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EDITORIAL

The First World Revolution

We, the parents of the last generation of the 20th century, must wake and face the facts of the situation we find ourselves in. We can no longer allow ourselves the illusory security of ostrich-like ignorance.

Unless we change the way our planet is being managed -- and change it soon -- we are doomed.

We are doomed to watch helplessly as the living Earth writhes in Her death-agony caused by the disruption of our ecosystem by blind 20th century industry and its insatiable lust for short-range profits.

Our children are doomed to inherit a diseased living space laced with hidden reservoirs of toxic chemicals and radioactive wastes -- resulting, if current trends persist, in a sterile, alternately scorched and frozen desert world. As our great-grandparents were the last to see



horse-drawn carriages in city streets, so our children may be the last to see live trees, wild animals, and breathable air.

Our children are further doomed to be perpetually perched on the crumbling brink of nuclear annihilation, the constant prey of the military technocracies of the warring empires with their hair-trigger computers, billionaire dictators and megalomaniacal tyrants wielding the ultimate power of global death.

Our children will be doomed as we are either to toil for subsistence in the brutal and demeaning rental-slavery of the "labor market", or -- if they are of the "lucky" few -- to live in guilty excess in the midst of the poverty, exploitation, and terror of the majority of Earth's citizens.

Is this the best we can do for them?

Is this what we crawled from the caves to create?



We must wake from our "safe and sane" delusions of normalcy.

It is *not* normal for our "elected representatives" to kill and torture those of "inferior" races or less-powerful nations; to brutally enslave and exploit or destroy whole societies; to rape and pillage the Earth for short-range profits.

It is *not* normal to build world-lethal megadeath weapons -- weapons that rape the very atomic integrity of matter -- to build them with wealth stolen from workers through the "legal" larceny called "taxation" -- to aim them en masse at Earth's citizens.

These policies of Earth's present governments are obviously crimes against humanity, against sanity, against common sense. No single government can be blamed for these crimes: all partake alike in the international conspiracy of deceit and coercion, exploitation and genocide, and the desecration of the living matter of our Mother Earth.

When I look into my children's eyes, I cannot excuse a further moment's complicity with this system of institutionalized terrorism, exploitation and ecocide.

I see in their eyes a confidence and a trust that I am hard-pressed to respond to with the full honesty of my spirit, the honesty I owe them as their birthright. For am I not betraying them by my passive acquiescence, my resigned, polite acceptance of the very powers that will buy and sell the lives of my children -- and the Earth Herself -- in their polluted marketplace?

Am I not in effect handing over my children's souls to a pack of necromancers who will sacrifice them and their world before the altars of their idol-gods, profit and power?

Am I not selling my children, their future, and all Earthlife into bondage and terror?

There must come a time when an honest woman or man will stand, calling forth the courage, and come to grips with the grim realities that threaten the survival and peaceful evolution of all Earthlife -- as Patrick Henry stood, shaking off fear and doubt, and announced to the world that he would accept only liberty or death.

Today we need a new Paul Revere to alert us to the dangers that surround us. This time the foe that threatens our security and our survival is more deadly than the hordes of an invading army. This time, our enemy is more deadly than any faced by any generation of humans in the dimmest echoes of human memory.

LIBERTARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

The battle we face is not that of one nation against another: rather it is a battle of all nations against all humanity.

We can no longer afford the luxury of wars between nations. The stakes are too high.

Detonation of a tiny fraction of existing nuclear warheads could result in an ecological catastrophe that could eliminate all life on Earth forever. *These weapons are still rolling off the assembly lines in America and Russia. As you read these words, another nuclear weapon is being put together -- another multi-million dollar investment in global suicide.*

Nobody knows exactly how many nations now have the capability to make nuclear weapons; but we know that the number is growing rapidly and that it includes many unstable and aggressive governments.

Nations -- national governments -- have become obsolete. At one time they played an important role in human evolution, but now they have outlasted their utility; they have become counter-productive.

National governments constitute the greatest single threat to the peaceful evolution of Earthlife in the last days of the 20th century.

The many warring national governments are like the diseased mental complexes of a schizophrenic with a split personality, fighting and competing against each other to the detriment of the "body politic".

We can no longer afford to take a parochial view of human society that divides race against race, people against people. Like it or not, we are all in this together -- all five billion of us. We are one human race, one people, one family of Earth-dwellers. We cannot pit one nation or culture against another any more than our bodies could pit one organ against another. We all partake of the same larger living system -- Mother Earth, Gaia, She who sustains all living things, "in whom we live and move and have our being". We all depend equally on oxygen to breathe, water to drink, food to eat, and an ozone shield above our heads to ward off the avenging Solar death-rays. A nuclear attack or nuclear accident on any part of Earth wounds the whole Earth. An injury to any part is an injury to all. It has become an all-or-nothing proposition.

We must find an alternative method of planetary management that does not involve divisive competition and coercion; a voluntary, cooperative method of mutual aid based on free agreement.

Our new alternative must account for the needs and rights of each individual, each group, each culture; it must preserve the integrity of our living ecosystem;

**"AFTER THE
LAST TREE
IS CUT, THE LAST
RIVER POISONED,
THE LAST FISH
DEAD, YOU WILL
DISCOVER
YOU CANNOT
EAT MONEY."
GREENPEACE**



**ACID RAIN
Consider it & Act**

it must utilize our planetary resources for life-support and for the pursuit of human enrichment -- rather than for death and destruction and the gross indulgences of a parasitic ruling class.

We use the term "libertarian" to describe our proposal of a new voluntary, cooperative method of planetary management in respect for the central importance of the liberty and autonomy of the individual.

We oppose any policy that seeks to exert coercion through violence and the threat of violence -- or through deprivation of access to life-support.

We oppose any policy not firmly rooted in the full, informed consent of each person involved in or affected by that policy. We support the right of the individual to resist involuntary "authority" by any means necessary.

We recognize absolute human equality. Every human being is a citizen of the Universe, an equal co-heir of Planet Earth and all of Her constituent resources.¹ No person can legitimately be denied the prerequisites of life -- food, shelter, clothing, medical care, education. The sole legitimate purpose of social organization is to ensure these basic human rights to each person. Thomas Jefferson related to these human rights as "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" in the *Declaration of Independence* (1776). The same philosophy resonates through the Charter of the United Nations and the official documents of many nations.

We oppose the use of supposed "property rights" to deprive humans of essential life-support. Claims of land ownership are suspect to begin with: if traced back historically, all claims to "titles" of ownership or "deeds" originated in "deeds of arms" -- i.e. acts of violent appropriation or armed robbery.² The "ownership" of a portion of Earth as an expendable commodity is an idea that is thoroughly repugnant to the respect for nature that is central to all indigenous spiritual traditions.

We are the custodians of Earth: She belongs to all of Her children.

WHO'S MINDING THE STORE?

The "defense" budget in America consumes billions of dollars of the common wealth of the people, taken involuntarily (by threat of violence, appropriation, imprisonment, etc.) from workers. (*Defense* is Orwellian doubletalk for the preparation of and execution of plans for mass murder.) In Russia the costs constitute a similar portion of the people's livelihood.

All of this vast expenditure of human energy and potential is wasted. It will never aid human life or human achievement in any way. It will threaten all life with pointless destruction as long as it continues.

If this wealth were used for pro-life purposes, the possibilities stagger the imagination.

Using our collective wealth and effort, the people of Earth could irrigate the deserts of Africa and turn the scorching death-plains into the fertile, green valleys they once were.

We could insure the adequate housing, clothing, and feeding of all members of the human family, and provide medical and educational access for all.

¹ The recognition that Earth is the common "property" of all humans was elaborated by British philosopher John Locke in his *Second Treatise on Government*.

² The violent origin of land ownership is discussed by R. Buckminster Fuller in *Critical Path* (St. Martin's Press, 1981), chapter 3.

We could clean up our polluted waterways, rebuild our deteriorating cities, link our population centers with clean, efficient transportation, and install decentralized, local-area cooperative energy plants that collect free solar energy and transmute it into electricity.

We could provide every home on Earth with a computer terminal linked by satellite to the libraries and museums of the world, providing total access to the world's accumulated information for everyone.

We could design safer, cleaner methods of space travel, and begin tapping the infinite wealth and knowledge that awaits us in the Solar System and beyond.

Using the equivalent of the combined U.S./Soviet war budgets, we could cure all major life-threatening diseases, eliminate poverty and illiteracy, extend the human lifespan, expand the scope and range of human intelligence, and create automated industries that will provide overflowing abundance for all and finally eliminate the need for human slave-labor.

THE STARS ARE OURS

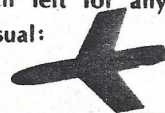
It is obviously to everyone's advantage to preserve and heal our home planet, the only one in our solar system -- and, as far as we know with certainty, in the universe -- capable of supporting life.

Much of the current threat to the health and safety of our world can be alleviated by a radical reorientation of our industry. Acid rain and deforestation can be reversed by switching from fossil-fuel-based energy systems, to Solar Power. The rapid consumption of forest lands for paper production can be eliminated by reviving the Hemp Paper industry (one of the many hidden benefits of Cannabis Legalization), which could supply

\$34 BILLION for WAR CORPS.

and not much left for anything else.

Here's who profits from business as usual:



B-1 bomber \$6.2 billion
ROCKWELL INTERNATIONAL *prime contractor*, GENERAL ELECTRIC, BOEING, EATON CORPORATION

MX missile \$4 billion
MARTIN MARIETTA *manufacturer*, ROCKWELL, NORTHROP *manufacture guidance mechanisms*

F-16 fighter \$3.8 billion
GENERAL DYNAMICS *manufacturer*, UNITED TECHNOLOGIES, GENERAL ELECTRIC *manufacture engines*

Strategic Defense Initiative ("Stars Wars") \$3.7 billion
BOEING, LOCKHEED, LTV, MCDONNELL DOUGLAS, TELEDYNE, AEROJET, HONEYWELL, HUGHES AIRCRAFT, ROCKWELL, TRW, GRUMMAN, LITTON, RCA, WESTINGHOUSE, MARTIN MARIETTA, SCIENCE APPLICATIONS



F-18 navy fighter \$2.9 billion
NORTHROP, MCDONNELL DOUGLAS *major contractors*, GENERAL ELECTRIC *manufactures engines*

Trident 2 missile \$2.9 billion
LOCKHEED *manufactures missile*, THIOKOL, HERCULES *supply fuel*



Aegis cruiser \$2.8 billion
LITTON, BATH IRON WORKS *manufacturers*

SSN-688 nuclear-attack submarine \$2.8 billion
GENERAL DYNAMICS, *prime contractor*, TENNECO

F-15 air force fighter \$2.5 billion
MCDONNELL DOUGLAS *prime contractor*, UNITED TECHNOLOGY, GENERAL ELECTRIC *manufacture engines*

C5B air force cargo plane \$2.4 billion
LOCKHEED *prime contractor*, GENERAL ELECTRIC *manufactures engines*



all the paper we need, of superior quality, at a fraction of the cost, with an annually renewable crop. Air pollution caused by automobile emissions could be eliminated by introducing clean-burning alcohol or hydrogen engines or solar powered electric cars. Soil erosion and depletion could be reversed by switching from mass-market agribusiness to small-scale organic farms and, in cities, high-rise hydroponic gardens using fiber optics to distribute solar energy. Pollution caused by non-biodegradable refuse can be ended by producing for lasting utility rather than using planned obsolescence for profit turnover. (We at (R)EVOLUTION are building a data base on all of these subjects. Further information on any specific idea mentioned in this editorial is available on request; contributions of relevant information are always welcome.)

However, some of the damage wrought by 20th century industry defies easy solutions. Crises caused by the unbridled growth of technology divorced from awareness of the balance of Earthlife, require solutions grounded in high technology. Much as we may justly desire to return to a more organic lifestyle, we cannot throw out all advanced technology. We must develop a holistic, life-affirming, humanistic technology to realistically come to grips with the serious damage that has been done (and is being done) to Mother Earth. We cannot retreat into the false security of primitivism; the situation is too extreme, the damage too extensive; we must forge ahead with new, bold ventures into the frontiers of human achievement in order to pass the evolutionary hurdles that 20th century technology has placed in our path.

An example of necessary technology, we believe, is the exploration and development of extraterrestrial space for human use. Space development may provide the only safe method of disposing of nuclear wastes and warheads. There is no safe way to store nuclear materials on Earth: nothing we can enclose them in will outlive their period of toxicity. If we can devise a safe way to move such materials out of Earth's gravity-well, we can place them on barges and propell them into the Sun, where they will be harmlessly consumed. This will provide a way out for all future generations of our children, who will be doomed to hundreds of thousands of years of vigilance over deadly toxins in deteriorating containers unless the nuke industry is stopped.

Alternately, nuclear materials may be removed from Earth's biosphere and reprocessed at a remote space station into fuel for our first fleet of interstellar spacecraft. Plans for starships that use nuclear warheads as fuel have been worked out in detail; such vehicles could be deployed within a few decades if we started now, with our present level of technology.¹

Industries harmful to Earth's ecology can be moved out of the biosphere, to zero-gravity locations between Earth and Luna, where weightlessness and unlimited free solar energy will stimulate their growth, efficiency and profitability. Eventually, mineral resources on Luna and in the Asterioid Belt will return vast dividends to Earth's economy.

We must find alternatives to the primitive, polluting rocket propulsion system of space travel, that resulted in the Challenger explosion of January 1986. Alternatives do exist on drawing boards and in blueprints. Innovations have been suppressed due to the nature of our space program, run by the State

¹ Details of nuke-powered starships are given in Carl Sagan's *Cosmos* (Random House, 1980), chapter 8. See also *Bound for the Stars* by S. Aldeman (prentice-Hall, 1981).

through the military bureaucracy and riddled with corruption by huge "defense" contractor corporations.

One alternative method of transporting materials and personnel to space that has been proposed is a giant elevator cable (called a "skyhook" or "beanstalk") which will be constructed in space, from raw materials obtained in space (Lunar or asteroid ores). One end of this cable will be in permanent geosynchronous orbit in a zero-gravity zone; the other end will be permanently anchored to Earth's surface. Materials can then be raised and lowered on this giant elevator. Payloads coming down (such as raw materials mined in space or crops grown hydroponically in space colonies) will provide propulsion for loads going up (such as space workers, homesteaders, and supplies).¹

With an international spirit of cooperation, creative technicians, engineers and scientists will make breakthroughs far surpassing the attainments of the Apollo and Soyuz space programs. Our children may grow into adulthood in a 21st century society that views Mars and the Asteroids as remote but accessible provinces, much as we view Antarctica.

Space development and Earth restoration will go hand in hand. Our motto will be: *Heal the Earth that gave us birth; Siese the stars whose wealth is ours!*

CURRENCY REFORM: THE SOLAR STANDARD

A worldwide voluntary/cooperative society such as we are proposing will require an entirely new economic system that eliminates the present primitive arrangement of national governments and competing monetary systems. The present system is designed to monopolize wealth in the hands of the ruling-and-owning elite class, leaving the vast majority of Earth citizens struggling for survival, forced to sell their labor for dollars (or "bio-survival tickets", as Robert Anton Wilson calls them²). In this system the necessities of life are available only to those who have dollars.

In contrast, a voluntary/cooperative society might consider the world's economy as a joint venture of which every Earth citizen is a part owner or "shareholder" by right of birth. Then the accumulating profit or gain produced by workers worldwide could be distributed as the "dividends" due to each "shareholder", and the basic necessities of life could be provided as the "fringe benefits" of the world economy. Considering the rapid growth of human knowledge and capability, which continue to expand at an ever-increasing exponential rate, there is no reason to doubt that the world economy could amply provide every Earth citizen with full participation in the economy.

Transition to an international cooperative economy could be approached through the development of an international medium of exchange, such as our proposal, which we call the "Solar Dollar".

The use of money as a medium of exchange originated with ancient Phoenecian traders as an expedient to the barter system. Coins were used as tokens representing commodities: each coin, with a crescent representing a bull's horns, was payable to the bearer on demand in heads of cattle.

¹ See "How to Build a Beanstalk" by Charles Sheffield in *Destinies* #4 (Ace, 1979)
² in *Prometheus Rising* (Falcon Press, 1983)

The "gold standard" evolved from this barter-based system; each unit of money represented a fixed amount of gold held in a vault.

The current "federal reserve" system is much more abstract: the "dollar" has trading value solely because the "authority" of the State decrees it.

We oppose a return to the gold standard because gold, in and of itself, has no intrinsic life-support value -- i.e. you can't eat it; it won't keep you warm on a cold night. Gold does have value in industry due to its good conductivity and resistance to corrosion; but its economic "value" is based mostly on tradition, superstition, and pre-rational fetishism -- perhaps akin to the Neanderthal's attraction to shiny things that glitter in the sunlight.

Sunlight itself is the most basic prerequisite to Earthlife. All forms of life depend on a constant supply of sunlight to sustain their existence. It is the source of all life; the most basic common life-support factor. Therefore it is ultimately the commodity most valuable to humankind, the source of all true value.

The "solar dollar" will be an international currency based on solar energy. Each "dollar" will represent a certain value in photons of solar energy.

An estimation or measurement of the actual amount of solar energy that arrives on Earth daily (i.e. the planet's daily energy income) will be credited to a new "world bank" in which every Earth citizen has an account. Thus there will be a constantly renewed source of commodity-credit or purchasing power in each person's account. (As it was written by the ancient scribes: the Sun shines alike upon the just and the unjust.)

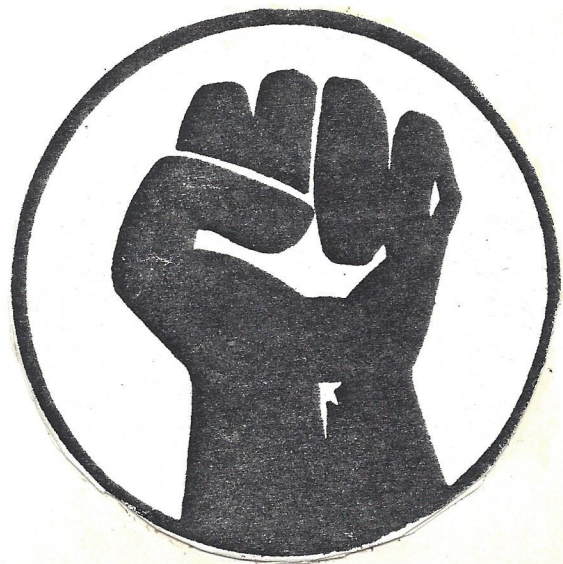
This system will recognize the vast wealth that we jointly have as Earth citizens. This wealth exists now, but it has been monopolized by priests, kings, and other con-artists during Humankind's long infancy.

BEGIN WHERE YOU ARE

What we are calling for is a worldwide revolution, as nonviolent as possible, asserting the fundamental liberty and equality of all humans, committed to replacing all coercive and exploitative forms of social and planetary management with voluntary/cooperative alternatives.

We have had the First and Second World Wars: now we must have the First World Revolution.

The exact manner in which this revolution will arise cannot be predicted. What we *can* do is prepare ourselves for its coming, build toward it, educate ourselves and each other about its necessity.



We must sharpen our resolve to resist the coercive State, its mad military machine, its mindless technology with its blind, headlong run toward destruction.

The revolution will be decentralized and spontaneous. It must begin with you, wherever you are -- with individuals finding the courage to speak out, to think clearly, to act decisively. We must seize control of our lives away from the coercive power structure. We must come together and begin to create alternatives to coercive and manipulative institutions.

Alternative jobs: we must create cooperative enterprises that allow worker-owners to share the full benefits of their labor, without having its substance skimmed off by an outside "owner"; that allow workers to unify their worklife with their home and family life, creating a holistic community and a healthy lifestyle; that provide freedom of choice in the selection of work, with opportunity for education and recreation. These goals can be accomplished by individuals coming together, pooling resources and energy, and starting small, cooperative businesses that run on volunteer labor and subsidize the life-support needs of volunteers.

Alternative housing: we must find ways to provide living space and sustenance for our people, without the exploitative rent and mortgage system that denies housing to millions, impoverishes the working class, and makes millionaires out of parasitic slumlords and bankers. To accomplish this goal, we can acquire abandoned or ruined buildings, and repair them with volunteer labor and salvaged materials. Some cities offer subsidies for "urban homesteaders" who will renovate abandoned buildings or houses in inner city areas. Other ideas are land trusts and the purchase of properties with pooled resources.

Alternative schools: we must take our children out of the State brainwashing centers (public and parochial schools) where they are being indoctrinated with obsolete attitudes of competition and aggression, and are being conditioned to fit into the wage-slavery system either as slaves or masters. We must provide learning environments for our children without coercive indoctrination, where they will be free to discover their own latent talents, their own unique creativity and intelligence. Neighborhood schools can be set up in private homes, in churches, community centers, or free wilderness guerilla camps.

Alternative religion: we must free ourselves from the lingering restrictions of ancient superstitious slave-god religions, coopted by the State, with their rituals based on human sacrifice and their ethics based on human frailty and sin. We must find ways to liberate our spiritual consciousness, so that our highest, wisest inspiration can aid us at this most crucial time in human history. We must draw upon the many spiritual traditions of the world, to the extent that they prove worthy, without being deluded by their superstitious trappings. We must utilize the many developing routes to spiritual attainment -- sensory deprivation, biofeedback, kundalini/tantra yoga, brain-computer interfaces, entheogenic medicines, and whatever else proves to be useful. We must pay due respect to the emerging spiritual traditions like Wicca, Neopaganism, and Thelema, as well as ancient indigenous traditions. We must temper the intuitive insights of mystical experience with an enlightened awareness of physics, astronomy, psychology, genetics, anthropology, philosophy, and the other branches of human knowledge.

Alternative medicine: we must fight the addictions promulgated by for-profit medicine, the artificial pharmaceutical and surgical treatments designed to

relieve the symptoms of disease but keep the customers coming back. We must learn natural methods of health maintenance, utilizing the laws of nutrition and the natural healing properties of herbs. We must develop cooperative methods of providing medical care to the ill and injured among us without enriching the vampiric medical and pharmaceutical corporations.



These ideas -- and similar ideas emerging from workshops and study groups around the world -- are places to begin the process of grassroots community organizing that will prepare the way for a new worldwide revolution based on human rights and mutual aid.

Form a core group of dedicated volunteers. Seize an idea and bring it into being.

We need imaginative, dedicated people to come up with their own home-grown voluntary/cooperative alternatives; to develop, research, and execute step-by-step plans; and to follow through with patience and perseverance until the goal is attained.

We must wean ourselves from the need for "leaders" to get things together for us. "A slave is one who waits for someone to free her."

We must each take our place in the struggle if we are going to prevail against the doom inherent in the 20th century State. If we wait for the revolution, we may miss our chance to change the course of history and create a sane and peaceful future.

A journey of any length must begin with a single step.

As individuals come together to form groups dedicated to creating alternatives to coercive and exploitative social institutions, these groups will begin the process of networking with other voluntary/cooperative groups around the world. Gradually they will band together in mutually supportive coalitions and networks, sharing information and resources, aiding and abetting and strengthening each other, joining in large-scale actions and organizations together.

As the cells of our bodies knit together to form muscles, bones, nerves, blood, and organs, so alternative institutions will constitute "cells" of the new revolutionary world society.

Political action on a mass scale will cement the victory that is established on a community level. Tactics of non-violent resistance, draft refusal, tax refusal, boycotts, and work stoppages will bring the oppressors to their knees.

The ideas touched on in this editorial are all areas of continuing research. Persons interested in more detailed information on any of these subjects -- and persons who can contribute such information, or who want to aid the work of research and development -- can contact (R)EVOLUTION and be put in touch with others who share these interests.

International Solidarity

by Lech Walesa

[The following article is excerpted from a speech given in Gdansk in 1984. This excerpt originally appeared in a Danish newspaper, and was reprinted in the Winter 1985 issue of *Changing Work* magazine (P.O. Box 5065, New Haven CT 06525).]

Everyone wants greater freedom. It is important to discuss the methods of achieving this freedom as we approach the 21st century.

In the epoch which is about to end, it was still possible to use physical violence in order to achieve change. I think, however, that the time has now come to use arguments instead. We must use the power of the argument instead of the argument of power.

Therefore, solidarity is necessary -- internally in each country, and internationally between countries. Only with the help of solidarity can all prisoners be freed. Solidarity between human beings and solidarity between nations is what makes the fight for freedom more effective. The more we act in solidarity, the more we can support each other by nonviolent methods, the easier the struggle gets, and the faster its goals are reached.

We are on the brink of the 21st century. It will be an epoch in which all will have to fight in solidarity and nonviolence for human rights. All states are connected, and therefore the fight for human rights must take place in a sensible way. People have begun to understand that methods other than throwing paving stones and destroying machinery in the factories (as seen earlier in our history) are necessary. The methods of the future must be peaceful. Even in Poland we do not yet have peaceful methods at our disposal. But we work on finding them to improve the situation.

We must be primarily concerned to prevent the big catastrophe -- war and military conflict. We must not cut off the branch we are sitting on. There is no other possibility than cooperation between different human beings, different points of view, different social systems. We do not live any longer in the time of the sword or the armored weapon, when madness was affordable. The world has become smaller. The continents get closer to each other, and the weapons are now so dangerous that no country can allow itself to engage in war. We must never forget that we live on the border between two epochs. Before, one could imagine that one could gain something by a war. Now this is unthinkable.

In our time there are a lot of people of the old epoch who want to preserve war as a means of solving conflicts. Those people who have understood that we are on our way into a new epoch, however, can no longer accept war as a means of problem solving. The younger generation cannot allow the older generation's methods to be used again, neither in the relation between states nor in the

relation between groups. We must not forget that the time when an epoch nears its end is the most dangerous of all. At the close of an epoch, anything can happen.

How can we then promote a peaceful development towards the new epoch?

Shifting power at the top is not of great importance; government does not determine everything. There are countries, and there have been periods, where a change in government was the main goal of the people's efforts. But it happens now and then that when the ones with the high ideals reach the top, they make things just as miserable as before; sometimes even worse. Former victims can use the same methods imposed on them when *they* come to power. One must never use weapons against other human beings.

In our revolution we do not aim to take over power. No one can exclude the possibility that even our Solidarnosc movement -- if it came to power -- might create worse conditions than those we want to get rid of. Therefore, I say to all thinking beings with all the strength I have: *we must not take power through the government*. What we have to do is build up such democratic structures in society that *all* governments are forced to respect them! The goal of our activity here in Poland has been to build these structures -- not to take power.

Some have claimed that we were aiming to take power in Poland. Because our organization was very young, and because our statements now and then were not precise enough, certain people have had the idea that we wanted to take over the government. But this is not true.

The people of other countries can learn from this. The important thing for the people in countries where a revolution is going on, or where a revolution is in preparation, is not to replace power. The most important thing is to build power from below, and make it democratic.

It is obvious that there are powerholders making such big mistakes that they have to go. But first of all what is necessary is not simply to replace them, or to make one group eliminate another. What is necessary is to build structures from below, structures that make power democratic. If one can build that kind of structure, the people in power -- whoever they are -- will be forced to respect democracy, so that we can achieve freedom, justice, and a better life.

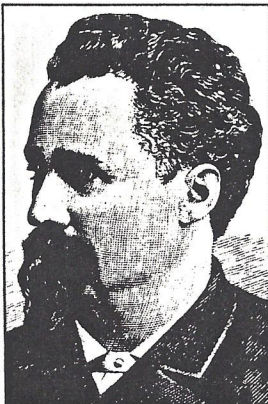




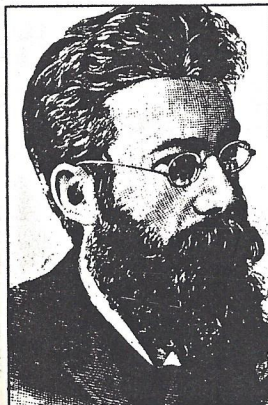
George Engel



Adolph Fischer

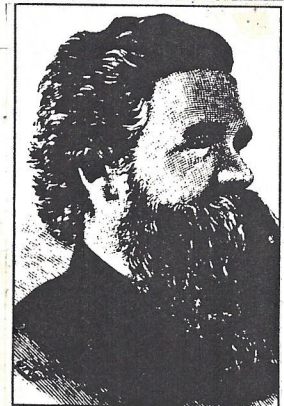


Oscar Neebe

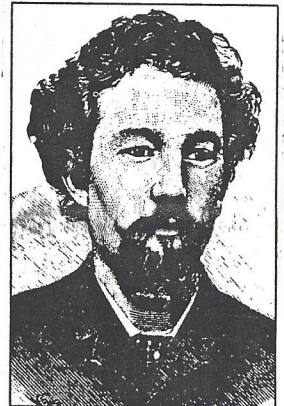


Michael Schwab

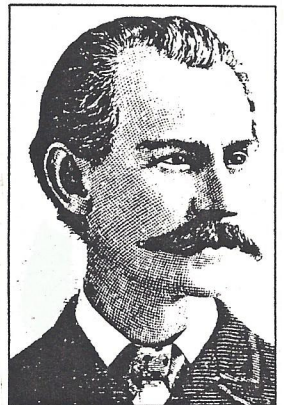
MAYDAY -- the first of May -- is recognized around the world as a day to celebrate international workers' solidarity. It is often forgotten that this day of commemoration of working class revolutionary awareness originated with the movement for the eight-hour day and the other basic rights of labor that are taken for granted by American workers today -- the movement that was centered in Chicago and that reached its peak a hundred years ago, in 1886. Anarchists were a major force in this movement, and much of what has been gained by workers worldwide is owed to their struggles and their sacrifices -- although their contribution has been all but obliterated from the history books. A massive general strike was called for May 1, 1886 and was supported by nationwide demonstrations. On May 3, striking workers at the International Harvester plant in Chicago were fired on by police, killing four and wounding many. A protest rally was held May 4 in Chicago's Haymarket Square. Three leading Anarchists spoke: Albert Parsons, August Spies, and Samuel Fielden. The rally was nonviolent, but it was broken up by the police, and it ended in violence after someone (perhaps an agent provocateur) threw a bomb into the police lines. This disrupted demonstration was followed by the biggest "red scare" rampage in US history. In the process, five Anarchist leaders were rounded up, arrested, and killed by the State. Four died on the gallows; one died in his cell, allegedly by his own hand. This use of State murder to eliminate Anarchists -- despite a preponderance of evidence of their innocence of any crime -- was repeated against Sacco and Vanzetti in Boston in 1927. The message sank deep into the American consciousness: to speak out against the State, to propose humanitarian alternatives, was a capital offence. A century later, the message of the Anarchists is more relevant than ever. It is time to open the blacklisted history books and hear again the voices of those who gave their lives for a future in which we all might live in freedom and peace.



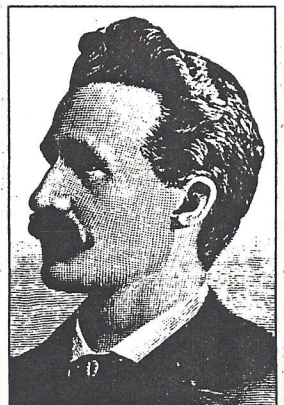
Samuel Fielden



Louis Lingg



Albert Parsons



August Spies

1886 - 1986: Haymarket 100 Years Later

by Tom Riker

Henry David says in his work, *The History of the Haymarket Affair*,¹ that the Chicago police force was "long used as if it were a private force in the service of the employers." As a matter of course the police force was used to break up meetings of workers' organizations, clubbing all in sight, jailing labor leaders indiscriminately, and showing their revolvers as a method of intimidation and force. It seems that the industrialist class saw all foreign-born workers as either communists or anarchists and every striker as a foreign agent of some sort. Their goal was to overthrow the established order, that being the continuation of the system that the rich stay rich by using the police as their agents and the poor remain in their place.

Chicago was the center of the immigrant anarchist movement in the United States. This was due to the bitter industrial struggles that took place there and the notorious brutality of the police force. The second congress of the International Workingmens' Association, held in Pittsburgh in 1883, saw a large delegation of Chicago workers led by the flamboyant orator Albert Parsons. Parsons would later be hanged in Chicago, as a result of a bombing during the demonstration for the eight hour day. This was a rally for all the workers of the Chicago area including the locals of furniture makers, machinists, gas fitters, plumbers, iron molders, brickmakers, and freight handlers. The trade union movement, 62,000 strong, had pledged to strike on Mayday for the eight hour day. Late in April another 35,000 stockyard workers joined the ranks.

As the employers made preparations to mobilize the National Guard, increase the force of Pinkertons, and deputize the special police, labor held two large and militant mass meetings. The Knights of Labor rally on April 17 drew 7,000 workers inside the Cavalry Armory and 14,000 outside; and on April 25, Albert Parsons and August Spies addressed 25,000 workers. The Chicago newspapers labelled Parsons and Spies as the main force in the struggle for the eight hour day.

Mayday 1886 was a beautiful day in Chicago. It was Saturday, a normal work day for the working class; but crowds of workers and their families were assembled, dressed in their best clothes, ready for a march down Michigan Avenue. The atmosphere was both joyous and grim. The heavily armed police and special officers were gathering, ready to enforce "law and order". The police were on rooftops, in the streets, armed with rifles and Gatling guns. The National Guard had mobilized 1,350 soldiers and the Pinkertons were stationed everywhere with the paraphernalia of war. The stage had been set. Workers and their families marched peacefully in a demonstration for the eight hour day, and the armed might of the industrialist class was ready to "keep the peace".

¹ Henry David, *History of the Haymarket Affair* (Russel & Russel, 1958), p. 186.

Albert Parsons felt good walking in the May sunlight with his wife Lucy and their children. August Spies, his best friend, was joyous when he saw the thousands of workers. Some 340,000 workers were participating in demonstrations across the country. About 190,000 had gone out on strike, with 80,000 in Chicago alone.

The Chicago *Mail* had editorialized on May 1, 1886: "There are two dangerous ruffians at large in this city; two sneaking cowards who are trying to cause trouble. One of them is named Parsons; the other is named Spies.... Mark them for today. Keep them in view. Hold them personally responsible for any trouble that occurs. *Make an example of them if trouble does occur.*"

Mayday was peaceful in Chicago. The police and the newspapers, expecting Armageddon, felt a little cheated at getting only peace. Parsons had left for Cincinnati where he was to speak at a meeting.

By Monday, May 3, the strike had spread and many thousands of Chicago workers had gained the eight hour day. The police, exasperated by the futility of Mayday, clubbed locked out workers of the McCormick Harvester Works as they rushed in 300 scabs. The locked out workers waited until closing to confront the scabs, but were greeted by police with drawn revolvers. The workers ran, only to be shot in the back by the police. Six were killed.

Spies, speaking at a meeting of the striking lumber workers, was a witness to the massacre. After he had reported it to his comrades, he called a meeting for the following day to be held at Haymarket Square to protest the police violence. Parsons, back from Cincinnati, was to join Spies as the speakers for the event.

On Tuesday, May 4, a large crowd had gathered in the square. Unknown to everyone, including Parsons and Spies, the police had infiltrated the crowd, and Mayor Carter H. Harrison was with them. Spies was speaking when Parsons and his wife and children walked up to the wagon that served as an improvised speakers' platform. Parsons spoke, saying, "I am not here for the purpose of inciting anybody, but to speak out and tell the facts as they exist." The Mayor, hearing this, walked to the nearest police station and told Captain John "Clubber" Bonfield that the meeting was peaceful and that the police should be dismissed and sent back to their regular duties.

Parsons ended his speech at 10:00 p.m. Many of the workers in the crowd had gone home and a few remained to hear Sam Fielden, while others went to Zepf's, a working class saloon, to tell stories over a few mugs. Suddenly someone outside yelled, "Look, the police!" 180 policemen led by Captain Bonfield stormed down the street.

Bonfield yelled, "I command this meeting immediately and peaceably to disperse."

"But Captain," gasped Fielden, "we are peaceable."

Then the explosion. A bomb had been thrown into the police ranks. In the mad rush of running feet and terrible confusion, of cops clubbing workers, one of the policemen had been killed outright and seven were critically injured.

The national press reacted with violence. The Chicago *Tribune* proclaimed, "Public justice demands that the European assassins August Spies, Michael Schwab, and Samuel Fielden, shall be held, tried, and *hanged for murder...* Public justice demands that the assassin A. R. Parsons, who is said to disgrace this country by being born in it, shall be *siezed, tried, and hanged for murder.*"

The Chicago police went on a wild and terrible revenge raid. Packing the jails with foreign-born workers, smashing into private homes, wrecking the presses of foreign-language newspapers and other working class publishers, they continued their terror for days. Professor Harvey Wish writes, "Individuals, ignorant of the meaning of socialism and anarchism, were tortured by the police." Chicago's State's Attorney Julius S. Grinnell said, "Make the raids first and look up the law afterwards." Grinnell would be the prosecutor for the State against the accused labor leaders.

Within a few days eight men, all anarchists, were indicted for conspiracy to murder M. Degan, the policeman killed at Haymarket Square. The eight were Albert R. Parsons, Samuel Fielden, Michael Schwab, George Engel, Adolph Fischer, Louis Lingg, August Spies, and Oscar Neebe.

Of these, only Spies and Frieden had been at the scene when the bomb had been thrown. Parsons and his wife Lucy were at Zepf's saloon, and a few hours later Parsons was out of Chicago. He was safe with friends, but decided to return to Chicago on his own and stand trial with his comrades.

Five of the defendants were killed by the State -- four executed and one alleged suicide -- after a trial that was described by Governor John P. Altgeld as unfair. He said, "Much of the evidence given in the trial was pure fabrication, gained from terrorized, ignorant men whom the police had threatened with torture if they refused to swear to anything desired...."

As history continued to unfold, and more and more people saw the truth, it became obvious that these men were killed for their ideas, not for any crime of murder. They died to help the underclass gain dignity and conditions in the workplace that we now expect and have due to their willingness to stand up against brutality and injustice.

We stand in tribute to these men who laid down their lives in the struggle against injustice. In this, the 100th anniversary of the Haymarket struggle, we must continue to fight against injustice, war, racism, sexism, and exploitation, wherever they creep out.

As Neebe said after he was condemned to death, that he was no more innocent than his friends, that they were all innocent. Parsons spoke next, a flower in his lapel, poetry on his lips. He began by quoting:

*Break thy slavery's want and dread:
Bread is freedom; freedom's bread.*



Lucy Parsons and August Spies at Cook County Jail.
From *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* (New York), October 1, 1887.

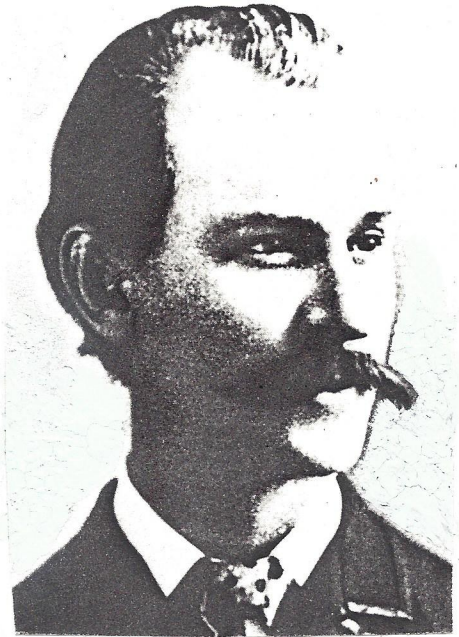
The Autobiography of Albert Parsons

[The first of a series of autobiographical articles by the condemned Haymarket Anarchists, this article first appeared in the *Knights of Labor*, a Chicago weekly, in the October 16 and October 23, 1886 issues. The series continued through October 1887. The articles were collected and published, with an introduction by Captain W. P. Black, in 1969 (Humanities Press, New York).]

In compliance with your request I write for publication in the *Knights of Labor* the following "brief story of my life, a history of my experience and connection with Labor, Socialistic and Anarchistic organizations, and my views as to their aims and objects and how they will be accomplished, and also my connection with the Haymarket meeting of May 4, 1886 and my views as to the responsibility for that tragedy."

Albert R. Parsons was born in the city of Montgomery, Alabama, on June 24, 1848. My father, Samuel Parsons, was from the State of Maine and he married into the Tompkins-Broadwell family of New Jersey, and settled in Alabama at an early day, where he afterward established a shoe and leather factory in the city of Montgomery. My father was noted as a public spirited, philanthropic man. He was a Universalist in religion and held the highest office in the temperance movement of Louisiana and Alabama. My mother was a devout Methodist, of great spirituality of character, and known far and near as an intelligent and truly good woman. I had nine brothers and sisters; my ancestry goes back to the earliest settlers of this country, the first Parsons family landing on the shores of Narragansett Bay, from England, in 1632. The Parsons family and their descendants have taken an active and useful part in all the social, religious, political, and revolutionary movements in America. One of the Tompkins, on my mother's side, was with General George Washington at the Battle of Brandywine, Monmouth and Valley Forge. Major General Samuel Parsons, of Massachusetts, my direct ancestor, was an officer in the Revolution of 1776, and Captain Parsons was wounded at the battle of Bunker Hill. There are over 90,000 descendants from the original Parsons family in the United States.

My mother died when I was not yet two years old and my father died when I was five years of age. Shortly after this my eldest brother, William Henry Parsons, who had married and was then living in Tyler, Texas, became my guardian. He was proprietor and editor of the *Tyler Telegraph*; that was in 1851 - 1853. Two years later our family moved West to Johnston County, on the



Texas frontier, while the buffalo, antelope, and Indian were in that region. Here we lived, on a ranch, for about three years, when we moved to Hill county and took up a farm in the valley of the Brazos River. My frontier life had accustomed me to the use of the rifle and the pistol, to hunting and riding, and in these matters I was considered quite an expert. At that time our neighbors did not live near enough to hear each others' dog bark, or the cocks crow. It was often five to ten or fifteen miles to the next house. In 1859, I went to Waco, Texas, where, after living with my sister (the wife of Major Boyd) and going to school, meantime, for about a year, I was indentured an apprentice to the Galveston *Daily News*, for seven years, to learn the printers' trade. Entering upon my duties as a "printer's devil", I also became a paper carrier for the *Daily News*, and in a year and a half was transformed from a frontier boy into a city civilian. When the slave-holder's rebellion broke out in 1861, though quite small and but thirteen years old, I joined a local volunteer company called the "Lone Star Greys". My first military exploit was on the passenger steamer Morgan, where we made a trip out into the Gulf of Mexico and intercepted and assisted in the capture of U.S. General Twigg's army, which had evacuated the Texas frontier forts and came to the sea coast at Indianapolis to embark for Washington D.C.

My first military exploit was a "run-away" trip on my part for which I received an ear pulled from my guardian when I returned. These were stirring "wartimes" and, as a matter of course, my young blood caught the infection. I wanted to enlist in the rebel army and join General Lee in Virginia, but my guardian, Mr. Richardson, proprietor of the *News*, a man of 60 years, and the leader of the secession movement in Texas, ridiculed the idea, on account of my age and size, and ended by telling me that "it's all bluster anyway. It will be ended in the next 60 days and I'll hold in my hat all the blood that's shed in this war." This statement from one whom I thought knew all about it, only served to fix all the firmer my resolve to go and go at once, before too late. So I took "French leave" and joined an artillery company at an improvised fort at Sabine Pass, Texas, where Captain Richard Parsons, an older brother, was in command of an infantry company. Here I exercised in infantry drill and served as "powder monkey" for the cannoneers. My military enlistment expired in twelve months, when I left Fort Sabine and joined Parson's Texas cavalry brigade, then on the Mississippi River. My brother, Major General W. H. Parsons (who during the war was by his soldiers invested with the sobriquet "Wild Bill") was at that time in command of the entire cavalry outposts on the west bank of the Mississippi River from Helena to the mouth of the Red River. His cavalymen held the advance in every movement of the Trans-Mississippi army, from the defeat of the Federal General Curtis on White River to the defeat of General Banks' army on the Red River, which closed the fighting on the west side of the Mississippi. I was a mere boy of 15 when I joined my brother's command at the front on White River, and was afterward a member of the renowned McInoly scouts under General Parson's orders, which participated in all the battles of the Curtis, Canby and Banks campaign.

On my return to Waco, Texas, at the close of the war, I traded a good mule, all the property I possessed, for forty acres of corn in the field standing ready for harvest, to a refugee who desired to flee the country. I hired and paid wages (the first they had ever received) to a number of ex-slaves, and together we reaped the harvest. From the proceeds of its sales,

I obtained a sum sufficient to pay for six months' tuition at the Waco university, under control of Rev. Dr. R. B. Burleson, where I received about all the technical education I ever had. Soon afterwards I took up the trade of typesetting, and went to work in a printing office in the town. In 1868 I founded and edited a weekly newspaper in Waco, named *The Spectator*. In it I advocated, with General Longstreet, the acceptance, in good faith, of the terms of surrender, and supported the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth Constitutional amendments, and the reconstruction measures, securing the political rights of the colored people. (I was strongly influenced in taking this step out of respect and love for the memory of dear old "Aunt Ester", then dead, and formerly a slave and house servant of my brother's family, she having been my constant associate, and practically raised me, with great kindness and a mother's love.) I became a Republican, and, of course, had to go into politics. I incurred thereby the hate and contumely of many of my former army comrades, neighbors, and the Ku Klux Klan. My political career was full of excitement and danger. I took the stump to vindicate my convictions. The lately enfranchised slaves over a large section of the country came to know and idolize me as their friend and defender, while on the other hand I was regarded as a political heretic and traitor by many of my former associates. The *Spectator* could not long survive such an atmosphere. In 1869 I was appointed traveling correspondent and agent for the *Houston Daily Telegraph*, and started out on horseback (our principal mode of travel at that time) for a long tour through northwestern Texas. It was during this trip through Johnson county that I first met the charming young Spanish Indian maiden who, three years later, became my wife. [Lucy Eldine Gonzalez] She lived in a most beautiful region of country, on her uncle's ranch, near Buffalo Creek. I lingered in this neighborhood as long as I could, and then pursued my journey with fair success. In 1870, at 21 years of age, I was appointed Assistant Assessor of United States Internal Revenues, under General Grant's administration. About a year later I was elected one of the secretaries of the Texas State Senate, and was soon after appointed Chief Deputy Collector of United States Internal Revenue at Austin, Texas, which position I held, accounting satisfactorily for large sums of money, until 1873, when I resigned the position. In August 1873, I accompanied an editorial excursion as the representative of the *Texas Agriculturist* at Austin, Texas, and in company with a large delegation of Texas editors, made an extensive tour through Texas, Indian Nation, Missouri, Iowa, Illinois, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, as guests of the Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railway, I decided to settle in Chicago. I had married in Austin, Texas, in the fall of 1872, and my wife joining me at Philadelphia we came to Chicago together, where we have lived till the present time. I at once became a member of the Typographical Union No. 16, and "subbed" for a time on the *Inter-Ocean*, when I went to work under "permit" on the *Times*. Here I worked over four years holding a situation at "the case". In 1874 I became interested in the "labor question", growing out of the effort made by Chicago working people at that time to compel the "Relief and Aid Society" to render to the suffering poor of the city an account of the vast sums of money (several millions of dollars) held by that society and contributed by the whole world to relieve the distress occasioned by the great Chicago fire of 1871. It was claimed by the working people that the money was being used for purposes foreign to the intention of its donors; that rings of speculators were corruptly using the money, while the distressed and impoverished people for whom it was contributed were denied its

use. This raised a great sensation and scandal among all the city newspapers, which defended the "Relief and Aid Society" and denounced the dissatisfied workingmen as "communists, robbers, loafers", etc. I began to examine into this subject, and I found that the complaints of the working people against the society were just and proper. I also discovered a great similarity between the abuse heaped upon these poor people by the organs of the rich and the actions of the late Southern slave holders in Texas toward the newly enfranchised slaves, whom they accused of wanting to make their former masters "divide" by giving them "forty acres and a mule", and it satisfied me there was a great fundamental wrong at work in society, and in existing social and industrial arrangements.

From this time dated my interest and activity in the labor movement. The desire to know more about this subject led me in contact with socialists and their writings, they being the only people who at that time had made any protest against or offered any remedy for the enforced poverty of the wealth producers and its collateral evils of ignorance, intemperance, crime and misery. There were very few socialists or "communists" as the daily papers were fond of calling them in Chicago at that time. The result was, the more I investigated and studied the relations of poverty to wealth, its causes and cure, the more interested I became in the subject. In 1876, a workingmen's congress of organized labor met in Pittsburgh, Pa. I watched its proceedings. A split occurred between the conservatives and radicals, the latter of whom withdrew and organized the "Workingmen's Party of the United States". The year previous I had become a member of the "Social Democratic Party of America". This latter was now merged into the former. The organization was at once pounced upon by the monopolist class, who, through the capitalist press everywhere, denounced us as "socialists, communists, robbers, loafers", etc.

This was very surprising to me, and also had an exasperating effect on me, and a powerful impulse possessed me to place myself right before the people by defining and explaining the objects and principles of the workingmen's party, which I was thoroughly convinced were founded both in justice and on necessity. I therefore entered heartily into the work of enlightening my fellow men. First the ignorant and blinded wage-workers who misunderstood us, and secondly the educated labor exploiters who misrepresented us. I soon unconsciously became a "labor agitator", and this brought down upon me a large amount of capitalist odium. But this capitalist abuse and slander only served to renew my zeal all the more in the great work of social redemption.

In 1877 the great railway strike occurred; it was July 21, 1877, and it is said 30,000 workingmen assembled on Market Street near Madison, in mass meeting. I was called upon to address them. In doing so, I advocated the programme of the workingmen's party, which was the exercise of the sovereign ballot for the purpose of obtaining state control of all means of production, transportation, communication and exchange, thus taking these instruments of labor and wealth out of the hands or control of private individuals, corporations, monopolies and syndicates. To do this, I argued that the wage worker would first have to join the workingmen's party. There was great enthusiasm, but no disorder during the meeting. The next day I went to the *Times* office to go to work as usual, when I found my name stricken from the roll of employees. I was discharged and blacklisted by this paper for addressing the meeting that night. The printers in the office admired secretly what they termed my "pluck", but they were afraid to have much to say to me. About noon of that day, as I was at the

office of the German labor paper, 94 Market Street (organ of the workingmen's party -- the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, printed tri-weekly), two men came in and accosting me said Mayor Heath wanted to speak to me. Supposing the gentleman was downstairs, I accompanied them, when they told me he was at the mayor's office. I expressed my surprise, and wondered what he wanted with me. There was great newspaper excitement in the city, and the papers were calling the strikers all sorts of hard names, but while many thousands were on strike there had been no disorder. As we walked hurriedly on, one on each side of me, the wind blew strong and their coat tails flying aside, I noticed that my companions were armed. Reaching the city hall building I was ushered into the Chief of Police's presence (Hickey) in a room filled with police officers. I knew none of them but I seemed to be known by them all. They scowled at me and conducted me to what they called the mayor's room.

Here I waited a short while when the door opened and about thirty persons, mostly in citizen's dress, came in. The chief of police took a seat opposite to and near me. I was very hoarse from the outdoor speaking of the previous night, had caught cold, had had but little sleep or rest and had been discharged from employment. The chief began to catechise me in a brow-beating, officious and insulting manner. He wanted to know who I was, where born, raised, if married and a family, etc. I quietly answered all his questions. He then lectured me on the great trouble I had brought upon the city of Chicago and wound up by asking me if I didn't "know better than to come up here from Texas and incite the working people to insurrection," etc.? I told him that I had done nothing of the sort, or at least I had not intended to do so, that I was simply a speaker at the meeting, that was all. I told him that the strike arose from causes over which I, as an individual, had no control; that I had merely addressed the mass meeting advising not to strike but to go to the polls, elect good men to make good laws and thus bring about good times. Those present in the room were much excited and when I was through explaining some spoke up and said "hang him," "lynch him," "lock him up," etc., to my great surprise holding me responsible for strikes in the city. Others said it would never do to hang or lock me up. That the working men were excited and that act might cause them to do violence. It was agreed to let me go.

I had been there about two hours. The chief of police as I rose to depart took me by the arm, accompanied me to the door where we stopped. He said, "Parsons, your life is in danger, I advise you to leave the city at once. Beware. Everything you say or do is made known to me. I have men on your track who shadow you. Do you know you are liable to be assassinated any moment on the street?" I ventured to ask him who by and what for. He answered, "Why, those board of trade men would as leave hang you to a lamp post as not." This surprised me and I answered, "If I was alone they might, but not otherwise."



He turned the spring latch, showed me through the door into the hall, saying in a hoarse tone of voice, "Take warning," and slammed the door to. I was never in the old rookery before. It was a labyrinth of halls and doors. I saw no one about. All was still. The sudden change from the tumultuous inmates of the room to the dark and silent hall affected me. I didn't know where to go or what to do. I felt alone, absolutely without a friend in the wide world. This was my first experience with the "powers that be", and I became conscious that they were powerful to give or take one's life. I was sad, not excited. The afternoon papers announced in great headlines that Parsons, the leader of the strikers, was arrested. This was surprising and annoying to me, for I had made no such attempt and was not under arrest. But the papers said so. That night I called at the composing room of the *Tribune* office on the fifth floor partly to get a night's work and partly to be near the men of my own craft, whom I instinctively felt sympathized with me. The men went to work at 7 p.m. It was near 8 o'clock as I was talking about the great strike, and wondering what it would all come to, with Mr. Manion, Chairman of the Executive Board of our union, when from behind some one took hold of my arms and jerking me around to face them, asked me if my name was Parsons. One man on each side of me took hold of one arm, another man put his hand against my back, and began dragging and shoving me towards the door. They were strangers. I expostulated. I wanted to know what was the matter. I said to them: "I came in here as a gentleman, and I don't want to be dragged out like a dog." They cursed me between their teeth, and, opening the door, began to lead me downstairs. As we started down one of them put a pistol to my head and said: "I've a mind to blow your brains out." Another said: "Shut up or we'll dash you out the windows upon the pavements below." Reaching the bottom of the five flights of stairs they paused and said: "Now go. If you ever put your face in this building again you'll be arrested and locked up." A few steps in the hallway and I opened the door and stepped out upon the sidewalk. (I learned afterward from the *Tribune* printers that there was great excitement in the composing room, the men threatened to strike then and there on account of the way I had been treated; when Joe Medill, the proprietor, came up into the composing room and made an excitable talk to the men, explaining that he knew nothing about it and that my treatment was done without his knowledge or consent, rebuking those who had acted in the way they had done. It was the opinion of the men, however, that this was only a subterfuge to allay the threatened trouble which my treatment had excited.) The streets were almost deserted at that early hour, and there was a hushed and expectant feeling pervading everything. I felt that I was likely to fall a pitiless, unknown sacrifice at any moment. I strolled down Dearborn Street to Lake, west on Lake to Fifth Avenue. It was a calm, pleasant summer night. Lying stretched upon the curb, and loitering in and about the closed doors of the mammoth buildings on these streets, were armed men. Some held their muskets in hand, but most of them were rested against the buildings. In going by way of an unfrequented street I found that I had got among those whom I sought to evade -- they were the First Regiment, Illinois National Guard. They seemed to be waiting for orders; for had not the newspapers declared that the strikers were becoming violent, and "the Commune was about to rise!" and that I was their leader! No one spoke to or molested me. I was unknown. The next day and the next the strikers gathered in thousands in different parts of the city without leaders or any organized purpose. They were in each instance clubbed and fired upon and dispersed by the police and the militia. That night a peaceable meeting of

3,000 workingmen was dispersed on Market Street, near Madison. I witnessed it. Over 100 policemen charged upon this peaceable mass meeting, firing their pistols and clubbing right and left. The printers, the iron molders, and other trades unions which had held regular monthly or weekly meetings of their unions for years past, when they came to their hall-doors now for that purpose, found policemen standing there, the doors barred, and the members told that all meetings had been prohibited by the chief of police. All mass meetings, union meetings of any character were broken up by the police, and at one place (12th Street Turner Hall) where the Furniture Workers' Union had met to confer with their employers about the eight-hour system and wages, the police broke down the doors, forcibly entered, and clubbed and fired upon the men as they struggled pell-mell to escape from the building, killing one workman and wounding many others.

The following day the First Regiment, Illinois National Guard, fired upon a crowd of sight-seers, consisting of several thousand men, women, and children, killing several persons, none of whom were ever on strike, at the 16th Street viaduct.

For about two years after the railroad strike and my discharge from the *Times* office, I was blacklisted and unable to find employment in the city, and my family suffered for the necessaries of life.

The events of 1877 gave great impulse and activity to the labor movement all over the United States, and, in fact, the whole world. The unions rapidly increased both in number and membership. So, too, with the Knights of Labor. In visiting Indianapolis, Indiana, to address a mass meeting of workingmen on the Fourth of July, 1876, I met the State Organizer, Calvin A. Light, and was initiated by him as a member of the Knights of Labor, and I have been a member of that order ever since. That organization had no foothold, was in fact unknown, in Illinois, at that time. What a change! Today the Knights of Labor has nearly a million members, and numbers tens of thousands in the State of Illinois. The political labor movement boomed also. The following spring of 1877, the Workingmen's Party of the United States nominated a full county ticket in Chicago. It elected three members of the Legislature and one Senator. I received as candidate for County Clerk, 7,963 votes, running over 400 ahead of the ticket. About that time I became a member of local assembly 400 of the Knights of Labor, the first Knights of Labor assembly organized in Chicago, and, I believe, in the State of Illinois. I also served as a delegate to district assembly 24 for two terms, and was, I think, made its Master Workman for one term.

I have been nominated by the workingmen in Chicago three times for Alderman, twice for County Clerk, and once for Congress. The Labor party was kept up for four years, polling at each election from 6,000 to 12,000 votes. I was in 1878 a delegate to the national convention of the Workingmen's Party of the United States, held at Newark, New Jersey. At this labor congress the name of the party was changed to "Socialistic Labor Party". In 1878, at my instance and largely through my efforts, the present Trades Assembly of Chicago and vicinity was organized. I was its first President and was re-elected to that position three times. I remained a delegate to the Trades Assembly from Typographical Union No. 16 for several years. I was a strenuous advocate of the eight-hour system among trades unions. In 1879 I was a delegate to the national convention held in Allegheny City, Pa., of the Socialistic Labor Party, and was there nominated as the Labor candidate for President of the United States. I declined

the honor, not being of the Constitutional age -- 35 years. (This was the first nomination of a workingman by workingmen for that office in the United States.)

During these years of political action, every endeavor was made to corrupt, to intimidate, and to mislead the Labor party. But it remained pure and undefiled; it refused to be cowed, bought, or misled. Beset on the one side by the insinuating politician and on the other by the almighty money-bags, what between the two the Labor party -- the honest, poor party -- had a hard road to travel. And, worst of all, the workingmen refused to rally en masse to their own party, but doggedly, the most of them, hugged their idols of Democracy or Republicanism, and fired their ballots against each other on election days. It was discouraging.

But the Labor party moved forward undaunted, and each election came up smiling at defeat. In 1876 the *Socialist*, an English weekly paper, was published by the party, and I was elected its assistant editor. About this time the Socialist organization held some monster meetings. The Exposition building on one occasion contained over 40,000 attendants, and many could not get inside. Ogden's Grove on one occasion held 30,000 persons. During these years the labor movement was undergoing its formative period, as it is even now. The un-American utterances of the capitalist press -- the representatives of monopoly -- excited the gravest apprehension among thoughtful working people. These representatives of the money-eyed aristocracy advised the use of police clubs and militia bayonets and gatling guns to suppress strikers and put down discontented laborers struggling for better pay and shorter work hours. The millionaires and their representatives on the pulpit and rostrum avowed their intention to use force to quell their dissatisfied laborers. The execution of these threats; the breaking up of meetings, arrest and imprisonment of labor "leaders"; the use of club, pistol, and bayonet upon strikers; even to the advice to throw hand grenades among them -- these acts of violence and brutality led many workingmen to consider the necessity for self defense of their persons and their rights. Accordingly, workingmen's military organizations sprang up all over the country.

So formidable did this plan of organization promise to become that the capitalistic Legislature of Illinois in 1878, acting under orders from millionaire manufacturers and railway corporations, passed a law disarming the wage workers. This law the workingmen at once tested in the Courts of Illinois, and afterward carried it to the Supreme Court of the United States, where it was decided by the highest tribunal that the State Legislatures of the United States had a constitutional right to disarm workingmen. Dissensions began to rise in the Socialist organizations over the question of methods. In the fall and spring elections of 1878-1880, the politicians began to practice ballot-box stuffing and other outrages upon the Workingmen's party. It was then I began to realize the hopeless task of political reformation. Many workingmen began to lose faith in the potency of the ballot or the protection of the law for the poor. Some of them said that political liberty without economic (industrial) freedom was an empty phrase. Others claimed that poverty had no votes against wealth; because if a man's bread was controlled by another, that other could and, when necessary, would control his vote also. A consideration and discussion of these subjects gradually brought a change of sentiment in the minds of many; the conviction spread that the State, the Government and its laws, was merely the agent of the owners of capital to reconcile, adjust, and protect their -- the capitalists' -- conflicting interests; that the chief function of all Government was to maintain economic subjection of the man of labor to the monopolizer of the means of

labor -- of life -- to capital.

These ideas began to develop in the minds of workingmen everywhere (in Europe as well as in America), and the conviction grew that law -- statute law -- and all forms of Government (governors, rulers, dictators, whether Emperor, King, President, or capitalist, were each and all of them despots and usurpers), was nothing else than an organized conspiracy of the propertied class to deprive the working class of their natural rights. The conviction obtained that money or wealth controlled politics; that money controlled, by hook or crook, labor at the polls as well as in the workshop. The idea began to prevail that the element of coercion, of force, which enabled one person to dominate and exploit the labor of another, was centered or concentrated in the State, the Government, and the statute law, that every law and every government in the last analysis was force, and that force was despotism, an invasion of man's natural right to liberty.

In 1880 I withdrew from all active participation in the political Labor party, having been convinced that the number of hours per day that the wage-workers are compelled to work, together with the low wages they received, amounted to their practical disenfranchisement as voters. I saw that long hours and low wages deprived the wage-workers, as a class, of the necessary time and means, and consequently left them but little inclination to organize for political action to abolish class legislation. My experience in the Labor party had also taught me that bribery, intimidation, duplicity, corruption, and bulldozing grew out of the conditions which made the working people poor and the idlers rich, and that consequently the ballot box could not be made an index to record the popular will until the existing debasing, impoverishing, and enslaving industrial conditions were first altered. For these reasons I turned my activities mainly toward an effort to reduce the hours of labor to at least a normal working day, so that the wage-workers might thereby secure more leisure from mere drudge work, and obtain better pay to minister to their higher aspirations.

Several trades unions united in sending me throughout the different States to lay the eight-hour question before the labor organizations of the country. In January 1880, the "Eight-Hour League of Chicago" sent me as a delegate to the national conference of labor reformers, held in Washington D.C. This convention adopted a resolution which I offered, calling public attention of the United States Congress to the fact that, while the eight-hour law passed years ago had never been enforced in Government departments, there was no trouble at all in getting through Congress all the capitalistic legislation called for. By this national convention Richard Trevellick, Charles H. Litchman, Dyer D. Lum, John G. Mills, and myself were appointed a committee of the National Eight-Hour Association, whose duty it was to remain in Washington, D.C., and urge upon the labor organizations of the United States to unite for enforcement of the eight-hour law.

About this time there followed a period of discussion of property rights, of the rights of majorities and minorities. The agitation of the subject led to the formation of a new organization, called the International Working People's Association. I was a delegate in 1881 to the labor congress which founded the former, and afterward also delegate to the Pittsburgh congress in October 1883 which revived the latter as a part of the International Working People's Association, which already ramified Europe, and which was originally organized at the world's labor congress held at London, England, in 1864. I cannot do better

than insert here the manifesto of the Pittsburgh congress which clearly sets forth the aims and methods of the International, of which I am still a member, and for which reason myself and my comrades are condemned to death. It was adopted as follows:

TO THE WORKINGMEN OF AMERICA:

Fellow Workmen: The Declaration of Independence says:

"...But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them (the people) under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government and provide new guards for their future security."

This thought of Thomas Jefferson was the justification for armed resistance by our forefathers, which gave birth to our republic; and do not the necessities of our present time compel us to re-assert their declaration?

Fellow-workmen, we ask you to give us your attention for a few moments. We ask you to candidly read the following manifesto issued in your behalf; in behalf of your wives and children; in behalf of humanity and progress.

Our present society is founded on the exploitation of the propertyless by the propertied. The exploitation is such that the propertied (capitalist) buy the working force body and soul of the propertyless, for the price of the mere cost of existence (wages), and take for themselves, i.e., steal the amount of new values (products) which exceeds the price, whereby wages are made to represent the necessities instead of the earnings of the wage laborer.

As the non-possessing classes are forced by their poverty to offer for sale to the propertied their working forces, and as our present production on a grand scale enforces technical development with immense rapidity, so that by the application of an always decreasing number of human working force, an always increasing amount of products is created; so does the supply of working force increase constantly, which the demand therefore decreases. This is the reason why the workers compete more and more intensely in selling themselves, causing their wages to sink of at least on the average, never raising them above the margin necessary for keeping intact their working ability.

Whilst by this process the propertyless are entirely debarred from entering the ranks of the propertied, even by the most strenuous exertions, the propertied, by means of the ever-increasing plundering of the working class, are becoming richer day by day, without in any way being themselves productive.

If now and then one of the propertyless class become rich it is not by their own labor, but from opportunities which they have to speculate upon, and absorb the labor product of others.

With the accumulation of individual wealth, the greed and power of the propertied grows. They use all the means for competing among themselves for the robbery of the people. In this struggle generally the less-propertied (middle class) are overcome, while the great capitalists, par excellence, swell their wealth enormously, concentrate entire branches of production as well as trade and intercommunication into their hands and develop into monopolies. The increase of products, accompanied by simultaneous decrease of the average income of the working mass of the people leads to the so-called "business" and "commercial" crises, when the misery of the wage-workers is forced to the extreme.

For illustration: The last census of the United States shows that after

deducting the cost of raw material, interest, rents, risks, etc., the propertied class have absorbed -- i.e., stolen -- more than five-eighths of all products, leaving scarcely three-eighths to the producers. The propertied class being scarcely one-tenth of our population, and in spite of their luxury and extravagance, are unable to consume their enormous "profits", and the producers, unable to consume more than they receive -- three-eighths -- so-called "over-productions" must necessarily take place. The terrible results of panics are well known.

The increasing eradication of working forces from the productive process annually increases the percentage of the propertyless population, which becomes pauperized and is driven to "crime", vagabondage, prostitution, suicide, starvation, and general depravity. This system is unjust, insane and murderous. It is, therefore, necessary to totally destroy it with and by all means, and with the greatest energy on the part of every one who suffers by it, and who does not want to be made culpable for its continued existence by his inactivity.

Agitation for the purpose of organization; organization for the purpose of rebellion. In these few words the ways are marked which the workers must take if they want to be rid of their chains; as the economic condition is the same in all countries of so-called "civilization", as the government of all monarchies and republics work hand in hand for the purpose of opposing all movements of the thinking part of the workers; as finally the victory in the decisive combat of the proletarians against their oppressors can only be gained by the simultaneous struggle along the whole line of the bourgeois (capitalistic) society, so, therefore, the international fraternity of people as expressed in the International Working People's Association presents itself a self-evident necessity.

True order should take its place. This can only be achieved when all implements of labor, the soil and other premises of production, in short, capital produced by labor, is changed into societary property. Only by this presupposition is destroyed every possibility of the future spoilation of man by man. Only by common, undivided capital can all be enabled to enjoy in their fullness the fruits of the common toil. Only by the impossibility of accumulating individual (private) capital can everyone be compelled to work who makes a demand to live.

This order of things allows production to regulate itself according to the demand of the whole people, so that nobody need work more than a few hours a day, and that all nevertheless can supply their needs. Hereby time and opportunity are given for opening to the people the way to the highest possible civilization: the privileges of higher intelligence fall with the privileges of wealth and birth. To the achievement of such a system the political organizations of the capitalistic classes -- be they monarchies or republics -- form the barriers. These political structures (states) which are completely in the hands of the propertied have no other purpose than the upholding of the present disorder of exploitation.

All laws are directed against the working people. In so far as the opposite appears to be the case, they serve on one hand to blind the worker, while on the other hand they are simply evaded. Even the school serves only the purpose of furnishing the offspring of the wealthy with those qualities necessary to uphold their class domination. The children of the poor get scarcely a formal elementary training, and this, too, is mainly directed to such branches as tend to producing prejudices, arrogance and servility; in short, want of sense. The

church finally seeks to make complete idiots out of the mass and to make them forgo the paradise of Earth by promising a fictitious heaven. The capitalistic press on the other hand takes care of the confusion of spirits in public life. All these institutions, far from aiding in the education of the masses, have for their object the keeping in ignorance of the public. They are all in the pay and under the direction of the capitalistic classes. The workers can therefore expect no help from any capitalistic party in their struggle against the existing system. They must achieve their liberation by their own efforts. As in former times a privileged class never surrendered its tyranny, neither can it be expected that the capitalists of this age will give up their rulership without being forced to do it.

If there ever could have been any question on this point, it should long ago have been dispelled by the brutalities which the bourgeois of all countries -- in America as well as in Europe -- constantly commits as often as the proletariat anywhere energetically move to better their conditions. It becomes, therefore, self-evident that the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeois will be of a violent, revolutionary character.

We could show by scores of illustrations that all attempts in the past to reform this monstrous system by peaceable means, such as the ballot, have been futile, and all such efforts in the future must necessarily be so, for the following reasons:

The political institutions of our time are the agencies of the propertied class; their mission is the upholding of the privileges of their masters; any reform in your own behalf would curtail these privileges. To this they will not and can not consent, for it would be suicidal to themselves.

That they will not resign their privileges voluntarily we know; that they will not make any concessions to us we likewise know. Since we must then rely upon the kindness of our master for whatever redress we have, and knowing that from them no good may be expected, there remains but one resource -- FORCE! Our forefathers have not only told us that against despots force is justifiable, because it is the only means, but they themselves have set the immortal example.

By force our ancestors liberated themselves from political oppression, by force their children will have to liberate themselves from economic bondage. "It is, therefore, your right, it is your duty," says Jefferson -- "to arm!"

What we would achieve is therefore plainly and simply:

First -- Destruction of the existing class rule, by all means, i.e., by energetic, relentless, revolutionary and international action.

Second -- Establishment of a free society based upon cooperative organization of production.

Third -- Free exchange of equivalent products by and between the productive organizations without commerce and profit-mongery.

Fourth -- Organization of education on a secular, scientific and equal basis for both sexes.

Fifth -- Equal rights for all without distinction to sex or race.

Sixth -- Regulation of all public affairs by free contracts between autonomous (independent) communes and associations, resting on a federalistic basis.

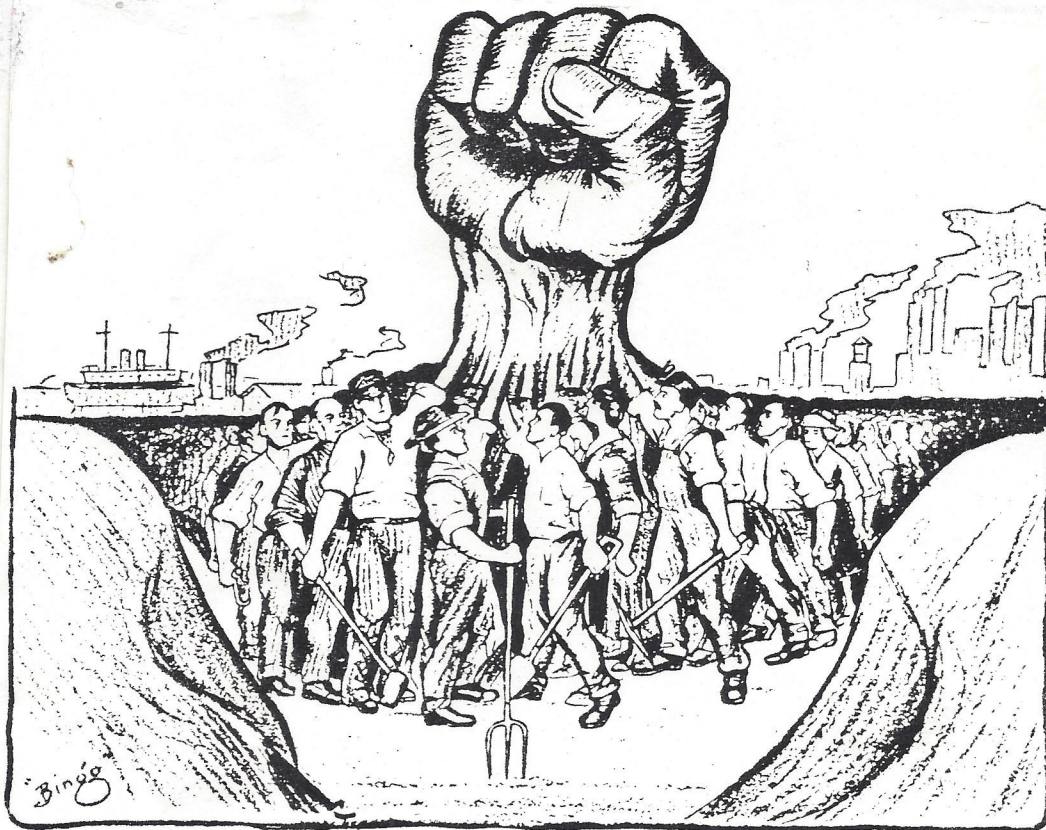
Whoever agrees with this ideal let him grasp our outstretched brother-hands!

Proletarians from all countries unite!

Fellow-workmen, all we need for the achievement of this great end is ORGANIZATION and UNITY!

The day has come for solidarity. Join our ranks! Let the drum beat defiantly the roll of battle: "Workmen of all countries unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains; you have the world to win!"

Issued by the Pittsburgh Congress of the "International Working People's Association" on October 16, 1883.



Solidarity, June 30, 1917. The Hand That Will Rule the World—One Big Union.

In all these matters here enumerated, I took an active, personal interest. October 1, 1884, the International founded in Chicago *The Alarm*, a weekly newspaper, of which I was elected to the position of editor, and I have held that position until its seizure and suppression by the authorities on the 5th day of May, 1886, following the Haymarket tragedy. In the year 1881, the capitalist press began to stigmatize us as Anarchists, and to denounce us as enemies of "law and order", as breeders of strife and confusion. Every conceivable bad name and evil design was imputed to us by the lovers of power and haters of freedom and equality.

Even the workmen in some instances caught the infection and many of them joined in the capitalist hue and cry against the anarchists. Being satisfied of ourselves that our purpose was a just one, we worked on undismayed, willing to

labor and to wait, for time and events to justify our cause. We began to allude to ourselves as anarchists, and that name which was at first imputed to us as a dishonor, we came to cherish and to defend with pride. What's in a name? But names sometimes express ideas; and ideas are everything.

What, then, is our offense, being anarchists? The word *anarche* is derived from two Greek words *an*, signifying no, or without, and *arche*, government; hence anarchy means no government. Consequently anarchy meant a condition of society which has no king, emperor, president, or ruler of any kind. In other words anarchy is the social administration of all affairs by the people themselves; that is to say, self government, individual liberty. Such a condition of society denies the right of majorities to rule over or dictate to minorities. Though every person in the world agree upon a certain plan and only one objected thereto, the objector would, under anarchy, be respected in his natural right to go his own way. And when such person is thus held responsible by all the rest for the violation of the inherent right of any one, how then can injustice flourish or wrong triumph? For the greatest good to the greatest number anarchy substitutes the equal right of each and every one. The natural law is all sufficient for every purpose, every desire and every human being. The scientist then becomes the natural leader, and is accepted as the only authority among men. Whatever can be demonstrated will by self interest be accepted, otherwise rejected. The great natural law of power derived alone from association and cooperation will of necessity and from selfishness be applied by the people in the production and distribution of wealth, and what the trades unions and labor organizations seek now to do, but are prevented from doing because of obstruction and coercion, will under perfect liberty -- anarchy -- come easiest to hand. Anarchy is the extension of the boundaries of liberty until it covers the whole range of the wants and aspirations of man -- not men, but *Man*.

Power is might, and might always makes its own right. Thus in the very nature of things, might makes itself right whether or no. Government, therefore, is the agency or power by which some person or persons govern or rule other persons, and the inherent right to govern is found wherever the power or might to do so is manifest. In a natural state, intelligence of necessity controls ignorance, the strong the weak, the good the bad, etc. Only when the natural law operates is this true, however. On the other hand when the statute is substituted for the natural law, and government holds sway, then, and then only, power centers itself in the hands of a few, who dominate, dictate, rule, degrade and enslave the many. The broad distinction and irreconcilable conflict between wage laborers and capitalists, between those who buy labor or sell its products and the wage worker who sells his labor (himself) in order to live, arises from the social institution called government; and the conflicting interests, the total abolition of warring classes, and the end of domination and exploitation of man by man is to be found only in a free society, where all and each are equally free to unite or disunite, as interest or inclination may incline.

The anarchists are the advance guard in the impending social revolution. They have discovered the cause of world-wide discontent which is felt but not yet understood by the toiling millions as a whole. The effort now being made by organized and unorganized labor in all countries to participate in the making of laws which they are forced to obey will lay bare to them the secret source of their enslavement to capital. Capital is a thing -- it is property. Capital is the stored up, accumulated savings of past labor, such as machinery, houses, food, clothing, all the means of production (both natural and artificial), of transpor-

tation, and communication -- in short the resources of life, the means of subsistence. These things are, in a natural state, the common heritage of all for the free use of all, and they were so held until their forcible seizure and appropriation by a few. Thus the common heritage of all, siezed by violence and fraud, was afterwards made the property -- capital -- of the usurpers, who erected a government and enacted laws to perpetuate and maintain their special privileges.

The function, the only function of capital is to appropriate or confiscate the labor product of the propertyless, non-possessing class, the wage-workers. The origin of government was in violence and murder. Government disinherits and enslaves the governed. Government is for slaves; free men govern themselves. Law, statute, man-made law, is license. Anarchy -- natural law -- is liberty. Anarchy is cessation of force. Government is the rulership or control of man by men. In the name of law -- by means of statute law -- whether the control be by one man (*mon*-archy) or by a majority (*mob*-archy). The effort of the wage-slave (now being made) to participate in the making of laws will enable them to discover for the first time that a human *law*-maker is a human humbug. That laws, true, just and perfect laws, are discovered, *not* made. The law-making class -- the capitalists -- will object to this, they (the capitalists) will remonstrate, they will fight, they will kill, before they permit laws to be made, or *repealed*, which deprive them of their power to rule and rob. This fact is demonstrated in every strike which threatened their power; by every lock-out, by every discharge, by every blacklist. Their exercise of these powers is based upon force, and every law, every government is resolved in the last analysis into force.

Therefore, when the workers, as they are now everywhere preparing to do, insist upon and demand a participation in, or application of democratic principles in industrial affairs, think you the request will be conceded? nay, nay: The right to live, to equality of opportunity, to liberty and the pursuit of happiness is yet to be acquired by the producers of wealth. The Knights of Labor unconsciously stand upon a State Socialist programme. They will never be able to sieze the state by the ballot, but when they do sieze it (and sieze it they must), they will abolish it. Legalized capital and the state stand or fall together. They are twins. The liberty of labor makes the state not only unnecessary, but impossible. When the people -- the whole people -- become the state, that is, participate equally in governing themselves, the state of necessity ceases to exist. Then what? Leaders, natural leaders, take the place of the overthrown rulers; liberty takes the place of statute laws, of license; the people voluntarily associate or freely withdraw from association, instead of being bossed or driven as now. They unite and disunite, when, where, and as they please. Social administration is substituted for governmentalism, and self-preservation becomes the actualing motive as now, minus the dictation, coercion, driving and domination of man by man.

Do you say this is a dream? That it is the millenium? Well, the crisis is near at hand. Necessity, which is its own law, will force the issue. Then whatever is most natural to do will be the easiest and best to do. The workshops will drop into the hands of the workers, the mines will fall to the miners, and the land and all other things will be controlled by those who possess and use them. This will be, there can then be no title to anything aside from its possession and use. Only the statute law and government stand today as a barrier to this result, and all efforts to change them failing, will inevitably result in their total abolition.

Anarchy, therefore, is liberty; is the negation of force, or compulsion, or violence. It is the precise reverse of that which those who hold and have power would have their oppressed victims believe it is.

Anarchists do not advocate or advise the use of force. Anarchists disclaim and protest against its use, and the use of force is justifiable only when employed to repel force. Who, then, are the aiders, abettors and users of force? Who are the real revolutionists? Are they not those who hold and exercise power over their fellows? They who use clubs and bayonets, prisons and scaffolds? The great class conflict now gathering throughout the world is created by our social system of industrial slavery. Capitalists could not if they would, and would not if they could, change it. This alone is to be the work of the proletariat; the disinherited, the wage-slave, the sufferer. Nor can the wage-class avoid this conflict. Neither religion nor politics can solve it or prevent it. It comes, as a human, an imperative necessity. Anarchists do not make the social revolution; they prophesy its coming. Shall we then stone the prophets? Anarchists do not use or advise the use of force, but point out that force is ever employed to uphold despotism to despoil man's natural rights. Shall we therefore kill and destroy the Anarchists? And capital shouts, "Yes, yes! Exterminate them!"

In the line of evolution and historical development, anarchy -- liberty -- is next in order. With the destruction of the feudal system, and the birth of commercialism and manufactures in the 16th century, a contest long and bitter and bloody, lasting over a hundred years, was waged for mental and religious liberty. The 17th and 18th centuries, with their sanguinary conflicts, gave to man political equality and civil liberty, based on the monopolization of the resources of life, capital -- with its "free laborers", freely competing with one another for a chance to serve king capital and "free competition" among capitalists in their endeavors to exploit the laborers and monopolize the labor products. All over the world the fact stands undisputed that the political system is based upon, and is but the reflex of, the economic system, and hence we find that whatever the political form of the government, whether monarchical or republican, the average social status of the wage-workers is in every community identical. The class struggle through the past century is history repeating itself; it is the evolutionary growth preceding the revolutionary denouement. Though liberty is a growth, it is also a birth, and while it is yet to be, it is also about to be born. Its birth will come through travail and pain, through bloodshed and violence. It cannot be prevented. This, because of the obstruction, impediments and obstacles which serve as a barrier to its coming. An anarchist is a believer in liberty, and as I would control no man against his will, neither shall any one rule over me with my consent. Government is compulsion; no one freely consents to be governed by another, therefore there can be no just power of government. Anarchy is perfect liberty, is absolute freedom of the individual. Anarchy has no schemes, no programmes, no systems to offer or substitute for the existing order of things. Anarchy would strike from humanity every chain that binds it, and say to mankind: "Go forth! You are free. Have all; enjoy all."

Anarchism nor anarchists either advises, abets, nor encourages the working people to the use of force or a resort to violence. We do not say to the wage-slaves: "You ought, you should use force." No. Why say this when we know they must -- they will be driven to use it in self-defense, in self-preservation against those who are degrading, enslaving, and destroying them?

Already millions of workers are unconsciously Anarchists. Impelled by a cause the effects of which they feel but do not wholly understand, they move unconsciously, irresistably forward to the social revolution. Mental freedom, political equality, industrial liberty!

This is the natural order of things; the logic of events. Who so foolish as to quarrel with it, obstruct it, or attempt to stay its progress? It is the march of the inevitable; the triumph of the MUST.

The examination of the class struggle demonstrates that the eight-hour movement was doomed by the very nature of things to defeat. But the International gave its support to it for two reasons, viz.: First, because it was a class movement against class domination, therefore historical and revolutionary and necessary; and secondly, because we did not choose to stand aloof and be misunderstood by our fellow workers. We therefore gave it all the aid and comfort in our power. I was regularly accredited under the official seal of the Trade and Labor Unions of the Central Labor Union, representing 20,000 organized workingmen in Chicago, to assist them in the organization of Trades and Labor Unions, and do all in my power for the eight-hour movement. The Central Labor Union, in conjunction with the International, publishes six newspapers in Chicago, to wit: one English weekly, two German weeklies, one Bohemian weekly, one Scandinavian weekly, and one German daily newspaper.

The Trade and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada having set apart the first day of May, 1886, to inaugurate the eight-hour system, I did all in my power to assist the movement. I feared conflict and trouble would arise between the authorities representing the employers of labor and the wage-workers, who only represented themselves. I know that defenseless men, women and children must finally succumb to the power of the discharge, blacklist and lockout, and in consequent misery and hunger enforced by the militiaman's bayonet and the policeman's club. I did not advocate the use of force. But I denounced the capitalists for employing it to hold the laborers in subjection to them and declared that such treatment would of necessity drive the workingmen to employ the same means in self defense.

The labor organizations of Cincinnati, Ohio, decided to make a grand eight-hour demonstration of the eight-hour work day. On their invitation I went there to address them and left Chicago on Saturday, May 1, for that purpose. Returning on Monday night I reached Chicago on the morning of Tuesday, May 4th, the day of the Haymarket meeting. On arriving home, Mrs. Parsons, who had theretofore attended and assisted in several large mass meetings of the sewing girls of the city, to organize them for the eight-hour work day, suggested to me to call a meeting of the American Group of the International for that evening, in order to make arrangements, i.e., appropriate money for hall rent, printing handbills, provide speakers, etc., to help organize the sewing women for the eight hour day. I left home about 11 a.m. and, not being able to get a hall, finally published an announcement that the meeting would be held at 107 Fifth Avenue, the office of the *Alarm* and *Arbeiter Zeitung*. We had often held business meetings at the same place. Late in the afternoon I learned, for the first time, that a mass meeting had been called at the Haymarket for that evening, the object being to help on the eight hour boom, and to protest against the police atrocities upon eight-hour strikers at McCormick's factory the day before, where it was claimed six workmen had been shot down by the police and many others wounded. I did not fancy the idea of holding the meeting at that time, and said so, stating that I believed the manufacturers and corporations were so incensed at the eight-hour

movement that they would defend the police in coming to the meeting to break it up, and slaughtering the work people. I was invited to speak there, but declined, on the ground that I had to attend another meeting that night.

About eight o'clock p.m., accompanied by Mrs. Holmes, Mrs. Parsons and my two children (a boy six years old and a girl four years old), we walked from home to Halsted and Randolph streets. There we observed knots of people standing about, indicating that a mass meeting was expected. Two newspaper reporters, one for the *Tribune* and the other for the *Times*, whom I recognized, were strolling around, picking up items, and observing me they inquired if I was to speak at the Haymarket meeting that night. I told them that I was not, that I had to attend another meeting and would not be there, and the ladies, the children and myself took a street car for down town. Reaching the place of meeting of the American group of the International, it was at once called to order and the objects of the meeting were stated to be how best to organize the sewing women of the city in the speediest manner. It was decided to print circulars, hire halls and appoint organizers and speakers, and money was appropriated for the purpose. About nine o'clock a committee entered the meeting and said there was a large mass meeting at the Haymarket but no speakers except Mr. Spies, and they were sent over to request Mr. Fielden and myself to come there at once and address the crowd.

We adjourned in a few moments afterwards and went over to the Haymarket in a body, where I was introduced at once and spoke for about an hour to the 3,000 persons present, urging them to support the eight-hour movement and stick to their unions. There was little said about the police brutalities of the previous day, other than to complain of the use of the military on every slight occasion. I said it was a shame that the moderate and just claims of the wage-workers should be met with police clubs, pistols, and bayonets, or that the murmurs of discontented laborers should be drowned in their own blood. When I had finished speaking and Mr. Fielden began, I got down from the wagon we were using as a speakers' stand, and, stepping over to another wagon on which sat the ladies (among them my wife and children), and it soon appearing as though it would rain, and the crowd beginning to disperse and the speaker having announced that he would finish in a few moments, I assisted the ladies down from the wagon and accompanied them to Zepf's hall, one block away, where we intended to wait for the adjournment and the company of other friends on our walk home. I had been in this hall about five minutes and was looking towards the meeting, expecting it to close every moment, and standing nearby where the ladies sat, when there appeared a white sheet of light at the place of meeting, followed instantly by a loud roar. This was at once followed by a fusillade of pistol shots (in full view of my sight) which appeared as though fifty or more men had emptied their self-acting revolvers as rapidly as possible. Several shots whizzed by and struck beside the door of the hall, from which I was looking, and soon men came rushing wildly into the building. I escorted the ladies to a place of safety in the rear where we remained about 20 minutes. Leaving the place to take the ladies home, we met a man named Brown (who was well known to us) at the corner of Milwaukee Avenue and Desplaines Street, and asking him to loan me a dollar, he replied that he didn't have the change, whereupon I borrowed a five-dollar gold piece from him. We then parted, he went his way and we started towards home. (This man Brown told of the circumstance the next day that he had met me and loaned me \$5. He was at once arrested and indicted for conspiracy and unlawful assembly, and thrown into prison, where he has lain ever since.)

The next day, observing that many innocent people who were not even present at the meeting were being dragooned and imprisoned by the authorities, and not courting such indignities for myself, I left the city, intending to return in a few days, and publishing a letter in the newspapers to that effect. I stopped at Elgin two days in a boarding-house, when I went from there to Waukesha, Wis., a place noted for its beautiful springs and health-giving waters, pure air, etc. At this summer resort I soon obtained employment first at carpentering and then as a painter, which occupations I pursued for seven weeks, or until my return and voluntary surrender to the Court for trial. I procured the Chicago newspapers every day, and from them I learned that I, with a great many others, had been indicted for murder, conspiracy, and unlawful assembly at the Haymarket. From the editorials of the capitalist papers every day for two months during my seclusion, I could see that the ruling class were wild with rage and fear against labor organizations. Ample means were offered me to carry me safely to distant parts of the earth, if I chose to go. I knew that the beastly howls against the Anarchists, the demand for their bloody extermination, made by the press and pulpit, was merely a pretext of the ruling class to intimidate the growing power of organized labor in the United States. I also perfectly understood the relentless hate and power of the ruling class. Nevertheless, knowing that I was innocent and that my comrades were innocent of the charge against them, I resolved to return and share whatever persecution labor's enemies could impose upon them. Consequently, on the night of June 20th, I left Waukesha. At 4:30 a.m., June 21st, I boarded a St. Paul train at the union depot at Milwaukee, and arrived in Chicago at 7:30 or 8:00 o'clock, and repaired to the house of Mrs. Ames at 14 S. Morgan Street.

I sent for my wife, who came to me, and a few minutes later I conveyed word to Captain Black, our attorney, that I was prepared to surrender. After an affectionate parting with my noble, brave and loving wife and several devoted friends who were present, I at a little past two o'clock p.m. June 21, accompanied by Mrs. Ames and Mr. A.H. Simpson to the court house entrance, was there joined by my attorney, Capt. Black. We walked up the broad stairway, entered the court then in session, and standing before the bar of the court announced my presence and my voluntary surrender for trial, and entered the plea "not guilty". After this ceremony was over I approached the prisoner's dock, where sat my arraigned comrades Fielden, Spies, Engel, Fischer, Lingg, Neebe and Schwab, and shaking hands with each I took a seat among them. After the adjournment of the court I was conveyed with the others to a cell in the Cook County bastille, and securely locked up.

What of the Haymarket Tragedy?

It is simple enough. A large number, over 3,000 of citizens, mostly workingmen, peaceably assemble to discuss their grievances, viz.: the eight-hour movement and the shooting and clubbing of the McCormick and lumber-yard strikers by the police of the previous day.

Query. Was that meeting, thus assembled, a lawful and constitutional gathering of citizens? The police, the grand jury, the verdict, the court, and the monopolists all reply: "It was not."

After ten o'clock, when the meeting was adjourning, two hundred armed police in menacing array, threatening wholesale slaughter of the people, there peaceably assembled (the mayor of Chicago and others who were present testified so before the jury), commanded their instant dispersal, under the pains and penalties of death.

Was the act of the police lawful and constitutional? The police, the grand jury, the verdict, the court, and the monopolists all reply: "It was."

Some person (unknown and unproven) threw a dynamite bomb among the police. Whether it was thrown in self-defense or in furtherance of monopoly's conspiracy against the eight-hour movement is not known.

Was that a lawful, a constitutional act? The ruling class shout in chorus: "It was not!"

My own belief, based upon careful examination of all the conditions surrounding this Haymarket affair, is that the bomb was thrown by a man in the employ of certain monopolists, who was sent from New York City to Chicago for that purpose, to break up the eight-hour movement, thrust the active men into prison, and scare and terrify the workingmen into submission. Such a course was advocated by all the leading mouthpieces (newspapers) of monopoly in America just prior to May 1. They carried out their programme and obtained the results they desired.

Is it lawful and constitutional to put innocent men to death? Is it lawful and constitutional to punish us for the deed of a man acting in furtherance of a conspiracy of the monopolists to crush out the eight-hour movement? Every "law-and-order" tyrant from Chicago to St. Petersburg cries, "Yes!"

Six of the condemned men were not present at the meeting at the time of the tragedy; two of them were not present at any time. One of the latter was addressing a mass meeting of 2,000 workingmen at Deering's Harvester Works, in Lake View, five miles away. The other one was at home abed, and knew not of the affair till the next day. His verdict is fifteen years in the penitentiary. These facts stand unquestioned and undenied before the court. There was no proof of our complicity with or knowledge of the person who threw the bomb, nor is there any proof as to who did throw it. The whole question as to who did the deed is resolved upon motive. What motive controlled the person who did the deed?

The rapid growth of the whole labor movement had, by May 1, given the monopolists of the country much cause for alarm. The organized power of labor was beginning to exhibit unexpected strength and boldness. This alarmed King Moneybags, who saw in the Haymarket affair their golden opportunity to make a horrible example of the Anarchists, and by their dreadful fate give the discontented American workingmen a terrible warning!

This verdict is the suppression of free speech, free press and the assemblage of people to discuss their grievances. More than that, the verdict is the denial of the right of self-defense; it is the condemnation of the law of self-preservation in America.

As to the responsibility for the Haymarket tragedy, you have heard the side of the ruling class. I now speak for the people -- the ruled. The Haymarket tragedy was the immediate result of the blood-thirsty officiousness of Police Inspector Bonfield. Mayor Harrison (commander in chief of police) was present at this meeting, and testified before the court that he heard the speeches and left just before its adjournment and went to the police station and advised Bonfield that everything at the meeting was peaceable and orderly. The mayor left for his house. Soon thereafter, Bonfield, thirsting for promotion and the blood money which he knew that monopolists were eager to bestow, gathered his army and marched them down upon a peaceable, orderly meeting of workingmen, where he expected to immortalize himself by deeds of carnage and slaughter that would put to shame a horde of Apache Indians. Had he not done such brutal things with

the striking streetcar workers, Knights of Labor, Trades Unionists and other workingmen? Why not repeat it that night also? He had received the plaudits of the capitalistic press for such acts done on other occasions. Why not again?

But Police Inspector Bonfield was only a willing agent, not the dastardly principal in this outrage. He had plenary power and obeyed what he knew to be the express desire of his masters -- the money kings -- who want to suppress free speech, free press, and the right of workingmen to assemble and discuss their grievances. Let the responsibility for the Haymarket tragedy rest where it belongs, to wit: upon the monopolists, corporations and privileged class who rule and rob the working people, and when they complain about it discharge, lock-out and black-list them, or arrest, imprison and execute them. The Haymarket tragedy was, undoubtedly, the work of a deep laid monopolistic conspiracy originating in New York City and engineered by the Pinkerton thugs. Its object was to break down the eight-hour movement and Chicago was selected by these conspirators as the best place to do the work because Chicago was the center of the movement in the United States. Now, what are the facts about the conspiracy against the eight-hour movement which has resulted in breaking it down and consigning us to the executioner?

Just prior to the time set apart to inaugurate the eight-hour work day (the latter part of April, 1886), the New York *Herald*, in reference to the question, said: "Two hours, taken from the hours of labor, throughout the United States by the proposed eight-hour movement, would make a difference annually of hundreds of millions in values, both to the capital invested in industries and existing stocks."

Now what did this mean? It meant that the issue of the hour with the New York and Chicago exchanges, Board of Trade, and Produce Exchangers in every commercial and industrial center, was how to preserve the steadiness of the market and maintain the fictitious values of the four-fold stocks, then listed and then rapidly shrinking in value under the paralyzing influence of the impending eight-hour demand of the united army of labor. Hundreds of millions in money were at stake. What to do to save it? Clearly, the thing to do was to stop the eight-hour movement. The New York *Times* came promptly forward with its scheme to save the sinking market values. Accordingly, just four days before the grand national strike for eight hours and only one week before the Haymarket tragedy, the New York *Times*, one of the leading organs of railroad, bank, telegraph and telephone monopoly in America, published in its issue of April 25, 1886, an editorial on the condition of the markets, the causes of existing decline and panicky symptoms, in which it said: "The strike question is, of course, the dominant one and is disagreeable in a variety of ways. A short and easy way to settle it is urged in some quarters, which is to *indict for conspiracy every man who strikes, and summarily lock him up*. This method would undoubtedly strike a wholesome terror into the hearts of the working classes. Another way suggested is to *pick out the labor leaders, and make such examples of them as to scare the others into submission*."

The sentiment was echoed at once by the New York *Tribune*, which said: "The best policy would be to drive the workingmen into open mutiny against the law."

The organs of monopoly (including the Chicago press) all over the United States took up the cry, and re-echoed the diabolical scheme. Something must be done to trump up charges against the leaders.

The first of May arrives, the great eight-hour strike is inaugurated. Forty

thousand men are standing out for it in Chicago. Chicago is the stronghold of the movement, and 40,000 more threaten to join in the demand. An eight hour mass meeting is held on the Haymarket, Tuesday, May 4. A bomb is thrown, several policemen killed; the leaders are arrested, indicted for conspiracy and murder, and seven of them sentenced to death. What's the result? It worked as the monopolists said it would. The labor leaders are "picked out and made such examples of as to scare the others into submission". Strikers were "summarily locked up. This method would undoubtedly strike a wholesome terror into the hearts of the working classes," said the *New York Times*.

The eight-hour strike is broken and the movement fell to pieces, all over the country.

Commenting on the business situation on the 8th day of May, 1886, four days after the Haymarket tragedy, Bradstreet, in his weekly review, said, as telegraphed through the Associated Press and published in all the Chicago papers: "Of the 325,000 men who struck for eight hours, about 65,000 have gained it. Chicago was the center of the strike, but the movement all over the country has greatly weakened in the past few days. Stocks were very much depressed the first two days of the week (the 3rd and 4th of May, the days of the McCormick and Haymarket trouble); but have recovered their strength the last days of the week." The eight-hour strike is practically ended, since the Haymarket affair in Chicago.

The desired result was attained. Prices of stocks, bonds, etc., were restored. It was accomplished by the fatal Haymarket bomb.

Who threw the bomb? Who inspired its throwing?

John Philip Deluse, a saloon-keeper living in Indianapolis, Indiana, makes an affidavit, supported by the affidavits of two other men who were present and witnessed and heard it (all three men well-known citizens of Indianapolis), that a stranger stepped into his place on Saturday, May 1, with a satchel in his hand, which he placed upon the bar while he ordered a drink. The stranger said he came from New York City, and was on his way to Chicago. He spoke of the labor troubles. Pointing to his satchel he said: "I have got something in here that will work. You will hear of it." Turning at the door as he went out, he held up his satchel and pointing to it again, said, "You will hear of it soon."

The prediction of the man came to pass. It was heard round the world. The description of this man tallies exactly with that given by the witness Burnett, who saw him throw the bomb at the Haymarket.

The leaders, as well as many others, not at the meeting of the Haymarket, were arrested and punished, the others "scared into submission", and it resulted as the *New York Times* said, viz.: "This method will undoubtedly strike a wholesome terror into the hearts of the working classes."

The conspiracy to bring about this result originated among the monopolists of New York City, at Pinkerton's headquarters.

Was Police Inspector Bonfield, and States Attorney Grinnell, a party to it? Was the millionaire "Citizen's Association" of Chicago a party to it? They have, I understand, supplied unlimited sums of money to bring about our conviction. I solemnly believe all these men were either parties to the Haymarket tragedy, or to the conspiracy for our conviction. This conclusion is irresistible, when taken in connection with the admitted fact that, to bring about our conviction, the constitution and the law has been ruthlessly trampled under foot.

Without fear, or favor, or reward, I have given the untiring energies of the past ten years of my life to ameliorate, to emancipate my fellow wage-slaves

from their hereditary servitude to capital. I do not regret it; rather while I feel the satisfaction of duty performed, I regret my inability to have accomplished more than I have done.

During these ten years (from 1876 to 1886) I have traversed the states of Nebraska, Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, Wisconsin, Illinois, Kentucky, Maryland, Ohio, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and New York, sometimes under the auspices and direction of the Knights of Labor, at other times Trades Unions and socialist organizations. Covering this space of time I have addressed probably a half million workingmen and women, and organized, or assisted in organizing many labor organizations. No man can truthfully say I have ever yet betrayed a trust, violated a pledge, or swerved from my conception of duty in the labor movement.

I have worked for my living and supported myself since 12 years of age. I have made some enemies. My enemies in the southern states consisted of those who oppressed the Black slave. My enemies in the north are among those who would perpetuate the slavery of the wage workers. My whole life has been sober and industrious; I was never under the influence of liquor, was never arrested for any offense, and voluntarily surrendered for trial in the present case.

I married in 1872 and since 1873 have lived in Chicago with my family. In all my labors for the uplifting and emancipation of the wage worker I have had the earnest, honest, intelligent, unflagging support of that grandest, noblest, bravest of women -- my loving wife. We have two children, a boy of 7 years and a girl of 4 years.

For free speech and the right of assembly, five labor orators and organizers of labor are condemned to die. For free press and free thought three labor editors are sent to the scaffold. "These eight men," said the attorneys of the monopolists, "are picked up by the grand jury because they are leaders of thousands who are equally guilty with them, and we punish them to make examples of them for the others." This much for opinion's sake, for free thought, free speech, free press and public assembly.

This Haymarket affair has exposed to public view the hideous enormities of capitalism and the barbarous despotism of government. The tragedy and the effects of it have demonstrated first: that government is power, and statute law is license, because it is privilege. It has shown the people, the poor, the wage slaves, that law, statute law, is a privilege, and that privileges are for sale to those who can buy them. Government enacts law; the police, the soldier, and the jailor at the behest of the rich enforce it. Law is license, the whole earth and all it contains has been sold to a few who are thus authorized by statute law, licensed to rob the many of their natural inheritance. Law is license. The few are licensed by law to own the land, the machinery, the houses, food, clothes and shelter of the people, whose industry, whose labor created them. Law is license; law, statute law, is the coward's weapon, the tool of the thief. By it humanity has ever been degraded and enslaved. By law mankind is robbed of its birthright, liberty transformed into slavery; life into death; the fair earth into a den of thieves and murderers. The untold millions, the men, women and children of toil, the *proletariat*, are by law deprived of their lives, their liberties and their happiness. Law is license; Government -- authority -- is despotism.

Anarchy, natural law, is liberty. Liberty is the natural right to do what one pleases, bounded and limited only by the equal right of every one else to the same liberty. Privileges are none; equal rights for all. Liberty, Fraternity, Equality.

The trial throughout was a travesty on justice. Every law, natural and statute, was violated in response to the clamor of the capitalist class. Every capitalist newspaper in the city, with one exception, called for our blood before the trial began, demanded our lives during the trial and since. A class jury, class law, class hate, and a court blinded by prejudice against our opinions, has done its work; we are its victims. Every jurymen swore he was prejudiced against our opinions; we were tried for our opinions and convicted because of them. The jury according to its own statements since the verdict (they served nearly two months) entertained themselves each night with either card playing or they played the fiddle, the guitar, the piano, and "sang songs" and gave parlor recitations and theatricals. They had carriage rides at the expense of the people amounting to one hundred and forty dollars; and their bill board was \$3.50 per day at a fashionable hotel amounting to over \$2,300; they had a fine time, a very pleasant and merry time. Mr. Jurymen Todd said he was a "clothing salesman and a Baptist". "Then," said he, "this was a picked jury, *they were all gentlemen.*" Of course, these gentlemen, who had profound contempt for the vulgar, dirty working classes, had to bring a verdict befitting gentlemen. So highly appreciated was their verdict that Chicago millionaires proposed and so far as any one knows did contribute a purse of one hundred thousand dollars to this jury as a reward for their verdict. The jury has besides been lionized, wined, dined, banqueted, and given costly presents, and sums of money, since the rendering of their verdict.

The influences which are at work forcing upon the people the social revolution arise out of the capitalist system. Necessity is the mother of invention; it is also the father of progress and civilization. The justification for the social revolution is recorded throughout all the pages of history. Our fathers proclaimed it in the immortal Declaration, July 4th, 1776, as follows: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they were endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, *it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it.*"

Will the coming revolution be peaceable or violent?

But now, when the workingmen of America refuse to "give their consent to be any longer governed" by the profit mongers, labor exploiters, children slayers and home despoilers, they are at once put down, and kept down by the strong arm of military power, against their will and without "their consent", in the name of "law and order".

It is against this barbaric use of force, this violation of every natural right, that Anarchists protest, and for protesting, die!

The only fact established by proof, as well as by our own admission, cheerfully given before the jury, was that we held opinions and preached a doctrine that is considered dangerous to the rascality and infamies of the privileged, law-creating class known as monopolists, to whom, with the prophets of old, we say:

"Go to, now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. Your riches are corrupted and your garments are moth-eaten. Your gold and silver is cankered; and the rust of them shall be a witness against you; and shall eat your flesh as it were fire. Ye have heaped treasures together for the last days." -- James V., 1 - 3.

The Dawn - Light of Anarchy

by Voltairine de Cleyre

Voltairine de Cleyre (1866-1912) was a prominent voice in the Anarchist movement of the 19th century; Emma Goldman called her "the greatest woman Anarchist of America". The events of May 4, 1886, and their repercussions, were a major influence on her oratory. Following the execution of the Haymarket Martyrs on November 11, 1887, she gave an annual address to commemorate the date of their sacrifice. The following memorial speech was first delivered in Chicago on November 11, 1901. It was subsequently published in *Free Society*, a Chicago periodical, November 24, 1901. It is reprinted, along with her other Haymarket Memorial speeches, in *The First Mayday: The Haymarket Speeches 1895-1910* (Cienfuegos Press, Over-the-water, Sanday, Orkney, KW17 2BL, UK), 1980.



Voltairine de Cleyre, 1897.

Let me begin my address with a confession. I make it sorrowfully and with self-disgust; but in the presence of great sacrifice we learn humility, and if my comrades could give their lives for their belief, why, let me give my pride. Yet I would not give it, for personal utterance is of trifling importance, were it not that I think at this particular season it will encourage those of our sympathizers whom the recent outburst of savagery may have disheartened, and perhaps lead some who are standing where I once stood to do as I did later.

This is my confession: Fifteen years ago last May when the echoes of the Haymarket bomb rolled through the little Michigan village where I then lived, I, like the rest of the credulous and brutal, read one lying newspaper headline, "Anarchists throw a bomb in a crowd in the Haymarket in Chicago", and immediately cried out, "They ought to be hanged!" This, though I had never believed in capital punishment for ordinary criminals. For that ignorant, outrageous, blood-thirsty sentence I shall never forgive myself, though I know the dead men would have forgiven me, though I know those who loved them forgive me. But my own voice, as it sounded that night, will sound so in my ears till I die -- a bitter reproach and shame. What had I done? Credited the first wild rumor of an event of which I knew nothing, and, in my mind, sent men to the gallows without asking one word of defence! In one wild, unbalanced moment threw away the sympathies of a lifetime, and became an executioner at heart. And what I did that night millions did, and what I said millions said. I have only one word of extenuation for myself and all those people -- ignorance. I did not know what Anarchism was.

I had never seen the word used save in histories, and there it was always synonymous with social confusion and murder. I believed the newspapers. I thought those men had thrown that bomb, unprovoked, into a mass of men and women, from a wicked delight in killing. And so thought all those millions of others. But out of those millions there were some few thousand -- I am glad I was one of them -- who did not let the matter rest there.

I know not what resurrection of human decency first stirred within me after that -- whether it was an intellectual suspicion that maybe I did not know all the truth of the case and could not believe the newspapers, or whether it was the old strong undercurrent of sympathy which often prompts the heart to go out to the accused, without a reason; but this I do know, that though I was no Anarchist at the time of the execution, it was long and long before that, that I came to the conclusion that the accusation was false, the trial a farce, that there was no warrant either in justice or in law for their conviction; and that the hanging, if hanging there should be, would be the act of a society composed of people who had said what I said on the first night, and who had kept their eyes and ears fast shut ever since, determined to see nothing and to know nothing but rage and vengeance. Till the very end I hoped that mercy might intervene, though justice did not; and from the hour I knew neither would nor ever could again, I distrusted law and lawyers, judges and governors alike. And my whole being cried out to know what it was these men had stood for, and why they were hanged, seeing it was not proven they knew anything about the throwing of the bomb.

Little by little, here and there, I came to know that what they had stood for was a very high and noble ideal of human life, and what they were hanged for was preaching it to the common people -- the common people who were as ready to hang them, in their ignorance, as the court and the prosecutor were in their malice! Little by little I came to know that these were men who had a clearer vision of human right than most of their fellows; and who, being moved by deep social sympathies, wished to share their vision with their fellows, and so proclaimed it in the market-place. Little by little I realized that the misery, the pathetic submission, the awful degradation of the workers, which from the time I was old enough to begin to think had borne heavily on my heart (as they must bear upon all who have hearts to feel at all), had smitten theirs more deeply still -- so deeply that they knew no rest save in seeking a way out -- and that was more than I had ever had the sense to conceive. For me there had never been a hope there should be no more rich and poor; but a vague idea that there might not be so rich and so poor, if the workingmen by combining could exact a little better wages, and make their hours a little shorter. It was the message of these men (and their death swept that message far out into ears that would never have heard their living voices) that all such little dreams are folly. That not in demanding little, not in striking for an hour less, not in mountain labor to bring forth mice, can any lasting alleviation come; but in demanding much -- all -- in a bold self-assertion of the worker to toil any hours he finds sufficient, not that another finds for him -- here is where the way out lies. That message, and the message of others, whose works, associated with theirs, their death drew to my notice, took me up, as it were, upon a mighty hill, wherefrom I saw the roofs of the workshops of the little world. I saw the machines, the things that men had made to ease their burden, the wonderful things, the iron genii; I saw them set their iron teeth in the living flesh of the men who made them; I saw the maimed and crippled stumps of men go limping away into the night that

engulfs the poor, perhaps to be thrown up in the flotsam and jetsam of beggary for a time, perhaps to suicide in some dim corner where the black surge throws its slime.

I saw the rose fire of the furnace shining on the blanched face of the man who tended it, and knew surely as I knew anything in life, that never would a free man feed his blood to the fire like that.

I saw swarthy bodies, all mangled and crushed, borne from the mouths of the mines to be stowed away in a grave hardly less narrow and dark than that in which the living form had crouched ten, twelve, fourteen hours a day; and I knew that in order that I might be warm -- I, and you, and those others who never do any dirty work -- those men had slaved away in those black graves, and been crushed to death at last.

I saw beside city streets great heaps of horrible colored earth, and down at the bottom of the trench from which it was thrown, so far down that nothing else was visible, bright gleaming eyes, like a wild animal's hunted into its hole. And I knew that free men never chose to labor there, with pick and shovel in that foul, sewage-soaked earth, in that narrow trench, in that deadly sewer gas ten, eight, even six hours a day. Only slaves would do it.

I saw deep down in the hull of the ocean liner the men who shoveled the coal -- burned and seared like paper before the grate; and I knew that "the record" of the beautiful monster, and the pleasure of the ladies who laughed on the deck, were paid for with these withered bodies and souls.

I saw the scavenger carts go up and down, drawn by sad brutes, driven by sadder ones; for never a man, a man in full possession of his selfhood, would freely choose to spend all his days in the nauseating stench that forces him to swill alcohol to neutralize it.

And I saw in the lead works how men were poisoned; and in the sugar refineries how they went insane; and in the factories how they lost their decency; and in the stores how they learned to lie; and I knew it was slavery made them do all this. I knew the Anarchists were right -- the whole thing must be changed, the whole thing was wrong -- the whole system of production and distribution, the whole ideal of life.

And I questioned the government then; they had taught me to question it. What have you done -- you the keepers of the Declaration and the Constitution -- what have you done about all this? What have you done to preserve the conditions of freedom to the people?

Lied, deceived, fooled, tricked, bought and sold and got gain! You have sold away the land, that you had no right to sell. You have murdered the aboriginal people, that you might sieze the land in the name of the white race, and then steal it away from them again, to be again sold by a second and a third robber. And that buying and selling of the land has driven the people off the healthy earth and away from the clean air into these rot-heaps of humanity called cities, where every filthy thing is done, and filthy labor breeds filthy bodies and filthy souls. Our boys are decayed with vice before they come to manhood; our girls -- ah, well might John Harvey write:

Another begetteth a daughter white and gold,
She looks into the meadow land water, and the world
Knows her no more; they have sought her field and fold
But the City, the City hath bought her,
It hath sold
Her piecemeal, to students, rats, and reek of the graveyard mold.

You have done this thing, gentlemen who engineer the government; and not only have you caused this ruin to come upon others; you yourself are rotten with debauchery. You exist for the purpose of granting privileges to whoever can pay most for you, and so limiting the freedom of men to employ themselves that they must sell themselves into this frightful slavery or become tramps, beggars, thieves, prostitutes, and murderers. And when you have done all this, what then do you do to them, these creatures of your own making? You, who have set them the example in every villainy? Do you then relent, and remembering the words of the great religious teacher to whom most of you offer lip service on the officially religious day, do you go to these poor, broken, wretched creatures and love them? Love them and help them, to teach them to be better? No: you build prisons high and strong, and there you beat, and starve, and hang, finding by the working of your system human beings so unutterably degraded that they are willing to kill whomsoever they are told to kill at so much monthly salary.

This is what the government is, has always been, the creator and defender of privilege; the organization of oppression and revenge. To hope that it can ever become anything else is the vainest of delusions. They tell you that Anarchy, the dream of social order without government, is a wild fancy. The wildest dream that ever entered the heart of man is the dream that mankind can ever help itself through an appeal to law, or to come to any order that will not result in slavery wherein there is any excuse for government.

It was for telling the people this that these five men were killed. For telling the people that the only way to get out of their misery was first to learn what their rights upon this earth were -- freedom to use the land and all within it and all the tools of production -- and then to stand together and take them, themselves, and not to appeal to the jugglers of the law. Abolish the law -- that is abolish privilege -- and crime will abolish itself.

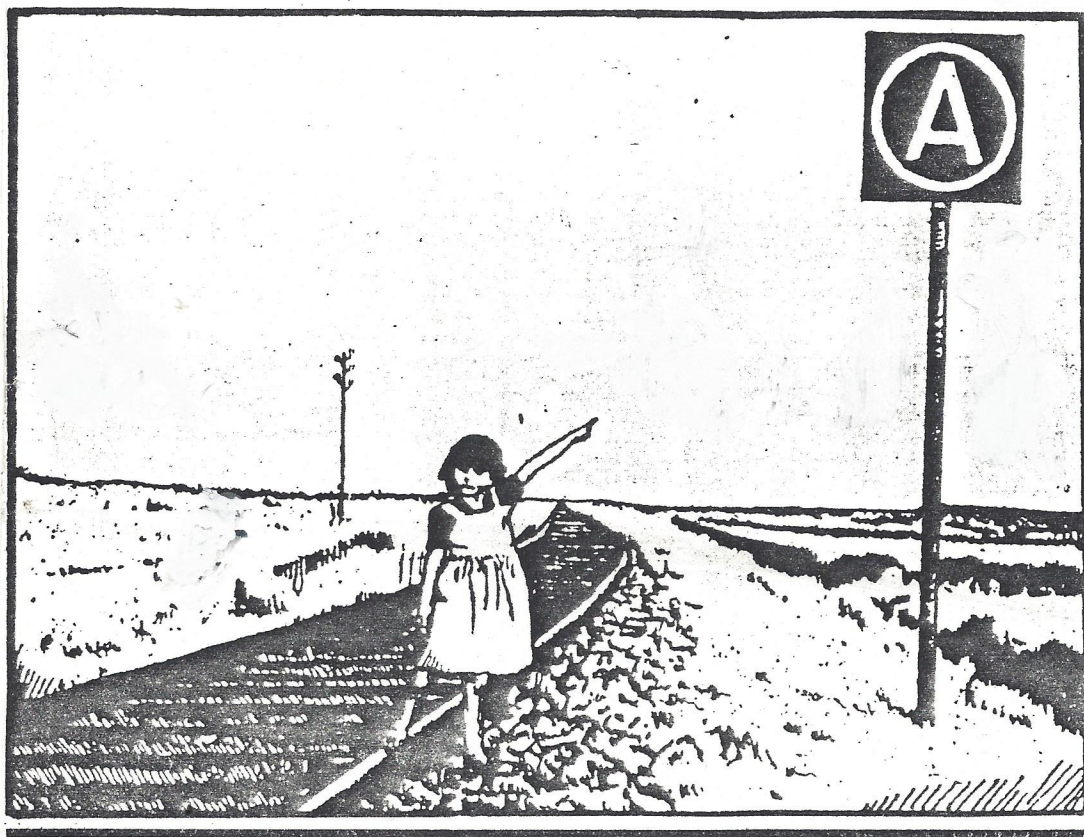
They will tell you that these men were hanged for advocating force. What! These creatures who drill men in the science of killing, who put guns and clubs in hands they train to shoot and strike, who hail with delight the latest inventions in explosives, who exult in the machine that can kill the most with the least expenditure of energy, who declare a war of extermination upon people who do not want their civilization, who ravish, and burn, and garrote, and guillotine, and hang, and electrocute -- they have the impertinence to talk about the unrighteousness of force! True, these men did advocate the right to resist invasion by force. You will find scarcely one in a thousand who does not believe in that right. The one will be either a real Christian or a non-resistant Anarchist. It will not be a believer in the State. No, no; it was not for advocating forcible resistance on principle, but for advocating forcible resistance to their tyrannies, and for advocating a society which would forever make an end of riches and poverty, of governors and governed.

The spirit of revenge, which is always stupid, accomplished its brutal act. Had it lifted its eyes from its work, it might have seen in the background of the scaffold that bleak November morning the dawn-light of Anarchy whiten across the world.

So it came first -- a gleam of hope to the proletaire, a summons to rise and shake off his material bondage. But steadily, steadily, the light has grown, as year by year the scientist, the literary genius, the artist, and the moral teacher, have brought to it the tribute of their best work, their unpaid work, the work they did for love. Today it means not only material emancipation, too; it comes as the summing up of all those lines of thought and action which for three hundred years have been making towards freedom; it means fulness of being,

the free life.

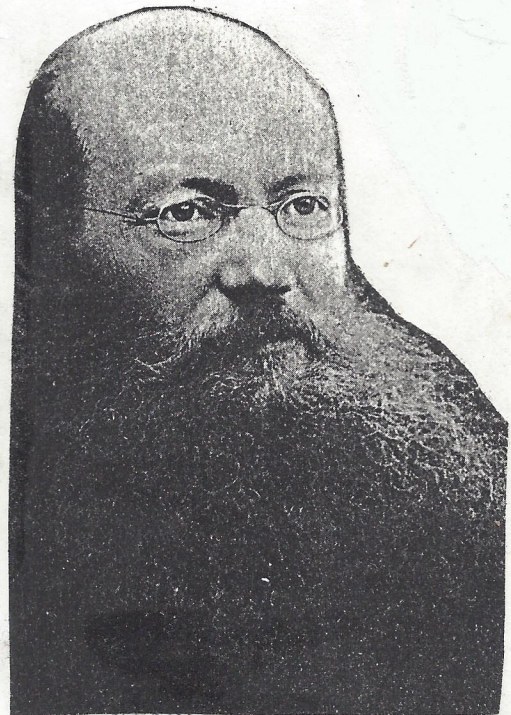
And I saw it boldly, notwithstanding the recent outburst of condemnation, notwithstanding the cry of lynch, burn, shoot, imprison, deport, and the Scarlet Letter A to be branded low down upon the forehead, and the latest excuse for that fond esthetic decoration "the button", that for two thousand years no idea has so stirred the world as this -- none which had such living power to break down the barriers of race and degree, to attract prince and proletaire, poet and mechanic, Quaker and Revolutionist. No other ideal but the free life is strong enough to touch the man whose infinite pity and understanding goes alike to the hypocrite priest and the victim of Siberian whips; the loving rebel who stepped from his title and his wealth to labor with all the laboring earth; the sweet strong singer who sang *No master, high or low*; the lover who does not measure his love nor reckon on return; the self-centered one who "will not rule, but also will not ruled be"; the philosopher who chanted the Over-man; the devoted woman of the people; ay, and these too -- these rebellious flashes from the vast cloud-hung ominous obscurity of the anonymous, these souls whom governmental and capitalistic brutality has whipped and goaded and stung to blind rage and bitterness, these mad young lions of revolt, these Winkelrieds who offer their hearts to the spears.



Anarchist Communism

by Peter Kropotkin

Peter Kropotkin (1842-1921) is probably the single most important Anarchist philosopher of the 19th century. He was born into an aristocratic Russian family. He was a world-renowned scientist, but he lived much of his life in exile or imprisonment for his political ideas. In 1886 he was in prison in France; he described the experience in his book *In Russian and French Prisons* (1887). Kropotkin's major work, *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution*, first appeared as a series of articles in the British magazine *Nineteenth Century*, beginning in 1890, and was first published in book form in 1902. (Currently in print from Sargent Publishers, 11 Beacon St., Boston, MA 02108, \$6.95.) The article reprinted here first appeared in *Nineteenth Century* in 1887. It follows the article reprinted as "Anarchist Communism: Its Basis and Principles" in (R)EVOLUTION #1.



...we conclude: The means of production and of satisfaction of all needs of society, having been created by the common efforts of all, must be at the disposal of all. The private appropriation of requisites for production is neither just nor beneficial. All must be placed on the same footing as producers and consumers of wealth. That will be the only way for society to step out of the bad conditions which have been created by centuries of wars and oppression. That will be the only guarantee for further progress in a direction of equality and freedom, which have always been the real, although unspoken goal of humanity.

The views taken in the above as to the combination of efforts being the chief source of our wealth explains why most anarchists see in communism the only equitable solution as to the adequate remuneration of individual efforts. There was a time when a family engaged in agriculture supplemented by a few domestic trades could consider the corn they raised and the plain woolen cloth they wove as productions of their own and nobody else's labor. Even then such a view was not quite correct: there were forests cleared and roads built by common efforts; and even then the family had continually to apply for communal help, as is still the case in so many village communities. But now, in the extremely interwoven state of industry of which each branch supports all others, such an individualistic

view can be held no more. If the iron trade and the cotton industry of this country have reached so high a degree of development, they have done so owing to the parallel growth of thousands of other industries, great and small; to the extension of the railway system; to an increase of knowledge among both the skilled engineers and the mass of the workmen; to a certain training in organization slowly developed among producers; and, above all, to the world trade which has itself grown up, thanks to works executed thousands of miles away. The Italians who died from cholera in digging the Suez Canal or from "tunnel disease" in the St. Gothard Tunnel have contributed as much towards the enrichment of this country as the British girl who is prematurely growing old in serving a machine at Manchester; and this girl as much as the engineer who made a labor-saving improvement in our machinery. How can we pretend to estimate the exact part of each of them in the riches accumulated around us?

We may admire the inventive genius or the organizing capacities of an iron lord; but we must recognize that all his genius and energy would not realize one tenth of what they realize here if they were spent in dealing with Mongolian shepherds or Siberian peasants instead of British workmen, British engineers, and trustworthy managers. An English millionaire who succeeded in giving a powerful impulse to a branch of home industry was asked the other day what were, in his opinion, the real causes of his success? His answer was: "I always sought out the right man for a given branch of the concern, and I left him full independence -- maintaining, of course, for myself general supervision." "Did you ever fail to find such men?" was the next question. "Never." "But in the new branches which you introduced you wanted a number of new inventions." "No doubt; we spent thousands in buying patents." This little colloquy sums up, in my opinion, the real cause of those industrial undertakings which are quoted by the advocates of "an adequate remuneration of individual efforts" in the shape of millions bestowed on the managers of prosperous industries. It shows how far the efforts are really "individual". Leaving aside the thousand conditions which sometimes permit a man to show, and sometimes prevent him from showing, his capacities to their full extent, it might be asked in how far the same capacities could bring out the same results, if the very same employer could find no trustworthy managers and no skilled workmen, and if hundreds of inventions were not stimulated by the mechanical turn of mind of so many inhabitants of this country.

The anarchists cannot consider, like the collectivists, that a remuneration which would be proportionate to the hours of labor spent by each person in the production of riches may be an ideal, or even an approach to an ideal, society. Without entering here into a discussion as to how far the exchange value of each merchandise is really measured now by the amount of labor necessary for its production -- a separate study must be devoted to the subject -- we must say that the collectivist ideal seems to us merely unrealizable in a society which has been brought to consider the necessaries for production as a common property. Such a society would be compelled to abandon the wage system altogether. It appears impossible that the mitigated individualism of the collectivist school could co-exist with the partial communism implied by holding land and machinery in common -- unless imposed by a powerful government, much more powerful than all those of our own times. The present wage system has grown up from the appropriation of the necessaries for production by the few; it was a necessary condition for the growth of the present capitalist production; and it cannot outlive it, even if an attempt be made to pay to the worker the full value of his produce, and hours-of-labor checks be substituted for money. Common possession of the

necessaries for production implies the common enjoyment of the fruits of the common production; and we consider that an equitable organization of society can only arise when every wage-system is abandoned, and when everybody, contributing for the common well-being to the full extent of his capacities, shall enjoy also from the common stock of society to the fullest possible extent of his needs.

We maintain, moreover, not only that communism is a desirable state of society, but that the growing tendency of modern society is precisely towards communism -- free communism -- notwithstanding the seemingly contradictory growth of individualism. In the growth of individualism (especially during the last three centuries) we see merely the endeavors of the individual towards emancipating himself from the steadily growing powers of capital and the State. But side by side with this growth we see also, throughout history up to our own times, the latent struggle of the producers of wealth to maintain the partial communism of old, as well as to reintroduce communist principles in a new shape, as soon as favorable conditions permit it. As soon as the communes of the 10th, 11th, and 12th centuries were enabled to start their own independent life, they gave a wide extension to work in common, to trade in common, and to a partial consumption in common. All this has disappeared. But the rural commune fights a hard struggle to maintain its old features, and it succeeds in maintaining them in many places of Eastern Europe, Switzerland, and even France and Germany; while new organizations, based on the same principles, never fail to grow up wherever it is possible.

Notwithstanding the egoistic turn given to the public mind by the merchant-production of our century, the communist tendency is continually reasserting itself and trying to make its way into public life. The penny bridge disappears before the public bridge; and the turnpike road before the free road. The same spirit pervades thousands of other institutions. Museums, free libraries, and free public schools; parks and pleasure grounds; paved and lighted streets, free for everybody's use; water supplied to private dwellings, with a growing tendency towards disregarding the exact amount of it used by the individual; tramways and railways which have already begun to introduce the season ticket or the uniform tax, and will surely go much further in this line when they are no longer private property: all these are tokens showing in what direction further progress is to be expected.

It is in the direction of putting the wants of the individual *above* the valuation of the services he has rendered, or might render, to society; in considering society as a whole, so intimately connected together that a service rendered to any individual is a service rendered to the whole society. The librarian of the British Museum does not ask the reader what have been his previous services to society, he simply gives him the books he requires; and for a uniform fee, a scientific society leaves its gardens and museums at the free disposal of each member. The crew of a lifeboat do not ask whether the men of a distressed ship are entitled to be rescued at a risk of life; and the Prisoners' Aid Society does not inquire what a released prisoner is worth. Here are men in need of a service; they are *fellow* men, and no further rights are required.

And if this very city, so egoistic today, be visited by a public calamity -- let it be besieged, for example, like Paris in 1871, and experience during the siege a want of food -- this very same city would be unanimous in proclaiming that the first needs to be satisfied are those of the children and old, no matter what services they may render or have rendered to society. And it would take care

of the active defenders of the city, whatever the degrees of gallantry displayed by each of them. But, this tendency already existing, nobody will deny, I suppose, that, in proportion as humanity is relieved from its hard struggle for life, the same tendency will grow stronger. If our productive powers were fully applied to increasing the stock of the staple necessities for life; if a modification of the present conditions of property increased the number of producers by all those who are not producers of wealth now; and if manual labor reconquered its place of honor in society, the communist tendencies already existing would immediately enlarge their sphere of application.

Taking all this into account, and still more practical aspects of the question as to how private property *might* become common property, most of the anarchists maintain that the very next step to be made by society, as soon as the present regime of property undergoes a modification, will be in a communist sense. We are communists. But our communism is not that of the authoritarian school: it is anarchist communism, communism without government, free communism. It is a synthesis of the two chief aims pursued by humanity since the dawn of its history -- economic freedom and political freedom.

I have already said that anarchism means "no government". We know well that the word "anarchy" is also used in current phraseology as synonymous with disorder. But that meaning of "anarchy", being a derived one, implies at least two suppositions. It implies, first, that wherever there is no government there is disorder; and it implies, moreover, that order, due to a strong government and a strong police, is always beneficial. Both implications, however, are anything but proved. There is plenty of order -- we should say, of harmony -- in many branches of human activity where the government, happily, does not interfere. As to the beneficial aspects of order, the kind of order that reigned at Naples under the Bourbons surely was not preferable to some disorder started by Garibaldi¹; while the Protestants of this country will probably say that the good deal of disorder made by Luther was preferable, at any rate, to the order which reigned under the Pope. While all agree that harmony is always desirable, there is no such unanimity about order, and still less about the "order" which is supposed to reign in our modern societies. So that we have no objection whatever to the use of the word "anarchy" as a negation of what has been often described as order.

By taking for our watchword anarchy in its sense of no government, we intend to express a pronounced tendency of human society. In history we see that precisely those epochs when small parts of humanity broke down the power of their rulers and reassumed their freedom were epochs of the greatest progress, economic and intellectual. Be it the growth of the free cities, whose unrivalled monuments -- free work of free associations of workers -- still testify to the revival of mind and of the well-being of the citizen; be it the great movement which gave birth to the Reformation -- those epochs when the individual recovered some part of his freedom witnessed the greatest progress. And if we carefully watch the present development of civilized nations, we cannot fail to discover in it a marked and ever-growing movement towards limiting more and more the sphere of action of government, so as to leave more and more liberty to the initiative of the individual. After having tried all kinds of government, and endeavored to solve the insoluble problem of having a government "which might compel the individual to obedience, without escaping itself from obedience to collectivity",

¹ Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807-1882) led the "red shirts rebellion", conquering Sicily and Naples in 1860.

humanity is trying now to free itself from the bonds of any government whatever, and to respond to its needs of organization by the free understanding between individuals pursuing the same common aims.

Home Rule, even for the smallest territorial unit or group, becomes a growing need. Free agreement is becoming a substitute for law. And free cooperation a substitute for governmental guardianship. One after the other those activities which were considered as the functions of government during the last two centuries are disputed; society moves better the less it is governed. And the more we study the advance made in this direction, as well as the inadequacy of governments to fulfill the expectations placed in them, the more we are bound to conclude that humanity, by steadily limiting the functions of government, is marching towards reducing them finally to *nil*. We already foresee a state of society where the liberty of the individual will be limited by no laws, no bonds -- by nothing else but his own social habits and the necessity, which everyone feels, of finding cooperation, support, and sympathy among his neighbors.

Of course the no-government ethics will meet with at least as many objections as the no-capital economics. Our minds have been so nurtured in prejudices as to the providential functions of government that anarchist ideas *must* be received with distrust. Our whole education, from childhood to the grave, nurtures the belief in the necessity of a government and its beneficial effects. Systems of philosophy have been elaborated to support this view; history has been written from this standpoint; theories of law have been circulated and taught for the same purpose. All politics are based on the same principle, each politician saying to people he wants to support him: "Give me the governmental power; I will, I can, relieve you from the hardships of your present life." All our education is permeated with the same teachings. We may open any book of sociology, history, law, or ethics: everywhere we find government, its organization, its deeds, playing so prominent a part that we grow accustomed to suppose that the State and the political men are everything; that there is nothing behind the big statesmen. The same teachings are daily repeated in the Press. Whole columns are filled up with minutest records of parliamentary debates, of movements of political persons. And, while reading these columns, we too often forget that besides those few men whose importance has been so swollen up as to overshadow humanity, there is an immense body of men -- mankind, in fact -- growing and dying, living in happiness or sorrow, laboring and consuming, thinking and creating.

And yet, if we revert from the printed matter to our real life, and cast a broad glance on society as it is, we are struck with the infinitesimal part played by government in our life. Millions of human beings live and die without having had anything to do with government. Every day millions of transactions are made without the slightest interference of government; and those who enter into agreements have not the slightest intention of breaking bargains. Nay, those agreements which are not protected by government (those of the exchange, or card debts) are perhaps better kept than any others. The simple habit of keeping one's word, the desire of not losing confidence, are quite sufficient in an overwhelming majority of cases to enforce the keeping of agreements. Of course it may be said that there is still the government which might enforce them if necessary. But without speaking of the numberless cases which could not even be brought before a court, everyone who has the slightest acquaintance with trade will undoubtedly confirm the assertion that, if there were not so strong a feeling of honor in keeping agreements, trade itself would become utterly impossible. Even those merchants and manufacturers who feel not the slightest remorse when poisoning

their customers with all kinds of abominable drugs, duly labelled, even they also keep their commercial agreements. But if such a relative morality as commercial honesty exists now under the present conditions, when enrichment is the chief motive, the same feeling will further develop very quickly as soon as robbing someone of the fruits of his labor is no longer the economic basis of our life.

Another striking feature of our century tells in favor of the same no-government tendency. It is the steady enlargement of the field covered by private initiative, and the recent growth of large organizations resulting merely and simply from free agreement. The railway net of Europe -- a confederation of so many scores of separate societies -- and the direct transport of passengers and merchandise over so many lines which were built independently and federated together, without even so much as a Central Board of European Railways, is a most striking instance of what is already done by mere agreement. If fifty years ago somebody had predicted that railways built by so many separate companies finally would constitute so perfect a net as they do today, he surely would have been treated as a fool. It would have been urged that so many companies, prosecuting their own interests, would never agree without an International Board of Railways, supported by an International Convention of the European States, and endowed with governmental powers. But no such board was resorted to, and the agreement came nevertheless. The Dutch associations of ship and boat owners are now extending their organizations over the rivers of Germany and even to the shipping trade of the Baltic. The numberless amalgamated manufacturers' associations, and the *syndicates* of France, are so many instances in point. If it be argued that many of these organizations are organizations for exploitation, that proves nothing, because, if men pursuing their own egoistic, often very narrow, interests can agree together, better inspired men, compelled to be more closely connected with other groups, will necessarily agree still more easily and still better.

But there also is no lack of free organizations for nobler pursuits. One of the noblest achievements of our century is undoubtedly the Lifeboat Association. Since its first humble start, it has saved no less than thirty-two thousand human lives. It makes appeal to the noblest instincts of man; its activity is entirely dependent upon devotion to the common cause, while its internal organization is entirely based upon the independence of the local committees. The Hospitals Association and hundreds of like organizations, operating on a large scale and covering each a wide field, may also be mentioned under this head. But, while we know everything about governments and their deeds, what do we know about the results achieved by free cooperation? Thousands of volumes have been written to record the acts of governments; the most trifling amelioration due to law has been recorded; its good effects have been exaggerated, its bad effects passed by in silence. But where is the book recording what has been achieved by free cooperation of well-inspired men? At the same time, hundreds of societies are constituted every day for the satisfaction of some of the infinitely varied needs of civilized man. We have societies for all possible kinds of studies -- some of them embracing the whole field of natural science, others limited to a small special branch; societies for gymnastics, for shorthand-writing, for the study of a separate author, for games and all kinds of sports, for forwarding the science of maintaining life, and for favoring the art of destroying it; philosophical and industrial, artistic and anti-artistic; for serious work and for mere amusement -- in short, there is not a single direction in which men exercise their faculties without combining together for the accomplishment of

some common aim. Every day new societies are formed, while every year the old ones aggregate together into larger units, federate across the national frontiers, and cooperate in some common work.

The most striking feature of these numberless free growths is that they continually encroach on what was formerly the domain of the State or the Municipality. A householder in a Swiss village on the banks of Lake Lemman belongs now to at least a dozen different societies which supply him with what is considered elsewhere as a function of the municipal government. Free federation of independent communes for temporary or permanent purposes lies at the very bottom of Swiss life, and to these federations many a part of Switzerland is indebted for its roads and fountains, its rich vineyards, well-kept forests, and meadows which the foreigner admires. And besides these small societies, substituting themselves for the State within some limited sphere, do we not see other societies doing the same on a much wider scale?

One of the most remarkable societies which has recently arisen is undoubtedly the Red Cross Society. To slaughter men on the battle-fields, that remains the duty of the State; but these very States recognize their inability to take care of their own wounded: they abandon the task, to a great extent, to private initiative. What a deluge of mockeries would not have been cast over the poor "Utopist" who should have dared to say twenty-five years ago that the care of the wounded might be left to private societies! "Nobody would go into the dangerous places! Hospitals would all gather where there was no need of them! National rivalries would result in the poor soldiers dying without any help," and so on -- such would have been the outcry. The war of 1871 has shown how perspicacious those prophets are who never believe in human intelligence, devotion, and good sense.

These facts -- so numerous and so customary that we pass by without even noticing them -- are in our opinion one of the most prominent features of the second half of the 19th century. The just-mentioned organisms grew up so naturally, they so rapidly extended and so easily aggregated together, they are such unavoidable outgrowths of the multiplication of needs of the civilized man, and they so well replace State-interference, that we must recognize in them a growing factor of our life. Modern progress is really towards the free aggregation of free individuals so as to supplant government in all those functions which formerly were entrusted to it, and which it mostly performed so badly.

As to parliamentary rule and representative government altogether, they are rapidly falling into decay. The few philosophers who already have shown their defects have only timidly summed up the growing public discontent. It is becoming evident that it is merely stupid to elect a few men and to entrust them with the task of making laws on all possible subjects, of which subjects most of them are utterly ignorant. It is becoming understood that majority rule is as defective as any other kind of rule; and humanity searches and finds new channels for resolving the pending questions. The Postal Union did not elect an international postal parliament in order to make laws for all postal organizations adherent to the Union. The Railways of Europe did not elect an international railway parliament in order to regulate the running of the trains and the partition of the income of international traffic. And the Meteorological and Geographical Societies of Europe did not elect either meteorological or geographical parliaments to plan polar stations, or to establish a uniform subdivision of geological formations and a uniform coloration of geological maps. They proceeded by means of agreement. To agree together they resorted to congresses; but, while sending delegates to their congresses they did not say to them, "Vote about everything you like -- we shall obey." They put forward questions and discussed them first

themselves; then they sent delegates acquainted with the special question to be discussed at the congress, and they sent *delegates* -- not rulers. Their delegates returned from the congress with no *laws* in their pockets, but with *proposals of agreements*. Such is the way assumed now (the very old way, too) for dealing with questions of public interest -- not the way of law-making by means of a representative government.

Representative government has accomplished its historical mission; it has given a mortal blow to court-rule; and by its debates it has awakened public interest in public questions. But to see in it the government of the future socialist society is to commit a gross error. Each economic phase of life implies its own political phase; and it is impossible to touch the very basis of the present economic life -- private property -- without a corresponding change in the very basis of the political organization. Life already shows in which direction the change will be made. Not in increasing the powers of the State, but in restoring to free organization and free federation in all those branches which are now considered as attributes of the State.

The objections to the above may be easily foreseen. It will be said of course: "But what is to be done with those who do not keep their agreements? What with those who are not inclined to work? What with those who would prefer breaking the written laws of society, or -- on the anarchist hypothesis -- its unwritten customs? Anarchism may be good for a higher humanity -- not for the men of our own times."

First of all, there are two kinds of agreements: there is the free one which is entered upon by free consent, as a free choice between different courses equally open to each of the agreeing parties. And there is the enforced agreement, imposed by one party upon the other, and accepted by the latter from sheer necessity; in fact, it is no agreement at all; it is a mere submission to necessity. Unhappily, the great bulk of what are now described as agreements belong to the latter category. When a workman sells his labor to an employer and knows perfectly well that some part of the value of his produce will be unjustly taken by the employer; when he sells it without even the slightest guarantee of being employed so much as six consecutive months, it is a sad mockery to call that a free contract. Modern economists may call it free, but the father of political economy -- Adam Smith -- was never guilty of such a misrepresentation. As long as three-quarters of humanity are compelled to enter into agreements of that description, force is of course necessary, both to enforce the supposed agreements and to maintain such a state of things. Force -- and a great deal of force -- is necessary to prevent the laborers from taking possession of what they consider unjustly appropriated by the few; and force is necessary to continually bring new "uncivilized nations" under the same conditions.

But we do not see the necessity of force for enforcing agreements freely entered upon. We never heard of a penalty imposed on a man who belonged to the crew of a lifeboat and at a given moment preferred to abandon the association. All that his comrades would do with him, if he were guilty of a gross neglect, would probably be to refuse to have anything further to do with him. Nor did we hear of fines imposed on a contributor to the dictionary for a delay in his work, or of *gendarmes* driving the volunteers of Garibaldi to the battlefield. Free agreements need not be enforced.

As to the so-often-repeated objection that no one would labor if he were not compelled to do so by sheer necessity, we heard enough of it before the emancipation of slaves in America, as well as before the emancipation of serfs

in Russia. And we have had the opportunity of appreciating it at its just value. So we shall not try to convince those who can be convinced only by accomplished facts. As to those who reason, they ought to know that, if it really was so with some parts of humanity at its lowest stages, or if it is so with some small communities, or separate individuals, brought to sheer despair by ill success in their struggle against unfavorable conditions, it is not so with the bulk of the civilized nations. With us, work is a habit, and idleness an artificial growth. Of course, when to be a manual worker means to be compelled to work all one's life long for ten hours a day, and often more, at producing some part of something -- a pin's head, for instance; when it means to be paid wages on which a family can live only on the condition of the strictest limitation of all its needs; when it means to be always under the menace of being thrown tomorrow out of employment -- and we know how frequent are the industrial crises, and what misery they imply; when it means, in a very great number of cases, premature death in a paupers' infirmary, if not in the workhouse; when to be a manual worker signifies to wear a life-long stamp of inferiority in the eyes of those very people who live on the work of these "hands"; when it always means the renunciation of all those higher enjoyments that science and art give to man -- oh, then there is no wonder that everybody -- the manual workers as well -- has but one dream: that of rising to a condition where others would work for him.

Overwork is repulsive to human nature -- not work. Overwork for supplying the few with luxury -- not work for the well-being of all. Work is a physiological necessity, a necessity of spending accumulated bodily energy, a necessity which is health and life itself. If so many branches of useful work are so reluctantly done now, it is merely because they mean overwork, or they are improperly organized. But we know -- old Franklin knew it -- that four hours of useful work every day would be more than sufficient for supplying everybody with the comfort of a moderately well-to-do middle-class house, if we all gave ourselves to productive work, and if we did not waste our productive powers as we do waste them now.

As to the childish question, repeated for fifty years: "Who would do disagreeable work?" Frankly I regret that none of our savants has ever been brought to do it, be it for only one day in his life. If there is still work which is really disagreeable in itself, it is only because our scientific men have never cared to consider the means of rendering it less so. They have always known that there were plenty of starving men who would do it for a few cents a day.

As to the third -- the chief -- objection, which maintains the necessity of a government for punishing those who break the law of society, there is so much to say about it that it hardly can be touched incidentally. The more we study the question, the more we are brought to the conclusion that society itself is responsible for the anti-social deeds perpetrated in its midst, and that no punishment, no prisons, and no hangmen can diminish the numbers of such deeds; nothing short of a reorganization of society itself.

Three quarters of all the acts which are brought before our courts every year have their origin, either directly or indirectly, in the present disorganized state of society with regard to the production and distribution of wealth -- not in perversity of human nature. As to the relatively few anti-social deeds which result from anti-social inclinations of separate individuals, it is not by prisons, nor even by resorting to the hangmen, that we can diminish their numbers. By our prisons, we merely multiply them and render them worse. By our detectives, our "price of blood", our executions, and our jails, we spread in society such a terrible flow of basest passions and habits, that he who should

realize the effects of these institutions to their full extent would be frightened by what society is doing under the pretext of maintaining morality. We *must* search for other remedies, and the remedies have been indicated long since.

Of course now, when a mother in search of food and shelter for her children must pass by shops filled with the most refined delicacies of refined gluttony; when gorgeous and insolent luxury is displayed side by side with the most execrable misery; when the dog and the horse of a rich man are far better cared for than millions of children whose mothers earn a pitiful salary in the pit or the manufactory; when each "modest" evening dress of a lady represents eight months, or one year, of human labor; when enrichment at somebody else's expense is the avowed aim of the "upper classes", and no distinct boundary can be traced between honest and dishonest means of making money -- then force is the only means for maintaining such a state of things. Then an army of policemen, judges, and hangmen becomes a necessary institution.

But if all our children -- all children are *our* children -- received a sound instruction and education -- and we have the means of giving it; if every family lived in a decent home -- and they *could* at the present high pitch of our production; if every boy and girl were taught a handicraft at the same time as he or she receives scientific instruction, and *not* to be a manual producer of wealth were considered as a token of inferiority; if men lived in closer contact with one another, and had continually to come into contact on those public affairs which now are vested in the few; and if, in consequence of a closer contact, we were brought to take as lively an interest in our neighbors' difficulties and pains as we formerly took in those of our kinsfolk -- then we should not resort to policemen and judges, to prisons and executions. Anti-social deeds would be nipped in the bud, not punished. The few contests which would arise would be easily settled by arbitrators; and no more force would be necessary to impose their decisions than is required now for enforcing the decisions of the family tribunals of China.

And here we are brought to consider a great question: what would become of morality in a society which recognized no laws and proclaimed the full freedom of the individual? Our answer is plain. Public morality is independent from, and anterior to, law and religion. Until now, the teachings of morality have been associated with religious teachings. But the influence which religious teachings formerly exercised on the mind has faded of late, and the sanction which morality derived from religion has no longer the power it formerly had. Millions and millions grow in our cities who have lost the old faith. Is it a reason for throwing morality overboard, and for treating it with the same sarcasm as primitive cosmogony?

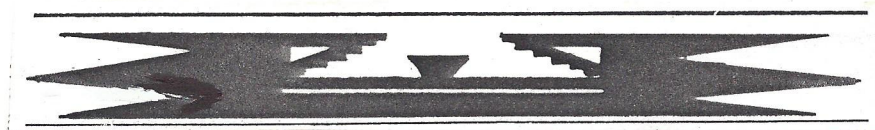
Obviously not. No society is possible without certain principles of morality generally recognized. If everyone grew accustomed to deceiving his fellow-men; if we never could rely on each other's promise and words; if everyone treated his fellow as an enemy, against whom every means of warfare is justifiable -- no society would exist. And we see, in fact, that notwithstanding the decay of religious beliefs, the principles of morality remain unshaken. We even see irreligious people trying to raise the current standard of morality. The fact is that moral principles are independent of religious beliefs: they are anterior to them. The primitive Tchuktchis have no religion: they have only superstitions and fear of the hostile forces of nature; and nevertheless we find with them the very same principles of morality which are taught by Christians and Buddhists, Mussulmans and Hebrews. Nay, some of their practices imply a much higher standard of

tribal morality than that which appears in our civilized society.

In fact, each new religion takes its moral principles from the only real stock of morality -- the moral habits which grow with men as soon as they unite to live together in tribes, cities, or nations. No animal society is possible without resulting in a growth of certain moral habits of mutual support and even self-sacrifice for the common well-being. These habits are a necessary condition for the welfare of the species in its struggle for life -- cooperation of individuals being a much more important factor in the struggle for the preservation of the species than the so-much-spoken-of physical struggle between individuals for the means of existence. The "fittest" in the organic world are those who grow accustomed to life in society; and life in society necessarily implies moral habits. As to mankind, it has during its long existence developed in its midst a nucleus of social habits, of moral habits, which cannot disappear as long as human societies exist. And therefore, notwithstanding the influences to the contrary which are now at work in consequence of our present economic relations, the nucleus of our moral habits continues to exist. Law and religion only formulate them and endeavor to enforce them by their sanction.

Whatever the variety of theories of morality, all can be brought under three chief categories: the morality of religion; the utilitarian morality; and the theory of moral habits resulting from the very needs of life in society. Each religious morality sanctifies its prescriptions by making them originate from revelation; and it tries to impress its teachings on the mind by a promise of reward, or punishment, either in this or in a future life. The utilitarian morality maintains the idea of reward, but it finds it in man himself. It invites men to analyze their pleasures, to classify them, and to give preference to those which are most intense and most durable. We must recognize, however, that, although it has exercised some influence, this system has been judged too artificial by the great mass of human beings. And finally -- whatever its varieties -- there is the third system of morality which sees in moral actions -- in those actions which are most powerful in rendering men best fitted for life in society -- a mere necessity of the individual to enjoy the joys of his brethren, to suffer when some of his brethren are suffering; a habit and a second nature, slowly elaborated and perfected by life in society. That is the morality of mankind; and that is also the morality of anarchism.

Such are, in a very brief summary, the leading principles of anarchism. Each of them hurts many a prejudice, and yet each of them results from an analysis of the very tendencies displayed by human society. Each of them is rich in consequences and implies a thorough revision of many a current opinion. And anarchism is not a mere insight into a remote future. Already now, whatever the sphere of action of the individual, he can act, either in accordance with anarchist principles or on an opposite line. And all that may be done in that direction will be done in the direction to which further development goes. All that may be done in the opposite way will be an attempt to force humanity to go where it will not go.



The Abolition of Work

by Bob Black

No one should ever work.

Work is the source of nearly all the misery in the world. Almost any evil you'd care to name comes from working or from living in a world designed for work. In order to stop suffering, we have to stop working.

That doesn't mean we have to stop doing things. It does mean creating a new way of life based on play; in other words, a *ludic* revolution. By "play" I mean also festivity, creativity, conviviality, commensality, and maybe even art. There is more to play than child's play, as worthy as that is. I call for a collective adventure in generalized joy and freely interdependent exuberance. Play isn't passive. Doubtless we all need a lot more time for sheer sloth and slack than we ever enjoy now, regardless of income or occupation, but once recovered from employment-induced exhaustion, nearly all of us want to act. Oblomovism and Stakhanovism are two sides of the same debased coin.

The ludic life is totally incompatible with existing reality. So much the worse for "reality", the gravity hole that sucks the vitality from the little in life that still distinguishes it from mere survival. Curiously -- or maybe not -- all the old ideologies are conservative because they believe in work. Some of them, like Marxism and most brands of anarchism, believe in work all the more fiercely because they believe in so little else.

Liberals say we should end employment discrimination. I say we should end employment. Conservatives support right-to-work laws. Following Karl Marx's wayward son-in-law, Paul Lafargue, I support the right to be lazy. Leftists favor full employment. Like the surrealists (except that I'm not kidding) I favor full unemployment. Trotskyists agitate for permanent revolution. I agitate for permanent revelry. But if all the ideologues (as they do) advocate work -- and not only because they plan to make other people do theirs -- they are strangely reluctant to say so. They will carry on endlessly about wages, hours, working conditions, exploitation, productivity, profitability. They'll gladly talk about anything but work itself. These experts who offer to do our thinking for us rarely share their conclusions about work, for all its saliency in the lives of all of us. Among themselves they quibble over the details. Unions and management agree that we ought to sell the time of our lives in exchange for survival, although they haggle over the price. Marxists think we should be bossed by bureaucrats. Libertarians think we should be bossed by businessmen. Feminists don't care what form bossing takes so long as the bosses are women. Clearly these ideology-mongers have serious differences over how to divvy up the spoils of power. Just as clearly, none of them have any objection to power as such and all of them want to keep us working.

You may be wondering if I'm joking or serious. I'm joking *and* serious. To be ludic is not to be ludicrous. Play doesn't have to be frivolous, although frivolity

isn't triviality; very often we ought to take frivolity seriously. I'd like life to be a game -- but a game with high stakes. I want to play *for keeps*.

The alternative to work isn't just idleness. To be ludic is not to be quaaludic. As much as I treasure the pleasure of torpor, it's never more rewarding than when it punctuates other pleasures and pastimes. Nor am I promoting the managed time-disciplined safety-valve called "leisure"; far from it. Leisure is nonwork for the sake of work. Leisure is the time spent recovering from work and in the frenzied but hopeless attempt to forget about work. Many people return from vacations so beat that they look forward to returning to work so they can rest up. The main difference between work and leisure is that at work at least you get paid for your alienation and enervation.

I am not playing definitional games with anybody. When I say I want to abolish work, I mean just what I say, but I want to say what I mean by defining my terms in non-idiosyncratic ways. My minimum definition of work is *forced labor*, that is, compulsory production. Both elements are essential. Work is production enforced by economic or political means, by the carrot or the stick. (The carrot is just the stick by other means.) But not all creation is work. Work is never done for its own sake, it's done on account of some product or output that the worker (or, more often, somebody else) gets out of it. This is what work necessarily is. To define it is to despise it. But work is usually even worse than its definition decrees. The dynamic of domination intrinsic to work tends over time toward elaboration. In advanced work-riddled societies, including all industrial societies whether capitalist or "communist", work invariably acquires other attributes which accentuate its obnoxiousness.

Usually -- and this is even more true in "communist" than capitalist countries, where the state is almost the only employer and everyone is an employee -- work is employment, *i.e.*, wage-labor, which means selling yourself on the installment plan. Thus 95% of Americans who work, work for somebody (or something) else. In the USSR or Cuba or Yugoslavia or Nicaragua or any other alternative model which might be adduced, the corresponding figure approaches 100%. Only the embattled Third World peasant bastions -- Mexico, India, Brazil, Turkey -- temporarily shelter significant concentrations of agriculturists who perpetuate the traditional arrangement of most laborers in the last several millenia, the payment of taxes (= ransom) to the state or rent to parasitic landlords in return for being otherwise left alone. Even this raw deal is beginning to look good. *All* industrial (and office) workers are employees and under the sort of surveillance which ensures servility.

But modern work has worse implications. People don't just work, they have "jobs". One person does one productive task all the time on an or-else basis. Even if the task has a quantum of intrinsic interest (as increasingly many jobs don't) the monotony of its obligatory exclusivity drains its ludic potential. A "job" that might engage the energies of some people, for a reasonably limited time, for the fun of it, is just a burden on those who have to do it for 40 hours a week with no say in how it should be done, for the profit of owners who contribute nothing to the project, and with no opportunity for sharing tasks or spreading the work among those who actually have to do it. This is the real world of work: a world of bureaucratic blundering, of sexual harassment and discrimination, of bonehead bosses exploiting and scapegoating their subordinates who -- by any rational-technical criteria -- should be calling the shots. But capitalism in the real world subordinates the rational maximization of productivity and profit to the exigencies of organizational control.

The degradation which most workers experience on the job is the sum of assorted indignities which can be denominated as "discipline". Michel Foucault has complexified this phenomenon but it is simple enough. Discipline consists of the totality of totalitarian controls at the workplace -- surveillance, rotework, imposed work tempos, production quotas, punching-in and -out, etc. Discipline is what the factory and the office and the store share with the prison and the school and the mental hospital. It is something historically original and horrible. It was beyond the capacities of such demonic dictators of yore as Nero and Genghis Khan and Ivan the Terrible. For all their bad intentions they just didn't have the machinery to control their subjects as thoroughly as modern despots do. Discipline is the distinctively diabolical modern mode of control; it is an innovative intrusion which must be interdicted at the earliest opportunity.

Such is "work". Play is just the opposite. Play is always voluntary. What might otherwise be play is work if it is forced. This is axiomatic. Bernie de Koven has defined play as "the suspension of consequences". This is unacceptable if it implies that play is inconsequential. The point is not that play is without consequences. This is to demean play. The point is that the consequences, if any, are gratuitous. Playing and giving are closely related; they are the behavioral and transactional facets of the same impulse, the play-instinct. They share an aristocratic disdain for results. The player gets something out of playing; that's why he plays. But the core reward is the experience of the activity itself (whatever it is). Some otherwise attentive students of play, like Johan Huizinga (*Homo Ludens*), define it as game-playing or following rules. I respect Huizinga's erudition but emphatically reject his constraints. There are many good games (chess, baseball, Monopoly, bridge) which are rule-governed; but there is much more to play than game-playing. Conversation, sex, dancing, travel, -- these practices aren't rule-governed but they are surely play if anything is. And rules can be *played with* at least as readily as anything else.

Work makes a mockery of freedom. The official line is that we all have rights and live in a democracy. Other unfortunates who aren't free like we are have to live in police states. These victims obey orders or-else, no matter how arbitrary. The authorities keep them under regular surveillance. State bureaucrats control even the smaller details of everyday life. The officials who push them around are answerable only to higher-ups, public or private. Either way, dissent and disobedience are punished. Informers report regularly to the authorities. All this is supposed to be a very bad thing.

And so it is, although it is nothing but a description of the modern workplace. The liberals and conservatives and libertarians who lament totalitarianism are phonies and hypocrites. There is more freedom in any moderately de-Stalinized dictatorship than there is in the ordinary American workplace. You find the same sort of hierarchy and discipline in an office or factory as you do in a prison or monastery. In fact, as Foucault and others have shown, prisons and factories came in at about the same time, and their operators consciously borrowed from each other's control techniques. A worker is a part-time slave. The boss says when to show up, when to leave, and what to do in the meantime. He tells you how much work to do and how fast. He is free to carry his control to humiliating extremes, regulating, if he feels like it, the clothes you wear or how often you go to the bathroom. With a few exceptions he can fire you for any reason, or no reason. He has you spied on by snitches and supervisors, he amasses a dossier on every employee. Talking back is called "insubordination", just as if a worker is a naughty child, and it not only gets you fired, it disqualifies you for unemploy-

ment compensation. Without necessarily endorsing it for them either, it is noteworthy that children at home and in school receive much the same treatment, justified in their case by their supposed immaturity. What does this say about their parents and teachers who work?

The demeaning system of domination I've described rules over half the waking hours of a majority of women and the vast majority of men for decades, for most of their lifespans. For certain purposes it's not too misleading to call our system democracy or capitalism or -- better still -- industrialism, but its real names are factory fascism and office oligarchy. Anybody who says these people are "free" is lying or stupid. You are what you do. If you do boring, stupid, monotonous work, chances are you'll end up boring, stupid and monotonous. Work is a much better explanation for the creeping cretinization all around us than even such significant moronizing mechanisms as television and education. People who are regimented all their lives, handed off to work from school and bracketed by the family in the beginning and nursing home at the end, are habituated to hierarchy and psychologically enslaved. Their aptitude for autonomy is so atrophied that their fear of freedom is among their few rationally grounded phobias. Their obedience training at work carries over into the families they start, thus reproducing the system in more ways than one, and into politics, culture, and everything else. Once you drain the vitality from people at work, they'll likely submit to hierarchy and expertise in everything. They're used to it.

We are so close to the world of work that we can't see what it does to us. We have to rely on outside observers from other times or other cultures to appreciate the extremity and the pathology of our present position. There was a time in our own past when the "work ethic" would have been incomprehensible, and perhaps Max Weber was on to something when he tied its appearance to a religion, Calvinism, which if it emerged today instead of four centuries ago would immediately and appropriately be labelled a cult. Be that as it may, we have only to draw upon the wisdom of antiquity to put work in perspective. The ancients saw work for what it is, and their view prevailed, the Calvinist cranks notwithstanding, until overthrown by industrialism -- but not before receiving the endorsement of its prophets.

Let's pretend for a moment that work doesn't turn people into stultified submissives. Let's pretend, in defiance of any plausible psychology and the ideology of its boosters, that it has no effect on the formation of character. And let's pretend that work isn't as boring and tiring and humiliating as we all know it really is. Even then, work would *still* make a mockery of all humanistic and democratic aspirations, just because it usurps so much of our time. Socrates said that manual laborers make bad friends and bad citizens because they have no time to fulfill the responsibilities of friendship and citizenship. He was right. Because of work, no matter what we do we keep looking at our watches. The only thing "free" about so-called free time is that it doesn't cost the boss anything. Free time is mostly devoted to getting ready for work, going to work, returning from work, and recovering from work. Free time is a euphemism for the peculiar way labor as a factor of production not only transports itself at its own expense to and from the workplace but assumes primary responsibility for its own maintenance and repair. Coal and steel don't do that. Lathes and typewriters don't do that. But workers do. No wonder Edward G. Robinson in one of his gangster movies exclaimed, "Work is for saps!"

Both Plato and Xenophon attribute to Socrates and obviously share with him

an awareness of the destructive effects of work on the worker as a citizen and as a human being. Herodotus identified contempt for work as an attribute of the classical Greeks at the zenith of their culture. To take only one Roman example, Cicero said that "whoever gives his labor for money sells himself and puts himself in the rank of slaves." His candor is now rare, but contemporary primitive societies which we are wont to look down upon have provided spokesmen who have enlightened Western anthropologists. The Kapauku of West Iran, according to Leopold Posposil, have a conception of balance in life and accordingly work only every other day, the day of rest being designed "to regain the lost power and health". Our ancestors, even as late as the 18th century when they were far along the path to our present predicament, at least were aware of what we have forgotten, the underside of industrialization. Their religious devotion to "St. Monday" -- thus establishing a *de facto* five-day week 150 - 200 years before its legal consecration -- was the despair of the earliest factory owners. They took a long time in submitting to the tyranny of the bell, predecessor of the time clock. In fact, it was necessary for a generation or two to replace adult males with women accustomed to obedience and children who could be molded to fit industrial needs. Even the exploited peasants of the *ancien regime* wrested substantial time back from their landlords' work. According to Lafargue, a fourth of the French peasants' calendar was devoted to Sundays and holidays, and Chayanov's figures from villages in Czarist Russia -- hardly a progressive society -- likewise show a fourth or fifth of peasants' days devoted to repose. Controlling for productivity, we are obviously far behind these backward societies. The exploited *muzhiks* would wonder why any of us are working at all. So should we.

To grasp the full enormity of our deterioration, however, consider the earliest condition of humanity, without government or property, when we wandered as hunter-gatherers. Hobbes surmised that life was then nasty, brutish and short. Others assume that life was a desperate unremitting struggle for subsistence, a war waged against a harsh Nature with death and disaster awaiting the unlucky or anyone who was unequal to the challenge of the struggle for existence. Actually, that was all a projection of fears for the collapse of government authority over communities unaccustomed to doing without it, like the England of Hobbes during the Civil War. Hobbes' compatriots had already encountered alternative forms of society which illustrated other ways of life -- in North America, particularly -- but already these were too remote from their experience to be comprehensible. (The lower orders, closer to the condition of the Indians, understood it better and often found it attractive. Throughout the 17th century, English settlers defected to Indian tribes or, captured in war, refused to return. But the Indians no more defected to white settlements than Germans climb the Berlin Wall from the West.) The "survival of the fittest" version -- the Thomas Huxley version -- of Darwinism was a better account of economic conditions in Victorian England than it was of natural selection, as the anarchist Kropotkin showed in his book *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution*. (Kropotkin was a scientist -- a geographer -- who'd had ample involuntary opportunity for field work whilst exiled in Siberia: he knew what he was talking about.) Like most social and political theory, the story Hobbes and his successors told was really unacknowledged autobiography.

The anthropologist Marshall Sahlins, surveying the data on contemporary hunter-gatherers, exploded the Hobbesian myth in an article entitled "The Original Affluent Society". These primitives work a lot less than we do, and their work is hard to distinguish from what we regard as play. Sahlins concluded that

"hunters and gatherers work less than we do; and, rather than a continuous travail, the food quest is intermittent, leisure abundant, and there is a greater amount of sleep in the daytime per capita per year than in any other condition of society." They worked an average of four hours a day, assuming they were "working" at all. Their "labor", as it appears to us, was skilled labor which exercised their physical and intellectual capacities; unskilled labor on any large scale, as Sahlins says, is impossible except under industrialism. Thus it satisfied Friedrich Schiller's definition of play, the only occasion on which man realizes his complete humanity by giving full "play" to both sides of his two-fold nature: thinking and feeling. As he put it: "The animal works when deprivation is the mainspring of its activity, and it plays when the fullness of its strength is this mainspring, when superabundant life is its own stimulus to activity." (A modern version -- dubiously developmental -- is Abraham Maslow's counterposition of "deficiency" and "growth" motivation.) Play and freedom are, as regards production, coextensive. Even Marx, who belongs (for all his good intentions) in the productivist pantheon, observed that "the realm of freedom does not commence until the point is passed where labor under the compulsion of necessity and external utility is required." He never could quite bring himself to identify this happy condition as what it is, the abolition of work -- it's rather anomalous, after all, to be pro-worker and anti-work -- but we can.

The aspiration to go backwards or forwards to a life without work is evident in every serious social or cultural history of pre-industrial Europe, among them M. Dorothy George's *England in Transition* and Peter Burke's *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*. Also pertinent is Daniel Bell's essay "Work and Its Discontents", the first text, I believe, to refer to the "revolt against work" in so many words and, had it been understood, an important correction to the complacency ordinarily associated with the volume in which it was collected, *The End of Ideology*. Neither critics nor celebrants have noticed that Bell's end-of-ideology thesis signalled not the end of social unrest but the beginning of a new, uncharted phase unconstrained and uninformed by ideology. It was Seymour Lipset (in *Political Man*), not Bell, who announced at the same time that "the fundamental problems of the Industrial Revolution have been solved", only a few years before the post- or meta-industrial discontents of college students drove Lipset from UC Berkeley to the relative (and temporary) tranquillity of Harvard.

As Bell notes, Adam Smith, in *The Wealth of Nations*, for all his enthusiasm for the market and the division of labor, was more alert to (and more honest about) the seamy side of work than Ayn Rand or the Chicago economists or any of Smith's modern epigones. As Smith observed: "The understandings of the greater part of men are necessarily formed by their ordinary employments. The man whose life is spent in performing a few simple operations... has no occasion to exert his understanding.... He generally becomes as stupid and ignorant as it is possible for a human creature to become." Here, in a few blunt words, is my critique of work. Bell, writing in 1956, the Golden Age of Eisenhower embecility and American self-satisfaction, identified the unorganized, unorganizable malaise of the 1970's and since, the one no political tendency is able to harness, the one identified in HEW's report *Work in America*, the one which cannot be exploited and so is ignored. That problem is the revolt against work. It does not figure in any text by any laissez-faire economist -- Milton Friedman, Murray Rothbard, Ruchard Posner -- because, in their terms, as they used to say on Star Trek, "it does not compute."

If these objections, informed by the love of liberty, fail to persuade humanists of a utilitarian or even paternalist turn, there are others which they cannot disregard. Work is hazardous to your health, to borrow a book title.

In fact, work is mass murder or genocide. Directly or indirectly, work will kill most of the people who read these words. Between 14,000 and 25,000 workers are killed annually in this country on the job. Over two million are disabled. Twenty to twenty-five million are injured every year. And these figures are based on a very conservative estimation of what constitutes a work-related injury. Thus they don't count the half million cases of occupational disease every year. I looked at one medical textbook on occupational diseases which was 1,200 pages long. Even this barely scratches the surface. The available statistics count the obvious cases like the 100,000 miners who have black lung disease, of whom 4,000 die every year, a much higher fatality rate than for AIDS, for instance, which gets so much media attention. This reflects the unvoiced assumption that AIDS afflicts perverts who could control their depravity whereas coal-mining is a sacrosanct activity beyond question. What the statistics don't show is that tens of millions of people have their lifespans shortened by work -- which is all that homicide means, after all. Consider the doctors who work themselves to death in their 50's. Consider all the other workaholics.

Even if you aren't killed or crippled while actually working, you very well might be while going to work, coming from work, looking for work, or trying to forget about work. The vast majority of victims of the automobile are either doing one of these work-obligatory activities or else fall afoul of those who do them. To this augmented body count must be added the victims of auto-industrial pollution and work-induced alcoholism and drug addiction. Both cancer and heart disease are modern afflictions normally traceable, directly or indirectly, to work.

Work, then, institutionalizes homicide as a way of life. People think the Cambodians were crazy for exterminating themselves, but are we any different? The Pol Pot regime at least had a vision, however blurred, of an egalitarian society. We kill people in the six-figure range (at least) in order to sell Big Macs and Cadillacs to the survivors. Our forty or fifty thousand annual highway fatalities are victims, not martyrs. They died for nothing -- or rather, they died for work. But work is nothing to die for.

Bad news for liberals: regulatory tinkering is useless in this life-and-death context. The federal Occupational Safety and Health Administration was designed to police the core part of the problem, workplace safety. Even before Reagan and the Supreme Court stifled it, OSHA was a farce. At previous and (by current standards) generous Carter-era funding levels, a workplace could expect a random visit from an OSHA inspector once every 46 years.

State control of the economy is no solution. Work is, if anything, more dangerous in the state-socialist countries than it is here. Thousands of Russian workers were killed or injured building the Moscow subway. Stories reverberate about covered-up Soviet nuclear disasters which make Times Beach and Three Mile Island look like elementary-school air-raid drills.

On the other hand, deregulation, currently fashionable, won't help and will probably hurt. From a health and safety standpoint, among others, work was at its worst in the days when the economy most closely approximated laissez-faire. Historians like Eugene Genovese have argued persuasively that -- as antebellum slavery apologists insisted -- factory wage-workers in the Northern American states and in Europe were worse off than Southern plantation slaves. No rearrangement of relations among bureaucrats and businessmen seems to make much difference at the point of production. Serious enforcement of even the rather vague standards enforceable in theory by OSHA would probably bring the economy to a stand-

still. The enforcers apparently appreciate this, since they don't even try to crack down on most malefactors.

What I've said so far ought not to be controversial. Many workers are fed up with work. There are high and rising rates of absenteeism, turnover, employee theft and sabotage, wildcat strikes, and overall goldbricking on the job. There may be some movement toward a conscious and not just visceral rejection of work. And yet the prevalent feeling, universal among bosses and their agents and also widespread among workers themselves, is that work itself is inevitable and necessary.

I disagree. It is now possible to abolish work and replace it, insofar as it serves useful purposes, with a multitude of new kinds of free activities. To abolish work requires going at it from two directions, quantitative and qualitative. On the one hand, on the quantitative side, we have to cut down massively on the amount of work being done. At present most work is useless or worse and we should simply get rid of it. On the other hand -- and I think this is the crux of the matter and the revolutionary new departure -- we have to take what useful work remains and transform it into a pleasing variety of game-like and craft-like pastimes, indistinguishable from other pleasurable pastimes except that they happen to yield useful end-products. Surely that shouldn't make them less enticing to do. Then all the artificial barriers of power and property could come down. Creation could become recreation. And we could all stop being afraid of each other.

I don't suggest that most work is salvageable in this way. But then most work isn't worth trying to save. Only a small and diminishing fraction of work serves any useful purpose independent of the defense and reproduction of the work-system and its political and legal appendages. Twenty years ago, Paul and Percival Goodman estimated that just five per cent of the work then being done -- presumably the figure, if accurate, is lower now -- would satisfy our minimal needs for food, clothing and shelter. Theirs was only an educated guess but the main point is quite clear: directly or indirectly, most work serves the unproductive purposes of commerce or social control. Right off the bat we can liberate tens of millions of salesmen, soldiers, managers, cops, stockbrokers, clergymen, bankers, lawyers, teachers, landlords, security guards, ad-men and everyone who works for them. There is a snowball effect since every time you idle some bigshot you liberate his flunkys and underlings also. Thus the economy *implodes*.

Forty per cent of the workforce are white-collar workers, most of whom have some of the most tedious and idiotic jobs ever concocted. Entire industries, insurance and banking and real estate, for instance, consist of nothing but useless paper-shuffling. It is no accident that the "tertiary sector", the service sector, is growing, while the "secondary sector" (industry) stagnates and the "primary sector" (agriculture) nearly disappears. Because work is unnecessary except to those whose power it secures, workers are shifted from relatively useful to relatively useless occupations as a measure to assure public order. Anything is better than nothing. That's why you can't go home just because you finish early. They want your *time*, enough of it to make you theirs, even if they have no use for most of it. Otherwise why hasn't the average work week gone down by more than a few minutes in the last fifty years?

Next we can take a meat-cleaver to production work itself. No more war production, nuclear power, junk food, feminine hygiene deodorant -- and above all, no more auto industry to speak of. An occasional Stanley Steamer or Model T might be all right, but the auto-eroticism on which such pestholes as Detroit

and Los Angeles depend is out of the question. Already, without even trying, we've virtually solved the energy crisis, the environmental crisis, and assorted other insoluble social problems.

Finally, we must do away with far and away the largest occupation, the one with the longest hours, the lowest pay and some of the most tedious tasks around. I refer to *housewives* doing housework and child-rearing. By abolishing wage-labor and achieving full unemployment we undermine the sexual division of labor. The nuclear family as we know it is an inevitable adaptation to the division of labor imposed by modern wage-work. Like it or not, as things have been for the last century or two it is economically rational for the man to bring home the bacon, for the woman to do the shitwork to provide him with a haven in a heartless world, and for the children to be marched off to youth concentration camps called "schools", primarily to keep them out of Mom's hair but still under control, but incidentally to acquire the habits of obedience and punctuality so necessary for workers. If you would be rid of patriarchy, get rid of the nuclear family whose unpaid "shadow work", as Ivan Illich says, makes possible the work-system that makes *it* necessary. Bound up with this no-nukes strategy is the abolition of childhood and the closing of the schools. There are more full-time students than full-time workers in this country. We need children as teachers, not students. They have a lot to contribute to the ludic revolution because they're better at playing than grown-ups are. Adults and children are not identical but they will become equal through interdependence. Only play can bridge the generation gap.

I haven't as yet even mentioned the possibility of cutting way down on the little work that remains by automating and cybernizing it. All the scientists and engineers and technicians freed from bothering with war research and planned obsolescence should have a good time devising means to eliminate fatigue and tedium and danger from activities like mining. Undoubtedly they'll find other projects to amuse themselves with. Perhaps they'll set up world-wide all-inclusive multi-media communications systems or found space colonies. Perhaps. I myself am no gadget freak. I wouldn't care to live in a pushbutton paradise. I don't want robot slaves to do everything; I want to do things myself. There is, I think, a place for labor-saving technology, but a modest place. The historical and pre-historical record is not encouraging. When productive technology went from hunting-gathering to agriculture and on to industry, work increased while skills and self-determination diminished. The further evolution of industrialism has only accentuated what Harry Braverman called the degradation of work. Intelligent observers have always been aware of this. John Stuart Mill wrote that all the labor-saving inventions ever devised haven't saved a moment's labor. Karl Marx wrote that "it would be possible to write a history of the inventions, made since 1830, for the sole purpose of supplying capital with weapons against the revolts of the working class." The enthusiastic technophiles -- Saint-Simon, Comte, Lenin, B. F. Skinner -- have always been unabashed authoritarians also; which is to say, technocrats. We should be more than sceptical about the promises of the computer mystics. *They* work like dogs; chances are, if they have their way, so will the rest of us. But if they have any particularized contributions more readily subordinated to human purposes than the run of high tech, let's give them a hearing.

What I really want to see is work turned into play. A first step is to discard the notions of a "job" and an "occupation". Even activities that already have some ludic content lose most of it by being reduced to jobs which certain people, and only those people, are forced to do to the exclusion of all else.

Is it not odd that farm workers toil painfully in the fields while their air-conditioned masters go home every weekend and putter about in their gardens? Under a system of permanent revelry, we will witness the Golden Age of the dilettante which will put the Renaissance to shame. There won't be any more jobs, just things to do and people to do them.

The secret of turning work into play, as Charles Fourier demonstrated, is to arrange useful activities to take advantage of whatever it is that various people at various times in fact enjoy doing. To make it possible for some people to do the things they could enjoy it will be enough just to eradicate the irrationalities and distortions which afflict these activities when they are reduced to work. I, for instance, would enjoy doing some (not too much) teaching, but I don't want coerced students and I don't care to suck up to pathetic pedants for tenure.

Second, there are some things that people like to do from time to time, but not for too long, and certainly not all the time. You might enjoy baby-sitting for a few hours in order to share the company of kids, but not as much as their parents do. The parents meanwhile profoundly appreciate the time to themselves that you free up for them, although they'd get fretful if parted from their progeny for too long. These differences among individuals are what make a life of free play possible. The same principle applies to many other areas of activity, especially the primal ones. Thus many people enjoy cooking when they can practice it seriously at their leisure, but not when they're just fuelling up human bodies for work.

Third -- other things being equal -- some things that are unsatisfying if done by yourself or in unpleasant surroundings or at the orders of an overlord are enjoyable, at least for a while, if these circumstances are changed. This is probably true, to some extent, of all work. People deploy their otherwise wasted ingenuity to make a game of the least inviting drudge-jobs as best they can. Activities that appeal to some people don't always appeal to all others, but everyone at least potentially has a variety of interests and an interest in variety. As the saying goes, "anything once." Fourier was the master at speculating how aberrant and perverse penchants could be put to use in post-civilized society, what he called Harmony. He thought the emperor Nero would have turned out all right if as a child he could have indulged his taste for bloodshed by working in a slaughterhouse. Small children who notoriously relish wallowing in filth could be organized in "Little Hordes" to clean toilets and empty the garbage, with medals awarded to the outstanding. I am not arguing for these precise examples but for the underlying principle, which I think makes perfect sense as one dimension of an overall revolutionary transformation.

Bear in mind that we don't have to take today's work just as we find it and match it up with the proper people, some of whom would have to be perverse indeed. If technology has a role in all this, it is less to automate work out of existence than to open up new realms for re/creation. To some extent we may want to return to handicrafts, which William Morris considered a probable and desirable upshot of communist revolution. Art would be taken back from the snobs and collectors, abolished as a specialized department catering to an elite audience, and its qualities of beauty and creation restored to integral life from which they were stolen by work. It's a sobering thought that the Grecian urns we write odes about and showcase in museums were used in their own time to store olive oil. I doubt our everyday artifacts will fare as well in the future, if there is one. There's no such thing as progress in the world of work; if

anything it's just the opposite. We shouldn't hesitate to pilfer the past for what it has to offer; the ancients lose nothing yet we are enriched.

The reinvention of daily life means marching off the edge of our maps. There is, it is true, more suggestive speculation available than most people suspect. Besides Fourier and Morris -- and even a hint, here and there, in Marx -- there are the writings of Kropotkin, the syndicalists Pataud and Pouget, anarchocommunists old (Berkman) and new (Bookchin). The Goodman brothers' *Communitas* is exemplary for illustrating what forms follow from given functions (purposes), and there is something to be gleaned from the often hazy heralds of alternative/appropriate/intermediate/convivial technology, like Schumacher and especially Illich, once you disconnect their fog machines. The situationists -- as represented by Raul Vaneigem's *Revolution of Everyday Life* and in the *Situationist International Anthology* -- are so ruthlessly lucid as to be exhilarating, even if they never did quite square the endorsement of the rule of the workers' councils with the abolition of work. Better their incongruity, though, than any extant version of leftism, whose devotees look to be the last champions of work, for if there were no work there would be no workers, and without workers, who would they have left to organize?

So the abolitionists would be largely on their own. No one can say what would result from unleashing the creative power stultified by work. Anything can happen. The tiresome debater's problem of freedom vs. necessity, with its theological overtones, resolves itself practically once the production of use-values is coextensive with the consumption of delightful play-activity.

Life will become a game, or rather many games, but not -- as it is now -- a zero/sum game. An optimal sexual encounter is the paradigm of productive play. The participants potentiate each other's pleasures, nobody keeps score, and everybody wins. The more you give, the more you get. In the ludic life, the best of sex will diffuse into the better part of daily life. Generalized play leads to the libidinization of life. Sex, in turn, can become less urgent and desperate, more playful. If we play our cards right, we can all get more out of life than we put into it; but only if we play for keeps.

No one should ever work. Workers of the world -- relax!



Marijuana Revolution

by John Sinclair

This article first appeared in pamphlet form, published by the Rainbow People's Party of Ann Arbor, Michigan, in July 1971. The author, Chairman of the Rainbow People's Party, was then imprisoned for possession of marijuana -- he had received a ten-year sentence for possession of two joints. This article was originally written to be an introduction to a book by Michael Aldrich entitled *Free Marijuana*.

It might seem strange to a lot of people to spend so much time and energy -- and so many pages -- on the subject of marijuana, which is after all only an innocuous naturally-occurring weed that people smoke to get high. But what's even stranger is that an increasingly frightening number of people are being *ordered* to spend inconsiderable amounts of time (9½ to 10 years in my case) in penitentiaries and prisons simply for smoking this weed in America these days. People who do smoke marijuana are probably pretty much aware of the things I want to say in this article, but for those who can't understand what all the commotion is about, maybe my remarks will be helpful.

It just doesn't seem to make any sense to have so many people smoking and praising this weird little weed marijuana, and it makes even less sense to see these people attacked so viciously by the purveyors of "law and order". But once some basic facts concerning marijuana use and marijuana repression are established, it seems to me that the whole issue will become much clearer, and that we can finally move to rectify the situation which is now so confusing.

There are two essential questions I want to deal with: (1) What are the intrinsic properties of marijuana, that is, what are its effects on the bodies and the minds of its users? And (2), what are the social properties of marijuana,



that is, what effect does its use have upon its users as social beings in America now, and why is there so much opposition from the state to its use by young people? These two questions can be distinguished one from the other for the purposes of this discussion, but my assertion is and will be that they cannot be separated from one another in actual practice -- for people do everything they do in the world as social beings, and whatever they do has its causes in the social circumstances in which they find themselves just as it has its effects in the same arena. Which is only to say, everything is everything, and nothing can be separated from its context in the world, if you can relate to that.

The intrinsic properties of marijuana are probably best described in the simple statement, *it gets you high*. Marijuana, or weed, or grass, or reefer, or whatever you want to call it, gets people *high*, and they love it for that. They love it because it makes them *feel good*, like no other substance known to man, and in doing this it has no adverse effects whatsoever: it causes no "hangovers", it doesn't deaden (but rather it heightens) the senses, it is not toxic or poisonous, it is not addictive in any physical term, it's easily ingested, easily and quickly assimilated into the blood-stream, easily and quickly taken in by the brain and transformed into a euphoric force which quickly informs the whole body of the smoker. In fact, the only thing wrong with it is that its effects don't last long enough -- every few hours you have to recharge yourself with a few more tokes on that good weed, in order to maintain that nice high.

And one of the best features of this high is the increased sensual perception marijuana brings -- it makes you more aware of your body, of the workings of your mind, of the immediate environment in which you find yourself. It sharpens your sense of taste, of smell, of touch, of hearing, of sight, and that sixth sense as well, the sense of totality of feeling, of being a whole organism alive on the planet and in touch with what's going on around you. It makes you feel more *natural*, like you're really an animal walking around on Earth and not simply some abstraction to be taken into account by governments and computers and salesmen and employers and income tax collectors who lock on you as a cog in their machine.

But you see how quickly we pass from the intrinsic, or personal, into the social, and that's only right too, because like I said we can't possibly separate the one from the other as long as we are living in the world and not in our heads. The point is that people who smoke marijuana don't get high in a vacuum -- in fact, the overwhelmingly significant fact about marijuana in the West (where we are) is that people are getting high in the middle of a heavy anti-euphoric culture, and that its effect as a dynamic euphoriant immediately puts its users in a position of conflict with the dominant culture.

In the first place, as I suggested just now, we live in a social order, or under a social order which is essentially anti-euphoric, and although this social order is rapidly becoming obsolete (due to a fundamental change in the economic and technological underpinnings of its culture), the people who control this social order are definitely from the old school, the control school, and they are desperately trying to maintain their control the only way they know how. They are the dinosaurs of the machine age, they believe firmly in the absolute virtues of competition, consumption, control, and closed consciousness, and their idea of having a good time boils down to getting drunk, playing golf, watching Bob Hope or Ed Sullivan or Spiro P. Agnew on TV, going to a football game, making money, buying a big new car, going to the beauty parlor for a new hairdo, mixing it up at a cocktail party, and maybe going on a vacation trip and staying in Howard Johnson motels on the way.

But they aren't like that by accident -- all culture develops as a function of the operative economic and technological factors in a particular time and place, and the control culture of present-day America has been created by the demands of the capitalist economic system and the industrial technology which it has developed to serve its needs. The machine age demands a very serious attitude from the people who are caught up in it, it demands subservience to the machine itself and to the "owners" who control the machine, it demands allegiance to the concept of efficiency and control, and it severely limits the range of possibilities for life and consciousness among its people. Workers in the industrial age, and especially those industrial workers who labor within a capitalist system which is constructed to bring maximum profits to an ownership minority, are kept chained to their machines and desks by the relentless drive for more efficiency and more profits for the owners, and their life away from "the job" is almost wholly given over to various forms of escape from the work-a-day world. Their culture is an escapist culture which is most precisely characterized by their use of alcohol and their intense interest in various types of "games". When they are away from the factory or the office or the store, the workers (a term which I will insist includes not only assembly-line laborers but also clerks, managers, service suppliers, bureaucrats, secretaries, and all those who contribute to the success of industry while having no effective share in the means of production or the products of their labor) are interested in little but escaping from that world of work, in deadening their senses and decreasing their awareness of social realities so they can stand their situation better when they return to the job.

Now I know that these are widely sweeping statements and of course they don't hold true for all workers, or all the people who participate in the dominant culture in this country, but when we talk about cultures we are by definition talking about general developments with innumerable specific deviations from the norm. And I don't think it's any kind of exaggeration to say that the dominant culture is an escapist culture, and understandably so -- the controlling forces have fostered a schizophrenic situation wherein the "common man" is kept enslaved in the industrial-productive system for the best part of his time, and propelled into escapism when he's off the job so as to "compensate" for the privations and humiliations he suffers "at work". The industrial system depends for its survival on deadening the senses of its human components both on and off the job -- for if the workers were to expand their sensual awareness (that is to say, their consciousness) they would realize the unjustness of their situation and they would refuse to contribute any further to their own enslavement.

So one of the major functions of the state in a capitalist industrial system is to keep the people firmly in line, and capitalist culture reinforces the power of the state to the extent that it instills in the citizens the values and tenets of the ownership class and gives the people the illusion that they have an effective stake in the survival of that system. Without this feeling of meaningful participation in the system, the people who live under that system would have little interest in seeing the capitalist system perpetuate itself. But with such a feeling the people will make concessions and sacrifices and go along with whatever's offered them simply because they are given to feel that there are no alternatives, no possibilities for life outside such a system.

Marijuana makes people aware of alternatives to the machine life of American industrialism -- it demonstrates in a very specific term that there are other and more exciting possibilities for life in this day and age than whiskey and football

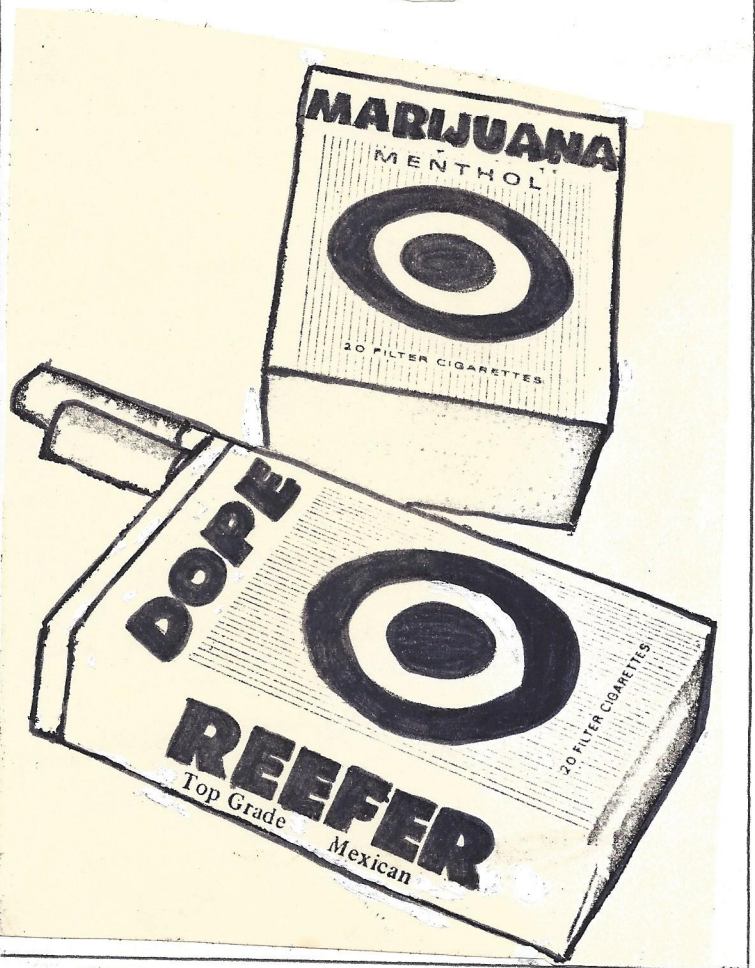
games and ulcers and a lifetime on the assembly line or in the office, and it makes people wonder why this old-time shit is still going on. Instead of deadening people's consciousness, marijuana brings people back to life and expands their awareness of the world and their own possibilities for life in that world, and it leads them to questions that otherwise wouldn't have been asked: why are we at war in Indochina? Why is racism so rampant in every area of American life? Why can't people love each other? Why are our politicians and businessmen and generals such liars and hypocrites? Why is everything so fucked up?

The answers to these questions are beyond the scope of this essay, but that isn't the point here anyway. My point is that more and more young people are being led, and I will say definitely being led by their use of marijuana and other psychedelic agents, to ask these questions, and to seek out the answers for themselves. I've seen this happen in myself, and for the past five or six years I've seen it work all around the country, and I will insist that the tremendous increase and spread of marijuana use has had a direct and definite effect on this process, an effect which has led to the subsequent (I would say *consequent*) increase in marijuana repression by the established state.

Now I'm getting back to where I started from, but before I go on I should elaborate on the social and economic conditions in the West today, so we can see the whole context in which this increase in marijuana use (and in marijuana repression) is taking place. We (that is, humanity) now have the possibility, for the first time since the Paleolithic, of living in a society based on material abundance, a world in which

If you are a smoker:
smoke

POT



people's productive, social and cultural life will not be determined by conditions of material scarcity. Mankind was born into abundance for millenia, and human culture -- tribal, audile-tactile, communal -- grew up in (and out of) this economic condition, being transformed into its opposite -- fragmented, visual-linear, individualistic -- when the pre-scarcity economic condition was transformed by an ever-increasing population into a condition of scarcity. This transformation took place first in the West, where the material (physical-geographical) conditions were the poorest, and as scarcity conditions replaced pre-scarcity conditions a Western culture based in scarcity consciousness grew up and eventually replaced the pre-scarcity culture. This scarcity culture and the necessities of scarcity economics produced what we know as agricultural, then trade, then imperial, then feudalist, then mercantilist, then industrial, and now cybernetic technology and culture, being determined at each stage of development by the economic conditions which obtained in the West.

My point is that now, with the advent of cybernetic technology, we are equipped to end scarcity and move on into the future, which will be a period of post-scarcity abundance, re-tribalization (through electronic technology and the new post-scarcity economics), and a world-wide communalism based on common wealth and common access to the abundance made possible by the new technology. This is our destiny as a people, and the only thing that's holding us back from it now is the continuing domination of the capitalist ownership class over the means of production, i.e. the cybernetic technology, and their determination to use this technology only in the immediate interests of profit and control. Their position is understandable -- their lives and their desires have been shaped by scarcity conditions and they don't understand the implications of the technology they've created in furthering their class interests -- but they must be implacably opposed until they are removed from the seat of power so that humanity can progress as it's supposed to.

Marijuana, taken within this overall context, prepares people for the future -- its use within this social context promotes communalism, sharing, ego-loss, increased sensitivity to the needs of other people, creativeness, heightened awareness of natural possibilities, and other related character traits which will prepare people to live in the age of post-scarcity abundance. The young people who are smoking marijuana and getting high in the West right now are ready to step into the new world, they have evolved in a very short time a new-world consciousness and a new-world culture, they are natives of the new world even as it is just being born, and if the change were to come tomorrow they would be the first full citizens of the future, fully at home in the age of abundance.

But since they exist in the old world and carry on their activity within the context of the old world, their use of marijuana puts them in conflict with the control elements of the old order and makes them see the absolute necessity of rejecting and abolishing the scarcity system and culture and of replacing them with a whole new system, a post-scarcity, post-Western social system based on the free exchange of energy and materials and complete self-determination for all peoples.

The post-Western young people who smoke weed and stay high are painfully aware of the inadequacies of the old order to begin with, i.e. even before they start getting high -- electronic technology has played a large role in developing that modern awareness -- and when they start smoking marijuana within the confines of the dominant culture their awareness of the contradictions inherent in the dying system is incredibly heightened. They get so high that they don't want

to put up with those contradictions any longer, and they learn that in order to stay high -- and in order for all people to get turned on like they are, which is one of their primary goals -- the old order, the anti-euphoric order of the machine age, has to be completely and irreversibly abolished, done away with, so that people can be free to follow their natural destinies.

"The history of mankind is one of continuous development from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom" (Mao Tse-tung said that), and it's hard to hold people back when the economic necessity for being held back is no longer operable. In America today -- throughout the world -- the move is for more freedom, starting in the economic realm as everything does and moving through the political and cultural superstructures which are shaped by and which reflect that economic base. The Revolution which is total and ongoing is about freedom for all people to develop themselves and their cultural and economic activity to their highest possible levels, and it is being carried out against the forces of capitalist control which insist that only the privileged people of Earth, the people of their choosing, are entitled to their freedom.

Let me try to get back again to where I left off some time back. I don't want to make marijuana seem to be a powerful revolutionary weapon, because in and of itself it's only a relatively harmless little old weed. But I'll repeat (and this is so important to me that I'll probably repeat it a few more times before I get done with this) that marijuana (nor anything else, for that matter) cannot be taken by itself, that it must be examined within the context in which it is used, and that it is this context of Western industrial society which gives marijuana its social utility and its important role in the world revolution now on tracks. Marijuana is not much of a force of any kind in the "underdeveloped" world, except for its use as a religious sacrament, simply because people in these areas have a lot more basic things on their minds -- they are still primarily concerned with feeding and clothing themselves, housing and educating themselves, with defending themselves from imperialist armies and colonialist exploiters, and they don't have much time available for getting high and enjoying the fruits of abundance as the young people of the West have.

But it is the West we're concerned with here, because that's where we are and that's where this book will be published and read. And it's in the West that marijuana is an issue, simply because so many Westerners (or post-western young people) are not only smoking weed and feeling its effects but are also being mercilessly and viciously prosecuted by the forces of the capitalist state. Thus the act of smoking marijuana and getting high is in the West a political act, if only because it carries heavy political consequences, but also (as I've tried to say above) because it has definite economic and cultural effects within the context of Western culture.

George Orwell made this point very effectively in his book *1984*, describing the illicit coupling of Winston Smith and a young sister who worked with him in the Ingsee bureaucracy: "You could not have pure love or pure lust nowadays. No emotion was pure, because everything was mixed up with fear and hatred. Their embrace had been a battle, the climax a victory. It was a blow struck against the Party. It was a political act." Not in itself, that is, but because it took place, as everything takes place, in a political context (just as marijuana use now takes place in a political context in the West), and because the state had set itself up as against the spontaneity and freedom inherent in the act of love. If the state makes fucking illegal, then fucking is a political act, an act of insurrection, "a blow struck against the party".

But this is all just descriptive so far. What we want to find out is *how* is

marijuana use a political act, and what are its political effects? Intrinsically, marijuana has revolutionary potential in a control-and-profit-oriented social order because it breaks down control at the individual level, it breaks down the artificial barriers which have been erected inside people's heads so as to keep them in line, it destroys the Western concepts of time and space which have been developed as a function of industrialism and imperialism. Marijuana puts you in touch with your senses, and your reawakened senses will put you in touch with the natural world, that is, the world outside the limits of the factories and offices and schools and penitentiaries of the machine society of the West.

These are some of the primary intrinsic effects of marijuana use in America today, and its social effect is precisely parallel to its intrinsic effect. That is to say, where marijuana puts people in a position of conflict with the dominant culture by heightening their sensitivity and rendering them incapable of living and working unprotestingly in the death culture, so does it place marijuana smokers in a conflict relationship with the forces of established order which exist primarily to maintain the death culture by eliminating from active society all subversive elements, that is, people who reject and rebel against the basic assumptions of scarcity capitalist society. Young people who would not otherwise come to see themselves as being seriously in conflict with the established order are steadily being politicised and radicalised by the "legal" apparatus of the capitalist state simply because they persist in smoking marijuana and trying to stay high -- even though most of them originally wanted to have nothing to do with "politics" at all.

Smoking marijuana in a society which has declared marijuana illegal makes you a criminal, subject in many states and also federally to imprisonment as a felon, and everyone who smokes marijuana under the present system is (or quickly becomes) aware of the dire consequences of this innocent act. Even if you aren't ever arrested, jailed, tried or imprisoned you still live under constant fear of being busted by the ubiquitous narcotics police, you are subject to having your phone tapped, your person and possessions (starting with your home) pawed over and ripped apart by these goons and their uniformed accomplices, your privacy subject to violation by the police at any moment of the night or day. And if you do fall into the clutches of the police and their associates in the prosecutor's office and judicial chambers and jails and penitentiaries, you are thrown into a world you would never have thought could exist in the kind of country you'd always thought America was. For the courts and the jails are the carefully-disguised cesspools of American society -- only those who are branded as *criminals* ever find out how hopelessly vile and perverted these institutions are. And in the past few years thousands and thousands of young people who would otherwise have gone through their lives as my parents did, believing in the garbage and lies dished out by the "legal" authorities about their wonderful justice and their noble penal institutions (they call them "correctional facilities"), are being exposed to the grim realities of American life by virtue of their use of the killer weed marijuana.

This has had a tremendous radicalising effect on American youth, and where SDS and the anti-war movement and other overtly political forces have been unable to convert the youth masses to a revolutionary point of view and a new political awareness, the police and courts through their persecution of marijuana smokers have succeeded. For once you are treated like a criminal you start to develop what we call "outlaw consciousness" -- you realize that somehow you have become an enemy of the state, and as you get high you start to think about the nature

of the state that considers this wonderfully euphoric and benevolent act a crime. You start asking the questions we were talking about a few pages back, and you start coming up with some answers -- answers which force you to reconsider your whole approach to living and which make you realize finally that (as one of our slogans goes), "If you wanna get high you're gonna have to fight." And you begin to see just what it is you're fighting against, and what has to be done about it -- you see that the whole repressive political and economic and cultural machinery of the capitalist state must be dismantled and thrown onto the junkheap of history. And then you smoke some more weed, and you start to get down.

Let me give you an example from my own experience, or I should say the example of my own experience, as a case very much in point. When I first started smoking marijuana, in 1961, I was still in college, trying to come to some sort of accommodation with the system. I was more or less aware that things weren't what they were supposed to be in America, but I felt essentially that it was just the fault of a few elected officials or Ed Sullivan or something, I didn't know what and didn't much care as long as I could go along my own way and do what I wanted to do, which was listen to music and get high and read and write poetry and just have a good time. Marijuana fit right into this life I had already created for myself, and it made things even groovier.

But the more weed I smoked the less I was able to stomach the stupidities and the daily irrelevancies of the so-called educational system I was caught up in, and I grew gradually farther and farther away from the machine world it proposed. Going to class wiped out on weed really makes you realize how ridiculous the whole Western system of "education" really is, how little it has to do with learning anything of value, and how destructive of native intelligence, curiosity and creativity it is. After a few months of this contradictory strain I dropped out of school for almost a year to immerse myself in Black ghetto life, which I approached from a stupid romantic beatnik viewpoint which held that there was where people really lived and fulfilled themselves. It wasn't like that though, and it didn't take me long to find out how fucked up America *really* is at its core, how pervasive and evil racism and industrial exploitation are in this country.

Some street brothers from that scene talked me into going back to school because my parents would pay for it and I wouldn't have to scuffle as hard as they (my street brothers) had to. So I re-enrolled in college, took a B.A. in American Literature and went on to Detroit to the Wayne State University Graduate School in English, where I attended classes until my government loan ran out. By that time I had lost all interest in ever becoming a functioning member of American society -- all I wanted to do was drop out of that mess and try to make some kind of alternative life possibility for myself and the people I lived with.

In the summer of 1964 a group of us got together over a whole lot of joints and smoked up a fantasy life that we immediately started to actualize. We formed an organization called the Artists' Workshop, rented a house with a big living room right in the middle of Detroit, and started putting on our own free music concerts, poetry readings, and exhibits of painting and photography. Music and marijuana held us together, inspired us and provided the impetus for everything we did. We started renting houses and came to control six full two-storey houses and two storefronts all on the same block, which we managed collectively as the Artists' Workshop Cooperative Housing Project. In the storefronts we had a workshop for our concerts, meetings, and for a short-lived venture called the Free University of Detroit, which was supposed to be an alternative to the established

university system. We also had a printing press and silk-screen equipment with which we printed our own books and posters and pamphlets.

But this operation was short-lived because just after we opened our Free University I was sentenced to do six months in the Detroit House of Correction for getting high. The actual crime was "possession of marijuana", reduced from the greater crime of "sales of marijuana" by virtue of my guilty plea to what they called "the lesser offense". When I had first moved to Detroit in the spring of 1964 I found that there were scores of people in the university neighborhood who smoked marijuana regularly, but that there was really no one with a regular source of supply, and I began to arrange to supply the community with weed through friends of mine in the Black ghetto who did have steady connections for the sacrament. I kept and sold enough grass to keep my friends and neighbors (and myself) high all the time, and one day in the fall of 1964 I sold two matchboxes of marijuana to the "friend of a friend" who turned out to be an undercover narcotics agent.

I retained a shady lawyer through another friend who had "connections" through his uncle, a bondsman, and this lawyer arranged with the prosecutor and the judge in charge of my case for me to plead guilty to a reduced charge of possession (as is usually done in these cases). I paid the lawyer \$150, the court \$250, and was placed on two years' probation and sent back to my neighborhood with a "stern warning", as they say in the newspapers. I was cynically advised by narcotics bureau detectives to switch to scotch in the future and stay out of trouble, but I knew that that was just as phoney as the transparently phoney court routine I was shunted through by my "fixer" lawyer, and I just went back to what I had been doing before I got popped, which was organizing the Workshop and trying to help organize my community.

This was in the winter of 1964. Ten months later, on August 16, 1965, I was arrested by the narcotics police for the second time, this time for letting a disguised undercover narcotics agent talk me into letting him drive me across town to score an ounce of marijuana from a friend of mine who was dealing weed for a living. He had followed me around for three weeks begging me to sell him some, give him some, lead him to some reefer, and I finally decided that the best way to get rid of him (short of knocking him on the head) would be to get him some worthless marijuana so he'd go away and never bother me again. I knew my friend across town had just been burned on a few pounds of bogus weed and I thought this way I could help him recover a little piece of his losses and get rid of this creep at the same time.

The only problem was that this creep was a narcotics detective in drag, and as soon as he dropped me back off at my commune his gang of thugs knocked my door down and dragged our whole household off to jail, charging me with "sales and possession" again.

By this time I was thoroughly pissed off at the narcotics police and their whole set-up, and I determined that this time we weren't going to take it lying down. I couldn't understand why they were spending so much time trying to bust me, and the whole thing really made me think about the significance of the work we were doing in the neighborhood. We had been operating under the assumption that we weren't doing anything that hadn't been held up to us as desirable by the dominant social order -- we were managing our own affairs, we weren't bothering anybody, we tried to stay out of the way and just make our life for ourselves. The only "illegal" thing we did was to smoke marijuana, and by this time we came to feel that we were taking a disproportionate share of the heat that was starting to come down on weed-heads everywhere.

All we had wanted to do was drop out of the mainstream of American life (which my wife described at that time as "a perpetual sewer"), just as new generations of Americans had been doing ever since Europeans settled this land, and live out our fantasies of a different kind of social order from that of our parents, fantasies which were directly inspired by the weed we smoked and the music and writing and art we lived with and made. We didn't want to have anything to do with the straight, "normal" world at all -- we didn't like what straight people were doing to each other and to the rest of the people on the planet (as well as to the planet itself), but we figured if we left them alone they'd leave us alone, and we could reach and maintain a sort of detente which would let straight people destroy themselves while we concentrated on making our fantasies real and building up an alternative social order in the process.

Yet here was this new factor -- the outside world couldn't stand to let us alone. The police and the people who give them their orders evidently figured that we were doing something altogether wrong and that we had to be stopped before we attracted any more converts from their university campuses and their suburban living rooms. We weren't doing anything illegal except getting high every day, and we didn't make a big thing of that, but that single issue served as the excuse for the power structure to send its dogs down on us, to shut us up by terrifying us before we could do any more harm to its sense of order. We were too naive to see it like that at the time -- we thought it was just a personal vendetta being carried out by the narcotics squad goons -- but, objectively, that's what was happening, although it took us some time to get hip to it.

When we were arrested that time, in August of 1965, the bust made the headlines in the Detroit dailies: WSU Dope Pushers Arrested in Campus Dope Raid! The stories under these headlines had nothing at all to do with the facts of the matter -- after all, I had been entrapped into letting an undercover agent drive me across town to procure one ounce of marijuana for him from an established dealer -- and this development really started us to thinking that there must be some kind of conspiratorial plot behind the actions of the police and the papers. We couldn't understand it, but we knew that if it was going to be this way our course of action was clear -- we had to strike back and try to expose the lies and slanders of the police and the newspapers, if only to protect ourselves from further raids and arrests.

The first thing I did (thinking it was all based on legalistic grounds) was to stop smoking weed -- I refused to have anything to do with marijuana from the day of my arrest to the day I was sent to DeHoCo six months later -- so they wouldn't be able to bust me on that again. Then I started looking for a lawyer who would defend me on the grounds that I had been entrapped into the criminal transaction, and that the Michigan marijuana laws were unconstitutional and void. I paid a lawyer who had been recommended to me an incredible sum of money on the assumption that he would prepare the necessary documents and fight my case for me, and, satisfied that everything would be taken care of, I went back to the neighborhood and increased my work there, trying to get our thing together enough so we wouldn't be so vulnerable to any more assaults like that in the future.

Well, two weeks before the scheduled trial date the lawyer called me up and told me that we wouldn't be able to fight the case; the judge had ruled that "entrapment was no defense" and there was no chance that we could win it on the constitutional issues. I still wanted to bring these issues out in a trial but the lawyer refused, saying that we had no chance of winning and that he didn't

want to be responsible for my going to prison for 20 years to life (that's the penalty for sales of marijuana in the state of Michigan to this day). He promised me that he had fixed things up with the prosecutor, and that all I'd get was some more probation and another fine. Evidently he had some "connections" in the judiciary and in the prosecutor's stable, and he told me that this was the only way to do it.

I took his phoney advice and pled guilty to the reduced charge of possession (they drop the one when you plead guilty to the other -- that's euphemistically known as "plea bargaining" in the law journals, "copping a plea" on the street), but when I went up before an old senile half-drunk judge for sentencing he "gave" me six months in the House of Corrections as a start on my three years' probation. I was enraged -- not so much at the judge and his well-paid accomplice as at my own stupidity in trusting a creep like this fine liberal lawyer I had retained. I had known from my previous experience how crooked the whole "legal" scene was before I got involved in this deal, and I felt that it was my own fault for going against my principles and accepting the phoney deal in the first place. I did the six months and hated every minute of it, cursing myself for my stupidity and the state for its viciousness in perpetrating such atrocious laws and institutions on the people.

I still wasn't thoroughly politicized, though; I felt even more strongly than before that the only solution to this shit was to drop even farther out of the mainstream and to get our alternative scene together so that we would be invulnerable to further attacks on us. I still thought it was some kind of mistake, that there was no reason behind our persecution, and that if we stayed out of the way of the police they would stop bothering us. We couldn't possibly be a threat to their order, strong as we thought it was, and it must just be a matter of somebody making a vicious mistake.

When I got out of jail after doing the six months I found that a huge change had taken place in America -- this was August of 1966, the start of the tremendous hippie explosion -- and it took me some time to get used to what was going on. In February, when I was locked up, our scene was small and relatively closed -- there were pockets of beatniks in cities across the country, enclaves which were peopled by a sort of intellectual-artistic elite who had no thought of becoming any kind of mass phenomenon. I had walked out of the House of Correction thinking that the best thing people like ourselves could do would be to quit smoking weed and dropping acid, because that activity just kept getting us in trouble with the law and it took time and energy and attention away from the real constructive work we were doing -- our music, our art and artifacts -- which were the important thing that had to be continued. I felt at the time that we should protect ourselves and our culture even if it meant giving up our sacraments, because we were going to save the world with this shit and we couldn't afford to be slowed down any longer by the petty police-state mentality of the established state.

So I came out of DeHoCo issuing statements that all heads should stop smoking marijuana and start working for a change in the marijuana laws, because we were just going to get arrested all the time if we kept on breaking the law like that and giving the police an excuse to round us up and get us off the streets and into their jails. Then I looked around and saw that all of a sudden there were hundreds and even thousands of teen-agers and young people of all ages smoking weed, dropping acid, letting their hair grow long, and listening and dancing to the strange new rock and roll music that filled the air. This blew my mind completely -- I had thought that there weren't many of us in the whole country, and now there were freeks and dope-fiends everywhere, and I had to check this whole

thing out before I made any more stupid statements. So I started smoking a lot of weed and taking a lot of LSD so I could put together in my head what was happening around me.

It appeared that all the fears of the straight world and their police were being realized -- it looked like the whole social order was falling apart, and there was nothing they could do about it. What we had been doing secretly and even furtively, hidden away in the dirtiest parts of the nation's cities, these new "hippies" were doing out in the open, and they didn't even care who knew it. They had about as much respect for the dying order as we did -- that is to say, none at all -- and they still lived right in the middle of it, in their parents' plastic homes, going to high school every day, surrounded by the incredible ruins of the American landscape. Their rebellion was anything but ideological -- it came from their guts, and it was manifest in their clothing, their hair, their music, and all the weed they were smoking in an attempt to get high and *stay* high. They didn't want to have anything to do with the future their parents had so carefully mapped out for them, they didn't know where they were going but they were headed there just the same, and it was obvious to everyone concerned that they couldn't be stopped. The law, the police, the courts, all the instruments of suppression thrown up by the state had no meaning to them -- they were high and they were getting higher, they were out of control and getting farther out every day, and the killer weed marijuana had everything to do with their rebellion.

I stepped out of jail into the middle of this new development, and the existence of all these mutants and freaks made me think real hard about what we were doing and the effects of our work. We had obviously started something that was bigger than we ever thought possible, what was happening was certainly out of our control, and it was truly amazing to watch this new American flower unfold before our eyes. We had never even considered the possibility of being involved in a *mass* phenomenon, yet the seeds we had sown in the dirty soil of America's cities were bringing forth a monstrous harvest that was spreading all over the Western world -- and it was obvious that the seed was a marijuana seed! People who had been smoking dope and getting high in apartments and communes had picked up guitars and amplifiers and drums and microphones and were now making records that were blasting back at everyone over the radio stations of America and Europe, and masses of young people were digging these records and the message that went into them -- the message that everyone should just smoke some grass, get high and have a good time.

For the new post-Beatles rock and roll music, and especially the new American rock and roll which rose up out of the streets and parks of San Francisco in 1966, is above all else, *dope music*, and everyone who listened and danced to it got the message. Turn on, tune in, drop out -- hey people smile on your brother, everybody get together and love one another right now!

Marijuana took rock and roll into the future, and rock and roll took marijuana to the masses so they could climb into the future too, and nobody's been the same since. The weed shaped the music and the music shaped the people who came in contact with it, and the people have gone forth to reshape the world in the image of the freedom they know and love. But they ran into a problem that hadn't been anticipated -- the people and the social order they wanted to change didn't *want* to be changed, didn't want to change itself, was determined to stay the same no matter what -- and this realization has had an incredible effect on the innocence of American youth.

It was something we couldn't understand -- in our naivete we thought that things were fucked up because the people in control just didn't know any better, and now that we knew there was an alternative to the death culture we were going to turn them on and end all the problems of the world. Why, it was just honorable men making an honorable mistake, and once they get turned on to the possibilities for change we know about, everything will be all right. That's what we thought, and that's when we ran into the juggernaut, and that's when we started to wake up.

To say that we were unprepared for the resistance we encountered from the police and their backers would be a serious understatement -- we literally felt that we were doing the whole society a favor by letting them in on what we were doing, and we couldn't understand it when they turned on us and tried to stomp us out. The joints we held out to the people were snatched out of our hands by the narcotics police and used as evidence to send us to prison. When we started speaking out against the war in the streets, thinking it was all just a mistake, we got clubbed down, beaten and arrested for "disturbing the peace" and "resisting arrest". When we tried to tell people what we were doing and what we wanted to do in the pages of our maniac newspapers we were busted for "obscenity" and our printers threatened by the FBI and the local gestapo. When we went to Chicago to demonstrate the existence of our alternative culture by playing free music, passing around free food, printing free newspapers, and carrying on freely in the parks, we were assaulted by the massive force of the Chicago police, Illinois National Guard and federal army troops, beaten, clubbed, gassed, vilified in the press, chased out of town and across the country and into the courts by the self-righteous forces of law and ordure (eventually symbolized very precisely by Judge Julius Hoffman). When we tried to create a People's Park in Berkeley, a place built up on the muddy ruins of an unused field where people could come and get high and listen to music and just be together with each other out in the open, we were assaulted even more viciously, James Rector was murdered by an Alameda County Deputy Sherrif, helicopters spewed teargas down on thousands of people in the streets, hundreds of people were arrested and brutalized at the Santa Rita Prison Farm before being released with all charges dropped.

When we raised our voices against Nixon's criminal excursion into Cambodia last May, in an incredible scenario right out of 1984 ("War is Peace"), four of our brothers and sisters were shot down at Kent State University just for being on campus at the same time as the trigger-happy National Guard. And this past summer, all across the country, wherever we tried to gather to celebrate our existence and our national culture with our own people and our own bands at rock and roll festivals, indignant loud-talking politicians moved to drive us back from "their" lands and deny us our right to assemble peacefully with each other, using the pretext, the time-tested and time-honored pretext that we were smoking marijuana and breaking the law thereby.

All of these events formed a continuum of growth and awareness for young people, and it would be foolish to underestimate the role marijuana has played in this process. Our culture is bound together with marijuana, millions of young people now smoke weed regularly, and thousands of these millions have been persecuted by the state for marijuana crimes. Those who haven't been directly attacked by the police and the state because of their use of marijuana have seen what happens to their brothers and sisters who do get busted for weed, and we have been drawn closer and closer together by this repression as well as by the unifying force of millions of shared joints of weed smoked together by all different types of young people.

Hippies and radicals, once wary of each other's thing, have been united by the police who are their common enemy, and once the police throw them together they sit down with some grass and smoke up agreements and mutual understandings. Marijuana and rock and roll have served as the agents of union above and beyond the immediate unifying force of police clubs, and they have kept us together after the immediate threat and reality of actual physical oppression was removed. Freeks could relate to radicals because they were all getting high together, and the radicals could relate to the freeks because they were both getting busted by the same police together. Everyone could relate to the issue of the war, because, on the one hand, it was politically and morally monstrous, and on the other, it required our bodies to be impressed into the military mold, which is the antithesis of the life culture on the most basic level. And those of us who were drafted into the imperialist armies of America took our weed with us, turning on more and more of our brothers in the service and raising the level of resistance to the blind drive of the military.

I should repeat that most of us never wanted to get involved in political activity at all -- we were forced into it by the repressive actions of the state, and we started to learn that what we were doing, even if it was just getting high and trying to have a good time, was dangerous within the context of the control system of the West. We learned that we not only have to protect ourselves, but that in order to bring about the new world of our marijuana visions we will have to destroy the old order completely, since it is implacably committed to exploiting and manipulating people in order to keep the profits flowing into the hands of the greedy pigs of capitalism. Eldridge Cleaver summed it up perfectly for me when he said, in a conversation with the writer Lee Lockwood, from his refuge in Algeria:

"You see, I look upon this whole thing as like, the oppressor is wasting people's time. To me, that's what it simply boils down to, because there are other things that I would like to be doing. But you're being interfered with, and you know you can't do your thing, because if you don't pay attention to what's going on around you, you may be sitting under a tree, you know, reading some poems and smoking a joint and talking to your other half, and some pigs will come by and drag you to the gas chamber or shoot you or crack your head. So you have to get up from beneath that tree, remembering that what you want to do is get back to that tree just as soon as you possibly can, and so like, get up and sober up and come down off your trip and deal with the pig, and then you can talk about going back to do your thing."

And my own experience has been that those pigs will come up and bust you just for smoking that joint -- that's all they need to put you away. Going back to my narrative of my own experience, I was busted for the third time in January 1967, along with 55 other people from my neighborhood, in a last-ditch attempt by Detroit police and city officials to break up our counter-community. It didn't work, it just exposed the sinister machinations of the power structure even further, and it was a decisive factor in politicizing the majority of the people in our community. We finally saw that we were really a threat to the hegemony of the established order, and that gave us more inspiration than anything else possibly could have. We launched a full-scale attack on the marijuana laws which is being waged even as I sit here in the penitentiary, but more than that, the big marijuana bust of 1967 shot us into a whole different stage of our development, and prepared us for the tasks we are presently working on.

That raid, and the seriousness with which it was conceived and carried out by

the police and the Detroit power structure, finally made us realize that it wasn't simply about marijuana any more, that we were being attacked because of the alternative lifestyle we offered to the youth of Detroit, and it just made us more determined than ever not only to survive, but to carry our message of freedom and resistance to every young brother and sister in the country. We saw that we were winning, that we were becoming so powerful as a force for change that the power structure was trembling and shaking in its boots, and that knowledge propelled us and inspired us to rededicate ourselves to change, to revolution, to the eventual destruction and abolition of the social order which militates so vehemently against liberation and freedom. We saw, as Eldridge put it, that it was time to come out from under our tree and deal with the pigs who were trying to interfere with us, to deal with them in such a way that they won't be able to interfere with people any longer.

This same process has been happening all over the country and indeed throughout the western world -- the more young people smoke marijuana, the higher they get, and the higher they get the less inclined they are to put up with the hypocrisies and the naked exploitation and oppression of the established order. And the more the established state tries to repress the youth revolution, using marijuana laws and the narcotics police as one of the main forces of that repression, the more determined young people become to abolish that state and to establish a new order which is not only responsive to their own needs and desires but to the needs and desires of all people on Earth.


We want a social order in which people can get high all the time, and stay high, and develop their human potential to its highest possible stage. We want a state which is not based on repression and control, a state which is not based on greed and exploitation, a state which serves the interests of *all* the people and not just those who make up the privileged class of "owners" and controllers. We want a state which will commit itself to the future of humanity, not the past, and which will bring all of its resources and powers to bear on the problems of making a smooth and peaceful transition from the old obsolete order to the new world of the future. And we know about the new order because we are already living it, it has revealed itself to us through the medium of our holy marijuana visions, and we are determined to bring it into being, not only here in America, but throughout the world.

Marijuana is an issue of great importance in the current social situation because it turns people on to the possibilities of new life on the planet, it breaks down machine thinking, separation, and control, it prepares people for the new age even while they are still living inside the shell of the old; it serves as a unifying force for young people of all ages, and it promotes communal consciousness while breaking down phony individualism and lacklove. It is a political force by virtue of the opposition it encounters from the established state, which opposition heightens people's consciousness of the contradictions inherent in the old order and exposes the repressive and piggish nature of the established state.

Marijuana, and the reaction it has engendered among the dinosaur people, dramatizes the contradictions between the old order and the new and is helping to speed the transition from old-time separatist, low-energy culture to the new communal, high-energy culture of the future. Though marijuana is a seemingly innocuous weed worthy of little interest or attention, the reaction by the established order to its widespread use reveals its revolutionary nature. The millions of young people who now smoke marijuana regularly and openly have


been taught through excessive repression by the state that they are becoming a dangerous political force, a force which will eventually destroy the old order completely unless it is checked and checked fast. The seriousness of the threat posed to the established order by the marijuana-smoking youth natives can be precisely measured by the desperation of such control measures as the Operation Intercept conspiracy headed by Nixon and Mitchell, and the not at all unrelated massacre at Kent State (May 1970), which demonstrated that the established order will *not* stop short of shooting young white Americans down in the streets (as it has not hesitated to shoot down workers, Indians, black people, yellow people, and any other people who have stood in its way) to protect its own piggish interests.

The Marijuana Revolution is just part of the world-wide revolution being carried out by peoples of the Earth who refuse to put up any longer with the exploitation, greed and oppression of the Euro-American ownership class; in some ways it is the most important revolution now in progress because it is being fought by the very people who are supposed to perpetuate and carry on the exploitation and oppression of the West. Young people who would otherwise have passed smoothly into the mainstream of Euro-American life have been led (and it is important to understand how great a role marijuana has played in this process) to reject and repudiate that horrible life -- and not only to reject it, but to commit themselves to abolishing it, and making sure that it will never rear its ugly head on this planet again.



THE EMPEROR WEARS NO CLOTHES
by Jack Herer

This is the most complete book yet published about marijuana and its prohibition, revealing the economic and corporate forces behind the anti-cannabis conspiracy. Cannabis has an ancient, honorable place in human history, and it offers incredible benefits worth billions of dollars to industry. As well as marijuana, the hemp plant can produce alcohol to run cars, pulp to make paper and save forests, seed oil to replace petroleum products, protein to feed Earth's people and fibers to clothe them -- and more. For the complete story, send \$7 per copy to:
Queen of Clubs Publishing, P.O. Box 8698, Portland, OR 97207.



USE OF THE FLAG

The generally agreed upon flag of our nation is black with a red, five pointed star behind a green marijuana leaf in the center. It is used by groups that understand the correct use of culture and symbolism in a revolutionary struggle. When displayed, it immediately increases the feelings of solidarity between our brothers and sisters. High school kids have had great fights over which flag to salute in school. A sign of any liberated zone is the flag being flown. Rock concerts and festivals have their generally apolitical character instantly changed when the flag is displayed. The political theoreticians who do not recognize the flag and the importance of the culture it represents are ostriches who are ignorant of basic human nature. Throughout history people have fought for religion, life-style, land, a flag (nation), because they were ordered to, for fortune, because they were attacked or for the hell of it. If you don't think the flag is important, ask the hardhats.

Abbie Hoffman, Steal This Book

The Global Corporation

by Elaine Wechsler

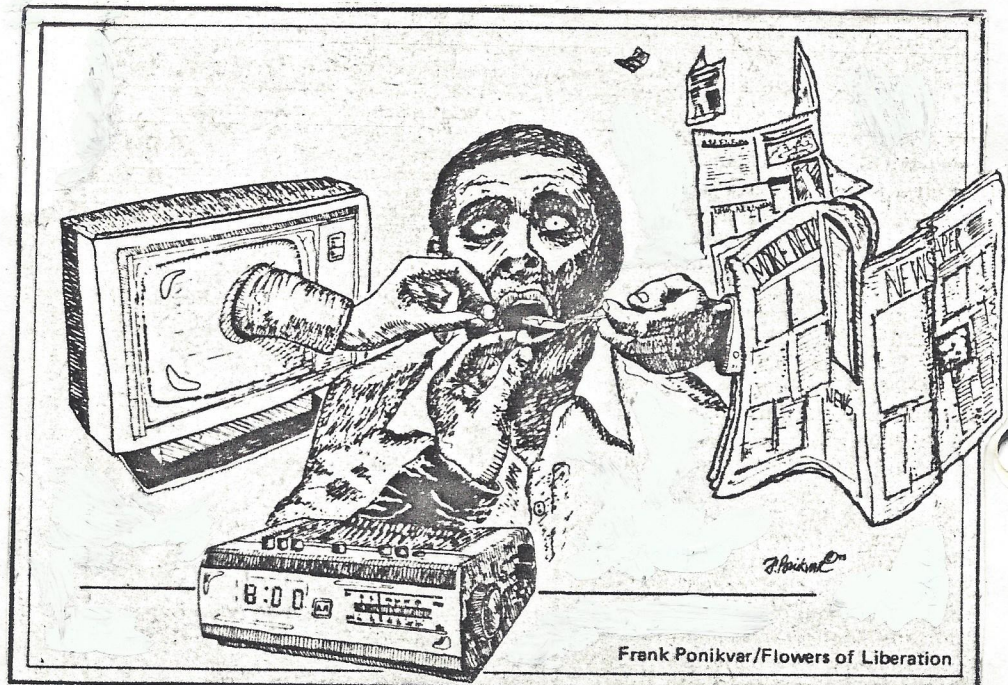
[The author of this article is the editor and publisher of *Inside Joke: A Newsletter of Comedy and Creativity*, published "hexa-weekly" and available for \$1 per copy from P.O. Box 1609, Madison Sq. Station, New York NY 10159.]

Most left-leaning people of my acquaintance fault politics and government (it doesn't matter whose government; we're not keeping score

here) for the great majority of things that are wrong with this world. This is understandable; certainly government has been responsible for a great many fuckups with people's lives since the concept of politics was invented. And there seems to have been no other scapegoat on which to blame the myriad troubles with which we, the "nuclear generation", have to deal. Politicians are portrayed in the media as purveyors of world-wielding power equal perhaps only to that of the media itself. Few appear ready to fully acknowledge a far vaster potential evil which has come of age in the era of informational dependency, and which threatens by all accounts to overtake and undermine even the strong arms of law 'n order. In fact, the imminent shift to a completely different mass mentality on this planet is all but assured with the willing complicity of an overwhelmingly apathetic public.

Welcome to the age of the Global Corporation.

The onset of the Global Corporation is already changing the way the world is run. Countless business concerns (most of them US-based, no surprise for a country with our technological leanings) have branched operations outward, ignoring political ties or strains between the parent plant's country and the government of that company's subsidiaries. We have oil interests in Lybia and Syria, two nations supposedly high on the current administration's shit list for



Frank Ponikvar/Flowers of Liberation

terrorism. US corporations operate everywhere from South Africa to Nicaragua, regardless of our official political or moral stances there. We are starting, more and more, to see cases in which a corporation's power supercedes, and operates outside the bounds of, political wishes and whims. The banks which finance many corporate transactions and which hold vast fortunes belonging to US "friends" and "foes" alike are themselves corporations, of course. For some odd reason, business seems to be exempt from the consequences of world affairs. Not unaffected (stock prices oftentimes rise and fall with political moves, and certainly an economy can be affected by same, directly and indirectly having bearing on the profits of a given corporation), but almost as if it were above such squabblings -- the parent admonishing its children, "Fight it out amongst yourselves if you can't agree on something; I have to go to work."

"Going to work" is a belief system deeply ingrained into individuals practically from birth (even prior, as these days upwardly-mobile parental units-to-be prepare for a child's arrival by planning "quality time" -- not too little, not too much -- off from their own corporate jobs and plotting out the baby's future involvement with small-scale operations like day-care centers and other kiddie education). As the child matures, he or she spends time in schools (which receive grant money from many corporations for supplies, teaching aids, scholarships, right on through college -- even much of the government's money earmarked for education is handled through lottery corporations) and with television (and the corporations in charge thereof, including those which sponsor public TV programs and especially those which sponsor all manner of commercials and subliminals), then later moves to the recording, movie and newspaper media -- all the while being taught the unique blessings we in this country enjoy of free and unbiased media coverage! The individual is rarely taught to question the hypocrisy and underlying presuppositions behind a corporate-controlled news source (and what major medium isn't? -- even so-called "public" stations fail to escape corporate domination at some level) reporting on events in which its parent corporation may have business interests. Some reporters certainly make valiant attempts, but whenever a conflict of interest presents itself, the integrity and believability of that source must come into question. And of course, the shining goal held like a brass ring in front of every citizen is GETTING A JOB. Those who view corporate life as absurd, demeaning or robotic are quelled with "logical" retorts like "well, nobody likes it, but it's necessary" (why is it more necessary than non-corporate work, like self-sufficiency or artisanship/apprenticeship, or even individual creative arts?), or "how else are you going to make money?" (since our one-tracked society has it set up so that you can't procure the commodity required for any facet of life -- food, clothing, shelter, even health -- unless you eventually buy into its system to one degree or another). And the more one hears answers like these, the more one becomes convinced that, no matter that there's no better way at the moment, but there's no *other* way conceivable, ever, if one wishes to survive.

And meanwhile, the product advertisements keep coming at us, promising emotional salvation (or your money back) if you consume to excess goods you don't need.

The Global Corporation's incursion upon modern societal views is relatively new. Time was, not so long ago, one could (with a little luck, and yes, a little money) set oneself up as the head of a business, a 20th-century merchant. New York's immigrants did this in abundance. But while a Mom-n-Pop establishment still exists here and there, the concept of the franchise has made *not* "buying in" not only obsolete, but hazardous. And many of yesterday's immigrants who

did hit it big found themselves able to expand, until -- lo and behold, they formed corporations themselves. The Horatio Alger American Dream. "Who says you can't get ahead without losing your soul?", indeed.

In fact, today's corporations employ marketing savvy to such a successful extent that they are seen by many people as benevolent and charitable organizations. They spend huge amounts of money informing the public how much more money they give away to charities -- just try sitting through a relative lull during the next Jerry Lewis telethon while he reads the litanies of corporations. It is nearly impossible to even consider holding the modern version of a fundraiser (most often a rock concert) without getting a corporation involved to the extent that the corporate logo is plastered everywhere and the event (and, sad to say, no cause is deemed worth the media's attention unless it is large enough to require corporate sponsorship) is "presented by" whatever companies press their commercials in between every act... and astoundingly, this is considered a good thing! "Why, if it weren't for _____, all these people would still be in want!" goes the justification for still more corporate control over even our better natures and philanthropic interests. One supposes the logic runs that as long as numbers and amounts are what count when putting on massive events, these events might as well be handled by faceless conglomerates to whom people are nothing but numbers anyway.

But hey, corporations just wanna have fun, too. Budweiser has paid the New York Yankees so that every time a Yankee hits a home run, they get a verbal plug from the broadcaster. Sporting events are no longer just tennis tournaments or golf championships -- they are Virginia Slims tennis tourneys and Schick golf classics (or whatever). You cannot watch a graceful and breathtaking ice skater in peace without seeing the annoying, poisonous NutraSweet swirl in every camera shot. And what was unthinkable a generation ago in rock music, corporate promotion of a concert, is now so commonplace it's all but unthinkable *not* to finance a tour by that method (the few who do, assuming they exist, undoubtedly gain sponsorship from professional rock promoters, radio stations, or MTV, corporations all). And needless to say, sports and entertainment themselves are, and have been, big-business corporations themselves for years. It just wasn't discussed in polite company before.

Is there a cure for the Global Corporation? Certainly not as long as this lifestyle is played up (to a too-impressionable public) as the only way to live. People who truly wish to minimize corporate influence over their every thought must be made aware, through the usual grassroots tactics (plastering phone poles, staging guerilla theatre, and the ever-popular word-of-mouth), that there exist alternate forms of media which are not under obligation to answer to anyone and can therefore be freer to present more truly unbiased and informative reportage. The ones who wish to believe there is a life outside of the corporate structure must be encouraged to believe that small, independent ventures are just as viable as forms of entertainment than the assembly-line pablum cranked out on the big charts. Profit must cease to become the be-all and end-all motive of people's life ambitions -- a writer or artist, for instance, who puts his or her work on paper for sheer pleasure should be viewed with just as much respect and open-mindedness as someone who peddles his or her work for money.

It could be that the Reagan-years excesses of revelling in the lifestyles of the rich and useless may again be reverting back to a small amount of modesty and withholding of braggadocio and yes, maybe even shame once more, as people begin to take stock of just what they've gained in accumulating immaterial

material goods and seek inner satisfaction again.

But beware -- like many other "trends", this shift in the wind is bound to be pounced upon by clever corporate marketing strategies disguised as sentimentality (witness the Hallmark and Burger King commercials already), ever at the ready to exploit anything and everything -- including our disgust at the thought of exploitation.

Free Leonard Peltier

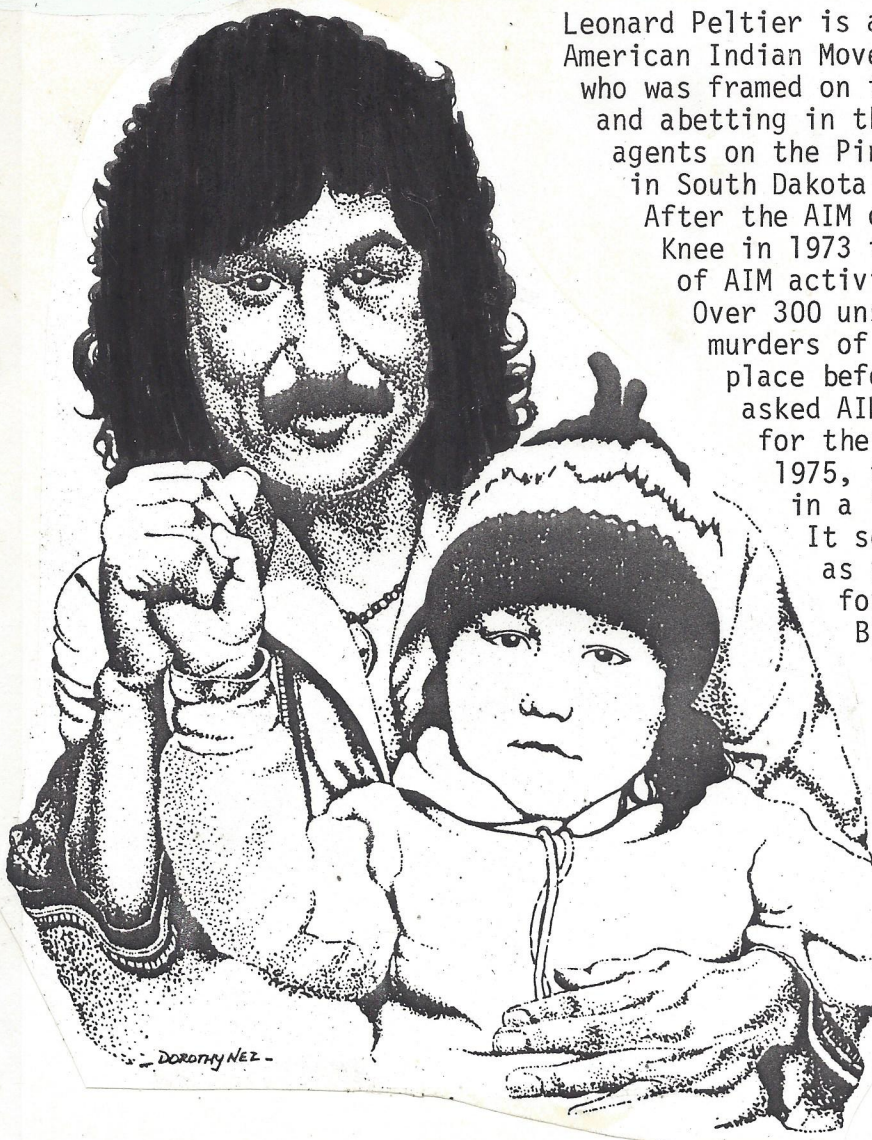
Leonard Peltier is a Chippewa/Lakota American Indian Movement (AIM) activist who was framed on the charge of aiding and abetting in the deaths of two FBI agents on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota on June 26, 1975.

After the AIM occupation of Wounded Knee in 1973 there were many trials of AIM activists and sympathizers.

Over 300 unsolved and uninvestigated murders of traditional Lakota took place before the Lakota elders asked AIM activists to come in for their protection. On June 26, 1975, two FBI agents were killed in a "shoot-out" at an AIM camp.

It seems that the FBI went in as part of a coordinated action, for there were numerous FBI and BIA agents in the area and within two hours there were over 200 agents at the site of the shoot-out. Also, at the same time, in Washington DC, pro-government Indians of Pine Ridge were negotiating away 133,000 acres of Lakota land. The US government indicted four Indians; charges were later dropped against one; two were tried and found not guilty.

Leonard Peltier continues to suffer as the government's scapegoat despite indisputable evidence of his innocence.



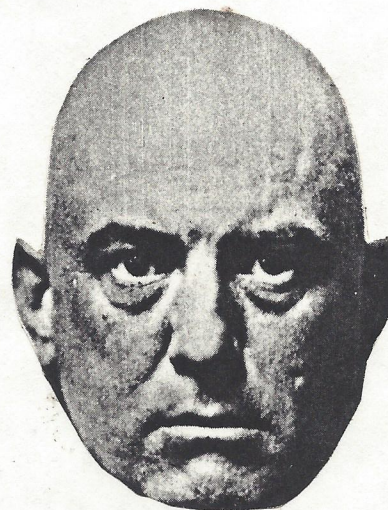
FOR MORE INFORMATION: Leonard Peltier Defense Committee, PO Box 6455, Kansas City, KS 66106 Tel. (816) 531-LPSG

SEND LETTERS OF SUPPORT: Leonard Peltier, #89637-132, P.O. Box 1000, Leavenworth, KS 66048

The Scientific Solution to the Problem of Government

by "Comte de Fenix" (Aleister Crowley)

Aleister Crowley (1875-1947), a British poet, philosopher, mystic and adventurer, was the founder of a modern mystery school based on the Masonic-Rosicrucian traditions of Western occult philosophy in combination with Oriental thought and a skeptical scientific orientation. The guiding motto of his work was "the method of science; the aim of religion". A profusely prolific writer, his work was centered around a document which he received by direct voice dictation from what he called a "praeter-human intelligence" in 1904, a prose-poem of three chapters entitled *Liber AL Vel Legis* or *The Book of the Law*. This document purports to be the supreme spiritual law for the New Age, the next 2,000 years of Earth's history; the essence of the new ethic is "Do what thou wilt shall be the whole of the Law." The text is included in the anthology *The Holy Books of Thelema* (Samuel Weiser, 1983). The following article was first published in *Kaaba*, the Journal of Ra Hoor Khuit Lodge of Ordo Templi Orientis (O.T.O.), Vol. 1, No. 5, 1980.



THEOREM. The scientific solution of the problem of Government is given in *Liber AL Vel Legis* (*The Book of the Law*). This Law supersedes all the empirical theories hitherto current.

QUOTATION.

Chapter I.

2. Every man and every woman is a star.
10. Let my servants be few and secret; they shall rule the many and the known.
40. Do what thou wilt shall be the whole of the Law.
41. The word of Sin is Restriction.
42. Thou hast no right but to do thy will.
43. Do that, and no other shall say nay.
44. For pure will, unassuaged of purpose, delivered from the lust of result, is every way perfect.
57. Love is the law, love under will.

Chapter II.

19. Is a God to live in a dog? No! but the highest are of us. They shall rejoice, our chosen; who sorroweth is not of us.
20. Beauty and strength, leaping laughter and delicious languor, force and fire, are of us.

58. Yea! deem not of change: ye shall be as ye are, and not other. Therefore the kings of the earth shall be kings forever. The slaves shall serve.

Chapter III.

4. Choose ye an island.

5. Fortify it!

6. Dung it about with enginery of war!

7. I will give you a war-engine.

8. With it ye shall smite the peoples; and none shall stand before you.

58. But the keen and the proud, the royal and the lofty; ye are brothers!

59. As brothers fight ye!

60. There is no law beyond Do what thou wilt.

DEMONSTRATION.

1. *The average voter is a moron.* He believes what he reads in newspapers, feeds his imagination and lulls his repressions on the cinema, and hopes to break away from his slavery by football pools, cross-word prizes, or spotting the winner of the 3.30.

He is ignorant as no illiterate peasant is ignorant: he has no power of independent thought. He is the prey of panic.

But he has the vote.

2. The men in power can only govern by stampeding him into wars, playing on his fears and prejudices until he acquiesces in repressive legislation against his obvious interests, playing on his vanity until he is totally blind to his own misery and serfdom.

The alternative method is undisguised dragooning. *In brief, we govern by a mixture of lying and bullying.*

3. This deliberate resort to archaic weapons is the heritage of hypocrisy. *The theories of Divine Right, aristocratic superiority, the moral order of Nature, are all today exploded bluffs.* Even those of us who believe in supernatural sanctions for our privileges to browbeat and rob the people no longer delude ourselves with the thought that our victims share our superstitions.

4. Even dictators understand this. Mussolini has tried to induce the ghost of Ancient Rome to strut the stage in the image of Julius Ceasar; Hitler has invented a farrago of nonsense about Nordics and Aryans; nobody even pretends to believe either, except through the "will-to-believe".

And the pretence is visibly breaking down everywhere.

They cannot even be galvanised with spasms of pseudo-activity, as still occasionally happens with the dead toads of superstition.

5. *There is only one hope of uniting the people under intelligent leadership; because there is only one thing in which every one really believes.* That is, believes in such a way that he automatically bases every action of his daily life on its principles. (This is true of practically all men, whatever their race, caste or creed.) *This universally accepted basis of conduct is Science.*

6. *Science has attained this position because it makes no assertion that it is not prepared to demonstrate to all comers.* (This part is so well understood that all the "false prophets" -- Spiritualism, Christian Science, ethnological cranks,

Great Pyramid puzzle-mongers, and the rest of the humbugs -- all pretend to appeal to evidence, not to authority, as did the Kings and the Churches.)

The problem of Government is therefore to find a scientific formula with an ethical implication. This formula must be rigidly applicable to all sane men soever without reference to the individual qualities of any one of them.

7. The formula is given by the Law of Thelema. "Do what thou wilt shall be the whole of the Law."

This injunction, in one sense infinitely elastic, since it does not specify any particular goal of will as desirable, is yet infinitely rigid, in that it binds every man to follow out exactly the purpose for which he is fitted by heredity, environment, experience, and self-development. The formula is thus also biologically infeasible, as well as adequate, ethically to every individual, and politically to the State.

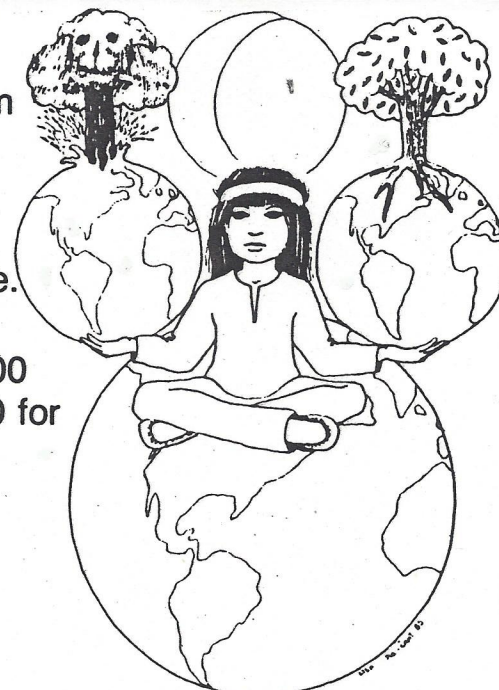
8. Let this formula be accepted by every government. Experts will immediately be appointed to work out, when need arises, the details of the True Will of every individual, and even that of every corporate body whether social or commercial, while a judiciary will arise to determine the equity in the case of apparently conflicting claims. (Such cases will become progressively more rare as adjustment is attained.) All appeal to precedent and authority, the deadwood of the Tree of Life, will be abolished, and strictly scientific standards will be the sole measure by which the executive power shall order the people. The absolute rule of the State shall be a function of the absolute liberty of each individual will.

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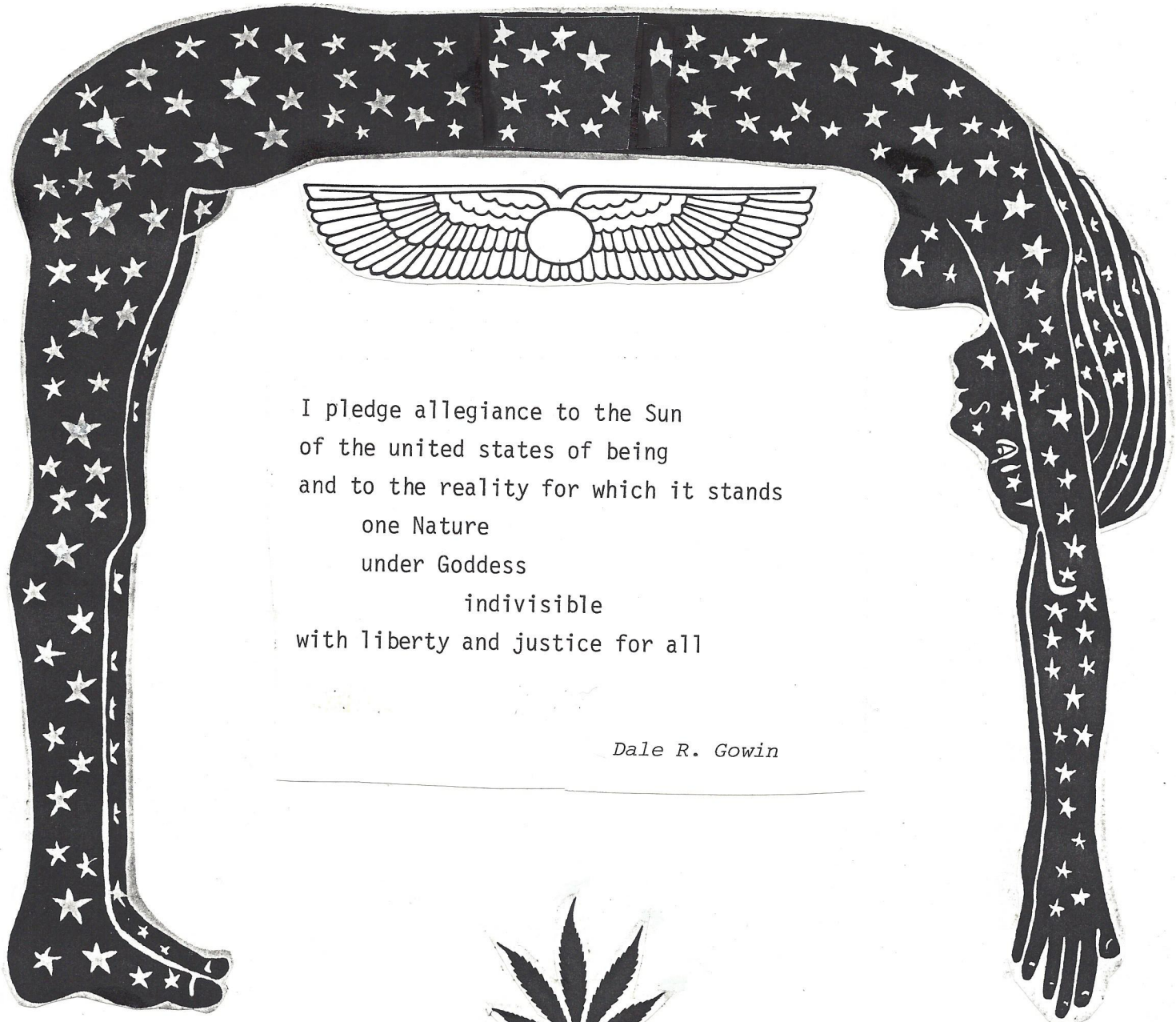
sub figura XC

by Aleister Crowley

0. In the name of the Lord of Initiation, Amen.
1. I fly and I alight as an hawk: of mother-of-emerald are my mighty sweeping wings.
2. I swoop down upon the black earth; and it gladdens into green at my coming.
3. Children of Earth! rejoice! rejoice exceedingly; for your salvation is at hand.
4. The end of sorrows is come; I will ravish you away into mine unutterable joy.
5. I will kiss you, and bring you to the bridal: I will spread a feast before you in the house of happiness.
6. I am not come to rebuke you, or to enslave you.
7. I bid you not turn from your voluptuous ways, from your idleness, from your follies.
8. But I bring you joy to your pleasure, peace to your languor, wisdom to your folly.
9. All that ye do is right, if so be that ye enjoy it.
10. I am come against sorrow, against weariness, against them that seek to enslave you.
11. I pour you lustral wine, that giveth you delight both at the sunset and the dawn.
12. Come with me, and I will give you all that is desirable upon the earth.
13. Because I give you that of which Earth and its joys are but as shadows.
14. They flee away, but my joy abideth even unto the end.
15. I have hidden myself beneath a mask: I am a black and terrible God.
16. With courage conquering fear shall ye approach me: ye shall lay down your heads upon mine altar, expecting the sweep of the sword.
17. But the first kiss of love shall be radiant on your lips; and all my darkness and terror shall turn to light and joy.
18. Only those who fear shall fail. Those who have bent their backs to the yoke of slavery until they can no longer stand upright; them will I despise.
19. But you who have defied the law; you who have conquered by subtlety or force; you will I take unto me, even I will take you unto me.
20. I ask you to sacrifice nothing at mine altar; I am the God who giveth all.
21. Light, Life, Love; Force, Fantasy, Fire; these do I bring you: mine hands are full of these.
22. There is joy in the setting-out; there is joy in the journey; there is joy in the goal.
23. Only if ye are sorrowful, or weary, or angry, or discomforted; then ye may know that ye have lost the golden thread, the thread wherewith I guide you to the heart of the groves of Eleusis.

24. My disciples are proud and beautiful; they are strong and swift; they rule their way like mighty conquerors.
25. The weak, the timid, the imperfect, the cowardly, the poor, the tearful -- these are mine enemies, and I am come to destroy them.
26. This also is compassion: an end to the sickness of earth. A rooting-out of the weeds: a watering of the flowers.
27. O my children, ye are more beautiful than the flowers: ye must not fade in your season.
28. I love you; I would sprinkle you with the divine dew of immortality.
29. This immortality is no vain hope beyond the grave: I offer you the certain consciousness of bliss.
30. I offer it at once, on earth; before an hour hath struck upon the bell, ye shall be with Me in the Abodes that are beyond Decay.
31. Also I give you power earthly and joy earthly; wealth, and health, and length of days. Adoration and love shall cling to your feet, and twine around your heart.
32. Only your mouths shall drink of a delicious wine -- the wine of Iacchus; they shall reach ever to the heavenly kiss of the Beautiful God.
33. I reveal unto you a great mystery. Ye stand between the abyss of height and the abyss of depth.
34. In either awaits you a Companion; and that Companion is Yourself.
35. Ye can have no other Companion.
36. Many have arisen, being wise. They have said, "Seek out the glittering Image in the place ever golden, and unite yourselves with It."
37. Many have arisen, being foolish. They have said, "Stoop down unto the darkly splendid world, and be wedded to that Blind Creature of the Slime."
38. I who am beyond Wisdom and Folly, arise and say unto you: achieve both weddings! Unite yourselves with both!
39. Beware, beware, I say, lest ye seek after the one and lose the other!
40. My adepts stand upright; their head above the heavens, their feet below the hells.
41. But since one is naturally attracted to the Angel, another to the Demon, let the first strengthen the lower link, the last attach more firmly to the higher.
42. Thus shall equilibrium become perfect. I will aid my disciples; as fast as they acquire this balanced power and joy so faster will I push them.
43. They shall in their turn speak from this Invisible Throne; their words shall illumine the worlds.
44. They shall be masters of majesty and might; they shall be beautiful and joyous; they shall be clothed with victory and splendour; they shall stand upon the firm foundation; the kingdom shall be theirs; yea, the kingdom shall be theirs.
- In the name of the Lord of Initiation. Amen.

[The preceding piece first appeared in *The Equinox*, Vol. I, No. 6, September 1911. It is one of a class of writings, called "Class A", considered to be authoritative spiritual texts of the Thelemic canon. See *The Holy Books of Thelema* (Samuel Weiser, 1983) for other Crowley writings in this class.]



I pledge allegiance to the Sun
of the united states of being
and to the reality for which it stands
one Nature
under Goddess
indivisible
with liberty and justice for all

Dale R. Gowin



Letters Received

[*Editor's note: (R)EVOLUTION #1 was published in September 1985. Our original intention was to publish the journal on a quarterly schedule. This second issue is being published a full year later. Many readers of #1 undoubtedly thought we had fallen off the face of the Earth. But we assure you that we are here to stay; that (R)EVOLUTION will continue to appear at least into the beginning of the 21st century; and that our frequency of publication will improve as we progress. We are a less-than-shoestring operation, manifesting the resources for each stage of our development as we go along; we are entirely non-profit and volunteer-run. Input of all kinds is always welcome and will add impetus to our development.*]

Dear (R)EVOLUTION,

What a great looking first issue! Kropotkin is one of my main people. Ernest Mann advocates a kind of anarchist-communism too. I'd shit-can the Workers World & all other marxist-lenninist parties' pubs, but that's up to you. The Lone Wolf inclusion is a good piece of writing. B. Wardlaw is in my view the nicest person in the "Emancipation" collective. Will be looking forward to #2. Yours in anarchy,

Paul Reynolds/SRAF
PO Box 1751
San Francisco CA 94101

Hello,

Your magazine/project looks pretty good. My perspective, tho, might not be quite congruent with yours.

I think that true mysticism is real science, and that modern hyper-

technological science is so narrowly focused as to be flawed. Judging from your editorial in (R)EVOLUTION #1, you tend to look toward the physical sciences as the hope of humanity; whereas I prefer to think in terms of humanity's combined intellectual and spiritual capacities (left/right brain?) to develop a truly human and spiritual social order and to work with Nature and our own psychic/spiritual resources. It is not the length of an individual life, but the quality of that life that matters. (Incidentally, there are a lot of intelligent, non-"superstitious" people who believe that life/consciousness exists beyond, and is only temporarily confined in, any one physical body.) We already have infinite intelligence and creativity available to us -- what we need is the social/cultural/psychological/spiritual freedom to allow it to manifest. Also, we and the Earth possess sufficient resources *without* the need to go to outer space.

For freedom,

Ron Heresy, editor,
Heretic's Journal
PO Box 12347
Seattle WA 98111

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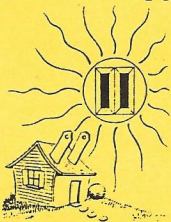
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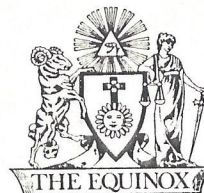
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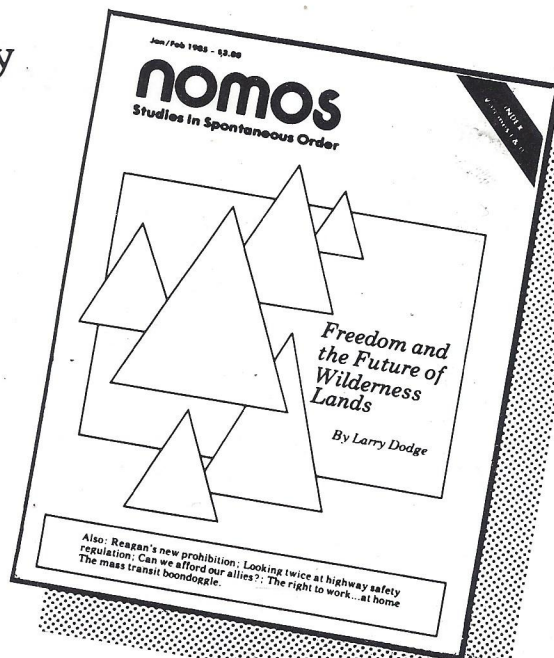
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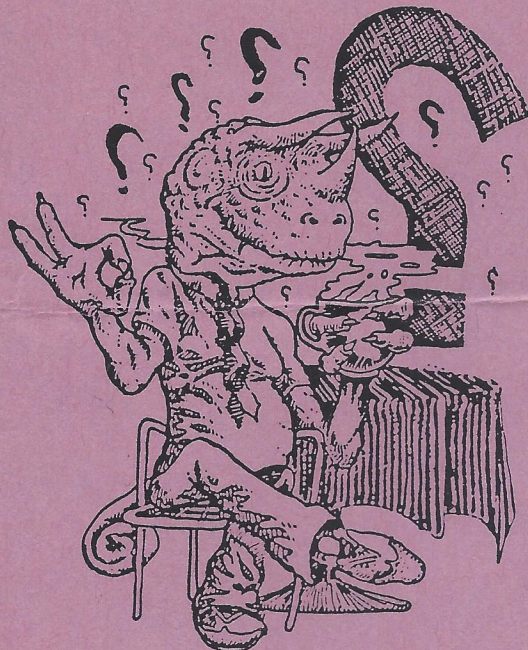
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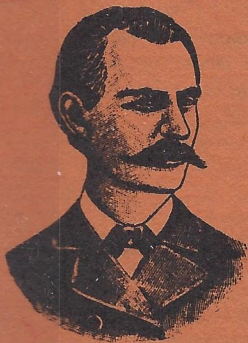
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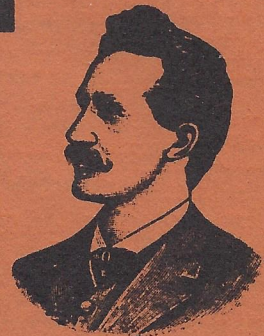
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Where once they drove me -- mocked me when I fell
All black and bloody by their holes of hell,
While all my loved ones wept uncomforted?
Is this the land my fathers fought to own --
Here where they curse me -- beaten and alone?
But God, it's cold! My children sob and cry!
Shall I go back into the mines and wait,
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