

A Journal of the Anarchist Ideal and Movement

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IN RETROSPECT

Labor's Enemies

The coal miners of Kentucky, Illinois and surrounding states are going through a fierce struggle. Labor leaders who are supposed to act as their spokesmen have openly betrayed them. They arrayed themselves on the side of the exploiters and government to drown in blood the rebellion of the miners. They are furnishing scabs to the employers. They are spying upon the sincere union men. They are even using guns against them. This though is by far not all that these brave miners have to endure. Vultures in uniforms of soldiers and deputy sheriffs, police and judges are carrying on a bloody inhuman slaughter upon the workers. Union miners are shot down, crippled and murdered. Over fifty workers remain unaccounted for in the Illinois battle alone! Workers are jailed and framed on trumped-up charges to a living death. Out in the Kentucky mine fields six fighting union men have already been railroaded for life!

The whole paraphernalia of "law and order", the protectors of stolen "private property", in unison with Judas Iscariots, called labor leaders, are united against the workers' true interests.

As long as men fail to realize their own strength, and relegate it to "labor" leaders, government officials and capitalism to "ordain" their life and well being, such bloody carnages and struggles as are being witnessed in the coal fields of America, will repeat themselves unceasingly.

The State

On another page is given a partial record of actual press-reported deeds of but two months—sixty days—by the institution of Government. This record flaunts the lie into the face of any one professing that the State is the upkeeper of "law and order"! What it really proves itself to be again and again, is the dispenser of violence and murder!

Wherever the enslaved rise to protest its unbearable conditions, the rod of government makes itself felt. Whenever man rises against oppression, government appears with its entire machine of violence to drown him in blood.

What these news items of but sixty days reveal is the strongest substantiation of the Anarchist contention that government originated with petty thieves, pillagers and brigands for to perpetuate their existence and protect their booty by violence, murder, torture and jails.

And is there a country in the world where the institution of government holds sway this very moment that functions for any other purpose, or employs any other methods to safeguard the exploitation and rulership of the few against the many?

Whether one points at the blackest of all reactionary governments of Italy with its appalling toll of murder and imprisoned fighters for liberty, or to Switzerland where last November, 14 workers were murdered and 50 maimed in but half an hour by a "liberal" government, or over in Russia where under the shield of "revolutionism", the hidden and open death chamber and jail awaits the sincere dissentful disclosed revolutionist—invariably everywhere—the institution of government has been, is, and will continue to be employed as the perpetuator and protector of wrongdoom and oppression.

Only when man shall begin to understand the true functions of the state—this most ferocious of all invented unnatural monsters that preys upon the credulity of deluded mankind will stand revealed as the greatest barrier in the struggle for social emancipation.

Doomed

Only a Krylov could have done ample justice to the fable in truth that is about to follow.

A terrible ferocious mad-gone monster ruler was about to force his visit upon a conquered populace. Yet, he was one of the most despicable cowards. Always fearing assassination.... So he dispatched 40,000 troops to the conquered city. He ordered planes to patrol the air and land of two continents. He sent over 1,000 detectives who searched every house and jailed over 1,000 on suspicion.... He ordered every window be kept shut whilst he passes through the streets. After having taken all these precautions, the "great" ruler announced to the press of the world that he is making his triumphant entry into the city.

Let the incredulous reader should be kept in further suspense, one had better turn to the daily press of Oct. 22, 1932. On this "memorable" day—the modern version of the ancient Ivan the Terrible — the mountebank—Benito Mussolini came to visit Turin, Italy.

Nothing in the least has here been exaggerated on the measures taken. All these details were reported in the news dispatches.

Nevertheless, despite all such precautions, no one knows it better than Mr. Mussolini himself, that he will not end his earthly life in a natural way. For, as by fate, on Sept. 8, 1918, Benito Mussolini had himself prophesied in the *Popolo d'Italia*:

"I believe that, so far as the goal of the human species and progress are concerned,

MAN !

In making the initial appearance *Man!* offers no programs, platforms or palliatives on any of the social issues confronting mankind.

Man! has and shall have ideas to place before those who are willing to face the truth, and act for themselves. If it aims at anything at all—it is—for *Man* to regain confidence in himself, in his own great power to achieve liberation from every form of enslavement that now encircles him.

Man! is a journal of the Anarchist ideal and movement. Every social question will be met consistently, without offering any quarter to compromise, the doom of so many ideals and idealists.

Man! invites the collaboration of all artists—essayists, poets, novelists, dramatists, cartoonists and painters who are in sympathy with such an aim.

Man! will in each issue reprint contributions that were created long, long ago. A symphony of beautiful music, a painting that was outstanding yesterday remains so today, and will be so considered tomorrow. Why then not apply this to social writings as well?

Subscription to *Man!* is free to all individuals and libraries. Those who are receiving this issue without having requested it are invited to express their desire as to whether they wish to receive future issues. Otherwise, they will not receive it again.

Man! intends to subsist solely upon what the readers find it worth. Its continued appearance as a monthly will depend upon the support given voluntarily by the readers.

No "appeals" will be made. *Man!* ought to interest the readers to the extent of making possible its appearance. If it does not succeed to accomplish this, it will have failed to win for itself the right to exist.

"Man is the measure-ment of everything."

MARCUS GRAHAM

the deed of an intrepid bomb-thrower is worth far more than all the orders of the day and babblings in Rome."

And on July 16, 1910:

"If there arises an individual who chooses to answer the governmental reaction by a personal deed, ought we Socialists to be the first to curse him?...No! no! we ought to say that the fault is the Government's, and that he who sows the wind will reap the whirlwind."

Benito Mussolini's prophecy justifying the doom of retribution that awaits every tyrant shall eventually come true indeed upon himself as well!

Liberation

The individual human being living today stands aghast at the present world panorama. On one end multitudes in dire need and misery; on the other end glittering wealth flaunted by the few as to mock the many who are poor. On one end starvation; on the other life's necessities in over-abundance. On one end Warehouses loaded with stored-up merchandise and farms with rotted away fruits of nature; on the other millions of men, women and children bereft of these very essential necessities of life by the barriers of "laws" as to the ownership of this huge theft called "private property"! On one end the rich having the liberty to break the "laws" right and left; on the other workers hindered, haunted and continuously subjected to persecution by the very same "laws"!

With more "laws" upon the statute books than ever in the history of mankind, man finds himself that much more enslaved than ever before. Man has allowed many chains to be forged around himself, physical and mental ones. These keep him bound from the very crest of his head to the tip of his foot.

Capitalist exploitation is here to stay, if it still can succeed to salvage itself. The institution of government will do its utmost to safeguard this perpetuation. So will the dealers in religion and political parties of all shades. The first does it by violence and murder. The others by concocted lies about heaven and earth.

When man shall cease to believe in the very chains he has forged around himself, he will find the road to liberation a very simple one.

The National League of Farmers have made a most noteworthy beginning in this direction. They have decided that henceforth they shall refuse to recognize any foreclosures upon their farms. They intend to fight in remaining the owners of what they themselves have created!

And who shall now stop the toilers of the city from joining en masse with those of the farm by refusing to starve, pay rents, taxes, or obeying any further—the laws that had sanctified the stolen products from them—which they themselves have produced?!

The road to man's liberation lies in the breaking of every law, custom and sham creed that brought him into the state of slavery in which he now finds himself trapped. Only thus can be brought about the inception of the great Social Revolution for genuine liberation from every chain that has turned man into the robot slave of today.

Once this is achieved man will begin to unfold undreamed of great latent powers within himself. Powers that shall make it possible to usher in an era of genuine happiness and liberty without exploiters and rulers of any form. A society where all men and women shall have the equal opportunity to live as free artisans and natural human beings.

Appreciation

The cut for *Man!* appearing at the mast-head on this page was drawn by Miss Rose Balch of St. Louis, Mo.

ANARCHISTS: Errico Malatesta

V. A R E T T A

Our dear Italian comrade, the untiring champion of all liberties, the real friend of the oppressed of the earth, is no more. His long, stormy career has at last come to a close, as did a little before our indomitable Galleani's.

It will take volumes and able men to speak duly of this noble-hearted, clear-sighted, powerful-minded apostle of Revolution and Anarchy. Of the 79 years of his adventurous life, he spent over 60 in sowing the seeds of human liberation from the yoke of authority and corruption, ignorance and superstition, exploitation and poverty. Not one minute did he doubt that victory would ultimately be on the side of freedom, peace and brotherhood of men.

Already in his young years he proved a pure idealist, as he was all his life. Born in 1853 at Santa Maria Capua Vetere from a well-to-do family, he studied medicine in Naples, where at the age of 17 he adhered to the Mazzinian ideas. But soon he realized that wherever there is a government there is privilege and slavery, and one year later, renouncing the estates left him by his father and donating them to the peasants who worked them, we find Malatesta on the side of the Communards. The latter's massacre made him still more conscious of the essence of any government and, joining the International with Cafiero, Costa and Covelli, he is thereafter wherever a revolt is possible against tyranny.

No thought of personal material needs ever troubled Malatesta. Excessively modest, he always refused to write, in his older years, his own biography; which would, we might say, be the story of Anarchism.

His ideal was Anarchist Communism, which formula is: To each according to their needs; from each according to their ability. Such a form of society he considered the best to give every individual the opportunity to develop ad infinitum their faculties, that is, to obtain true Individualism. But, at the same time, he believed in everybody's freedom to choose the system they please, as long as nobody would or could impose their will on the others. Otherwise, he says, it would be no more Anarchy, that is, a society where every individual is free and independent.

Gifted with the ability to express profound thoughts in plain idiom, he attained such a popularity all over the world, that no Anarchist, perhaps, has yet attained. Convinced that to enlighten the masses we must speak a language accessible to them, he nearly always succeeded in discarding big words, or rhetorical stuffing or fringes of speech. Notwithstanding his superior intelligence and vast culture, he hated to be considered an intellectual, and always spoke to a peasant as an affectionate brother.

Besides Italian, he spoke French, Spanish and English fluently, which enabled him to talk in congresses and meetings wherever they happened to be held.

Malatesta was convinced of the effectiveness of man's will, as opposed to the idea of determinism or mechanism. Nothing could "determine" Anarchy, nothing could bring about man's freedom, but the strong will of a sufficient number of individuals who know what they want. Discoveries, inventions, and all material progress, won't help the cause of liberty as long as we let a few shrewd marauders play the politicians, regulate and restrict education, hold the soil, the means of production, transportation and distribution.

Always consistent with his ideas, Malatesta could marvelously combine theory with practice, which gave the abject chieftan of the Black Shirts, Mussolini, occasion to shout angrily: "Malatesta is a monster of consistency."

No argument was difficult to answer for Malatesta, and his frank, strong, fascinating word left his adversaries and enemies pervaded with admiration, though confounded and deprived of counter-arguments. Wavering libertarians were re-encouraged and spurred on to strive for human emancipation by his example. For, his thought was, wherever possible, always followed by its logical corollary, action.

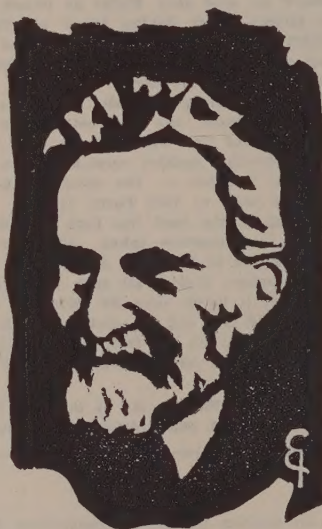
No jail or exile or isle-confinement could enfeeble his will to fight for the great cause of liberty. Banned from Italy, Egypt, Spain, France, Belgium, Switzerland, Austria, Germany, Malatesta brings his word of revolt to both Americas. In Paterson, New Jersey, he takes in hand the direction of the Italian anarchist periodical "La Questione Sociale." Then he sails for England where he works at his trade as electrician and often peddling ice cream for his living, never interrupting at the same time his propaganda.

The amount of this busy man's writings is no

doubt enormous. But he could in the opinion of many comrades, do immensely more, if he would only dedicate all his time and energies to propaganda alone. Unfortunately, he'd have, no doing, to live on propaganda, which he loathed, even though he heartily disliked to sell his services to the defenders of the present iniquitous social system.

In 1913 the Zurich and many other comrades decided to write to him that he was urgently needed in Italy. Malatesta always had an eye on Italy, the land where he had first perceived the social injustice and made friends with Bakunin, Cafiero and others, and contributed writing to "La Campana," (the Bell) the socialist-revolutionary paper published in Naples. But the obstacle being his determination to make his living by working, he answered in this sense:

"I can assure you I desire to come at least as much as you do. What worries me is that I might have no time or chance there to work for my living, being compelled, in that case, to live on propaganda, which I detest. The danger, menacing today the workers' and even the Anarchist movement, is the tendency of the leaders to consider propaganda and organization a trade. Ne-



vertheless, I still hope to find a way out...."

And in 1914 we find him in Ancona with the intention to promote an agitation in favor of Augusto Masetti, a young man who had three years before been arrested and declared insane for shooting at a colonel as a protest against the foolish and criminal Tripoli adventure by the Italian Junkers. It was the first Sunday of June, the Italian Statute Day, and no revolutionary meetings were allowed. But Malatesta was not intimidated by such a prohibition, and a mass-meeting was held in the open among many thousands of enthusiastic people, despite the prospect of a violent struggle with the custodians of the law and "order", followed by arrests, prosecutions and jail terms.

The good-natured Malatesta abhorred blood spilling, but he counted on the good sense of the authorities not to interfere with the will of the people on this occasion. Nevertheless, the struggle came, and a hard one at that, which lasted one week (the "Red Week"). For a moment the Monarchy tattered and a Republic was being proclaimed by the revolutionary authoritarians. But finally the government forces prevailed once more and our daring comrade with many others had to find refuge where possible.

Eluding the vigilance of the governments of several countries, Malatesta appears in London again, where he continues his activities of revolutionary Anarchism. His logical and fiery articles against the war are famous. He knew the Italian people wanted him back, but he was watched very close by the English authorities by order of Nitti's government. But when he heard of the invasion of stores by the population in 1919 all over the Peninsula on account of graft and high cost of living, he thought the times were mature for a revolution. In the spring of 1920 he steals away on a Greek steamer landing at Taranto. Incognito he rushes to Genoa, where he speaks before a public of over 80 thousand.

The acclamation and enthusiasm of the population wherever he went are indescribable, and Malatesta, being no man to lose his balance,

promptly protested by wiring his friends: "Thanks, but it's enough." Some fool even acclaimed him as the Lenin of Italy. That hurt Malatesta and he admonished to forget such a nonsense, for an anarchist could not accept any government post without ceasing to be such and betraying at the same time the cause of freedom.

The people's enthusiasm for a change toward liberty gave Malatesta the impression that a revolution in Italy was possible, in fact in process already, consequently the occasion was to be seized at any hazard, "otherwise," as he said in Bologna, "we shall pay with bitter tears the fear we now inspire the bourgeoisie."

Naturally, the government and all the reactionary elements did their best to get rid of this troublesome man. They tried to put him in jail or assassinate him on several occasions. But the will of the people still prevailed, and our fighting comrade was able to issue, on January 1920 in Milan, the first number of the "Umanità Nova" (the New Humanity), which soon reached 50 thousand copies; meanwhile keeping on the oral propaganda.

Then came the occupation of the factories (August-September 1920) in which occasion Malatesta displayed supreme activities encouraging the workers to get hold of all industries, the land and means of transportation; as the hour had sounded, he thought, for a revolution without blood spilling.

Unfortunately, the workers, fooled by the promises of the state socialists and other politicians, abandoned the direct action to follow the legalitarian tactics. Consequently, the reactionary forces gained control, and Malatesta after several hot meetings in various cities, was arrested on October 17 with many other comrades.

During their incarceration, fascism was becoming ever more menacing. Nevertheless, after several month's confinement and a hunger strike, the hated—beloved agitator was freed. He immediately rushed to Rome to direct "Umanità Nova," where this paper had been removed from Milan; speaking at the same time wherever he was needed the most, including Switzerland.

About one month after Malatesta's return from Switzerland, Mussolini became the official boss of the Peninsula, following the notorious farce, the March on Rome. The offices of "Umanità Nova" were once more invaded and destroyed. Then came the official suppression of the paper.

On January 1, 1924 Malatesta founds another publication, "Pensiero e Volontà" (Thought and Will), which lived three years, tough continually crippled by the government's censure, especially after Matteotti's assassination by Mussolini's cut-throats, and often deprived of Malatesta's presence by jailing and prosecutions.

Up to this time, Malatesta had lived his preferred life of struggle for humanity's freedom. He took slander, persecution, arrests, jailings, exile, suffering and dangers of all sorts as a matter of course. His spirit was kept young by his firm faith in the ultimate victory of justice upon abuse, of liberty upon tyranny, of brotherhood and peace upon hatred and strife. He was so hopeful of fascism's near failure that when, still able to try an escape from Italy, he was urged from abroad to go and do his propaganda with less danger, he answered:

"No. It's necessary for me to stay and finish the work begun. Fascism can't last for ever, and we must be prepared to cope with any event."

But, given fascism's triumph, Malatesta's real torment was bound to come. He was not confined on a lonely arid island or in an Italian Sing Sing, places too familiar to him. He was "allowed" in his own home in Rome and given the luxury of fascist guards around the house, all along the stair case and in front of his apartment door. If he went out, policemen in automobiles and motorcycles accompanied him, arresting anyone who dared approach or greet or simply look at him. He was used as a bait for friends or sympathizers of his yet unknown to the blood hounds of the tyrants.

The comparatively few articles of his, that succeeded in reaching the Anarchist press abroad, he sent, of course, furtively. His habitation was searched almost daily, and every time something was taken away—now a book, then some articles, completed or otherwise—Malatesta's correspondence was intercepted, read and too often confiscated. They even tried to appropriate themselves of money sent by Malatesta's comrades and friends.

The mental torture caused by such inquisitorial methods couldn't fail to undermine old Malatesta's health, already weakened in the last years.

US, YOU SHALL HEAR!

A SOCIAL SYMPHONY

Daniel Defoe

(America, 1661-1731)

I saw the world around me, one part laboring for bread, and the other part squandering in vile excess or empty pleasures, equally miserable, because the end they proposed still fled from them; for the man of pleasure every day forfeited of his vice, and heaped up work for sorrow and repentance; and the man of labor spent his strength in daily struggling for bread to maintain with; so living in a daily circulation of sorrow, living but to work, and working but to live, as if daily bread were the only end of a wearisome life, and a wearisome life the only occasion of daily bread.

Heinrich Heine

(Germany, 1797-1856)

It is in the dusky twilight that Poverty with her mates, Vice and Crime, glide from their lairs. They shun daylight the more anxiously, the more cruelly their wretchedness contrasts with the pride of wealth which glitters everywhere: only Hunger sometimes drives them at noonday from their dens, and then they stand with silent, speaking eyes, staring beseechingly at the rich merchant who hurries along busily and jingling gold, or at the lazy lord who, like a surfeited god, rides by on his high horse, casting now and then an aristocratically indifferent glance at the mobs below, as though they were swarming ants, or at all events, a mass of baser beings, whose joys and sorrows have nothing in common with his feelings...

Ralph W. Emerson

(America, 1803-1822)

Who gave me the money with which I bought my coat? Why should professional labor and that of the counting-house be paid so disproportionately to the labor of the porter and the wood-sawer? This whole fabric of Trade gives me to pause and think, as it constitutes false relations between men; inasmuch as I am proud to count myself relieved of any responsibility to behave well and nobly to that person whom I pay with money, whereas if I had not that commodity, I should be put on my good behaviour in all companies, and man would be a benefactor to man as being himself his only certificate that he had a right to those aids and services which each asked each of the other. Am I not too protected a person? Is there not a wide disparity between the lot of me and the lot of thee, my poor brother, my poor sister? Am I not defrauded of my best culture in the loss of those gymnastics which manual labor and the emergencies of poverty constitute? I find nothing healthful or exalting in the smooth conventions of society. I do not like the close air of the saloons. I begin to suspect myself to be a prisoner, though treated with all its courtesy and luxury. I pay a destructive tax in my conformity.

Victor Hugo

(France, 1802-1885)

So long as there shall exist, by reason of law and custom, a social condemnation, which, in the face of civilization, artificially creates a hell on earth, and complicates a destiny that is divine, with human fatality; so long as the three problems of the age—the degradation of man by poverty, the ruin of women by starvation, and the dwarfing of childhood by physical and spiritual night—are not solved; so long as, in certain regions, social asphyxia shall be possible; in other words, and from a yet more extended point of view, so long as ignorance and misery remain on earth, books like this cannot be useless.

(From the preface to "Les Misérables")

Jack London

(America, 1876-1916)

The miserable and despised and forgotten, dying in social shambles. The progeny of prostitution—of the prostitution of men and women and children, of flesh and blood, and sparkle and spirit; in brief, the prostitution of labor. If this is the best that civilization can do for the human being, then give us hawking and naked savagery. Far better to be a people of the wilderness and desert of the cave and the squatting place, than to be a people of the machine and the Abyss.

Max Nordau

(Hungary, 1889-1923)

The modern laborer is more wretched than the slave of former times, for he is fed by no master nor any one else, and if his position is one of more liberty than the slave, it is principally the liberty of dying of hunger. He is by no means so well off as the outlaw of the middle-ages, for he has none of the gay independence of the free-lance. He seldom rebels against society, and has neither means nor opportunity to take by violence . . . what is denied him by existing conditions of life. The rich is thus richer, the poor poorer than ever before since the beginning of history.

Grant Allen

(England, 1848-1899)

I believe the poor are being kept out of their own. I believe the rich are for the most part selfish and despicable. I believe wealth has been piled up by cruel and unworthy means. I believe it is wrong in us to acquiesce in the wicked inequalities of our existing social state. Instead of trying our utmost to bring about another, where right would be done to all, where poverty would be impossible . . . the rich themselves, would be infinitely happier in a world where no poverty existed, where no hateful sights and sounds met the eye at every turn, where all slums were swept away, and where everybody had their just and even share of pleasures and refinements in a free and equal community.

Edmund Burke

(England, 1729-1797)

Ask of politicians the ends for which laws were originally designed, and they will answer.... as a protection for the poor and weak, against the oppression of the rich and powerful. But surely no pretense can be so ridiculous....

The whole business of the poor is to administer to the idleness, folly, and luxury of the rich, and that of the rich, in return, is to find the best methods of confirming the slavery and increasing the burdens of the poor.

Leo Tolstol

(Russia, 1828-1910)

The present position which we, the educated and well to do classes, occupy, is that of the Old Man of the Sea, riding on the poor man's back; only, unlike the Old Man of the Sea, we are very sorry for the poor man, very sorry; and we will do almost anything for the poor man's relief. We will not only supply him with food sufficient to keep him on his legs, but we will teach and instruct him and point out to him the beauties of the landscape; we will discourse sweet music to him and give him abundance of good advice.

Yes, we will do almost anything for the poor man, anything but get off his back.

John Ruskin

(England, 1819-1900)

For my own part I will put up with this state of thing, passively, not an hour longer. I am not an unselfish person, nor an evangelical one; I have no particular pleasure in doing any good; neither do I dislike doing it so much as to expect to be rewarded for it in another world. But I simply cannot paint nor read, nor look

at minerals, nor do anything else I like, and the very light of the morning sky has become hateful to me, because of the misery that I know of, and see signs of where I know it not, which no imagination can interpret too bitterly.

Emile Zola

(France, 1840-1902)

The bourgeoisie, wielding power, would relinquish naught of the sovereignty which it had conquered, wholly stolen, while the people, the eternal dupe, silent so long, clenched its fists and growled, claiming its legitimate share. And it was that frightful injustice which filled the growing gloom with anger. From what dark-breasted cloud would the thunderbolt fall?

Leonid Andreyev

(Russia, 1871-1919)

What do I want? To free the earth, to free mankind. Man—the man of today—is wise. He has come to his senses. He is ripe for liberty. But the past eats away his soul like a canker. It imprisons him within the iron circle of things already accomplished. I want to do away with everything behind man, so that there is nothing to see when he looks back. I want to take him by the scruff of his neck and turn his face toward the future.

Oscar Wilde

(England, 1854-1900)

We are trying at present to stave off the coming crisis, the coming revolution..... by means of doles and alms . . . What we want are unpractical people who see beyond the moment, and think beyond the day....It is through the voice of one crying in the wilderness that the ways of the gods must be prepared.

Henry D. Thoreau

(America, 1817-1862)

When the subject has refused allegiance, and the officer has resigned his office, then the revolution is accomplished.

But even suppose blood should flow. Is there not a sort of blood shed when the conscience is wounded? Through this wound a man's real manhood and immortality flow out, and he bleeds to an everlasting death. I see this blood flowing now.

Peter Kropotkin

(Russia, 1842-1921)

If your heart really beats in unison with that of humanity, if like a true poet you have an ear for Life, then, gazing out upon this sea of sorrow whose tide sweeps up around you, face to face with these people dying of hunger . . . in full view of this desperate battle which is being fought, amid the cries of pain from the conquered and the orgies of the victors of heroism in conflict with cowardice, of noble determination face to face with contemptible cunning—you cannot remain neutral.

You will come and take the side of the oppressed because you know that the beautiful, the sublime, the spirit of life itself is on the side of those who fight for light, for humanity, for justice!

Richard Wagner

(Germany, 1813-1883)

Arise, then, ye people of the earth, arise, ye sorrow stricken and oppressed. Ye also who vainly struggle to clothe the inner desolation of your hearts, with the transient glory of riches, arise! Come and follow in my track with the joyful crowd, for I know not how to make distinction between those who follow me. There are but two people from henceforth on earth—the one which follows me, and the one which resists me. The one I will lead to happiness, but the other I will crush in my progress. For I am the Revolution, I am the new creating force.

After repeated attacks of bronchitis and pneumonia followed by hemorrhage, the great champion of liberty, the terror of the world's tyrants, deceased on the 22 of July 1932.

The Italian press was absolutely silent about Malatesta's death. Paid announcements were not published. But somehow the news spread and a few friends succeeded in entering the house after being lengthily questioned by the police crowd. The route to the cemetery was fixed by the authorities and the streets were guarded as in time of siege. A wreath accompanied the dead enemy of all tyranny bearing the names "Elena e Gemma", his companion and daughter. Red carnations were spread on the grave, though not allowed to be carried openly by his daughter.

The most atrocious insult to our atheistic Anarchist was to place a cross on his grave by order of the Governor and, of course, by the will of the pope, whom Mussolini has created earthly king again. But the heart-broken Elena had the cross taken away, after being obliged to leave in Court a written statement of her

will, as the will of her lost companion.

And now he who was Malatesta sleeps the eternal sleep in Campo Verano, in Rome, the cemetery of the poor and oppressed for whose uplift he had lived, fought and died.

The fascists guard the grave day and night as to show that the persecutions with the triple alliance—king, pope, dictator—do not end with its victims' death, arresting and prosecuting, in the meantime, whosoever stops there to think a moment and, perhaps, drop a tear.

His busy life prevented him from writing big books. But his innumerable articles are scattered all over the world in propaganda papers and reviews, and his booklets have been translated in many languages. Among them we can mention "Il nostro Programma" (Our Program), "Al Caffè (at the Coffee house), Anarchy and "Fra Contadini" (Between Peasants); the latter having been translated into more than twenty languages, including Chinese and Japanese.

A few days before the last, he was still writing to comrades letters full of hope and plans

for the future. He left the last one unfinished.

Malatesta died as he had lived; with his unshakable faith in the final victory of the oppressed upon the oppressors through the Social Revolution. But we hear his harmonious voice no more. His sincere, convincing word has been stilled by the frigid hand of Death, hastened by the tortures inflicted against him by the bloody mob in black shirts, that has stamped on the cowardly face of the Italian bourgeoisie the indelible brand of infamy.

Fortunately, our memory of the immortal champions of true liberty will remain. We shall never forget their words and daring deeds in behalf of the vanquished in the savage struggle for life. Let us be at the height of continuing their noble work and deserve the name of their comrades.

Only in this way can we hope that some day the minds of men will be cleared of the fog still obscuring them and the dawn of Anarchy open the road to real progress, civilization and the joy of living.

SOCIALIST POLITICIANS

M. S.

A great deal of confusion exists about revolutionary ideals, and Anarchism is no exception. Some of this confusion is caused by the natural difficulty on the part of the people to understand opinions and conceptions of life which are alien to their inherent ways of thinking and their notions; some of it is artfully created by more or less unscrupulous politicians aiming to take advantage of rooted prejudices and superstitions.

Among the latter, socialist politicians have at all times and places assigned to themselves a conspicuous place. Since Karl Marx debased himself by throwing against Michael Bakunin the infamous — and now well proved to be unfounded, by the rudest Marxians themselves — accusation of being in the secret service of the Czar, cheap politicians of all shades of Socialism have taken it upon themselves to fight Anarchism by persecuting Anarchists with similar accusations, calumnies and suspicion.

The last electoral campaign was but a new opportunity, for American politicians, to renew their shameless attacks. The so-called Socialist Labor Party of America went so far as to issue a libel which stands out as a good example of historical ignorance, political perversion and moral crookedness.

Purporting to tell the true story of Communism, the Socialist Labor Party, in fact, sets down in its factum a number of imbecilities of various grades of bad faith, to conclude that what goes under the name of Communist Party in America is made up of "Anarcho-Communists", and, since "Anarchist groups in the past were fostered directly by the police...as a weapon with which to combat the Socialist movement", the so-called Communists are nothing but tools of reaction and as such are to be fought.

Of course, here is not only a case of simple ignorance, but of malicious perversion of truth and socialistic libelism. Anarchists have absolutely nothing in common with Marxian Communists. Besides, Anarchists don't vote, and the Socialist Labor Party had not the shade of a reason to worry about their taking votes from its own candidates.

No one will deny that police spies and stool-pigeons have, from time to time, been discovered in the ranks of the Anarchist movement. Governments and police take the pains to send spies and stool-pigeons anywhere they deem that sincere revolutionists exist, in order to apprehend and persecute them. Nothing is more probable than that such loathsome insects will be found from time to time in the ranks of the Anarchist movement, as long as an Anarchist movement and a Government co-exist. Far from meaning that anarchists and spies agree, this

goes to show that the government and the police consider Anarchism to be dangerous and propose to fight it. Besides, it is no less a fact that spies and stool-pigeons have been found also in the ranks of the various Socialist Parties.

It has never happened, however, that anarchists should hold on a given social or political problem, the same views and the same position that the government, the police and the ultra-reactionary element in the community hold. This happens only to the unscrupulous politicians of the Socialist Labor Party who agree with Mr. Doak and his bloody hounds, with Mr. Fish and his patriotic snoopers, in considering the Communist Party as an Anarchist organization.

There exists a law, in the American Law Books, which bans Anarchism as a crime and Anarchists as criminals. American courts penalize the name of Anarchist as libelous. Anarchists are excluded from immigration — alongside with white slaves and prostitutes and dangerously sick persons — and when apprehended after entry in the country, they are summarily deported following a star chamber procedure worthy of the Spanish Inquisition. To be exposed as an Anarchist, means, at best, certain persecution.

Nevertheless, the Socialist Labor Party points its finger to the whole Communist Party to confirm what the Doaks and the Fishes of the American inquisition have for years tried to have the people believe — that Communists are Anarchists and, as such, are beyond the pale of the law.

Now, the Communist Party is certainly not an Anarchist movement. It is in name and in practice a Marxian Party, and can by no stretch of imagination be considered akin to the anarchist conception of society, but so does the Socialist Labor Party, unless it be a simple tool of the propertied classes. It advocates violent revolution for the distant future, but meantime it is a lawful organization which strives not to abolish the State, but to conquer it by so lawful a means as participation in the elective positions of government; it aims to organize workers under its leadership by normal and legal means. This is exactly as the Socialist Labor Party does.

If advocating the socialization of property and violence for the distant future is enough to make an Anarchist movement, then not only the Communist Party but also the Socialist Labor Party would belong to it...unless their words fail to express their thoughts.

What makes an Anarchist is not the advocacy of violence, or at least not only this. All political parties advocate violence, at least that

violence employed by the government and to which they object only in as far as somebody else runs the government. Anarchists, instead, repudiate all kinds of violence, governmental violence included; if and when they resort to the use of force, it is only in order to resist individual or collective, or governmental violence employed against them. It is in self-defence, to prevent their own destruction to the profit of the privileged classes or individuals. That is the only kind of violence Anarchists deem justified by reason and the natural laws of life, which give every living being the impulse to resist its own destruction. That kind of violence is not only justified; it is also necessary, if life is to survive to the forces of destruction, natural and man-made. To resist the invasions of tyranny and the exploitations of capital is as natural and necessary as to resist the destruction of flood or fire.

Neither does advocating the socialization of property suffice to make an Anarchist. Socialists of all shades aim to socialize property by making it the monopoly of the State. Anarchism aims, on the contrary, to the abolition of the State and to the restitution of property to the people, who have produced or perfected it all through centuries and millenniums of hard toil. Not the State — which is always a congregation of unscrupulous politicians and parasites — but the toiler, is entitled to the possession of the instruments necessary to produce. Not the State, but the worker, is entitled to the products of his labors. Not the State shall say what the workers will do or not do, but the workers themselves shall determine what is good and what isn't for the common welfare. And inasmuch as all are bound to be workers and producers in a society without a State and without economic exploitation, the welfare of the workers will be the welfare of all members of society.

These are but the fundamentals of Anarchism. To ignore them means to ignore all about Anarchism. To pretend to ignore them is sheer maliciousness, calculated to take advantage of the confusion already existing out of ignorance and superstition. It is a vulgar perversion of truth, engendered by cunning politicians more interested in speculating on peoples' vices and prejudices, than in enlightening them.

A long shameful experience in socialist politics has well nigh demonstrated that, by calling themselves socialists, the politicians of the various Socialist Parties have all but cured themselves of the political greed and moral dishonesty which form, as they have always formed, the common heritage of the political tribe.

THE ANARCHIST BATTLE FRONT

Austria

Pierre Ramus, editor of *Erkenntnis* and *Be-freiung*, has been jailed since September, 1932, on the charge of issuing a pamphlet on *Vasectomy* (sterilization). No "formal" trial was given to him. Two comrades, A. Balch and Karl Kubik who suddenly flooded the national congress with leaflets calling for the release of Ramus were jailed for three days.

Germany

Der Freie Arbeiter, weekly organ of the Anarchist Federation, has made its re-appearance after being verboten (suppressed) for thirteen weeks. Other comrades have been issuing an under-ground mimeographed paper, *Die Bombe*, and also a pamphlet every week.

Italy

On the trumped-up charges of having planned to blow up the Pont du Diable orient-express, the "special tribunal" of black fascism has sentenced last June comrades Babo, Puenteria, Scapin, Giunti and Naldini to 56 years imprisonment. Two to 30 years each, two to 16, and one to 15 years and 15 days.

In the same month, our comrade Angelo Sbardelotto was sentenced to death and executed. He was arrested June 4. On the 16, he was sentenced by the "tribunal", and on the morning of June 17th he was cold-bloodedly assassinated by the fascists murderers! The representatives of heavenly hypocrisy, a priest, made all kinds of efforts to talk to him, but he told him to leave his cell, as he had no need for consoling diabolical "prayers." Our martyred comrade openly admitted in having come clandestine from Europe to relieve Italy of its monster black-guard, Benito Mussolini. Even the henchmen of fascism were stunned by his fortitude and defiant manner in which he met them, his murderers.

Roumania

Last summer, a conspirative gathering of comrades (Anarchists being outlawed by the government) at Cernauti, was attacked by the police. Correspondence, books, pamphlets and newspapers were confiscated. The following 14 comrades were jailed: Carol Buverg, student of philosophy, Nephtali Schnapp, student of medicine, Knippel Horowitz, Martin Seterschau, Rosner, Reuerstein, Samoil Weissmann, Morgenstein, Kos Adolf, Kula, Josif, Weidenfeld, Donia and Geles.

Russia

Our Italian comrade A. Petrini who has been kept imprisoned at the Solowietzki for years by the Bolshevik regime has been "released" from there only to be exiled to Astrachan.

In a letter of Sept. 17, 1932, he writes in part: "As to my innocence, it is substantiated by the fact that the Russian government refuses to allow me in leaving the country, although I seeked it, and neither have I accepted Russian citizenship. It should be kept in mind that every foreigner, upon release from imprisonment is forthwith deported. I also remind you of the fact, that I have never been brought before any court, but was railroaded by the police. You must therefore realize that I am being hindered to lend across the border out of fear. I can assert, that I never have been a renegade, but it is solely because of the roads that have inspired me, and for which I am proud to have been persecuted. It is painful to me of receiving the news of the passing of both our dear comrades, the untiring Malatesta and Galleani. With them our movement loses two fine pioneers of the revolutionary cause, and their disappearance

causes a great emptiness in the revolutionary ranks of the entire world. Both these giants live though in the souls of all good revolutionists, who shall strive to attain, what they have begun.

"Comrades, I can feel with you, that your lot has become yet the more bitter by the appearance, that Italy, after the loss of Erricos, is to a certain degree that much more unbearable, but history teaches us, that a people cannot remain bended forever under the joke of slavery, but sooner or later, will arise, to achieve true freedom. In this I am certain, that in the not far-distant day you will return to Italy from your hiding, to the land that will have become the land of the freed."

Spain

The "republic" of Spain that followed the end of the seven years dictatorship has not brought about any change in so far as the Anarchists are concerned. Last year witnessed the jailing and deportation to isolated islands of hundreds of comrades. On one occasion alone, 120 Anarchists were exiled. Alcala Zamora, the catholic "president" of Spain, and the "famous" socialist Caballero, a member of the "cabinet", have nothing to be ashamed in their misdeeds upon Anarchists, when compared to the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera. Governments are all birds of the same feather, no matter under what name they pretend to sail.

MAN!

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IDEAS of ANARCHISM:

An Enquiry Concerning
POLITICAL JUSTICE

WILLIAM GODWIN

Slavery

The slaves...are not conscious of the evils against which you exclaim; why then should you endeavor to alter their condition?

I am not contented for them. I see in them beings of certain capacities, equal to certain pursuits and enjoyments. It is of no consequence in the question, that they do not see this, that they do not know their own interests and happiness....That which you mention as an alleviation, finishes.... the portrait of their calamity. Abridged as they are of independence and enjoyment, they have neither the apprehension nor spirit of men. I cannot bear to see human nature thus degraded. It is my duty, if I can, to make them a thousand times happier than they are, or have any conception of being.

There is no day nor hour in which, in some regions of the many-peopled globe, thousands of men and millions of animals are not tortured to the utmost extent....Let us turn our attention to our own species. Let us survey the poor oppressed, hungry, naked, denied all the gratifications of life, and all that nourishes the mind. They are either tormented with injustice, or chilled into lethargy.... Who is there that will look on, and say, "All is well; there is no evil in the world?" Let us recollect....the unrelenting rage of tyranny, the slow progress of justice, the brave and honest consigned to the fate of guilt. Let us plunge into the depth of dungeons. Let us observe youth languishing in hopeless despair, and talents and virtue stranded in eternal oblivion. The evil does not consist merely in the pain endured. It is the injustice that inflicts it, that gives it its sharpest sting.... The whole history of the human species, taken in one point of view, appears a vast abhorption. Man seems adapted for wisdom and fortitude and benevolence. But he has always.... been the victim of ignorance and superstition.... Observe the traces of stupidity, of low cunning, of rooted insolence, of withered hope, and narrow selfishness, where the characters of wisdom, independence and disinterestedness might have been inscribed. Recollect the horrors of war, that last invention of deliberate profligacy for the misery of man.

Property

It is only by means of accumulation that one man obtains an unresisted sway over multitudes of others. It is by means of certain distribution of income that the present governments of the world are retained in existence. Nothing more easy than to plunge nations so organised into war.... It is clear then that war in all its aggravation is the growth of unequal property. As long as this source of jealousy and corruption shall remain, it is visionary to talk of universal peace.... Were this stumbling-block removed, each man should be united to his neighbour in love and mutual kindness a thousand times more than now: but each man would think and judge for himself.... There is a principle in human society by which population is perpetually kept down to the level of subsistence.... Thus the established administration of property may be considered as strangling a considerable portion of our children in their cradle. Whatever may be the value of the life of man, or rather whatever would be his capability of happiness in a free equal state of society, the system we are here opposing may be considered as arresting upon the threshold of existence four-fifths of that value and that happiness.

Education

A mode in which government has been accustomed to interfere for the purpose of influencing opinion, is by the superintendence it has in a greater or less degree in the article of education.

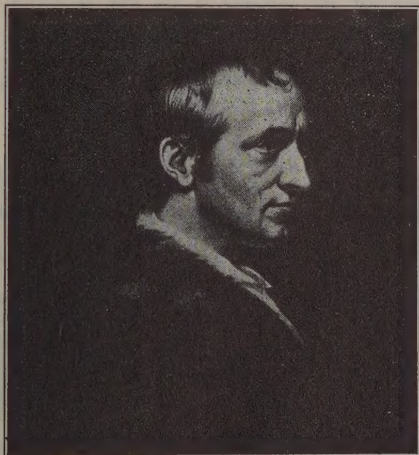
The injuries that result from a system of national education are.... that all public establishments include in them the idea of permanence.... They actively restrain the flights of mind, and fix it in the belief of exploded errors. It has frequently been observed of universities and extensive establishments for the purpose of education, that the knowledge taught there, is a century behind the knowledge which exists among the unshackled and unprejudiced.... The moment any scheme of proceeding gains a permanent establishment, it becomes impressed with one of its characteristic features with an aversion to change.... the idea of national education is founded in an inattention to the nature of mind.... He that learns because he desires to learn, will listen to the instructions.... and apprehend their meaning. He that teaches because he desires to teach, will discharge his occupation with enthusiasm and energy. But the moment

political institution undertakes to assign to every man his place, the function of all will be discharged with suspicion and indifference.

Government will not fail to employ it to tighten its hands, and perpetuate its institutions.... Their views as institutors of a system of education, will not fail to be analogous to their views in their political capacity: the data upon which their conduct as statesmen is vindicated, will be the data upon which their instruction will be founded.

Government

There is a constant struggle between the genuine sentiments of the understanding, which tells us that all this is an imposition, and the imperious voice of government which bids us, Reverence and obey. In this unequal contest, alarm and apprehension will perpetually haunt the minds of those who exercise usurped power. In this artificial state of man, powerful engines must be employed to prevent him from rising to his true level. It is the business of the governors to persuade the governed, that it is their interest to be slaves. They have no other means by which to create this fictitious interest, but those which they derive from the perverted understanding, and burdened property, of the public, to be returned in titles, ribbands and bribes.



WILLIAM GODWIN
(1756 - 1836)

There is no disposition that clings so close to despotism, as incessant terror and alarm. What else gave birth to the armies of spies, and the numerous state prisons?.... No picture can be more disgusting, no state of mankind more depressing, than that, in which a whole nation is held in obedience, by the mere operation of fear, in which all that is most eminent among them.... is prevented, under the severest penalties, from expressing its real sentiments, and, by necessary consequence, from forming any sentiments that are worthy to be expressed.... This monstrous edifice will always be found supported by all the various instruments for perverting the human character, severity, menaces, blandishments, professions and bribes.... It is the business of the despot to distribute his lottery of seduction into as many prizes as possible.... every man is supposed to have his price, and that, the corruption being managed in an underhand manner, many a man, who appears a patriot, may be really a hireling....

The system of political imposture divides men into two classes, one which is to think and reason for the whole, and the other to take the conclusions of their superiors on trust. This distinction is not founded in the nature of things.... Nor is it less injurious than it is unfounded. The two classes which it creates, must be more and less than man. It is too much to expect of the former, while we consign to them an unnatural monopoly, that they should rigidly consult for the good of the whole.

Justice is frequently a matter of expensive purchase, and the man with the longest purse is proverbially victorious.... The rich are in all such countries directly or indirectly the legislators of the state; and of consequence are perpetually reducing oppression into a system.... legislation is in almost every country grossly the favorer of the rich against the poor.... the administration of the law is not less iniquitous than the spirit in which it is framed.

General justice, and mutual interest, are found more capable of binding men, than signatures and seals.

The true reason why the mass of mankind has so often been made the dupes of knaves has been the mysterious and complicated nature of the social system. Once annihilate the quackery of government, and the most homebred understanding might be strong enough to detect the artifices of the state juggler that would mislead him.

With what delight must every well informed friend of mankind look forward, to the auspicious period, the dissolution of political government, of that brute engine, which has been the only perennial cause of mankind, and which.... has mischiefs of various sorts incorporated with its substance and not otherwise removable than by its utter annihilation?

Revolution

Force is an expedient the use of which is much to be deplored. It is contrary to the nature of intellect which cannot be improved but by conviction and persuasion.... But it seems there are cases so urgent, as to oblige us to have recourse to this injurious expedient.... Hence it appears that the ground justifying resistance in every case where it can be justified, is that of the good, likely to result from such interference, being greater than the good to result from omitting it.

Revolution.... it ought not to be forgotten that, though the connection be not essential or requisite revolutions and violence have too often been coeval with important changes of the social system. What has so often happened in time past, is not unlikely occasionally to happen in the future.... The friend of human happiness will endeavour to prevent violence; but it would be the mark of the weak and valetudinarian temper, to turn away our eyes from human affairs in disgust, and refuse to contribute our labors and attention to the general weal, because perhaps at last violence may forcibly be used. The men who grow angry with corruption and impatient at injustice, and through those sentiments favor the abettors of revolution, have even an obvious apology to palliate their error, theirs is the excess of a virtuous feeling.

Anarchy

There is one point remaining in which anarchy and despotism are strongly contrasted with each other. Anarchy awakens mind, diffuses energy and enterprise through the community.... But in despotism mind is trampled into an equality of the most odious sort.

One of the most interesting questions in relation to anarchy is of the manner in which it may be expected to terminate.... And it does not seem impossible that it should lead to the best form of human society, that the most penetrating philosopher is able to conceive. Nay, it has something in it that suggests the likeness, a.... tremendous likeness, of true liberty.... It is accompanied with a spirit of independence. It disengages men from prejudice and implicit faith, and in a certain degree incites them to an impartial scrutiny into the reason of their actions.... It tends to loosen the hold of these vermin upon the mind, but it does not instantly convert ordinary men into philosophers.

The Future Society

The object in the present state of society is to multiply labor, in another state it will be to simplify it.... Men will not be disposed, as now, to take advantage of each other's distresses. They will not consider how much they can extort, but how much is reasonable to require.... the artisan.... will escape from the irresolution of slavery and the fetters of despair, and perceive that independence and ease are scarcely less within his reach than that of any other member of the community. This is an obvious step towards the still further progression, in which the laborer will receive entire whatever the consumer may be required to pay, without having a capitalist, an idle and useless monopoliser, as he will then be found, to fatten upon his spoil.... Various objects will hereafter divide men's attention, the love of liberty, the love of equality, the pursuit of art and the desire of knowledge. These objects will not, as now, be confined to a few, but will gradually be laid open to all. The love of liberty obviously leads to a sentiment of union to sympathize in the concerns of others. The general diffusion of truth will be productive of general improvement; and men will daily approximate towards those views according to which every object will be appreciated in its true value.... It will teach us to look with contempt upon mercantile speculations, commercial prosperity, and the cares of gain.

MAINTAINING HEALTH

R. L. ALSAKER M. D.

It is natural to be healthy, but we have wandered so far astray that disease is the rule and good health the exception.... nearly all are suffering from some ill, mental or physical, acute or chronic, which deprives them of a part of their power.

Civilization is favorable to long life so long as the people are moderate and live simple, but when it degenerates to sensuous softness, individual and social deterioration ensues. Among savages the infant mortality is very great, but such ills as cancer, tuberculosis, smallpox and Bright's disease are rare. These are luxuries which are generally introduced with civilization.

Health is within the grasp of all who are not afflicted with organic disease, and the vast majority have no organic ills.

Disease is a very expensive luxury. Health is one of the cheapest, though one of the rarest, things on earth. Every adult should know enough to remain well. Every one should know the signs of approaching illness and how to abort it. The mental comfort and ease that come from the possession of such knowledge are priceless.

Many of the popular teachings regarding disease and its prevention are false. The germ theory is a delusion....germs have no power to injure a healthy body.

Outside the mechanical injuries there is but one disease, and the various conditions that we dignify with individual names are but manifestations of this disease. The parent disease is filthiness, and its manifestations vary according to circumstances and individuals. The filthiness is not of the skin, but of the interior of the body. The blood stream becomes unclean principally because of indigestion and constipation, which are chiefly due to improper eating habits. Some of the contributory causes are....too little exercise, lack of fresh air, and indigestion of seda-

tives and stimulants which upset the assimilative and excretory functions of the body. In all cases the blood is unclean. The patient is suffering from auto-intoxication or autotoxemia.

In serious cases the natural healer of intelligence and experience can (bring back to health) do this twenty times where the man who relies on drugs does it once. The physicians who prescribe drugs are ever on the look-out for complications and relapses.... The natural healers know that under proper treatment neither complications nor relapses can occur, unless the disease has advanced so far that the vital powers are exhausted before treatment is begun, and this is generally not the case....one fundamental truth regarding health will never change, namely, that it is necessary to conform to the laws of nature....in order to retain it.

One of the most difficult things about teaching health is that it is so very simple. People look for something mysterious. When told that good old mother nature is the only healer, they are incredulous for they have been taught that doctors cure. When informed that they do not need medicine and that outside treatment is unnecessary they find it difficult to believe, for disease has always called for treatment of some kind in the hands of the medical profession. When further told that they have to help themselves by living so that they will not put any obstacles in the way of normal functioning of their bodies, they think that the physician who thinks and talks that way must be a crank, and many seek help where they are told they can obtain health from pills, powders and potions or from various inoculations and injections.

To live in health is so simple that any intelligent person can master the art, and furthermore regain lost health in the average case,

without any help from professional healers. There is plenty of knowledge and all that is needed is a discriminating mind to find the truth and then exercise enough will-power to live it....The vast majority of people suffering from chronic ills which are considered incurable can get well by living properly.

A good natural healer teaches his patients to get along without him and other doctors. A doctor of the conventional school teaches his patrons to depend upon him.

According to late discoveries, the ancient Egyptians were more advanced in the art of living than any other people on earth....They thought that overeating is the chief causative factor of disease, and so it is....It would naturally follow that they prescribed moderation in eating, which leads to internal cleanliness.

The most important single therapeutic factor is to abstain from food during pain and active disease processes. It is....necessary to have a clean alimentary tract and clean blood....Internal cleanliness necessitates moderation for an over-worked alimentary tract becomes foul and some poisons are taken into the blood.

The practice of medical secrecy began in ancient times when the leaders and the priests believed in fooling the public. Unfortunately, this professional attitude still survives. No one who has not practiced the healing art can know how tempted a doctor is to fake and humbug a little to retain and gain practice.

Everyone should try to get a knowledge of the few most fundamental facts of nature governing life. Then it would not be so easy to go astray. Health literature should be read with an open mind....then it will be seen....that by eliminating the mistakes disease will disappear.

DISCUSSION

Upbraiding Anarchy

Dear Mr. Graham:

I try to be fair to all, but I must admit that I am not in sympathy with anarchy—its examples have always failed to impress me—further than that, while I admit their sincerity I think they are hindrances to progress in that their hearts impulses are so far removed from any head reasoning. They fail to support as a rule, the sane, sincere, practical movements for human betterment, but (those I have known) neglect their families and their duties as citizens to do a lot of howling and destructive agitation, but do not ever offer any real, constructive leadership or practical statesmanship that suggests they could do anything other than make life a worse muddle than it is, if ever they got the upper hand.

And most of the "capitalism" they rave about was evolved by men of their own rank—men who started life poor and needy. Their first success and touch of gold unfolded a greed for more—it is not the man who has known culture and good food and good housing for several generations, as a rule, who is one who takes advantage of those who labor under him. Such a man knows that material possession does not buy heart happiness or the appreciation of the finer things of life. It is the crude uncultured who put material possessions above all life's riches. And because America has been populated by the poor and oppressed of other countries, it is the country that puts the most value on material possessions.

Of course that is not your opinion—I am merely expressing mine, since you are to be such a near-neighbor publication. I shall be in sympathy with any constructive aims you develop, but the word "anarchy" seems, from past usage, a word of some disrepute, and suggests destructive rather than constructive activities.

Florence R. Keene

(Editor "Westward", a Magazine of Verse)

Defending Anarchy

Dear Miss Keene!

You consider Anarchists an hinderance to progress, because, their impulses are so far removed from their head reasoning.

Suppose we grant for arguments' sake that it is so.

I cannot see how you, as a poetess can object. Doesn't all the beauty of life as the poet sees it, give expression to, or dream about—come more from the heart—than from the mind?

Yes—indeed! Anarchists don't support the so-called sane, practical movements. For, none of these movements are based upon the aesthetical

evaluation of life, but solely upon the material one.

And who has it been in the history of mankind that rebelled foremost against the compromise of idealism to practicability—if not its greatest poets?

Milton, Dante, Heine, Longfellow, Lowell, Whitman, Freiligrath, Pushkin, Lermantov, Nekrasov—and shall I keep on?...

I doubt also if the real great poets were ever what is termed "good" citizens, "constructive" leaders or "practical" statesmen.

If history records the truth at all, the real great poets of the world were mostly at war with all that you imply they ought to be in alliance with....

Yes, Anarchists are not "practical" at all, in the terms of the present order of chaos and injustice. For, the Anarchist is the prophetic fiery denouncer of everything unjust and unfree, holding forth the Day of Liberation when all men and women shall have the equal opportunity to enjoy life amidst nature in all its glorious bounties that lie in wait.

About Anarchists neglecting their families, I fear, it's quite a prejudiced opinion. One who understands fully the meaning of the term Anarchy—cannot act irresponsibly.

You misconstrue history as regards to the evolution of capitalism. It really evolved from a desire of a few to lead the many.... The first constituted themselves as Robber bands bringing on wars of conquests, establishing themselves as gods, patriarchs,—until we find them in the robes of statesmen and governments.

You speak in contempt of the poor, for not appreciating culture....

Today—culture is appreciated only by the rich. True indeed—to a great extent.

But dear Miss Keene—haven't you ever given it a thought how the rich—get to be rich?

It's from the toll of sacrifice in human life of the masses that they coin dividends and can, as a result, afford to have leisure, and show their so-called appreciation of culture....

The poor and oppressed meet the same fate here as in any other part of the world. The machine—mad worship and it's utmost development reached here, really accounts for the material spirit of the country.

And how was this brought about?

Heralded as an instrument destined to liberate man from the need of toil, the machine has in reality proven an aid only to capitalism's exploitation of man. Every new device becomes in turn a power to ensnare, mislead, delude and deaden man's need or possibility of employing his own thinking faculties.

No longer does man rely as the artisan of old upon his own ingenuity and use of the initiative. He has most deplorably evolved into a thought-

less cog of a self-destroying robot, called the machine. To it he now vainly sacrifices himself, and will continue to do so as long as the worship of the machine will maintain its sway and hold upon him.

And who is more responsible for this inhuman transformation of denaturalizing man than the ruling exploiters of present society?

The very "culture" of the present society, as the press, pulpit, radio and talkies—are these mocking and maliciously lying counterfeits to aid in raising the appreciation of the masses for the finer things in life?

If the poets and artists of today would equal in mental capacity and sincerity those of the days of Greece, or even a century ago, they would scourge with tongues of fire and denunciation, the destroyers of life, the rich exploiters and rulers who are soiling the temples of art and knowledge in all its branches.

Nay—such as you—would drive from your midst any one who derives profit from another man's toll!

If the word Anarchy suggests to you only destruction, I regret it. For in its essence—it means self rule and self responsibility.

Did you ever think of it—that every creation of an artist is a destructive—rebellious outcry against what is, and a shouting forth of the prophetic truth that is to be?

Therefore: the destructive attitude of the Anarchist, is in reality, the greatest constructive force at the same time.

The Anarchist sees the need for the complete destruction of everything that is unjust.

And personally I know of no one who ought to be more closely allied with the purpose and aim of Anarchism than the Poet, the Artist.

For, the true Artist can only bloom forth in all maturity; rising to the highest peaks in and amidst a society of socially liberated human beings, the Free Society of Anarchy.

Marcus Graham

William Godwin's

An Enquiry Concerning

Political Justice

Edited and abridged from the first edition of 1793, by Raymond A. Preston.

The book that Shelley acknowledged to have inspired and influenced him to create *Prometheus Unbound* and *Queen Mab*.

Recognized by many historians as the most provocative epoch-making book that anticipated and formulated the philosophy of Anarchism.

In two volumes Three Dollars

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ART and LITERATURE

Ode

"We are the music-makers,
And we are the dreamers of dreams,
Wandering by lone sea-breakers,
And sitting by desolate streams;
World-losers and world-forsakers,
On whom the pale moon gleams
Yet we are the movers and shakers
Of the world for ever, it seems.

Arthur O'Shaughnessy

Rebellion

Josephine Johnson

I am tired of being patient, I am tired of resignation,
I am sick to death of waiting for a joy that never comes,
I am tired of stingy-half loaves, I am tired of imitation,
I am tired of tasting other people's crumbs.

Let us once, O soul, be truthful, let us fling aside concealment
While we take our fill of sorrows we never could of joy!
It is genuine, abundant. It is ours and not another's
Let's once, O soul, taste fulness, though that fulness should destroy!

The Hammer

Carl Sandburg

I have seen
The old gods go
And the new gods come.

Day by day
And year by year
The idols fall
And the idols rise.

Today
I worship the hammer.

A Plea

Luke North

I plead for Man—
Against God—
And all his plutocrats and prophets
And their religions to bind vassals,
Their mortals to promote mediocrity,
Their dogma of Rights
To maintain "me and thine"
Against the human need
And the hearts demand—
Against the glory of God and the gluttony of Greed
I plead for Man!

Preference

Robert O. Fink

Let some one else sing the Romance of Industry!
For I have worked in factories,
And I have felt the dead and silent empty darkness of winter mornings on my eyes, and the snows underfoot;
And I have known of breathless summer nights, too tired to think, too hot to sleep;
And the slush and mist, gray clouds, fog, and ruthless sun of coming and going six days a week all the year.

Let others chant the Nobility of Labor!
For I have attained to it, and it is not worth the price—

In blistered hands and aching eyes and wearied brain.

I had rather tramp all day toward nowhere,
With rain for a companion, pattering by my side and whispering old fragments of broken smoke-dimmed tales into my ears;
And the wind for a dog, to pry into every thick-et, spy on all wild things,
And scamper across the shoulders of the hills,
And bay at every tree.

BOOKS

Marcus Graham

In "National Defense", (Farrar and Rinehart) Kirby Page has contributed one of the most important books that appeared in 1931. Its great value lies in the gathered utterances by tradesmen in "statesmanship", government, press and religion — on war. Alongside with this there is an array of well documented data, facts and figures on the same subject.

Luther's declaration that war is "a business, divine in itself..." matches the one of Rev. Hugh Price Hughes who was thus addressing the murderers to be (soldiers): "We are god's appointed instruments in this work of liberation."

Those soft-hearted liberals who are still bowing before the image of Woodrow Wilson will receive quite a jolt in seeing the "great democrat" disrobed and proven as much a tool of the Mammon of War as the Kaiser and his like.

And so one finds Walter Hines Page, the then American Ambassador to England, writing to Mr. Wilson on March 5, 1917:

"If the U. S. declares war against Germany...a great advantage would be that all money would be kept in the U. S....We could keep on with our trade and increase it, till the war ends..."

And already on October 17, 1915, Colonel House (the invisible power behind Wilson) wrote to Sir Edward Grey:

"It has occurred to me that the time may soon come when this government should intervene....Whenever you consider the time propitious for this intervention, I will propose it to the president."

The real tragical joker of war is exemplified by this outpouring of the editor of the *Manu-facturer's Record*:

"We are fighting to make the world safe

An Anthology of Revolutionary Poetry

Compiled and Edited by Marcus Graham.

Opinions:

Errico Malatesta: It is an inspiring and fascinating book.

Max Netlan: A rich collection . . . to be consulted on many occasions and to last, as it contains invaluable gems of all ages.

Hippolyte Havel: A splendid work . . . filling us with deep joy and forming new values.

Alexander Berkman: "An Anthology of Revolutionary Poetry" is certainly to be welcomed.

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for civilization, for the honor of womanhood, for the safety of the babies and the children of every land, for the honor of nations, and for all that makes life worth living . . ."

The figures in gold and silver that are behind all wars brought on by capitalism and carried on by its governments constitute a very important part of the book.

The figures in human lives—that is—the sacrifice and toll of those who act as the cannon-fodder of all wars are most appalling of all. For instance, in the last world war the toll was in part:

10,000,000 Dead soldiers
3,000,000 Presumed dead
13,000,000 Dead civilians
20,000,000 Wounded
3,000,000 Prisoners

One could go on quoting page after page of this arsenal on war. It is a book that every thoughtful person, in particular those who always bear the brunt of war, ought to read.

The book has also its faulty part. This lies chiefly in the weakness of the remedies it proposes against war. One would expect that a man like Kirby Page who could bring forth such a masterful exposure of the causers and profiteers of war, would never propose at least eight out of his nine proposals against war.

VIRTUE

Max Stirner

Over the buxom form droops a deathly-tired head, and pale cheeks betray the slow bleeding away of her youth. Poor child, how often the passions may have beaten at your heart, and the rich powers of youth have demanded their right! When your head rolled in the soft pillow, how awakening nature quivered through your limbs, the blood swelled your veins, and fiery fancies poured the gleam of voluptuousness into your eyes! Then appeared the ghost of the soul and its eternal bliss. You were terrified, your hands folded themselves, your tormented eye turned its look upward, you — prayed. The Storms of nature were hushed, a calm glided over the ocean of your appetites. Slowly the weary eyelids sank over the life extinguished under them, the tension crept out unperceived from the rounded limbs, the boisterous waves dried up in the heart, the folded hands themselves rested a powerless weight on the "Oh dear!" moaned itself away, and — the soul was at rest. You fell asleep, to awake in the morning to a new combat and a new—prayer. Now the habit of renunciation cools the heat of your desire, and the roses of your youth are growing pale in the—chlorosis of your heavenliness. The soul is saved, the body may perish! O Lais, O Ninon, how well you did to scorn this pale virtue! One free grisette against a thousand virgins grown gray in virtue!

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The following publications have printed the announcement of our intended appearance:

L'Adunata dei Refrattari, Newark, N. J.
L'Avanguardia Libertaria, Melbourne, Australia.
Diela Truda, Chicago, Ill.
The Industrial Worker, Chicago, Ill.
Labor Call, Melbourne, Australia.
Nature's Path, New York City, N. Y.
New York Times, New York City, N. Y.
The Open Forum, Los Angeles, Calif.
The Scrantonian, Scranton, Pa.
World Federation, Peiping, China.

To demand a "peace department" of governments, reduction of armaments, against high tariffs and for the league of "nations," is beyond one's comprehension! It's asking the very creators and benefitters of war to be good enough in ceasing to act as the destroyers and exploiters of mankind!

It's really to be deplored that the man who could assemble such a mass of data, statements and facts that expose war for what it really is, couldn't come out also to renounce and denounce the very people and institutions who stand most condemned by his exposure: capitalism, governments, religion and the press.

TWO MONTHS GOVERNMENT!

Associated, United and Universal Press Dispatches

Warren, O., Sept. 2.—1932. Police attacked 300 strikers of the Republic Steel Works. Twelve workers were jailed.

Paris, France, Sept. 2.—An anti-war demonstration of 8000 people was attacked by the police. Fifty workers were wounded, and as many were also jailed.

Brooklyn, N. Y., Sept. 3.—Jacob Nusbaum and Joseph Kelly were murdered, another of their comrades crippled from bullets of the police. These three needy boys were attempting to obtain valuables from a pawnshop that could be turned into money—the bases and measurement of lives' value today. A bystander and two tools of the law were also shot and wounded.

Moscow, Russia, Sept. 3.—Twelve men were sentenced to death for taking merchandise from the government, bringing the total penalties up to 20 within three days.

New York, N. Y., Sept. 5.—On "suspicion"—John McKeever, 25, was murdered by pistol shots of John Meeman, a member of the police force. Another "suspect"—B. Caley was wounded by the same tool of the law.

Mineola, L. I., Sept. 9.—Charged by district attorney M. W. Littleton with the murder of Hyman Stark, three members of the police force were freed by a jury.

Thomasville, N. C., Sept. 10.—Tear gas bombs and clubs were used by the police against 1000 striking workers at the Thomasville Chair Co.

Moscow, Russia, Sept. 8.—Starving workers seized foodstuffs and afterwards burned the warehouses at Ivanov and Voznesensk, as G. P. U. (Spy Department) soldiers fired upon them. The number of killed, wounded and arrested was suppressed by the Government.

Los Angeles, Calif., Sept. 9.—An unidentified negro worker was murdered as he attempted to get for himself some food from a grocery store. The credit for the murder goes to the hands of sergeant J. Chambers, of the police department.

High Point, N. C., Sept. 12.—Tear gas bombs and clubs were used by 28 members of the police against 400 strikers at the Stehl Silk Corporation.

New York, N. Y., Sept. 13.—Joseph Clarke found himself in the hospital in a dying condition, suffering from bullets fired at him by two custom guards. Clarke came on the scene of an argument between the guards and another man.

Wilkes-Barre, Pa., Sept. 13.—Police attacked 400 striking miners, wounding several workers.

Coal City, Ill., Sept. 16.—W. L. Moody chief of the state police, together with 100 armed deputies, drove out of town 1500 strikers for picketing the North Illinois Coal Corporation.

Braintree, Ill., Sept. 16.—Police deputies drove out of town striking pickets. Two workers were shot and wounded from bullets fired at them by the deputies.

Albany, N. Y., Sept. 18.—In the first six months of this year 374,716 men, women and children were jailed in the state of New York as against 349,572 last year.

Birkenhead, England, Sept. 18.—After an entire night of attacks by the police upon unemployed workers, seven toilers were wounded and 44 jailed.

Taylorville, Ill., Sept. 19.—National guards prevented striking miners from holding a meeting.

South River, N. J., Sept. 19.—Walter Rojek, 9 years old, was murdered, and John Wilczynski wounded by bullets fired into a crowd of striking needle workers by private deputy sheriffs. A crowd of 3000 held 54 of them captives in the Borough hall. State troopers came forth with clubs and forced their release and safe get-away. Ten thousand workers, one half of the towns' population, attended the funeral of Rojek.

The entire city administration not only refused to indict the murderers, but jailed 32 strikers—as the causers of the "disturbance."

Oklahoma City, Okla., Sept. 20.—One worker was wounded from bullets fired at him by national guardsmen.

Liverpool, England, Sept. 21.—A demonstration of 3000 unemployed was attacked by the police. In reprisal, rocks and bricks were hurled at the attacking clubbers.

New York, N. Y., Sept. 22.—Twenty-five unemployed homeless men were seized by the police. They had built a "Hoover Valley" at the old lower reservoir in Central Park, erecting shacks with bricks and wooden crates. The Judge sentenced them to stay out of Central Park, or go to jail.

Taylorville, Ill., Sept. 23.—Over 200 national guardsmen tossed tear gas bombs at crowds of miners at Longleyville. Machine guns were set up, prepared to drawn in blood the striking miners.

Oakland, Calif., Sept. 25.—Arthur G. Russell, 21, was murdered by a bullet fired at him by Ralph Elkins, of the police force, who was hiding in the grocery store, awaiting the victims' approach and attempt to obtain the needs of life subsistence.

Springfield, Ill., Sept. 25.—Twenty miners were badly hurt, stabbed and shot at, in a most brutal and vicious attack made upon them by "officials" of the treacherous scab union, aided by guards, sheriffs and police. Shotguns, gas bombs and submachines were used against the miners who refused to submit to the sell-out of their "leaders" for a wage-scale reduction.

Columbus, Ohio, Sept. 26.—As Boyd Vincent, 45, a striking worker was murdered from a shotgun by C. Tedrow, a scab. Clarmont Bonfield, a high school youth was murdered by a reign of bullets from national guards.

Evarts, Ky., Sept. 27.—Jim Reynolds, miner, was sentenced to life imprisonment, and Bill Burnett, another miner, to three years, on various framed-up charges. Their true "crime" consists in having fought back like men the hireling thugs of the Coal Companies in the battle of Evarts, May 5, 1931.

New Orleans, La., Sept. 28.—Emile Johnson, a negro, took four loaves of bread and a cake from a bakery. The Court sentenced him to life imprisonment.

Chicago, Ill., Oct. 6.—Fifty police attacked 500 unemployed workers. Joseph Sbosab, 39, an unemployed worker was murdered by a bullet of the police. Six other workers were jailed.

McAllester, Okla., Oct. 5.—Deputy Sheriffs arrested 109 striking miners on charges of "conspiracy" in fighting for the right to live.

Jacksonville, Florida, Oct. 8.—A fellow victim prisoner testified that Guard Captain Courson put around Arthur Mallefert's neck the chain that strangled the boy-prisoner to death in a prison camp "sweat box."

Cleveland, Ohio, Oct. 8.—Norman Townsend, 34, was murdered today by the police. Townsend was attempting to obtain jewelry in order to "get by" in the present disorder of life. In addition to his death, six others were injured from bullets.

Belfast, Ireland, Oct. 12.—Ten thousand unemployed were brutally attacked from armored cars by troops and police. Three starved workers were murdered. Thirty were seriously crippled. About fifty were jailed.

In defence, the workers demolished walls and pavements, dug trenches and erected barricades, seized food from shops and put up an heroic battle for fully 24 hours.

Taylorville, Ill., Oct. 13.—Armed with tear-gas bombs and bayonets, national guards attacked striking miners for three consecutive days. The annual commemoration of the anniversary of the Virden Mine massacre of 1898 was turned into a mass arrest of 1200 strikers, who were afterwards forced to leave the town. Andy Ganes, a striking miner, was murdered by Russell Myers, a soldier. Angered by the brutal murder, strikers seized another guard and beat him up.

Nokomis, Ill., Oct. 14.—Frank Kmet and Andrew Krechnyat, striking miners, were crippled by bullets of soldiers who fired into a caravan of strikers.

Wattenscheid, Germany, Oct. 15.—Several unemployed workers were seriously hurt when police attacked them with clubs, as they gathered at the city hall to demand food. In reprisal, the workers seized merchandise en masse from food stores.

New York, N. Y., Oct. 16.—Eugene Gulistiniani, 21, was murdered by a bullet fired at him by Patrick Woods of the police force. Louis Rizzo, 19, was crippled by the same Woods. Both youths, who were making an attempt to take some belongings from a flat, were really victims of the present system of society, that has no other recourse of opportunity left open for youth—than to risk and lose their lives in the manner that they did!

Poland, Oct. 18.—Three regiments of soldiers drawn in blood an attempted uprising of peasants in Volhnia and Polessia.

London, England, Oct. 18.—Mounted police repeatedly attacked unemployed demonstrators at the east end of Westminster bridge. Twenty starved workers were seriously crippled. Fifty-four were jailed.

In reprisal against the bloody attack, the unemployed workers used stones and other missiles on their attackers. Many shops were cleaned out of their merchandise by groups of needy workers.

Kingston, Ont. Can., Oct. 20.—A battle lasting five hours raged at the Portsmouth prison, as artillery were beating and wounding prisoners, who were demanding more human treatment.

London, England, Oct. 21.—A parade of unemployed at Stratford-on-Avon was attacked by the police. Six workers were wounded.

Sidney, Australia, Oct. 25.—An unemployed group of workers demanding food were brutally attacked by the police.

London, England, Oct. 27.—One of the most inhuman vicious attacks ever witnessed, took place here when mounted and footed police attacked a demonstration of 20,000 workers. In self-defence the workers fought back with chunks of coal and glass of broken windows. Many food shops were visited by masses of workers who helped themselves to whatever there was in them.

Blackwood, N. J., Oct. 28.—Two boys, judged to be 15 and 20, were cold-bloodily murdered today by state troopers Hossack, Austin and Shorne. The excuse for the murder was their having staged a futile "hold-up."

London, Eng., Oct. 29.—Mounted and footed police attacked an unemployed demonstration of tens of thousands. Naively—the starved workers were attempting to show their plight to "his majesty!" Over a score of workers were wounded, and many more jailed.

Toledo, Ohio, Oct. 30.—Several unemployed workers were hurt by police clubs when they came to demand relief to the court-house.

Financial Statement

A detailed account of the income and expenditures for Man! will appear in the next issue.

Communications

Chicago, Ill. Free Society Forum. Third year lecture season. Every Sunday evening at 1241 No. California Avenue. Free Admission. Questions and Discussion.

Detroit, Mich. Detroit Educational Forum, Sponsored by the International Anarchist Group at the Libertarian Center, 2015 Third St., cor. Elizabeth St. Every Sunday evening. Admission Free. Questions and Discussion.

Los Angeles, Calif. Confederate Libertarian Union sponsors every Thursday an open Forum at 224 So. Spring St. Hall 218. Admission is Free. Questions and Discussion.

Russian Progressive Club of Los Angeles. 1785 East First St. Open every day.

Three New Pamphlets

What's Anarchism? By Hippolyte Havel. A most interesting and timely pamphlet written in his best elucidative style. Just published. Ten cents per copy.

An Appeal to the Young by Peter Kropotkin. The pamphlet that has become a classic in the world's social struggle for Liberation. Ten cents per copy.

Anarchism in American Tradition by Valtairine de Cleyre. A reprint of one of the best essays of our incomparable comrade. Ten cents per copy.

Obtainable through Man!

The International Group of San Francisco

Will Greet The Appearance of

MAN!

Saturday Eve., December 31, 1932
2787 a Folsom Street

At our Club Rooms

Supper 7-9

Dance 9-12

All Welcome

Voluntary Contributions