUMFORD

From a Leader in Adult Education



DR. FREDERICK W. ROMAN

Director of the Parliament of Man and Associated Forums in Southern California

A German scholar, familiar with twelve languages, Rudolf Rucker has spent twenty years in assembling material, studying history, human evolution, and cultural and economic phenomena, picking up the threads which lead with iron necessity to our present situation.

He has evolved a fundamental theory of history which throws light on our past, present and future. With compelling logic he shows why and how humanity has become enslaved by a force which drives it ever nearer to the brink of destruction, depriving larger and larger groups of their freedom and individuality. He shows us the meaning of culture, the conditions under which it grows, and how it becomes stifled and doomed to extinction. By uncovering the real pattern of historic forces he shows us also the way out. Thus he develops a truly constructive philosophy.

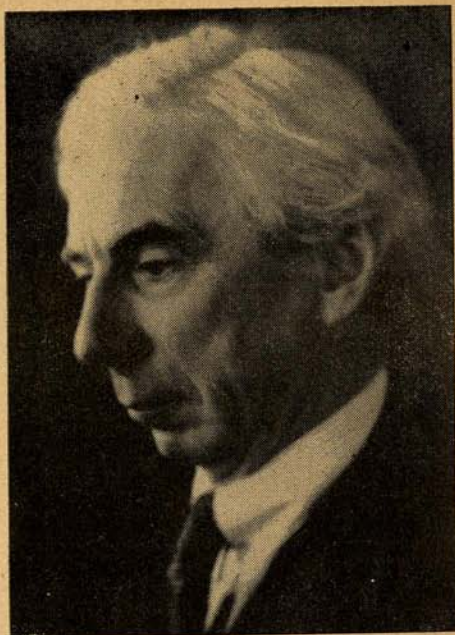
We believe that we do not overstate the case in asserting that Rucker's book is an epochal work of transcendental significance such as is written only once in a hundred years.

DR. FREDERICK W. ROMAN.
Editor, The Roman Forum

A World-Renowned
Liberal Philosopher Says:

Rudolf Rocker's book, "*Nationalism and Culture*," is an important contribution to political philosophy, both on account of its penetrating and widely informative analysis of many famous writers, and on account of the brilliant criticism of state-worship, the prevailing and most noxious superstition of our time. I hope it will be widely read in all those countries where disinterested thinking is not yet illegal.

BERTRAND RUSSELL.



—Photo by Odiorne.

BERTRAND RUSSELL



PITRIM A. SOROKIN

A Critical Note From
Pitirim A. Sorokin

Though I fundamentally disagree with Mr. Rocker's views in several important points; though I find many factual errors in his treatise; though I find here enormously exaggerated anti-cultural influences of nationalism; nevertheless, in the atmosphere of the aridity of most books in the field of social science I find some fresh thought, stimulating, interesting, and in many parts valuable, in the book of Rocker.

Very sincerely yours,

P. A. SOROKIN,

(Chairman of the Department of
Sociology of Harvard University.)

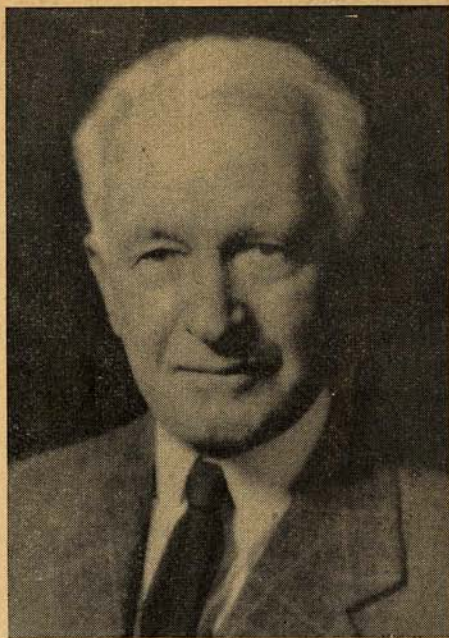
From a Leader in Social Progress

Thank you for the copy of "*Nationalism and Culture*" by Rudolf Rocker. I have already begun reading this book and am impressed by its philosophical soundness. I have examined the book and have read far enough to be able to give you my impression. I think Mr. Rocker has written a book of tremendous value. It is most opportune, coming as it does at this period of the world's history when the domination of force is so highly manifested.

The expansion of centralized power vested in political governments is the great disaster threatening the world at the present time. Wars, the attendant brutalities, and the social disorganization which they engender are the natural result of such politically centralized force. Mr. Rocker, in his "*Nationalism and Culture*," philosophically evaluates the significance of these forces. I hope that this book may be widely read. It is much needed.

With all good wishes, sincerely yours,

J. P. WARBASSE, *President (Emeritus)*,
The Cooperative League,
167 W. 12th St., N. Y.



JAMES P. WARBASSE



DR. ARTHUR E. BRIGGS

Rocker's *Nationalism and Culture* is a timely and timeless book. It ante-dates and post-dates the events of today. In the light of history, from the evolution of cultures, it derives the great lessons of time. It proves indisputably that tyranny never pro-

duced a worthy culture, that only the free spirit is a creative spirit, that reliance upon power and the resort to force do not gain security for anyone, that the excessive nationalisms of our time only breed more destructive wars, that man may become master of his industrial machine when no longer he enslaves the poorest of mankind to them, that voluntary association is the one sound basis of society—in short, that individual freedom and mutual aid are the conditions *sine qua non* to progress and advancing culture.

These themes are richly illustrated in this encyclopedic book. Spengler, Pareto, and Sorokin are writers of similar scope. Their extreme pessimism and biased opinions are in marked contrast to Rocker's fairness to all peoples and all races and his trust in our fundamental human nature when permitted to exercise its innate freedom and good will. I am especially impressed by the superiority of his critical judgment upon philosophies, men and events that fill in the panorama of world cultures. But the high point of the book is that it shows the way out of the miseries that beset mankind.

It is a great and convincing argument for cultured freedom, and one who will read it understandingly must be or become a cultured person.

ARTHUR E. BRIGGS.



MAJOR HUBERT S. TURNER

Emphasizing Ideals and Other Intangibles

Mr. Rudolf Rocker's monumental work, "*Nationalism and Culture*," is one that should be in the reference library of every thinker, on account of the author's painstaking research in delving into the writings of the Past and

Present, in order to support his general thesis as to the Future.

This thesis is that any real Culture is antagonistic to the Power Motive in life and that it is the latter that always dominates State, Society and Religion.

The tremendous array of factual matter to support this is incontrovertible. From the mass of quotations and references in the remarkable book, one awaits with almost bated breath for the author's conclusions as to what is the missing factor in life that would prevent the continuous chain of misfortunes, he cites.

Culture is made the *ne plus ultra* of life, but in the writer's demonstration of culture there seems to be a singular lack of ethical, moral or spiritual motives. These all belong to the intangibles of life, and Mr. Rocker deals only with the tangibles. His exposition of the deplorable weaknesses of these tangibles, is the very best possible proof of the recognition of the fact that it is Ideals and other intangibles of life that are the most potent factors.

To this reader, after reviewing this exhaustive work, it is self-evident that it is these intangibles alone that can produce the Stateless State that alone can avoid the dominance of the Power Motive. There is just a bare hint of this in the author's closing two paragraphs. This reader wishes he had amplified those two paragraphs just a little more. Perhaps he will in a subsequent volume.

MAJOR H. S. TURNER

714 N. Rexford Drive,
Beverly Hills, California.

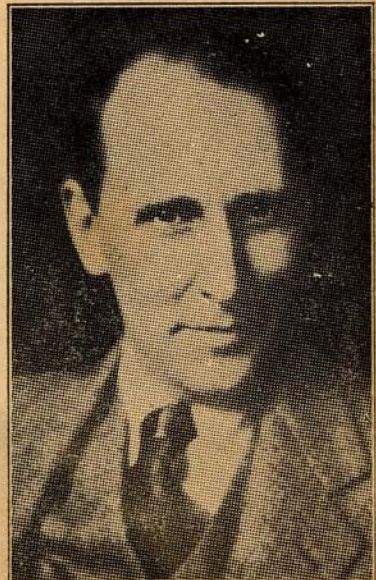
What a Keen Book Man Says:

In an age when totalitarian notions have inspired the gangsters in Europe and Asia to deeds so terrible that soft-hearted idealists refuse to believe them, while cynical opportunists in the Americas applaud and admire their "efficiency," it is heartening to discover a man with a soul and sense of Rudolf Rocker insisting that there is no culture without freedom.

As for his book, *Nationalism and Culture*, it is indeed a very important and stimulating work . . . of especial significance at a time when new tyrannies threaten to destroy all that free men have struggled to attain for the past three or four centuries . . . an eloquent and well reasoned protest against all forms of reaction and brutal mechanizing of life.

PAUL JORDAN SMITH.

Book Critic, The Los Angeles Times



PAUL JORDAN SMITH

THE SIX

GREAT CHARACTERS FROM CLASSICAL LITERATURE

Introduced by Ray E. Chase,

Rudolf Rocker, Author

In "The Six," Rudolf Rocker has taken six well-known characters from famous world literature and done two unusual things with them: First, he has made them very much alive, and without doing violence in any way to the traditional character of any one of them, he has used them in this book, to introduce a beautiful dream of *a world rebuilt and mankind set free.*

He begins with a picture in a dawn. We gaze on a black marble sphinx. Six roads coming from widely separated lands converge and end on the sands before her outstretched palms. Along each road a wanderer moves.

The dawn advances, the desert turns to greensward, the sphinx dissolves into dust. No

summary will serve to convey this picture that Rocker has drawn of *The Awakening.*

I have reveled in the completeness of the understanding with which Rocker has identified himself with each character, thinking his thoughts, feeling his feelings, giving dramatic and satisfying expression to them all.

"The Six" seems to me like a great symphony. A short introduction, a prelude, sets the theme, sad and enigmatic. This theme is repeated in each of the six stories, which make up the symphony. Each has its own mood and tempo. At last comes a jubilant, resolving final. The whole work affects me like a great orchestral performance.

Presentation copy, 255 pages, green leath-
erette binding, \$1.50; paper, \$1.00.



PIONEERS OF LIBERTARIAN THOUGHT IN AMERICA

By RUDOLF ROCKER

At last, a competent European mind has looked at the evolution of the idea of Liberty in America and put down what he learned. This forthcoming book will be published only when enough people want it—since publishers produce books now only to make money.

It is fortunate that Rudolf Rocker, and not somebody else, wrote this book. What an American-born writer would say might be regarded as favoritism. The known fairness of Rocker makes the book overflow with his unique open-mindedness even though he orig-

inated in Europe. Rocker is as fair-minded to American pioneers as he is known to be to people of any race.

As soon as enough persons decide that they want this book, the Committee will then order it printed to be distributed at cost. That publishers now think it cannot produce sufficient profit to be worth their while is no reason for going without it unless you already know as much as Rocker about the history of Liberty in this country.

Probably 200 pages (to retail at \$2.00)
5 copies or more at \$1.00 each, in advance.

ROCKER PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE (A Non-Profit Organization)

304 So. Broadway, Suite 338, Los Angeles 13, California. MI. 6071

Nationalism and Culture

By RUDOLF ROCKER

This book of 27 Chapters may be read a chapter at a time and any chapter is a proof of its main thesis, which is that Culture thrives better in proportion as Nationalism is absent. Nationalism is recognized as organized patriotism erected into a religious belief.

It takes the history of the entire western world and interprets it. This book stands as a monumental Libertarian Interpretation of History. It took 20 years to write it. No other book undertakes so much in such a clear manner.

Marx—

Not Adequate

The first chapter deals with the Marxian or Economic Interpretation of History, which is shown not to be adequate, as presumed, for explaining world development.

An Example—Spain

Ask yourself how it happens that Spain developed Toledo steel and then lost its leadership in steel? Or tapestry? Or libraries? At one time in the history of Spain there were more libraries in Spain than in all the remainder of Europe. What social influence produced them? What drove them away?

Or how did the culture of Greece arise—

and then fade away? What were the determining factors?

What Causes a Decline in Culture

The historical necessity for the development of the greatest cultural evolution is one of freedom—and not of force. Indeed culture is on the decline when it encounters invasive force. This force is most uniformly predominant in society in some form of Nationalism.



From a drawing by Fermin Rocker

RUDOLF ROCKER

Explains What Makes Economics Thrive

Worship of the State is now a most prominent superstition of today. Where that worship is most dominant there real Culture is most on the decline.

This book bewails the worship of the

State. It places Freedom as favoring the most constructive social force in History. Without individual liberty, Culture can not develop greatly. A most important book written in the last hundred years. Read it—before you express an opinion.

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