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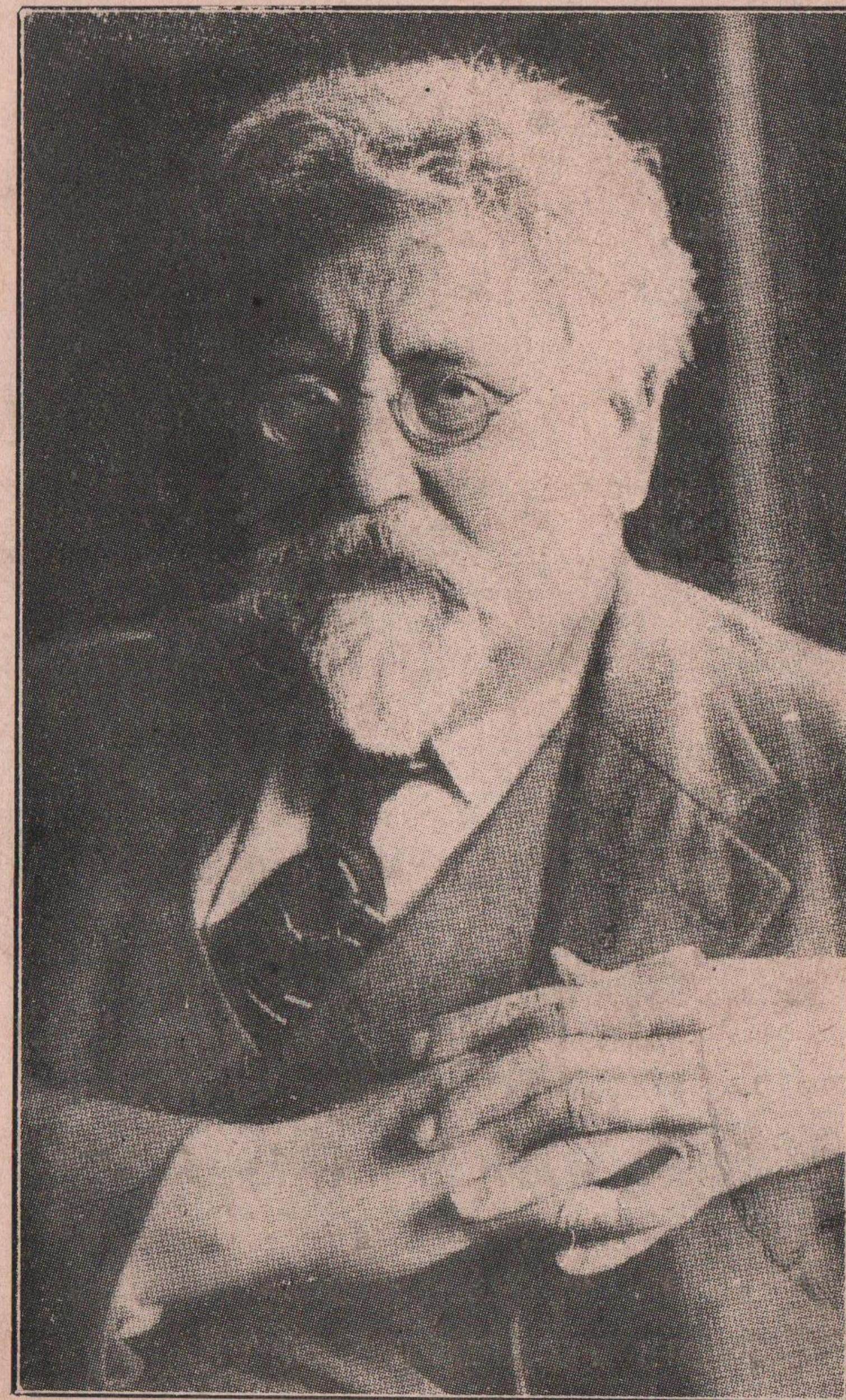
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The Philosophy of Rudolf Rocker.



# "Nationalism and its Relations to Culture"

A German scholar, familiar with twelve languages, Rudolf Rocker, has spent twenty years in assembling material, studying history, human evolution, and cultural and economic phenomena, picking up the threads which lead from early history 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 Rocker's is an epochal work of transcendental significance such as is written only once in a hundred years.

**DR. FREDERICK W. ROMAN**

## INTRODUCING THIS PRESENTATION

The basis for this highly condensed summarization of the subject matter and philosophical method of Rudolph Rocker's forth-coming great work "*Nationalism and its Relations to Culture*," was written by Rocker himself, but running comments, the titles and the subheadings appearing herein are reproduced from the columns of Roman's Forum as edited by Dr. Frederick W. Roman, Ph. D., D. Litt.



This prospectus therefore authoritatively indicates the character and scope of his monumental study of the effect of "Nationalism" on the development of Culture down the ages, something that has never been done before. Rocker's well rounded out expositions of the phenomena of patriotic Nationalism in the important civilizations of the past and of its effects upon the process of society or upon the fundamental basis thereof, which is properly called Culture—these are apportioned and appraised with an able, incisive, and excellently expressed scholarship that is also evident in these few pages.

The "culture concept" in sociology and anthropology is, in these days, recognized more and more as being a truer concept of the factors that determine any particular state of society than the more simple and consequently more popular "economic concept" of determinism.

Rocker is in entire accord with the newer concepts of the social process, and, indeed, in this profound twenty years' study, has proceeded far ahead of his times. The value and importance of this monumental work deserves the attention of all progressive, up-to-date minds just because he has "broken new ground".

Even if you allow duly for the possible excess of enthusiasm of the Publication Committee who make it possible for you to become aware of Rocker's work, there is plenty of foundation for the probability that Rocker's *NATIONALISM AND CULTURE* will become the classic of the future in this field; and, too, that the course of sociological thought and progress will be illuminated and influenced by it for a long, long time.

CASSIUS W. COOK.

## The Philosophy of Rudolf Rocker's

Forthcoming Book

# "Nationalism and Its Relations to Culture"

(This Summarization Edited by)

DR. FREDERICK W. ROMAN.

### *Origin of Power*

Rudolf Rocker, whose biography appears in this issue, has given an interesting and highly important statement of a view of life that has been finding its way in the thoughts of responsible public opinion for a century. Our author has added original tenets, and amplified holdings that have been foreshadowed ever since the earliest beginnings of democracy.

His book entitled, "Nationalism and Its Relations to Culture," is now out. One of his first conclusions shows that all nationalism is to be considered as a *political religion*. This idea is helpful. It presents a controversial issue in light and attitude, where it can be truly tested. Accordingly, the author goes back to the deeper relations between religion and politics and shows the inner antithesis which exists between them and the effect of all civilizing and cultural activity. Religion is the belief of man in the physical and spiritual dependence of his existence on a higher power on whose decisions he has no influence.



All early religious conceptions rest on the idea of power. There arises the belief in a soul, and a fetishism. There results a feeling of dependence, hence comes the necessity of sacrifice and offering. This evolves into a religious foundation of government, divine rights of Kings, and rule by tradition. These elements are noted in the rule of a Moses, Hammurabi, and the rule of the Pharaohs. The idea is further illustrated by the code of Mann, Lamarism, the rule of the Incas and Caesarism in Rome.

The extension of the doctrine leads to the paths that open the discussions of power and priesthood, Church and State, the teachings of a Rousseau, and a Robespierre, a Napoleon and a Mussolini, Fascism and the Vatican. Finally we find ourselves heading on the great struggles between Emperor and Pope.

#### *Historic Materialism*

In the analysis of "historic materialism" it is especially pointed out that the cosmic and physical laws of life have nothing in common with the so-called laws of social development; and that while man, in spite of science and all his acquired knowledg, is neither able to alter the course and operation of the laws of nature nor even to influence them to any appreciable degree but he can create, alter or destroy every social activity, every social order.

#### *Power and Culture*

The author deals with the basic antithesis between *power and culture*, the state and society, and shows that every power is by nature sterile and unproductive. A powerful state mechanism is the greatest hindrance to every higher cultural development.

Wherever states are in a dying condition or where their power is limited to a minimum there culture thrives best. Every power is based on certain prerogatives and on privileged castes and classes of society. But every privilege also promotes the development of revolutionary tendencies which oppose the existing power with the conception of justice of the great mass of the people. This constant struggle between "might" and "right" finds its spiritual sediment in the various constitutions and gradually leads from the idea of "right" to the consciousness of social justice, and from political and social union to the conception of freedom.

#### *Power As the Primary Right of the Minority*

Finally we come to a consideration of the pillars of power. This leads to a division into classes and the growth of castes as necessary conditions to every power. Eventually a certain power is conceded as a right of the minority. Then arises the question of might and right, and the double role of law, freedom and authority. The law becomes a measuring rod of culture. There emerges the struggle for justice in history. We enter upon Plato's theory of the State. There arises an outward limitation of every power. And now we reach the political science of Aristotle, the elect and the inferior, the natural right of the cynic and the stoic.

#### *The Dogma of Original Sin*

Western Culture passes through many stages involving conceptions of good and evil. In the earlier period we find Christian civilization thoroughly imbued with the idea of original sin. There follows the deifica-



tion of the State. We pass the decay of Medieval culture. We come upon Mercantilism. Now we learn about Machiavelli's Prince, and the prototypes of Machiavellism. There arises the separation of Church and State, and the end of the "Christian Republic."

Now we come upon the philosophy of Thomas Hobbes, and the rise of the national state in Europe. Next we hear of the Church schism, the interests of princes, and Luther's attitude toward the State.

The Reformation ushers in a new long series of popular movements that emerge in democracy. The evolution of the human spirit toward the recognition of the individual is seen in the Peasants' Revolt, Wycliffe and the Reformation in England, the Russite movement, the expropriation of the Church, Calvinism, and the emergence of Humanism.

#### *The Path of Humanism*

We come upon the social Utopias, the writings of Thomas More, and Francois Rabelais. Our path leads us over the route of the Jesuits and world power, the "divine right of Kings," the theory of La Boetie, and voluntary servitude. The teachings of George Buchanan, and the theory of the "will of the people." We now confront the interesting theories of the Congregationalists, the Presbyterians, and the Puritanism of John Milton, and finally the political science of John Locke.

#### *Democracy and Liberalism*

Now we face the utilitarianism of Jeremy Bentham, the State and Society of Thomas Paine, Godwin's "Political Justice." We have reached the liberation

efforts in America, as presented by Franklin, Jefferson, Wendell Phillips, Lincoln, Lloyd Garrison, Emerson and Thoreau.

This becomes in part the reflection of the ideas in German Literature. We see the connection in Lessing on Church and State, Herder's Philosophy of History, Schiller's Esthetics of Culture. We dawn upon Goethe's personality, and are led to consider Wilhelm von Humboldt's "Reflections on the Limitations of the Efficiency of the State." And now we begin to hear much about Hegel, and the dialectic method, and the Hegelian conception of the State.

#### *The Authoritarian Principle of German Philosophy*

Kant presents a doctrine of moral law, and an idea of "perpetual peace." Fichte addresses the German nation, Hegel puts thought into categories. There emerges fatalism, and German Socialism.

#### *French Radicalism*

Now we enter upon Diderot's liberal and anti-authoritarian views, and the contrary holding of Rousseau in the "common will," the social contract, and equality before the law.

#### *Centralization and the Supreme Power of the State*

A separate section deals with the social development of Europe after the decline of the Federalist period and clearly shows that the conception of "national unity" did not come from the people, but served the originators of monarchical absolutism as an ideological means in their efforts to gain power. Only with the victory of modern democracy did the national



state assume its own character. Just as before man was sacrificed to God so now was he sacrificed to the Nation State. The citizen takes the place of the individual. Nevertheless the sovereignty of the nation led to the same tyranny as the sovereignty of the Kings. While before opposition to the divine person of the monarch was considered the most heinous of crimes, every contradiction of the divine majesty of the nation now became a mortal sin against the Holy Ghost of the "general will." In both cases the hangman became the effective organ of a despotic power which felt itself called upon to watch over a dead dogma. Against this soulless conception every creative idea was dashed to pieces, every human feeling had to bleed to death. That is analyzed in the following sections.

### *The Coming of Fascism*

The last Chapter of Part 1 traces the development of the nationalistic ideology down to modern Fascism and points out the intrinsic connection of the latest attempts of Fascism with modern capitalism. Just as man exists for capitalism merely for the sake of economic management just so does man's existence find its justification for the advocates of the fascist totalitarian state in being swallowed up in it. It is the ever growing burden of the machine that is turning our lives into an inferno. We have lost our humanity and have become professional men, business men, party men. We have been put into the strait-jacket of the nation in order to preserve our "folk individuality." For this our feeling of individuality has been suppressed and our relations with other countries have changed into hate and distrust. In

order to protect the "nation" we sacrifice year in and year out, enormous sums of our incomes while the people sink deeper and deeper into misery. Every land resembles an armed camp and follows with deep fear and deadly jealousy, every movement of its neighbor, but is also at the same time always ready to take part in every intrigue and to feather its own nest. It follows from this that every nation is forced to entrust its affairs to unscrupulous men who are ready to commit any deed of violence, because only such have the chance to assert themselves in this perpetual game of intrigue of the so-called political powers. Every step farther in this direction is a step nearer the entire destruction of all human culture. Every new institution of power is only a step forward in the everlasting, blind course which, to be sure, has various forms but always the same content. Not the conquest but the extirpation of all power from the life of society can lead us to a common-weal in which all rule will find its redemption in the administration of affairs and where self earned property will form the basis of all social living.

Fascism is the last sequel of the nationalist ideology. It represents a struggle of world power against liberal ideas. Mussolini was formerly an opponent of the State, which now becomes the destroyer of the community.

### *The Nation*

The second part of the work deals with the various interpretations of the concept of the "nation" and their inadequacies. The author next deals with the "nation" as arising from a common source and sharing common interests, and shows that such a concep-



tion is out of the question since every nation consists not only of the most widely different folk elements, but also because it is basically split up into manifold economic, political and social interest which can in no way be bridged. What was generally designated as "national interests" was never anything else but the interests of the former ruling classes and castes within the nation. That is especially convincingly presented by means of Germany's condition after the War. At no time was the defence of the "common interests" of a people so necessary as to the Germans after the terrible catastrophe of the military and political collapse. But in spite of that, the inner conflict of the opposing social forces made itself felt just at that time as never before. Class and caste interests were always stronger than the so-called "national interests."

But the conception of the nation as a community of intellectual interests is also an illusion, because within every national political grouping are noticeable the most varied intellectual and social strivings which in most cases stand harshly and implacably opposed to each other. Every land has its inner religious and political contrasts, its various parties and social concepts. Even the "community of customs and habits" rests only on the imagination; because in fact there is a deeper likeness in the customs and habits of the same classes of different nations than in the customs and manners of the various classes within the same nation.

### *The Race Problem*

By far the greater part of the second volume deals with the so-called race theories and the relations bet-

ween race and a nation. The author draws a sharp distinction between race research and race theory whose relation to each other is the same as that of chemistry to alchemy, of astronomy to astrology. Beside the scientific research are set forth the enormous difficulties encountered everywhere by the worker in the field of race research as well as the absurd undertakings of those who insist that they can deduce intellectual and spiritual values from physical race characteristics. These things are treated in the following sections:

The problem of race. Race and nation. Research into race and race theory. On the age of man. On the first home of man. Various hypothesis in science. Hypothesis of the oneness of the human race. How many races are there? The so-called "original races" of Europe: the Neanderthal race; the Aurignac race; the Cromagnon race. The flaw in the hypothesis of the "original race." Various interpretations of the concept of "race." Race and species. On the mutability of racial characteristics. The discovery of blood groups and the concept of race. The "unity of origin" of race. Influence of domestication. Bodily characteristics and intellectual and spiritual attributes. Race astrology.

Further sketches deal with the race theories of Gobineau and Chamberlain, whose writings furnish the basis for the modern race theories.

These are presented in the following: Count von Gobineau. His work on the dissimilarity of human races. History as a rare struggle. Man and race. Teutons compared with Celto-Romans. The meaning of "Aryan" in history. Gobineau on cultural periods of man. Mixture of races as the cause of political



decay. Gobineau's race pessimism. Monarchy and democracy in Gobineau. Gobineau as the guardian of the Catholic church. Gobineau and de Maistre. Gobineau's views on patriotism as a Semitic disease. Race thought as the destroyer of the national principle. Gobineau's influence in Germany.

Houston Stewart Chamberlain and his "Foundations of the 19th century." William II under the influence of the race theory. Chamberlain and Gobineau. Race as instinct. The legend of the "Aryan" kingdom. The Teuton as the salt of the earth. Race intermarriage and culture. Race as the result and not as the point of departure of evolution. Race breeding. The Teutons as the founders of great states. Teutons and Romans. Protestantism as a race religion. Christ as a Teuton. Teutonism and Judaism as opposite poles of human culture. Chamberlain as "historian." Chamberlain and Ibsen. Teutonism as a mask of absolution.

### *A Babel of Contradictions*

The further sections deal with the modern race theories which base their deductions on the so-called laws of heredity, deny any influence whatever of the social movement and turn the study of race into the question of the destiny of man. By means of carefully selected material the author proves the utter fallacy of this fantastic structure and shows that the so-called "inherited traits" have a much smaller influence on the development of man than his social environment and the social conditions of life; hence race in no way determines the fate of man.

This is traced in the following sections: On the hunt for Teutonic race characteristics. On the causes

of blondness and the color of the eyes. The mixture of races as the basic law of life. The illusion of purity of race. The laws of heredity. Inherited and acquired characteristics. Gradual and spontaneous genesis of new species and variations. Darwin's theory of selection. Various theories of the seat of heredity. Influence of the natural environment on hereditary tendencies. The theory of mutation. The Mendelian laws of heredity. Fertilization and factors of heredity. Racial characteristics and spiritual condition.

In conclusion, Part II deals with the theories of Gunther, Woltman, Hauser, Clauss, Rosenberg and others and shows to what monstrous conclusions the modern race fetish has led. The "Aryan paragraph" in Hitler's "Third Reich" is the classic example of this. The absurd contradictions of the various exponents of race theories are very amusingly presented together and are treated in the following sections: Hans Gunther's "Race science." The "Nordic." The racial characteristics of the German bearers of Kultur. The discovery of the "race soul." Beethoven, the man with the "Nordic" soul in the "Eastern body." Language and race. The power of acquired characteristics. Hunger and love. Influence of religious, political and ethical ideas on social revolution. Ethics and the instinct of self-preservation. The "Nordic cycle." Race in the World War. Spiritual transformation of peoples and nations. Race and genius. The "raising of the German on the Nordic pedestal." Does the race as a whole transmit its characteristics? Rationalizing of the instinct of generation in the service of the national cause. The breeding of the "Nordic man." The "Mitgard marri-



age." The "breeding reports" of Herr Darre. On the state building characteristics of the Nordic man. The fear of Judaism. The boycott of the "eastern man." The results of a crazy imagination. The fundamental contradictions in modern race literature. Scientific knowledge and wish representation. The riddles of the Nordic race soul. Race phantasies regarding man and history. Socialism in the twilight of race theory. Goethe, Kant, Napoleon under the magnifying glass of the race ideologists.

The author finally comes to the conclusion that the race is the *leitmotiv* of a new barbarism which endangers all intellectual and spiritual values of human civilization and threatens through the "voice of blood" to silence the voice of the spirit. Thus does the belief in race become the brutal law of might against the individuality of man and the base denial of all social justice. In the sections on "the idea of race as the justification of the ruling class" and "the race and power theories" the author not only exposes the utter worthlessness of every race theory, but he also proves that the race theory is only an ideological cloak for the new form of reaction, the most contemptible and the most dangerous reaction against every free thought and all knowledge of a higher social culture.

### *Culture and Civilization*

The third and last part of the work chiefly embraces the concepts of "Culture" and "Civilization," and explains culture in the broader sense, as man's conscious control of the forces of nature. The author deals with the unbridgeable gap which yawns between the effect of all cultural striving and the efforts of small minorities for political power. While all poli-

tical power strives after uniformity and fixed forms, cultural development, on the contrary, strains after ever new manifestation of intellectual and social life. Every power grouping strives for the concentration of all social forces for a particular purpose; but the cultural process does not tolerate fixed institutions; its field of operation is boundless and leads to the loosening of all fixed norms. For this reason the state was never the creator nor promoter of cultural movements, but on the contrary a hindrance to all higher cultural activity. Culture was never dependent upon states and nations. Just as the water of the sea evaporates under the rays of the sun, rises in clouds whence rain comes and forms springs, brooks, rivers and streams which all flow back into the sea whence they come just so is the cultural operation of the various groupings of mankind spiritually fructified by the great cultural manifestations of all times and all lands to which finally it all returns.

In the further exposition of the subject it becomes evident that national unity was never a means of furthering cultural creation, as is often claimed. On the contrary, just the opposite is the case; periods of national political concentration were always periods of cultural decline. Greece and Rome are pointed out as examples. Precisely the political disruption of Greece, the absence of any central governing force, and the development of the land through independent communities were the most important factors in the development of Greek culture. And when Alexander of Macedon later restored the national unity of Greece with the sword this was the end of cultural life in Greece which from then on had to seek in Egypt and elsewhere new fields for activity.



In contrast to Greece, the history of Rome developed in entirely different directions. Accompanied by the idea of national unity, the Roman state subjected all striving to this one aim and step, after it had achieved the political unity of the Italian peninsula, namely the conquest of world power and world enslavement. No state has developed the inner mechanism of its machine to such a degree as did Rome. But for this reason did the Romans fail to create anything original in the fields of culture, and have always remained a nation of copyists who appropriated the cultural achievements of other nations and have made use of them in their own way. The original contribution which Rome made to the world was limited to the so-called "Roman law" and militarism which have been for centuries and are down to this day the frightful hostages of Europe.

The entire history of Greece and Rome is only a confirmation of the great truth that the more people strive for political power the sooner will the creative urge, every deeper spiritual feeling, in a word, every feeling of human worth, wither within it. Everything spiritual is suppressed by a deadening technic of things which does not count the cost and lacks all ethical principles. The cold mechanization of things takes the place of the vital stream of every human activity which alone is able to cause creative activity. Everywhere does history show us the same phenomenon: in Italy, in France, in Spain, in Germany and elsewhere. The greatest periods of cultural development in those countries were periods of political decentralization and federalism which came to an end with the achievement of political unity and led to the decline of culture. The stronger the development of

state power the more quickly is the decline of culture in the time of political disunion. Her classical literature from Klopstock to Schiller and Goethe, her classical philosophy from Kant to Feuerbach and Nietzsche, her classical music from Beethoven to Wagner, developed at that time. But as Bismarck forged the national political unity of Germany with blood and iron the sources of the old culture dried up. The "spirit of Weimar" was replaced by the "spirit of Potsdam," and the Hitler "totalitarian state" is merely the last word of this unchecked decline into a morass of ignominy, crudity and barbarism.

### *Culture Under Federalism*

The following sections deal with these problems: The period of the free cities of Italy. Rise of intellectual life. Flowering of art and craftsmanship. The guilds. Federalism and centralization as a test of social culture. Mazzini and the "historic mission" of the Italians. The fighters for national unity as the mortal enemies of federalism. The patriotic illusions of Pisacane. Proudhon on Italian unity. Westgothic feudalism in Spain and the decay of agriculture. Arabic culture. The golden age of Spanish cities. Municipal autonomy. End of the caliphate and the decline of the country. Political decomposition and highlights of Moorish culture. The Spanish *Fueros*, and city constitutions. The *Cortes*. The federalist spirit of Spain. The victory of the national unified state. The Inquisition as the kingdom's instrument of power. Decline of the "*Comuneros*" and "*Germanias*." End of Spanish municipal autonomy. Decay of culture under despotism. Despotism as the destroyer of the French folk culture. Literature



and language in the strait-jacket of absolutism. The "Academie francaise." Regimentation of industry. National unity and the decline of the intellectual culture of Germany. Bismarckism.

Another section gives an analysis of the so-called collective nouns or group terms and they deal with the problem of an alleged "national culture." The author shows by means of material rich in proof that culture has always been the result of a period and can never be confined within the boundaries of national states. This is evident in modern economic forms and the political structure of social life which have no national character but are, on the contrary, merely forms of expression of a certain cultural sphere and within that sphere follow everywhere the same tendencies of development.

#### *Evolution Reacts on Imagination*

The following sections deal with this subject: Genius and the nation. Goethe on the primitiveness of our thought. The Copernican theory of the world and the theory of evolution as examples. The heliocentric system of the world of the Ancients. The Ptolemaic theory of the world. The Copernican theory. John Kepler and Galileo. Newton's law of gravitation. The forerunners of Newton. Laplace and Kant. The development of astrophysics. The conditions for the theory of relativity. Evolutionary thought in ancient times. The status of the theory of evolution until the eve of the French Revolution. Goethe and Lamarck. The forerunners of Darwin. The theory of Darwin and Wallace. Social Darwinism. Kropotkin's theory of "mutual aid." The present status of the evolutionary

theory. The influence of the theory of evolution on all the branches of human thought. Art, too, in its manifold ramifications always arises in certain cultural periods and has nothing to do with the imaginary characteristics of the nation. The belief in a so-called "national art" is only a wish representation, not a fact. That is especially evident in the various art styles of artistic creation. Among artists of different nations moving in the same art direction, whether it be Expressionism, Cubism or Futurism, the inner relationship is far closer than among artists of the same nation who follow different art tendencies. The author shows this especially in the historical development of architecture, the most social of all the arts. Everywhere have the same art styles found a haven and have enriched each other. The claim, for instance, that the Gothic is an expression of the German spirit is just as erroneous as is the belief in the French origin of Expression.

The following sections deal with these questions: Art and nationality. How a work of art is created. The individuality of the artist. The influence of the social environment. Style resemblances and social forms. Art and race instinct. The arbitrariness of style notations. Ancient and Renaissance art. Gothic and Baroque. Classic and Romantic. The Appolonian and Dyonisic principles in art. Architecture and society. Pyramids. Temples. Cathedrals. Individual will and social spirit. The origin of architecture. Necessity and esthetics. Physioplasic and ido-plastic creation. Influence of the material on the style. The connection between Egypt and Babylon. From the Greek temple to the Hellenistic art style. Combination of Greek and



Etruscan forms. The arch. Transition to the Christian church style. The basilica. Central construction and Caesarism. The Byzantine style forms. The origin of the Islamic style. The race migrations and Roman architectural style. Transition to the Gothic. The Gothic as a social structure. The Renaissance. The perfecting of space construction. The combination of central and longitudinal construction. Michelangelo and the transition to the Baroque. Absolutism and the formation of the Baroque. The Jesuit style. The decline of the old regime and rococo. The capitalist world. However, not only architecture but every other art is also free from national constraint and merely human in its effect.

That is presented in the following sections: The national element in painting. Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo. The conception of life and the urge to create. The general trends of an epoch and their reflection in art. Albrecht Durer and the Reformation. The "German" in Durer's art. Foreign influences. Rembrandt and the patriotic public. Goya and the spirit of revolution. David and the Roman gestures of the French Revolution. Daumier and the "rule of the bellies." The problem of work in modern art. Millet and Meunier. Tendency in art and the nation. The power of imagination.

### *The Development of Nationalism*

The last chapter of the third volume deals with the following questions: How "belonging" to the nation came about. North and South America as examples. The nation as a people controlled by the state. The revolutionary epoch a result of lost social equilibrium. Historical continuity as manifestations

of culture. The weakening of ethical consciousness. Analytical thinking and fatalism. Great powers and capitalist monopolies as scourges of humanity. Capitalism and economic chaos. Men and machines. The social question of consumption. The danger of state capitalism. Internationalizing of the domains of raw materials. World interdependence, not world domination! World economy, not world exploitation! What the state costs us. The material losses of the World War. The senselessness of the times. The idea of the dictatorship, a modern belief in a Messiah. The victory over the state and the nation. The twilight of the gods. Facing a new society.

The author subjects the social conditions of our times to a devastating criticism and comes to the conclusion that a further development in the present direction is bound to lead to an unavoidable collapse. That on this road there cannot blossom a new future for humanity is obvious to all who have eyes to see and ears to hear. What appears today on the horizon of our cultural sphere is the dictatorship of the crass materialistic spirit whose advocates believe that they will be able to lash all humanity to the wheels of a machine which smothers all that is vital and raises the soullessness of mechanics to a principle. Let us not deceive ourselves: it is not the form of the state, it is the state itself which causes the evil and continues to nourish it. The more the state harasses the social element in life or brings it under its own control, the more quickly will society fall into its component parts, which will lose every basic tie with each other and will either fall into the blind crevasse of inimical interests unmindful of each other or will allow themselves to be carried irresistibly by the



stream, regardless of where it will lead them. The deeper this state of things takes root the harder it will be for men to hold together for a new society and to quicken it with a renewal of social life.

### *A Moratorium on Intelligence*

The insane belief in dictatorship which today is spreading over the world like a mental plague is only the ripe fruit of that unreasoning faith in the State which has been implanted in man for centuries. This faith is no sign of strength, as its apologists deceive themselves into thinking, but a suspicious sign of intellectual instability and weakness. Only he believes in the miraculous power of the strong man whose own impotence prevents him from acting himself.

Not the government of man but the administration of things is the great problem which confronts our time. It is far less important *how* we are ruled than that we *are* being ruled, because this is a sign that we have not yet come of age which prevents us from taking our fate into our own hands. We buy the "protection" of the state with our freedom at least to maintain life and do not realize that it is precisely this "protection" that turns our lives into a constant torment to which only freedom can lend dignity and strength.

### *A New and True Freedom*

The freeing of economic life from capitalism! The freeing of society from the state! Under this sign will the struggles of the future take place, when men will recognize the real nature of their deliverance. Every movement which strikes at the root of capitalism and

which strives to free society from the rule of monopoly, every attempt which disputes the efficacy of the state and strives for the destruction of all political power in the life of society is a step nearer the dawn of a new day. Everything that today strives for the conflicting aims, under whichever name this may take place, supports, consciously or unconsciously, the bulwarks of political and social reaction which today more threateningly than ever before lies encamped in all lands. With the state will also disappear the nation. So that the conception of humanity may acquire a new meaning which will be manifest in every part, the whole will be created out of the rich manysidedness of life. The feeling of dependence upon a higher power, the source of all religious and political subjection, which has always chained man to the past and has blocked his path to a new future, will have to give way to a new recognition of things which will make man the master of his own fate.

### ABOUT ROCKER HIMSELF

Born in Hesse, Germany, 1877, of full blood Nordic stock, Rudolf Rocker grew up under Bismarck's rule. Though raised until fourteen in a Catholic orphanage, and earning his own living thereafter, his independence of thought and strength of character early asserted itself, and as a young man, Rocker fled from the "Iron Rule" then dominating his country and travelled, chiefly on foot, through the Latin-American countries, where he learned Spanish and Portuguese.

Returning to Europe, he located in Paris, and finally in London. Having acquired French and



English, he finally became associated with various Jewish groups and learned Yiddish, which is related in a large measure to his native tongue. He has mastered twelve languages. He was soon writing Yiddish so well that in an emergency, he was pressed into accepting the editorship of a Jewish paper, to become, in due time, famous for his "Jewish" writings.

Remaining in England, when the World War came, Rocker was interned as a German, in a Civilian Prisoner's Camp, for over four years. His book telling of this experience "Behind Barb-wire and Bars" has been characterized as the equal, on its different subject, of "All Quiet On the Western Front."

Sent to Germany after the war, he again became active in advanced and liberal fields of thought, being revered for his eloquence as a speaker and teacher, and recognized as an able, vigorous and effective writer. Author of many books and articles, his works have been translated into a large number of languages. He is especially well-known in Spanish literature.

Rocker was completing his largest and most important work,—"*Nationalism and Its Relations to Culture*," and was about to be published in Germany, when the Hitler regime came into power. Every advanced thinker like Einstein or Rocker was an immediate target for the Nazis.

Rocker, with his wife, escaped to Switzerland at the last moment. The next train was beset by Nazis and all such progressive persons were taken out, beaten up and thrown into jail.

In their wrath, the Nazis set fire to his much-loved library in which he had accumulated some 10,000

volumes, confiscated his property, and until their fury passed Rocker was a fugitive from his native land.

Publication of his great study of the phenomena of Nationalism and its effect on Culture has been undertaken in Spain. The effort to bring it into existence in English is done by the Rocker Publication Committee, who are responsible for printing this summarization.

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## ON THE MAKING OF BOOKS

Of the hundreds of billions of human beings that have been born and lived upon the face of this earth, only about five thousand individuals have achieved anything worthy of becoming notable in history. Most of these have written one book by which they are bound to be known down the ages. Just one good book!

Of the multiplicity of books which flow from printing presses like a veritable Niagara, there are but a very few that will be perused by posterity a hundred years from now. Most of the others were probably never worth publishing. Yet such are the paradoxes of human existence that "only time can tell" which ones will become of most value to the race.

Rudolf Rocker's twenty years' study of the phenomena of Nationalism, which he defines as political patriotism that amounts to a religion, deserves also to be published in Indian languages so that we Indians may realize its effects upon the culture and progress of society.

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If you are one whom Rocker's work interests, your subscription is asked for so as thereby to hasten its earlier appearance. Also you are asked to pass this summarization along and help arouse interest and action among others. Send names and addresses (plainly written) of all persons to whom you feel Rocker's work would appeal. We will send this summarization and acknowledge your subscription promptly for English edition and translations of this work in Indian Languages.

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