

# FREEDOMS CONTACTS PAGE

## FREEDOM CONTACT PAGE

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**Freedom Press**  
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### Groups

**ABERDEEN** Libertarian group. Contact c/o 163 King St, Aberdeen.

**ABERYSTWYTH.** Mike Sheehan. 2 South St, Aberystwyth.

**BRISTOL CITY.** 4 British Road, Bristol BS3 3BW

**BRISTOL** Students. Libertarian Society, Students Union, Queen's Road, Bristol 8

**CAMBRIDGE.** Raphael Salkie, Queen's College, Cambridge.

**CARDIFF.** Write c/o 108 Bookshop, Salisbury Road, Cardiff.

**CHELTENHAM.** Contact Jerry at 23093

**CORBY.** Terry Phillips, 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants.

**COVENTRY.** John England, 48 Spencer Av, Earlsdon, Coventry.

**DERBY** (and environs). All two of us welcome collaborators. Contact Andrew Huckerby, 49 Westleigh Av, Derby DE3 3BY, tel: 368678.

**EAST ANGLIAN** Libertarians. Martyn Everett, 11 Gibson Gardens, Saffron Walden, Essex.

**EXETER** Anarchist Society, Univ. of Exeter, Devonshire House, Stocker Rd, Exeter.

**GREENWICH & BEXLEY.** Any trade unionists interested in forming a syndicalist group please contact John Ryan, 47 Binsey Walk, SE2 9 TU.

**HASTINGS.** Steve, 18a Markwick Terrace, St. Leonards-on-Sea, Sussex.

**HIGH BENTHAM.** Ask at the Dragonfly on Saturdays.

**HUDDERSFIELD.** Meetings every two weeks. For details phone 0484-38156 (Polytechnic Students' Union).

**HULL** Libertarian Collective. Pete Jordan, 70 Perth St, Hull, East Yorks. Always available for any Anarchists passing through Hull for coffee, food or a place to crash. Transport, in the form of Citroen 2CV also available.

**LEAMINGTON & WARWICK.** c/o 42 Bath St, Leamington Spa.

**LEEDS.** 29 Blenheim Terrace, Leeds 2.

**LEICESTER.** Anarchist group. Lyn Hurst, 41 Briarfield Drive, Leicester. Tel: 0533-21250 (days). 0533-414060 (nights). Bookshop, Blackthorn, 76 Highcross St, Leicester. Tel: 0533-21896. Libertarian Education, 6 Beaconsfield Rd, Leicester. Tel: 0533-552085.

**MALVERN & WORCESTER** area. Jock Spence, Birchwood Hall, Storridge, Malvern, Worcs.

**MANCHESTER.** c/o Grass Roots, 109 Oxford Rd, Manchester M1.

**NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE.** Black Jake, c/o 115 Westgate Road, Newcastle NE1 4AG.

**NOTTINGHAM.** c/o Mushroom, 10 Heathcote St (Tel: 582506) or 15 Scotholme Av, Hyson Green (Tel: 708302).

**OXFORD.** Danny Simpson, Room 1, Turf St, Oxford.

**PORTSMOUTH.** Caroline Cahm, 25 Albany Road, Southsea, Hants.

**READING** University anarchists, c/o Students Union, Univ. of Reading, Whiteknights, Reading, Berks.

**SHEFFIELD.** Contact Sheffield Libertarian Society, PO Box 168, Sheffield S11 8SE. Groups at above address are: Sheffield Autonomous Anarchists, Black Cross Group, IWW, Syndicate of Initiative. John Creaghe Memorial Society.

**SWANSEA.** Don Williams, 24 Derlwyn, Dunvant, Swansea.

**THAMES VALLEY.** Adele Dawson, Maymeade, 6 Congress Rd, Maidenhead (Tel: 062 2974).

**WESTON-SUPER-MARE.** Martyn Redman, Flat 5, 23 Milton Rd, Weston-super-Mare, Som.

**WILTSHIRE.** Comrades in Swindon wish to start anarchist group (as well as existing Community Arts Group). Get in touch with Mike, Groundswell Farm, Upper Stratton, Swindon, Wilts.

**LIBERTARIAN FESTIVAL 1979**  
 As yet no group has offered to host the Libertarian Festival '79. If any group is prepared to do so, please write to Pete Williams, c/o 178 Waterloo Place, Oxford Rd, Manchester M1 3JQ.

**KENT**  
 Ramsgate: Peter Ford, 22 Royal Rd Sevenoaks; Jim Endesby, 70 Bradbourne Rd.

**LEICESTER**  
 See under Groups for address

**LONDON**  
**FEDERATION OF LONDON ANARCHIST GROUPS:-**  
 Anarchy Collective, 37a Grosvenor Av, Tel: 359-4794. Before 7 pm.  
 Freedom Collective, 84b Whitechapel High St, E1, Tel: 247-9249  
 Hackney Anarchists, Dave, 249-7042  
 Kingston Anarchists, 13 Denmark Rd, Kingston upon Thames, Tel: 549-2564.  
 London Workers' Group, Box W., 182 Upper St. N1, Tel: 249-7042  
 Love V. Power, Box 779, Peace News (London office: 5 Caledonian Rd).  
 West London Anarchists, 7 Pennard Rd, W12.

**ANARCHIST COMMUNIST ASSOCIATION**  
 (Organisation of class struggle anarchists who produce their own newspaper Bread and Roses). Local contacts:  
 London: Danny Jakob, 88 Speedwell House, Cornet St, Deptford, SE8.  
 Birmingham: Bob Prew, 13 Trinity Ct, Trinity Rd, Aston, B6.  
 Burnley: Jim Petty, 5 Hollin Hill.  
 Glasgow: Dave Carruthers, 53 Ormonde Av, G4

**MIDLANDS FEDERATION**  
 Secretariat: c/o Andrew Huckerby, 49 Westleigh Av, Derby DE3 3 BY, Tel: 0332-3686 678. Groups in Federation include Corby, Coventry, Derby, Leamington/Warwick, Nottingham, Sheffield (all separately listed), Birmingham.

**MANCHESTER SOLIDARITY** Group, c/o 109 Oxford Rd, Manchester M13.

**MOVEMENT FOR ANARCHY** Experimental Group 2. Contact M.F.A.E.G. 2 at 22 George Henry St, SALFORD 5.

**NORTH WEST ANARCHIST FEDERATION**  
 c/o Grass Roots, 109 Oxford Rd, Manchester M1.  
 Groups are:  
 Burnley Anarchist Group, 5 Hollin Hill, Burnley, Lancs.  
 Lancaster Anarchist Group, 41 Main Rd, Galgate, Lancaster.  
 Manchester Anarchist Group, c/o Grass Roots  
 Manchester Anarchist Organisation, c/o Jill or Jack, 21 Holmfirth St, Manchester M13.  
 Manchester Syndicalist Workers' Federation, c/o Grass Roots.  
 Newsletter & quarterly meetings. Contacts in other areas.

**NORTH EASTERN ANARCHIST FEDERATION**  
 Secretariat:- C/o Black Jake, 115 Westgate Rd, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE1 4AG.

**SCOTTISH LIBERTARIAN FEDERATION**  
 Contact: Nina Woodcock, 74 Arklay St (Top R.), Dundee. Tel: Dundee 814541

### Meetings

New group forming in North London. Initial meeting to plan social on 1 March at 11 Harold Road, N8 4PL at 7.00 p.m. Please bring ideas, food, drink, guitars, pet crocodiles etc. Middle doorbell. Phone 348-5118.

The Housing Cuts, the Sale of Council Houses and the Attack on Public Housing. Action Meeting, 5 March, 6.30 p.m. Room 401 Ladbroke House, Highbury Grove, N5. Organised by Housing Action.

**LEEDS UNIVERSITY BLACK & RED SOCIETY MEETING** (Room LG15) Wed 28 Feb 8pm. Addressed by John Quail, author of 'The Slow Burning Fuse; the Lost History of the British Anarchists'

**ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST CONFERENCE**  
 The next anarcho-syndicalist conference is being held in Manchester at the end of March. The exact venue and date has not been fixed yet, but any anarcho-syndicalist or sympathiser who wishes to attend should write to SWF, 109 Oxford Rd, Manchester M1 who will send details as soon as they are known. Items for discussion should be sent to the same address.

### Desires

Two feminists buying house to raise children in, need sympathetic male help as GLC only mortgage big houses to engaged couples. Man must be under 30, on rising scale of pay (GLC conditions) and around 6-9 months preferably emigrating, or becoming unemployed or non-employed, or disappearing without trace after that, and using pseudonym, but anyone considered. £50 reward if necessary. London area. Contact Freedom, box. no. 666.

SORRY FOR DELAY! FREEDOM'S TYPEWRITER BROKE DOWN - DIDN'T GET ARTWORK TILL 6PM FRIDAY - THEN IAN THE PRINTER'S BACK AND RIGHT LEG WENT ON PAINFUL STRIKE!! UNTIL TUES 21/3/79

# anarchist fortnightly Freedom

24 February/79  
 Vol 40 No 3  
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# WHO NEEDS LEADERS?

THE widest series of strikes to hit Britain since the war is drawing to a close.

It is ending as it began: piecemeal. Which is to be expected, given the nature of our trade union movement.

Thankfully, the days when it could all have been called a 'Communist Plot' have passed, not least because nobody takes the Communist Party seriously nowadays. But nobody has placed the 'blame' on any other party of the so-called 'Left' either - because 'politics' whether of the Right or Left, is now so discredited that not even the frantic mouthpieces of the media, trying to justify the establishment point of view - and what else are they there for - could find a Left party with enough influence to substantiate their placing of the blame.

Just a vague 'Anarchy' - that's all they could scream about. And of course for them - whether they be the CBI or journalists whose jobs seem to be secure for the time being - 'Anarchy' means chaos.

People taking decisions for themselves; workers at the point of production deciding what they will do and why - this is 'chaos' for those who think that only leaders and properly elected representatives, spokesmen or usually reliable sources of information, are capable of responsible thought and action.

The idea that 'ordinary' workers - especially the low paid - dust collectors and the like - are to be taken seriously even as members of 'the nation' does not seem to occur to responsible guardians of the nation's good.

Altogether, over the past few weeks, over a million workers have been engaged in struggles to defend their standards of living against the '5 per cent' policies of the Labour Government. They have been described as bully boys, as holding the country to ransom, etc, etc as though they are not part of the nation at all. As long as they do as they are told, keep their heads down and keep on working, come what may, and clamour into khaki uniform to defend their freedom if the national interest demands it - then they are the salt of the earth and jolly good Britishers, but if they practice their sense of injustice and demand a little freedom for themselves against the economic interests of their

# REPORTS

## NUCLEAR POWER - 'A VITAL ISSUE FOR THE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT'

AS you probably know there are now a great many anarchists and libertarians involved in the struggle against nuclear power. In fact, it may well be true to say that there are more anarchists in the Torness Alliance than can be found in anarchist groups. In other words, the nuclear issue has become, de facto, a vital issue for the anarchist movement.

The argument, however, is not merely about numbers. There are to my mind two major areas for discussion. The first is the importance of nuclear power itself and the other is how the struggle is to be organised.

Many feminists say that the nuclear industry is a prime example of patriarchal structures and thinking gone mad. Many anarchists would claim that it is an example of authoritarian centralisation gone mad. We are probably both right. Nuclear power is a) bloody dangerous, b) irreversible (it can only be slowed down, not stopped completely, as we already have thousands of tons of extremely dangerous material which will

have to be guarded virtually for all eternity), c) very expensive, d) an aspect of the tendency towards concentration of power (there is already an armed nuclear police force with unlimited powers of harassment) and e) something which the state is fanatically bent on promoting whatever the wishy-washy environmentalists at Friends of the Earth central have to say about it, and whatever the cost in terms of life and money.

In this part of the world we are lucky in that the authoritarian left have left the anti-nukes campaign alone so far. It is effectively a coalition of the more socially aware environmentalists and non-violent anarchists, along with various others in smaller numbers. In terms of how to organise on a decentralised basis it could be said that the anti-nuclear movement has taken anarchist ideas much further than the anarchist movement as such ever did.

Everybody should try to make it to the Torness festival/occupation on 4-7 May. Contact your local anti-nuclear or FOE

group about transport arrangements. We will be organising workshops about anarchism and nuclear power at Torness.

Please try to cooperate with the spirit of the event and treat those you disagree with with due respect rather than haranguing them, and bear in mind that large groups are always expected to split up into smaller groups. It would also be helpful if people could get themselves informed about the issues beforehand.

There will, however, be talks, slide-shows, exhibitions, street theatre, films and all kinds of other things to inform the ill-informed.

Another point to consider is that many people in the Alliance are perhaps justifiably worried about overly-enthusiastic anarchists or others alienating the locals by too heavy an approach. At the risk of stating the painfully obvious, banners are OK on the site but don't wave them around in local pubs.

Hope to see you all there.  
JOHN ROBERTS - for  
Cardiff Anarchist Group

## Leeds

THE Leeds Anarchist Group, which has just entered its fourth year of existence, recently decided to commit itself to at least one public event each month. The first, in November, was a benefit in aid of 'Persons Unknown'. About 60 people came and with money taken at the door, money from a raffle and, most surprising of all, the landlord's donation of a third of his takings (presumably to encourage our custom) we made a straight profit of £54. The second was a public meeting on 13 December Albert Meltzer came to speak on the CNT and 29 people came to hear him. We were unable to organise anything in January because of the dislocation caused by the winter holidays. On 21 February we will be holding a workshop on 'Libertarian Education' at the Trades Club, Savile Mount, off Chapeltown Road at 8 pm. On 28 February the Leeds University Black and Red Society will be holding a meeting about 8 pm. at the University (Room LG 15) addressed by John Quail, the author of *The Slow Burning Fuse: The Lost History of the British Anarchists*.

ANTHONY KEARNEY

## Vote nobody

THIS year is going to be the year of elections! Not only will we be treated to the five-yearly general election, but in addition we shall have the first direct elections to the European assembly. While we do not know the time of the general election, the election for the European assembly will take place on 7 June.

Also, there will be the customary round of municipal and local elections, not to mention the opportunity for those lucky voters in Scotland and Wales to place their 'x' for or against devolution.

While the psephologists are in for a fruitful year, the parties at Westminster fear that the apathy of the electorate will be fuelled by the over-exposure to the democratic process. With so many elections (five in some areas) the interest is sure to flag.

Perhaps with the voters being asked to vote so many times this year for Tweedledum or Tweedledee, the question of what elections achieve will not be lost under the piles of lies and appeals to prejudice. Whatever the temptations, these elections should not be ignored by anarchists, and therefore we wish to draw readers' attention to the text of the 'alternative' election leaflet produced by libertarian

socialist groups and individuals active in the Greater Manchester area.\*

Also we would like to draw attention to the fact that the IWA - AIT (the anarchosyndicalist international) is organising and coordinating a campaign against the European elections throughout western Europe. We will keep readers of FREEDOM informed of further developments. Because it "will be claimed that all opposition to the elections is nationalist" the Northern Secretariat of the AIT suggests that "an international demonstration should be arranged by the IWA - AIT after May Day".

R. M.

\* The above-mentioned leaflet, 'Vote Nobody' is available from M/CR SWF & M/CR Solidarity, c/o 109 Oxford Rd, Manchester 1. If readers wish to use this for their own leaflets they are welcome to do so. The North East Anarchist Federation also report in their latest bulletin on their initiative on the EEC elections and have circulated a discussion paper (by Martin Spence of Black Jake on the Common Market and what it represents.

# WHO NEEDS LEADERS?

Continued from page 1

employers and their Government - then, somehow, they are no longer part of the nation.

And the nation, the proper, pukka, highly paid, responsible, elected, ethical, far-seeing and righteous, second-home-in-the-country, chicken-in-every-pot and two-cars-in-the-garage citizens

of our property-owning democratic nation, closes its Christian ranks against the bad anarchic breath of those who actually do the work.

And, brothers and sisters of the Left, may we point out yet again that this includes your proper trade union leaders and your actual Labour Government no

less than the more obvious class enemies of the Conservative Party and the Right in general

In our last issue, which was delayed in appearing for a variety of reasons, only one of which was the weather, we poured some scorn on the journalistic comments of those who saw 'anarchy' in the failure of the TU leaders to control their members, and who actually went so far as to diagnose an emergence of 'syndicalism' as one of the problems. One of the dangers, indeed.

We might have appeared to be wrong, inasmuch as there was clearly a rebellion against reluctant leaderships by the rank-and-file, but we claim a certain amount of experience in observing and analysing these events - and we know damn well that most of the militants who spat at Jim Callaghan and ignored the directives of their leaders will nevertheless vote faithfully for the party he leads and happily go on paying large salaries to those same union leaders.

When workers take action in the heat of the moment, and act in their own interests at last, they invariably take the right action. Unfortunately, when the situation cools down, they go back to thinking along the same old lines and take the easy way out - especially, ironically, if they have won the struggle and things don't seem so bad after all.

And there is no doubt that this is a struggle that is being won. The Labour Government's 5 per cent policy is in tatters - and triumphant workers are settling for magnificent 16 per cents and 8.8 per cents. Big deal! In a year's time they will be looking at each other and saying 'Why ain't we better off?' while their leaders and the politicians go on calling for sacrifice and concern for the good of the nation...

When workers realise that they don't need leaders at all; when they think in terms of occupying the factories and taking them over, rather than shivering outside the gates; when they demand the abolition of the whole stupid wages system and refuse to vote or work for renegade leaders of any kind - then we can talk realistically of anarchy and see syndicalism as a means to that end.

But whenever any workers go to the polls in the next election, or bother to vote for a general secretary of their union - knowing that their experience this last month has taught them that it is their own strength that matters - then we shall know the lesson has still not been learnt.

EDITORS

# THE VICIOUS CIRCLE OF AND OTHER? LATIN AMERICAN POLITICS

In country A Generalissimo B governs. He is a dictator.

Colonel C organises a military rebellion, and the people support him.

Triumph of the Revolution!

Dictator B escapes with the Government funds.

The country is ruined and it is necessary to start again from scratch.

Colonel C promises elections & progress.

The United States recognises the regime of Colonel C.

The Army promotes him to General.

Colonel C forgets his promises and promotes himself to Generalissimo.

Twenty years have passed! Generalissimo C is a dictator.

Colonel D organises a military rebellion - and the people support him.

Triumph of the Revolution!

Dictator C escapes with the Government funds.

The country is ruined and it is necessary to start again from scratch.

The United States recognises the regime of Colonel D.

TRANSLATED by CLAUD from RITA

### SUBSCRIBE

One Year	£6.00 (\$12)
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# WHO IS THE FAIREST?

THE appeal by Astrid Proll against extradition to West Germany was adjourned on 15 February by Widgery, the Lord Chief Justice, pending a decision on Astrid's nationality in the Family Division of the High Court.

The defence are still hoping they can argue that a British national cannot be extradited to the Federal Republic - despite the infamous new 'Lex Proll'.

And the German authorities are doing their best to look soft and cosy, less in the face of criticism in this country (with its staunchly pro-German regime press) than in Germany itself. In an interview with the magazine *Stern* the Federal Minister of the Interior, Gerhard Baum, suggested that Astrid would be treated leniently if she returned to Frankfurt of her own accord. He added that the trial would probably start quickly because the evidence was ready, and that if this were not the case 'I could imagine that she would be allowed to return to England, with appropriate conditions and guarantees, until the beginning of her trial in Frankfurt'.

Although this was mere speculation on Baum's part, confused stories at once appeared that Astrid had offered to give herself up. These have been dismissed by her lawyers. Germany is a 'federal' state. What Gerhard Baum says in Bonn is not necessarily what Herbert Guenther,

Justice Minister for Hesse says in Frankfurt, or for that matter, the Frankfurt assize court where she would be tried and where, according to Guenther, any decision about exemption from imprisonment would have to be made.

While Astrid wrote to Hesse for clarification her brother, Thorwald and others recalled the case of Katherina Hammarschmidt, the alleged RAF member who went back to Germany from France under a similar offer of leniency several years ago and who, in return for her good faith, died of a cancer that the prison authorities left untreated during a long and crucial period despite numerous appeals on the part of her defence to get proper medical care.

The extreme right Christian Democrats have also entered the arena. Stantizek, CDU deputy and lawyer, has demanded 'no special rights for Astrid Proll' on the grounds that this would be 'in violation of the Constitution'.

So it can be seen how, already a victim of State 'justice', Astrid has now also become a pawn in the party political power game:

Mirror, mirror on the wall  
Who is the fairest (ie. most constitutional) of us all?

Gaia

## MORE NEWS FROM THE 'CONSTITUTIONAL STATE' .....

- 200 people have been charged with 'defamation of the State'. The charge concerns a text written by students in protest against another relating to the famous 'Buback - an Obituary'. The text contains the apparently dangerous words: "You are nothing. The State is everything. We are number one in the world." (Meant sarcastically, of course). And on the back is a drawing of an 'arse with ears' mounted on the head of a Federal eagle. A mass trial is expected ...

- The 'Agit' printers (see FREEDOM vol. 39 no. 10, 27. 5. 78) have been given up to 1 year's imprisonment for printing urban guerrilla texts in *Info-Bug*, a paper of the Berlin *Undogmatic Left*. The paper is edited by different groups, none of whom appear to be known to the prosecution who thus picked on the printers instead.

- Klaus Croissant, the RAF lawyer, has been sentenced to 2½ years' gaol and a 4-year ban from legal practice after being found guilty of running an 'information system' for his RAF clients. Having already spent 19 months in prison he could be released in the spring. He could also be rearrested and charged with more serious offences which the French appeal court excluded from the conditions of their extradition order. But under this order he must be given 30 days to leave Germany should he wish to do so.

- Werner Hoppe (see last issue) has at last been released from custody after doctors found him 'unfit for imprisonment'.

# PRISONS & POLITICAL STATUS

POLITICAL status is an uncomfortable term for anarchists. Because prison is a political weapon of the ruling class then all prisoners are political, we say. When pushed a bit more we qualify this by saying that we don't of course support the John Stonehouses or Robert Relfs, but that prison is principally a method of state/class control and must be destroyed. Whatever way a community decides to deal with its own who commit anti-social crimes, it should not be by incarceration.

This sounds fine as does most anarchist theory. However in practice we often find ourselves in a dilemma. Most of the struggles going on against exploitation and domination, which are the hallmarks of bourgeois/state rule, tend themselves in their structure and methods to reflect the same hallmarks, to varying degrees, of the society which spawned them. The trade unions are an obvious example. Even most of the rank and file groups which grew within them and in opposition to their leadership, failed to transcend the hierarchical and economic conditioning of their role in society. The anarchist response has been to either critic-



ally support these struggles or to avoid the dilemma altogether by working in areas which offer more scope for libertarian perspective.

In the north here we are in a similar circumstance. The prison system, tied in with the 'reformed' RUC (Royal Ulster Constabulary), the 'open' courts (juryless), and the new increased conviction rates (based mainly on the torture techniques to secure 'confessions'), is one of the British state's weapons to restore stability to our 'troubled' province. For this reason and because of the anarchist movement's traditional and total opposition to prisons, we should challenge at every opportunity the government's attempts to make its prison system more acceptable, and support those inside who challenge and whose position is more precarious.

So where is the dilemma 'Political Status'. Those 386 men in Long Kesh who are on the 'blanket and dirt' protest, and the 44 women in Armagh who refuse to wear prison uniform, are members of either the Provos or IRSP (Irish Revolutionary Socialist Party). Both of these groups are nationalist and statist.

Continued on page 7

# "I WILL NOT PERMIT ANARCHY"

Well, to some extent I fell into the trap that I pointed out myself. Events in Iran moved even faster than I expected. I thought that the last government would hold things together for rather longer & I thought that the army would cause more trouble. It just goes to emphasize that you can't keep a people down. And that the people have as usual, shown more political awareness than the media, they knew all along what Bakhtiar ("brave" according to the western press) represented. Anyway I'll summarise events, then review the present position and, if I'm feeling a bit brave, venture some prophesy, or at least hopes.

Briefly, the Irani people had got pissed off. They were oppressed by one of the most brutal systems in the world, all hints of change (the 'Shah-People White Revolution') were a blatant farce, a small group of people were flaunting ostentatious wealth, slum conditions in the cities were appalling, agriculture was in ruins (it has got to the stage where food has to be imported). And to add insult to injury they were continuously told how much they loved the bastard who symbolised it all. They went onto the streets and went on strike for a variety of reasons, some political, some religious, some others. But it was united round one thing. Mohammad Reza Pahlavi and all he represented had to go. There'd been demonstrations before and they had all met the same reaction. But this time it was unstoppable. Within a few months the economy was paralysed and the cities in turmoil. The Shah wasn't sure what to do. Brutality had always worked in the past. He dithered. Eventually he fell back on precedent. He could repeat the ploy of 1953, leave for a while and then engineer a comeback. In the meantime an interim government could work to hold things, keep the opposition tendencies separate and the like. It didn't work. Bakhtiar and his regime were transparently tools (except, of course, to western journalists) so they were destroyed as well. In the final showdown the people were armed for the first time. Fortunately, the core of the army had enough sense to face facts and bloodshed was minimised.

So, what are the present positions of the various parties? The most powerful is still the people themselves, armed and determined. Let's hope they stay like that. The incumbent power is an alliance between the mosque and secular politicians. The latter can be assumed to be just politicians. Some of them do have records of 'opposition'. What this basically means is that they were involved in the National Front in the fifties.

Bazargan, for instance, is an old friend of Bakhtiar and protected him last week. There's not much to choose between them. Bakhtiar's present whereabouts are uncertain; if he's still in the country we must assume he is still being protected. Khomeini is still the real centre (why are people so stupid?) He now rules by diktat (after all, firman is a Persian word). Censorship is applied. He "will not permit anarchy!" He is developing definite signs of megalomania. Any opposition is guilty of 'blasphemy' and is liable to have their hands chopped off. He has been referred to as 'Imam' (roughly equivalent to Moses).

Until the takeover by the Shah's father the mosque had great power in Iran. This was diminished and the state became more secularised. The priest on the ground is known as a 'mullah', his lobby as the 'ul-emma'. The leaders, equivalent, say, to bishops, are the now notorious 'ayatollahs'. Half a dozen of these are theoretically in charge but of course in practice Khomeini dominates. Shariat-maderi, the ayatollah of Tehran, has lost out a lot by compromising too much with the Shah's regime. Khomeini gained from his geographical separation. According to Shia doctrine there have been eleven imams. One of these is buried in Mashad in east Iran and all good Iranis make a pilgrimage there. They are all waiting for the twelfth and last to appear. Some think he has, as Khomeini.

So these are the people who are consolidating their regime. They intend to purge the army and then reestablish it under their control. There is to be a referendum on whether to have an 'Islamic Republic'. This is to be a simple Yes/No vote. Actual details, constitutions and so on will be revealed when thought appropriate. Censorship is operated. Control is very neat, operating in a similar manner to that in Communist countries; any disagreement is counter-revolutionary.

The overall effect is therefore to set up a substitute for the old regime with, however, at least some popular consent. There are opposition groupings. Liberals, for instance. But I doubt if they will have much practical effect. There is a 'left'. The Communists (Tudeh) can be neglected. They had some influence up to the 1950s but were always rigid Moscow-line, and largely discredited themselves by constant shifts of policy and sectarianism. They collaborated with the National Front takeover in 1953 and were systematically smashed when the Shah regained power. He continually ranted about 'Communists' but there was little evidence of them.

There is a newer generation of Marxists,

officially dating themselves from a raid on a police station at Siahkal in February 1971. Activities since then have been bombings, bank raids, attacks on the police and assassinations. There are two important groups. One (Mojahedin-i Khalq) describes itself as 'Islamic Marxist'. Mojahedin means 'fighters of the Jihad' or 'holy war'. The other is more orthodox Marxist, the Cherkhaye Fedayin-i Khalq. (The 'People's Dedicated Guerrillas'). The names reveal a lot. The 'dedication' is very real. Their theory is a somewhat messy amalgamation of the usual stuff on the Armed Struggle and the Purity and Sacrifice of the Revolutionary. Both groups remain small and isolated, recruiting mainly from students. Their pantheon of martyrs is something frightening. Both groups have gained a lot of ground lately. Now, of course, they are well armed and the Provisional Government is doing its best to remedy this. In the present context Mojahedin is obviously more 'respectable'. However, they are a dangerous pressure group while they retain their autonomy and the government is trying to placate them, by offering them a role as 'national guard'. Presumably there will be an attempt to integrate them as a normal paramilitary police force. The other group, the Fedayin are a more immediate problem. I am not sure of their strength - probably about 3,000 in Tehran. The government's tactic is to try to isolate them by labelling them as counter-revolutionaries and irreligious. There has been a preliminary confrontation this week and the Fedayin backed down a bit by postponing a proposed march until Friday (the weekly holiday). It will be something of a test case. There are a number of other small left groups, Trotskyists, Maoists and what have you. There is minimal influence from Moscow whatever the western press may claim.

The other important opposition is in the various ethnic groups. Over the years there has been a policy of 'Persianisation' and the tribes have been played down. This policy is typical of its kind. Farsi is the only accepted language, regions are starved of funds, nomadic groups are forcibly settled. Insurrections have occurred at intervals, for example the Qashqai in the south rebelled in 1962-3. They were put down militarily, a few hundred people were killed. The useful tactic here was machine-gunning flocks from the air - what can a nomadic tribe do without its animals? About 40% of the population are non-Persian. Easily the largest group are the Turkish speakers of Azerbaijan and Gilan in the north-

SAM DREEN, one of the last survivors of the old Jewish anarchist movement in the East End, died in the United States earlier this month in his nineties.

Dreen was born in Vitebsk (in White Russia) in 1885. He came from a family of tailors, but his father was a teacher called Druan who died young. Sam had to start work at the age of nine, and was eventually apprenticed as a tailor.

He joined the Bund (the Jewish socialist organisation in Russia) and became so active that he got into trouble with the police. In order to avoid further trouble and to evade military service, he followed his brother to Britain, being smuggled over the frontier into Germany and then getting a passage to London.

He later recalled how he and his comrades on their arrival "walked through a rough area where the inhabitants hated immigrants and threw stones at us all the way". He got work as a tailor, beginning by making soldiers' trousers for the Boer War, for which he earned 'good wages' of 30s. a week for a 14-hour day. He moved from job to job, and joined one of the Jewish tailors' unions. He later recalled: "The union work did not attract me. There was always a good attendance at the meetings, which were held on a Saturday night or on Sunday, but the members came there mostly to meet their friends, to talk and quarrel and fight. Many of them came half-drunk, spotting for a fight. Usually the meetings ended in uproar. So I didn't like the meetings, and finally I stayed away."

He also went to meetings of the various political organisations, and in 1902 he was taken by a friend to an anarchist meeting at the Sugar Loaf pub in Hanbury Street. This was where the Jewish anarchists held their public meetings on Friday evenings - a characteristic gesture against the Jewish religion - and where the Jewish religion - and where the main speaker was Rudolf Rocker, the German gentile who dominated the movement until the First World War. In 1902 he had just returned to London from a spell in Leeds, and on 20 March 1903 he revived the group's paper *Arbeter Frint* (Workers' Friend).

Dreen was immediately captivated by Rocker and attracted into the anarchist movement. "I was terribly impressed by Rocker's delivery, so I attended all his lectures in future. He spoke to us like a father to his child, like an elder brother. He had time and patience for each one of us. We were not a crowd to him, but everyone was a separate person, an individual soul. Even at a public meeting attended by thousands, you felt that Rocker was speaking to you alone. He united us, filled us with revolutionary ardour, inspired us with his clear thinking and wide knowledge, his love and understanding of art and literature and the values of culture. Rocker was our rabbi!"

Dreen's name appeared in the second issue of the revived *Arbeter Frint*, on 27 March 1903; acknowledging his contribution of 5s. and he soon became a leading member of the inner group.

# SAM DREEN

- A LINK WITH ROCKER'S 'LONDON YEARS'

"I went to all their meetings and entertainments, the concerts and dances which were held on Saturdays and Sundays, and their summer excursions to Epping Forest. It brought us together, and we became firm friends. This was no ordinary political group. These were people who spent all their time together, like a closely knit family, brothers and sisters. These were what Rocker afterwards called the golden days of our youth. The memories of those days kept us friends all our lives, though we did not all continue to hold the same opinions. We were inspired by our belief in a better world that we were helping to build, and happy in our friendship, the warm friendship of each and every member of our group".

Dreen described the social activity of the *Arbeter Frint* group with particular pleasure. "We held social evenings regularly, and two or three masked balls a year. We often hired the Crown Hall in Redmans Road for concerts. Always there would be an interval for refreshments, when Rocker would stand up and there would be immediate silence. He would lecture us on some literary or topical event. We younger ones never went home. Up to two dozen young men and women would troop off to one of our homes and recline there on cushions placed on the floor to talk throughout the

night or pair off to embrace in the corners." The great event of the year was the excursion to Epping Forest, when a horse and cart brought the refreshments for the picnic and the comrades travelled by bus and train to the meeting-point. "Comrades would then gather in groups, or young men and women would pair off and meander into the forest. Suddenly a loud call would announce that Comrade Rocker was about to address the crowd. All would swiftly converge to a glade at the edge of the wood. Some would lie casually on the grass, others reclined against trees, as our teacher began his lecture".

But there was a harder side to life, and Dreen was deeply involved in the political activity of the *Arbeter Frint* group. In 1904 he was involved in the Yom Kippur riot in Spitalfields; when religious and socialist groups began fighting in Princelet Street, he led the anarchist group to help the latter. In 1905 he was present at the court of honour when German anarchists brought and Jewish anarchists rejected the accusation that Rocker was an agent of the German government.

Above all Dreen was involved in the struggle to develop an anarchist presence in the Jewish trade union movement. He took a leading part in the 1906 tailors' strike against the sweating system, which was the first peak of the *Arbeter Frint* group's influence in the East End, being made treasurer of the strike committee at the age of only 21, and reporting its progress in the *Arbeter Frint*.

After the collapse of the strike, he and a comrade went to New York to make a new start, joining the group around the *Freie Arbeter Stimme*. But in 1909 he returned to London and rejoined the *Arbeter Frint* group. Following the American example, he took the

Continued on facing page



Rocker (centre) with the 'Gentle Anarchists' - Sam Dreen

Continued from facing page

initiative in forming a joint committee of all the Jewish trade unions with some of the socialist organisations, but it soon lapsed because of the opposition of the Social Democrats. In 1909 he was also involved in the formation of the *Arbeter Ring* (Workers' Circle), a Jewish trade union mutual aid society transcending party differences which still survives.

By this time his main concern was indeed to keep party interests out of trade union activity. When the anarchist movement declined after the First World War, he transferred his activity not to the Communist Party, as so many others did, but to Poale Zion, the Zionist socialist organisation. The anarchists had always opposed Jewish as much as any other nationalism, but Dreen felt that the necessity to develop national as well as class identity among the Jewish people overrode such considerations.

Between the world wars he was the London representative of Poale Zion at international conferences, and after the Second World War his comrades celebrated his 70th birthday with a special dinner. Meanwhile he had risen in his trade to become a master tailor, but he always took care to pay wages above union rates

Cont. from p. 5  
west. Autonomous republics have been set up here a number of times, the last couple with Soviet backing (as long as it was expedient, they were then abandoned to the inevitable reprisals). The capital, Tabriz, has long been a centre for revolt. There has been recent fighting there, some of which appears to be rearguard action from pro-Shah groups. Also in the north-west are the Kurds. They are spread across several countries. For a while the Shah, and the CIA, backed them in a guerrilla war against Iraq and then ditched them. There has already been a rising here. In the south there are the Qashgai and an Arab population. There is even ironically enough the Bakhtiari. In the east are the Baluchi, spread across the borders into Afghanistan and already fighting a guerrilla war there. All these groups will want some independence. Khomeini has said that he will hold Iran together.

If the system holds together what will the future be? This is the dangerous bit, speculation. Well, it would be repressive, with the government having industrial agents in everything, i.e. the mullahs. They could be far worse than any SAVAK agent. Any 'deviant' would be repressed. Things would be probably more egalitarian. There wouldn't be as much opportunity to accumulate personal fortunes. Some, at least, of the oil revenues would go to help the people. Some sense would be made of distribution of land and industry. The small degree of freedom gained by women would go. This hasn't been that much and it has only applied to a privileged few. Middle class women have had some opportunity to get reasonable jobs. They have left off their veils. Khomeini says that women will be able to hold high offices but I doubt if this means much. After all, one of the most power-

and to cease production during strikes.

Dreen spent the last quarter of his life in the United States, where most of his family had settled, though he made occasional visits to London until quite recently. Although he had moved away from the anarchist movement nearly half a century before, he always kept fresh his memory of his time in it. He was the moving spirit behind the English edition of the extract from Rudolf Rocker's memoirs published as *The London Years* (1956), to which he contributed an epilogue. He was also the moving spirit behind the centenary meeting in memory of Rudolf Rocker held at the Toynbee Hall in the East End on 9 September 1973. And he provided much information for *W.J. Fishman's* history of the movement, *East End Jewish Radicals* (1975). He died in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, on 3 February 1978.

Sam Dreen had a good long life, and did a good many things. But his golden years were spent in the anarchist movement here in London. As with so many who have left us, we can say that we had the best of him.

N.W.

(Material from Sam Dreen's unpublished memoirs and interviews kindly provided by Bill Fishman.)

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ful people in the country was Ashraf, the Shah's sister (and she was as bad as him) but this did nothing for most women. The freedom was largely illusory, veiled women in western clothes were liable to be molested. Even the most 'liberated' areas were only superficially so, sexism is deeply ingrained. But there was a start.

Well, the thing is poised. There are a lot of people who will try to get the system established and a lot of people happily accept it. But a lot will not. The Iranian people have smashed one of the world's most repressive systems. They are capable of starting from here and building something. They must do it, or they will be back where they started.

SHAHIN

## PRISONS AND POLITICAL STATUS

Continued from page 4

Not only do they put aside social struggles till after the 'unification' of Ireland, but it is doubtful what their commitment would be even then. The prisoners are protesting against the withdrawal of political/POW status which was granted under Whitelaw's rule. It was already in existence more or less, given the conditions created by Faulkner to intern people. These were the long corrugated huts, the wearing of their own clothes, relatively autonomous educational facilities, etc. This was mainly because of the lack of cell space. But when internment was replaced by detention the prisoners held on to their privileges only after a hunger strike.

After the general election of '74 Rees replaced Whitelaw, and so began the Labour government's efforts to portray the violent contradictions in our society as simply one of 'law and order'. As part of this there began a campaign of criminalisation of those who had 'political status'. After 1 March '75 anyone who was convicted of 'serious criminal offences' was placed in a cell instead of the compound. Kieran Nugent became the first 'blanket' protestor and when he is to be released on 13 May this year he will have spent 3 years in this condition.

As anarchists we do not want political status for a selected few. The majority of crimes for which people are inside are political in that they are against property or authority, state or private. But instead of avoiding the issue as too complicated, as we have done in the past, we now feel that Mason's attempt to present the problem as one of 'law and order' must be challenged. Rather than support political/POW status in isolation from a general critique of the prison system, or ignore it in favour of the latter, we should attempt to transcend 'political status'. The solidarity of the Irish prisoners, anarchists and 'ordinary' prisoners in the Hull jail riot is a concrete example of how this can be achieved on the inside.

This problem of status is only one aspect of our work on prisons. It may be central to republican and left groups, but that reflects their own hierarchical structure and statist aims (whether that be federated capitalism or state socialism). To this date none of them have called for (or are likely to) the abolition of prisons. We already keep contact with a small number of both 'political' and 'ordinary' prisoners. We plan in the next couple of months to raise more publicly the class nature of prisons, and the necessity in any future society for their abolition.

Of course the determination of those inside who choose the status to oppose the British state's prison system should also be supported. But the question of all prisoners being political, in fact class prisoners, must be raised, and answered.

BELFAST ANARCHIST COLLECTIVE

- (14) Paul Berman, ed., Quotations from the Anarchists (New York: Praeger, 1972), p. 28.
- (15) See Post-Scarcity Anarchism (Berkeley: Ramparts Press, 1971), especially the title essay.
- (16) Kropotkin, Revolutionary Pamphlets, p. 284.
- (17) Proudhon, p. 98.
- (18) Woodcock, p. 11.
- (19) Paul Goodman, People or Personnel and Like a Conquered Province (New York: Vintage, 1963), p. 6.
- (20) Bakunin, p. 298.
- (21) Runkle, p. 3.
- (22) Bookchin, Post-Scarcity Anarchism, p. 41.
- (23) It might be mentioned that a definition of anarchism which differs from both types mentioned is put forth recently by Robert Wolff. According to Wolff, the distinctive characteristic of what he calls an anarchist is that he or she "will never view the commands of the state as legitimate, as having binding moral force". In Defense of Anarchism (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), p. 18. The uniqueness of this definition lies in the fact that it commits the anarchist neither to support for, nor to opposition to any social and political institution, at least in any obvious way. This point will be discussed further below.
- (24) Woodcock, p. 7.
- (25) Benjamin Barber, Superman and Common Men: Freedom, Anarchy, and the Revolution (New York: Praeger, 1972), p. 18.
- (26) The text reads 'revelation', but presumably this is a misprint. However, those who are interested in the relationship between anarchism and revelation are directed to the Catholic Worker.
- (27) Isaac Kramnick, "On Anarchism and the Real World: William Godwin and Radical England," American Political Science Review 66 (March 1972), 114. I have dealt with Kramnick's contentions elsewhere in detail. See "On Anarchism in an Unreal World: Kramnick's View of Godwin and the Anarchists," American Political Science Review 69 (March 1975), 162-67, and also Kramnick's comment and my rejoinder, in the same issue. For a more detailed discussion of Godwin's contribution to anarchist thought, see my book, The Philosophical Anarchism of William Godwin (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977).
- (28) Kramnick, p. 128. Kramnick concludes that 'utopian anarchism' is ultimately reactionary, since it has no effective strategy for change.
- (29) Runkle, p. 13.
- (30) Robert Wolff, In Defense of Anarchism (New York: Harper and Row, 1970).
- (31) See Jeffrey Reiman, In Defense of Political Philosophy (New York: Harper and Row, 1972).
- (32) Interview with Robert Wolff, included in a radio broadcast entitled "The Black Flag of Anarchy" (Baltimore: Great Atlantic Radio Conspiracy, 1973). A catalogue of tapes on anarchism and related topics, including interviews with Wolff, Bookchin and other well-known figures, is available from that group.
- (33) Albert Jay Nock, Our Enemy the State (New York: Free Life Editions, 1973), p. 22.
- (34) Nock, p. 20. See Franz Oppenheimer, The State (New York: Free Life Editions, 1975).
- (35) *Ibid*, p. 57.
- (36) Kropotkin, Revolutionary Pamphlets, p. 284.
- (37) *Ibid*, p. 10.
- (38) *Ibid*, p. 10-11.
- (39) *Ibid*, p. 27.
- (40) Kropotkin, Revolutionary Pamphlets, pp. 26-27.
- (41) The authenticity of this ideal has been questioned by some. See Richard Adamiak, "The Withering Away of the State: A Reconsideration," Journal of Politics 32 (February 1970).
- (42) Robert Tucker, The Marxian Revolutionary Idea (New York: Norton, 1969), p. 87.
- (43) *Ibid*, p. 88. As a result, he feels he must use capitalization to distinguish between the two.
- (44) For a criticism of extreme individualist anarchism, see my book Max Stirner's Egoism (London: Freedom Press, 1976).
- (45) For descriptions of revolutionary Spain, see Sam Dolgoff's The Anarchist Collectives: Worker Self-Management in the Spanish Revolution (1936-39) (New York: Free Life Editions, 1974), Vernon Richards's Lessons of the Spanish Revolution (London: Freedom Press, 1972), and Gaston Leval's Collectives in the Spanish Revolution (London: Freedom Press, 1975).
- (46) See their book mistranslated as Obsolete Communism: The Left-Wing Alternative (London: Penguin 1968). The cor-

rect title, as anarchist reviewers have pointed out, should be something like Leftism: A Cure for the Senile Disorder of Communism, which, besides being less confusing, preserves the parody of Lenin's work Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder.

(47) De George holds that communist anarchists present a 'Marxian analysis'. Richard De George, "Anarchism and Authority," Anarchism: Nomos XIX (New York: New York University Press, 1978). This is partially true; however, such an analysis is more typical of anarcho-syndicalism, as will be discussed further.

(48) Cited in Leonard Krimerman and Lewis Perry, eds. Patterns of Anarchy (Garden City: Doubleday Anchor, 1966), p. 34.

(49) The case is perhaps different with the 'anarcho-capitalists' of the present, who live in an era of entrenched economic power. Since they have not explained how all can be placed in an equal bargaining position without abolishing present property relationships, it seems likely that what they propose is a system in which the affluent voluntarily associate to use force and coercion against the poor and weak in order to maintain class privilege. The abuses of the state are thus perpetuated after the state is allegedly abolished.

(50) De George, p. 37.

(51) Paul Goodman, "The Black Flag of Anarchy" (Corinth, Vermont: Black Mountain Press, n.d.) The article originally appeared in the New York Times Magazine, July 14, 1968.

(52) Barber, p. 25.

(53) Kramnick, p. 114.

(54) Paul and Percival Goodman, Communitas (New York: Random House, 1960).

(55) Richard Sennett, The Uses of Disorder: Personal Identity and City Life (New York: Vintage, 1970).

(56) A.S. Neill, Summerhill (Harmondsworth, Middx: Penguin 1968).

(57) See especially Bookchin's introductory essay, which is a brief but masterly treatment of the relationship between theory and practice, in historical context.

(58) The statements here quoted from De George's original paper were omitted from his revised version. (Editors, Anarchism, New York University Press, 1978).

(59) A good example is Karl Hess (a former Goldwater speechwriter, now a community anarchist), who lives in and works with the Adams-Morgan neighborhood community in Washington D.C. See his articles "Washington Utopia: An Election Eve Dream," Washington Post/Potomac (3 November 1974), and "The System has Failed," Penthouse (August 1974), which are popular presentations of his communal and decentralist ideas. His Community Technology group publishes a newsletter on decentralized technology, "Science in the Neighborhood".

(60) It is the latter who have a Marxian analysis, not so much the communitarians, as De George contends. On this question, see "Syndicalism and Anarchism" in FREEDOM 35 (26 October 1974), 4 and (2 November 1974), 6. The debate between Monatte and Malatesta concerning syndicalism and communism is reproduced. Even more important is George Woodcock's "Chomsky's Anarchism", FREEDOM 35 (16 November 1974), 4, in which the nature of the anarchism of Chomsky and Guerin is discussed in view of that historical division within anarchism.

(61) Again, Bookchin's introduction to The Anarchist Collectives is relevant.

(62) See Lewis Mumford, Technics and Civilisation (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1934) (also London: Penguin), especially Chapter viii, "Orientation." The sections entitled "Basic Communism", "Socialize Creation", and "Political Control" are particularly relevant.

(63) The most important recent works in this connection are Bookchin's Limits of the City (New York: Harper and Row, 1974) and E.F. Schumacher's Small Is Beautiful: Economics as if People Mattered (New York: Harper and Row, 1973).

(64) The literature on this topic has yet to be written. However, several of the works mentioned above, including those by Lee, Bookchin, Mumford, and Schumacher present evidence related to the subject. See also Geoffrey Ostergaard and Melville Currell, The Gentle Anarchists (New York: Oxford University Press), which discuss Gandhian anarchism, which is based on an organic world view. Another source of organicist thinking in anarchism is the work of Kropotkin. See Peter Kropotkin, Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution (Boston: Porter Sargent, n.d.), and Roel van Duyn, Message of a Wise Kabouter (London: Gerald Duckworth, 1972).

# Freedom

## WHAT IS



A Punch cartoon which shows how seriously anarchism was regarded as an attack on the fabric of contemporary society

## ANARCHISM?

# What is anarchism?

MUCH of the recent philosophical discussion of anarchism exhibits a disturbing lack of clarity because of widespread failure on the part of political theorists to define terms such as 'anarchy', 'anarchist', and 'anarchism' with sufficient care. This failure results, I believe, from neglect of a number of topics relevant to the subject, including (to mention the most important of these) the nature of classical anarchist theory, the history of the anarchist movement, and numerous

endeavours to apply anarchist theory and practice to contemporary realities. In this essay an attempt will be made to formulate a definition which takes into account all significant aspects of anarchism: both theory and practice, both past historical forms and contemporary manifestations. At the same time, those concepts of anarchism which disregard any of these important elements, or which misrepresent the anarchist position, will be criticised.

## 1. OVERSIMPLIFICATIONS OF ANARCHISM

According to George Woodcock, one of the most judicious historians of anarchism, "the first thing to guard against" in discussing the topic is simplicity (1). Unfortunately, most commentators on the subject, far from guarding against oversimplification, eagerly grasp at the most simplistic and non-technical senses of the term, and seem to have little interest in analysing the phenomenon to which it refers. Thus, it is not unusual for scholars to gather no more evidence about the nature of anarchism than the derivation of the term, after which they can ascend to the heights of abstraction, paying attention neither to social history nor to the history of ideas. Since anarchy means 'without rule', it is said, an anarchist is one who advocates a society in which ruling is abolished, and anarchism is the theory that such a society is necessary. In almost every case the conclusion drawn from this superficial analysis is that such a goal is obviously beyond our reach, and that anarchism should therefore be dismissed as naive-utopianism. This will not do. As I hope to show, such an approach fails abysmally to do justice to anarchism as, in fact, does any definition which attempts to define the term by one simple idea. I would like to discuss such simple definitions further before pointing out additional difficulties in analysing anarchism.

The assumption which underlies the sort of definition I am criticising is that anarchism can be identified through one essential characteristic that distinguishes it from all other social and political positions. Most definitions of this type characterise anarchism in terms of some principle or some institution that it opposes. One such definition would see anarchism as a movement that is defined by its complete rejection of government. A great deal of evidence from the anarchist tradition could be pointed out in support of this view. Thus, in his *Encyclopaedia Britannica* article on anarchism, Kropotkin defines it as "a principle of theory of life and conduct in which society is conceived without government". (2). Emma Goldman, in her essay "Anarchism", defines it as "the theory that all forms of government rest on violence, and are therefore wrong and harmful, as well as unnecessary" (3). A well-known contemporary anarchist Colin Ward (editor of the first series of the journal *Anarchy*), defines anarchy as "the absence of government" (4), and anarchism as "the idea that it is possible and desirable for society to organise itself without government". (5). In some definitions, that which is rejected is identified, not as government, but rather as the power that controls government. In support of this position, one could cite Proudhon, who defines anarchy as "the absence of a ruler or a sovereign". (6). A number of writers would take the essence of anarchism to be its attack on the state, which is often distinguished from government, as will be discussed in detail later. This can be supported by Bakunin's statement that "the system of Anarchism ... aims at the abolition of the State," (7) to mention just one of many such statements by major anarchist theorists. Woodcock asserts that "the common element uniting all its forms" is its aim of "the replacement of the authoritarian state by some form of non-governmental cooperation between free individuals." (8). Other writers hold that it is not merely the state or political authority, but in fact authority itself which anarchism opposes. Sebastien Faure proclaims that "whoever denies authority and fights against it is an anarchist". (9). Malatesta accepts the view that anarchy means "without government" but he expands the definition to mean "without any constituted authority". (10). Recently, Ward has said that anarchists oppose the "principle of authority", (11) while Runkle, in his attack on anarchism,

maintains that it "opposes authority in all its forms". (12). While Daniel Guerin is in most cases a perceptive commentator on anarchism, at one point he characterises it in a way which is reminiscent of the most superficial and uncritical views. He goes so far as to suggest that the anarchist is one who "rejects society as a whole". (13). A negative characterisation which is probably the most adequate of all, if any is to be taken in isolation, is made by Malatesta, who holds that anarchists desire "the complete destruction of the domination and exploitation of man by man". (14). Recently, Murray Bookchin has described anarchism in terms of its opposition to all forms of domination and all types of hierarchical organisation. (15).

While fewer theorists (and especially non-anarchists) have attempted to define anarchism in terms of its positive side, there are examples of generalisations about its proposals. It might be seen, for example, as a theory of voluntary association. Kropotkin describes anarchism as seeking social order "by free agreements between the various groups, territorial and professional, freely constituted for the sake of production and consumption". (16). Proudhon says that in anarchism "the notion of Government is succeeded by that of Contract" (17). This idea of voluntary association is also included in Woodcock's reference, cited above, to "cooperation between free individuals". (18). Anarchism might also be defined as a theory of decentralisation. Paul Goodman notes that if anarchy means "lack of order and planning", then "most Anarchists, like the anarcho-syndicalists or the community-anarchists, have not been 'anarchists' either, but decentralists". (19). A closely related concept descriptive of anarchism is federalism. Bakunin holds that anarchism proposes "an organisation from below upward, by means of a federation". (20). Another way of defining anarchism is by its advocacy of freedom. Runkle holds that "the essence of anarchism is individual liberty" (21). A more specific but related conception is suggested by Bookchin, who describes the goal as "a situation in which men liberate not only 'history', but all the immediate circumstances of their everyday lives" (22).

Thus, anarchism can be described not only as a theory that opposes such things as government, the state, authority, or domination, but also as a theory that proposes voluntarism, decentralisation, or freedom. Yet to define anarchism in terms of its opposition or support for any or all of these would be inadequate. In fact, the anarchists who have been cited, while they sometimes present ill-considered, simplistic definitions, are aware of the complexity of the theory that they espouse, and their works, when taken as a whole, point to the necessity of a more comprehensive definition (23).

Of all those who have attempted to define anarchism, to my knowledge only one, Woodcock, clearly and concisely indicates the elements that will be taken here to constitute a minimum definition of anarchism. According to Woodcock, "historically, anarchism is a doctrine which poses a criticism of existing society; a view of a desirable future society; and a means of passing from one to the other" (24). In this discussion, the nature of these three criteria for anarchist theory will be elaborated upon, and a fourth, which is not only implied by Woodcock, will be added. At this point, it will merely be pointed out that any definition which reduces anarchism to a single dimension, such as its critical element, must be judged seriously inadequate.

## II. MISINTERPRETATIONS OF ANARCHISM

Not all misunderstanding of the nature of anarchism results from oversimplification. As was mentioned earlier, one of the most serious faults of most discussions of anarchism is neglect of historical anarchist thought and practice. The paradoxical

John P. Clark's essay appeared in *Anarchism*, 19th volume in the political and legal philosophy series "Nomos", edited by J. Roland Pennock and John W. Chapman (1978). It is reproduced by permission of New York University Press.

result is that we find political theorists attacking an anarchism that has existed primarily as a fiction in the minds of its opponents, and we find philosophers defending an anarchism that would be unrecognisable to the vast majority of anarchists throughout history (including the present). For example, Benjamin Barber, in his essay "Poetry and Revolution: The Anarchist as Reactionary", repeats the cliché of the irrationally utopian nature of anarchism. "The anarchists" he says, "manage to stand the naturalistic fallacy on its head: not that natural man, as he is, is what he ought to be; but that utopian man, as the anarchist conceives he ought to be, is in fact what man is" (25). Barber contends further that anarchism has no idea of political realities, and is concerned instead with a romanticist exhortation to revolution. "It must reject political theory itself in favour of poetry and revolution" (26). Isaac Kramnick develops Barber's viewpoint further in his article "On Anarchism and the Real World: William Godwin and Radical England".

Kramnick holds that "what replaces politics for the anarchist is either education or theater" (27), and that, again, anarchists are totally out of touch with reality (28). Runkle, in his book *Anarchism: Old and New*, asserts that "the student left, the radical right, and existentialism seem, at least superficially, to be contemporary forms of anarchism". (29). Runkle devotes half his book to the development of this view, which he correctly sees as superficial.

The writings of Barber, Kramnick and Runkle exhibit very well the consequences of an ignorance of many elements of the anarchist tradition, and of the selective use of evidence about that tradition to construct misleading generalisations. Barber's charge of utopianism overlooks the many concrete and practical proposals that anarchists have presented, while his belief that the anarchist view of human nature is naively optimistic is a perennial half-truth that deserves to be critically examined. Kramnick's view that anarchist strategy has been limited primarily to education and theatrics shows an almost inconceivable disregard for the history of the anarchist movement. Finally, Runkle's careless attribution of relations between anarchism and recent political and philosophical tendencies is coupled with an apparent unawareness of the existence of a true "new anarchism", which has sought to synthesise the insights of classical anarchism with developments such as advanced technology and ecological theory.

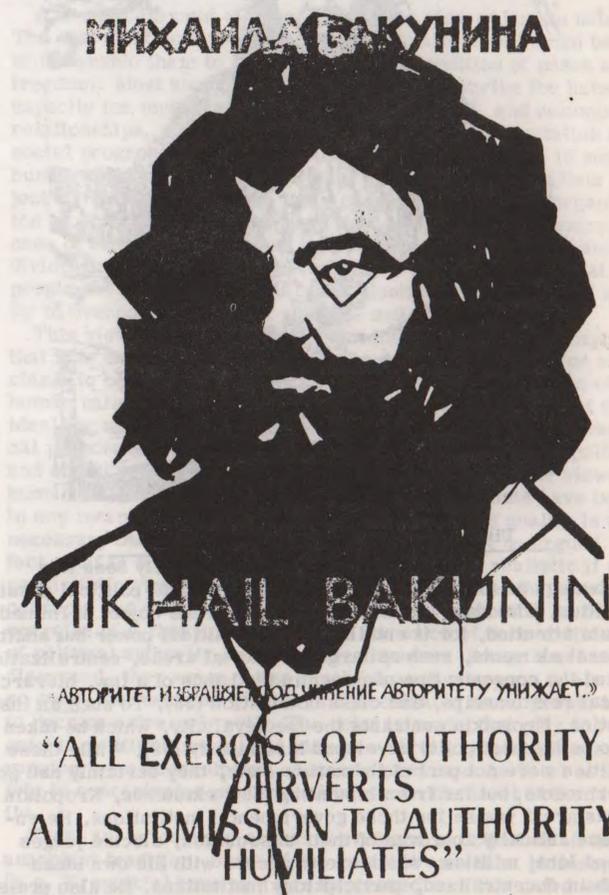
While these various attacks on anarchism do a great deal to confuse the issue, some of its philosophical defenders succeed only in increasing the chaos. The work that has done most to retard meaningful analysis and criticism of the anarchist position is Wolff's *In Defense of Anarchism* (30). As his critics have rightly pointed out, Wolff's argument that autonomy and moral authority are incompatible constitutes neither a defence of anarchism as a political theory nor a proof of the unjustifiable nature of the state and government (31). Whatever support Wolff's ethical position might give to anarchism is effectively undermined by his statement that he sees no practical proposals that follow from his theoretical acceptance of anarchism (32). Anarchists have differed greatly on the issue of the degree of activism demanded by their position, but never before to my knowledge has any theorist claiming to be an anarchist presented no proposals for action at all.

## 111. ANARCHISM AND GOVERNMENT

The widespread misunderstanding of the nature of anarchism points to the need for a clear definition of the term, and this will be attempted shortly. First, however, two subjects about which there is particularly widespread confusion must be considered. The first of these concerns the anarchist view of government. As has been indicated, many writers about anarchism have taken opposition to government to be the most distinctive characteristic of the theory. This is, in fact, probably the most popular means of defining the term. Much of the present discussion brings into question the adequacy of a definition of anarchism that conceives of it exclusively in terms of its relation to one social institution, even if that institution is held to be the most important one. However, there is further reason for questioning such a characterisation: the distinction that some anarchists have themselves made between government and the state. While there runs through all anarchist writings an unmitigated contempt for the state, the anarchist position on government is far from unequivocal hostility.

A case in point is the thought of the American individualist

anarchist Albert Jay Nock. In Nock's book *Our Enemy the State*, he distinguishes sharply between the state and government. Government, he says, consists of "strictly negative intervention" to secure the natural rights of the individual (33). By this he means protection of life, liberty and property in the strictest Lockean sense. When society acts to prevent one individual from aggressing against a second individual who has acted peacefully, such government is perfectly justifiable. It is important to realise that Nock is not supporting governmental protection of huge concentrations of wealth, property, or economic power. In fact he argues quite vehemently that unless special interests are given favourable treatment and protection through political means, there can be no amassing of vast wealth. Much of his book, which shows individualist anarchism at its best, is dedicated to an analysis of state power in American history, and to a demonstration of the ways in which the state has supported certain mercantile interests, especially through land grants and protective tariffs. The state, according to Nock, arises when political means are used for the protection of exclusive interests. Following Franz Oppenheimer, he contends that the state originated historically as the tool of a dominant class (34). According to this view, state power began with the conquest of a weaker (probably agrarian) tribe by a stronger (probably herding) tribe, the latter of which established a system of class rule in order to use the former for its labor power. The state, Nock says, has always maintained this class character, and state power has always been seen by special interests as an alluring means of gaining advantage over other groups in society.



Nock's use of the term 'government' is quite atypical of that of anarchists in general, since most have not hesitated to use the term to refer to the abuses they attribute to the state. However, his ideas are seen to fit well into the mainstream of anarchist thought when examined in terms of the scale of the two systems he compares. He contends that if the state were replaced by 'government' (in his unusual, limited sense of the term), this would result in something very close to Jefferson's

proposal for 'ward' government. Under such a system, the fundamental political unit would be the local township (for which I think we might also substitute the urban neighborhood), which would be "the repository and source of political authority and initiative". (35). Action on a larger scale should be carried out, Nock says, though a voluntary federation of communities for their common purposes. He believes that the essential protective functions of government can be achieved through such a system, while avoiding the dangers of exploitation that exist in a centralized, large-scale state.

While Nock is not one of the most widely known anarchist theorists (although he is one of the most eloquent of the individualists), ideas similar to his can be found in the writings of the foremost exponent of anarchist communism, Kropotkin. While it is true that Kropotkin holds that anarchism aims at the production of a society "without government" (36), nevertheless he sometimes praises a condition of society in which some elements of government remain, while the state is not present. In his essay *The State: Its Historic Role*, Kropotkin distinguishes sharply between the state and government. "Since there can be no State without government, it has sometimes been said that one must aim at the absence of government and not the abolition of the state" (37).



THE MODERN STATE, OR LEVIATHAN.

Kropotkin correctly sees this strategy as unrealistic in relation to practical political possibilities. The state in particular should be the object of immediate attention, for it entails not only political power but additional elements, such as large territorial areas, centralization and the concentration of power in the hands of a few, hierarchical relationships, and class domination (38). To such an institution, Kropotkin contrasts the medieval city, which he takes to be the best polity developed historically (39). While these cities were not part of the nation-state, they certainly had governments; but far from lamenting their existence, Kropotkin has great praise for these governmental institutions. He enthusiastically approves of their assemblies, elected judges and local militias, which are in accord with his own ideas about decentralized, participatory institutions. He also praises their belief in arbitration as opposed to authority without consent, and the subordination of military power to civil authority (40). Thus, while he always kept in mind the ultimate goal of dispensing with government entirely, he was realistic enough to see that from an anarchist perspective decentralized community government was a considerable advance beyond the empires of ancient times, and would constitute progress beyond the modern nation-state. In view of this more complex view of government, it can be seen that a simple conception of anarchism as "opposition to government" does not accurately represent its position.

#### IV. GOALS AND STRATEGIES IN ANARCHISM

There is a further problem which, perhaps more than any other, underlies the widespread confusion about the nature of anarchism. It deals with the distinction between anarchism's vision of the ideal society and its view of immediate action. Stated differently, it is the question of the relation between utopian goals and practical possibilities. Several difficulties arise in regard to this question. Some would define an anarchist entirely in terms of the acceptance of a noncoercive, non-authoritarian utopia as the moral idea. Thus, one who can describe what the ideal society might be like, express a belief that it might in some way be possible, and judge this ideal to be the only system which can be fully justified morally is called an anarchist.

I believe that this is a rather bad misuse of terminology, if traditional distinctions are to be maintained and contradiction avoided. Under such a definition it is clear that many (perhaps most) Marxists would qualify as anarchists, since they accept the idea of the withering away of the state (41). As many anarchists (for example, Bakunin) have pointed out, it is on the question of practical strategies that anarchists and Marxists part company, rather than on their visions of the ideal society. In many ways, Kropotkin's description of communism is similar to that of Marx and Engels. The anarchist's point is not necessarily that the Marxists' goal is wrong, but that given the methods they advocate, they can be certain never to reach it. Methods of achieving change must therefore be considered if anarchism is not to be confused with Marxism (not to mention other socialist, and perhaps even liberal, positions that could, without contradiction, set up the same long-range goal).

It is true that we often come across articles on Marx's anarchism but we find that they do not reveal new information showing that Marx advocated decentralization, self-management, and voluntary association, nor that he was a secret admirer of Bakunin. Rather, they discuss one limited aspect of his position: his view of the final utopia. Robert Tucker's discussion of Marxism and anarchism in *The Marxian Revolutionary Idea* may be taken as an example. Tucker holds that Marxism is anarchist in the sense mentioned, but "if we consider Anarchism not as an abstract political philosophy but as a revolutionary movement associated with a political philosophy, then we are confronted with the fact that Marxism was deeply at odds with it" (42). This view of the matter is much superior to those which exhibit no awareness of the relevance of anarchism to social realities. Yet it is still inadequate, for there is no need to look for two anarchisms - one a political theory, and the other a social practice. Tucker does this when he asks how it is "that classical Marxism, while embracing anarchism as a political philosophy, disagreed with Anarchism as a socialist ideology" (43). This shows a misunderstanding of the relation between theory and practice in anarchism. It is essential to anarchism that ends not be separated from means, and there can be no 'anarchism' in a full sense which does not as an integral part of its theoretical framework make distinctive proposals concerning practice, and take account of real historical conditions. Anarchist political philosophy implies anarchist activity in society.

It should be apparent from the discussion thus far that the interpretation of anarchism as the belief that utopia can be achieved immediately is erroneous. Because anarchists have accepted the ideal of a noncoercive nonauthoritarian society, some have assumed that they automatically must reject anything short of the ideal as unjustifiable, and therefore deserving of immediate destruction. The result is that anarchism is sometimes seen as implying a desire to destroy all established social institutions, preferably through violence. Yet none of the major anarchist theories from Godwin to the present has held such an extreme view, and no anarchist popular movement has presented such a proposal as part of its program. In spite of such lack of evidence, we often find even students of political theory confusing anarchism and nihilism, and scholars attending conferences on political philosophy questioning whether anarchist theory has any necessary link with bomb-throwing.

#### V. A DEFINITION OF ANARCHISM

In hopes of clarifying the meaning of anarchism, I would like to propose a definition that is specific enough to be recognizable as a reasonable characterization of historical anarchism and to distinguish it from political positions that have not traditionally been denominated 'anarchist', and that is also general

enough to take account of the wealth of diversity contained within the anarchist tradition. It is hoped that this definition will lay the groundwork for further clarification of the concept by others.

There are four elements to this proposed definition, and I believe that for one to be described as an anarchist in a full sense, all four criteria should be met. The founders of anarchist theory (Godwin, Proudhon, Bakunin and Kropotkin) all fit this paradigm, and the principles embodied therein are implicit in the programs of the anarcho-syndicalist and anarcho-communist movements, which constitute the mainstream of historical anarchist activism. Individualist anarchism in most forms also falls under the definition (although there are a few borderline cases).

In order for a political theory to be called 'anarchism' in a complete sense, it must contain: (1) a view of an ideal, non-coercive, nonauthoritarian society; (2) a criticism of existing society and its institutions, based on this antiauthoritarian ideal; (3) a view of human nature that justifies the hope for significant progress toward the ideal; and (4) a strategy for change, involving immediate institution of noncoercive, non-authoritarian and decentralist alternatives. This definition would allow for use of the term 'anarchist' in both a strong and in several weaker senses. Obviously, an anarchist in the strongest sense would exhibit all four characteristics. Yet, one, for example, who advocated anarchistic tactics without an explicit commitment to the anarchist ideal, or one who accepted the ideal but proposed different strategies, could only be called an 'anarchist' in a more limited sense.

#### VI. THE IDEAL OF ANARCHISM

'Anarchy' is the term usually applied to the ideal society for which the anarchist strives, and believes to be fully moral. It is true that many anarchists are rather vague about the nature of this ideal. This is the case for several reasons. One, which De George mentions, is that free, autonomous individuals will work out solutions that we can hardly, in the context of present society, foresee. Furthermore, the anarchist does not want to bind anyone to one vision of the ideal, since the acceptance of pluralism implies that various groups will create numerous variations on the general goal. However, this argument concerning the authoritarianism inherent in such prescriptions can be overstated. There is certainly no contradiction in the idea of an anarchist setting forth a fairly specific description of a society would live up to the anarchist criteria for moral justification, so long as it is clear that the model is subject to criticism and modification, and that other models might be found to conform at least as adequately to those criteria. As has been mentioned, the criteria are that such a society be non-coercive and nonauthoritarian, and that all forms of domination be eliminated. To describe such a society, one would have to show how institutions might be designed that would, at a minimum, eliminate the need for the use of physical force, government, and the state. In view of the third criterion, this ideal must be at least plausible in relation to the anarchist conception of human nature, which includes speculation about what people are capable of becoming, in addition to a description of what they are. The most convincing anarchist theories, while accepting the noncoercive, nongovernmental, and, of course, nonstatist nature of anarchy, deduce further characteristics of a society that has abolished domination. Examples often mentioned by anarchists include economic, social, racial, sexual, and generational equality, mutual aid, cooperation, and communalism.

The working out of a consistent view of anarchy is an important problem for the anarchist theorist. However, it is necessary to realize that work on this problem makes a theorist an 'anarchist' only in a very limited sense, as has already been noted. Thus, the Marxist political philosopher might take on this task as an integral part of the development of a theory of transition from capitalism and socialism to full communism. It might also be undertaken by a utopian novelist who enjoys dreaming about ideal societies, or by a political philosopher who has a merely academic interest in the nature of the morally justifiable society.

#### VII. THE ANARCHIST CRITIQUE OF THE PRESENT

An anarchist has a distinctive view of the present state of things. This view is, in a sense, the link between the vision of the ideal and those political and social proposals that are typical of anarchism. It consists of a distinctive critique of

existing social institutions, the core of which deals with coercion and authoritarianism. The anarchist finds many institutions to be unacceptable from a moral standpoint because they are based on force and externally imposed authority. It is, of course, the state and centralized political authority that receive the most destructive analysis on these grounds. It is therefore reasonable to accept as fulfilling this criterion any theory that on an antiauthoritarian basis questions the moral foundations of the state and government. However, it must be noted that the anarchist almost always proceeds to a further analysis of social institutions. Anarchism has not stopped with a criticism of political organization, but has investigated the authoritarian nature of economic inequality and private property, hierarchical economic structures, traditional education, the patriarchal family, class and racial discrimination, and rigid sex-and-age roles, to mention just a few of the more important topics. In some varieties of anarchism, institutions such as private property and patriarchy are condemned at least as severely as is the state.

It is hardly necessary to dwell on this criterion, since it is the one that has received the most attention, as was mentioned at the beginning of this essay. Most commentators on anarchism are well aware of the anarchist opposition to the forms of political organization existing in the modern nation-state. To a lesser degree, they grasp the anarchist critique of other authoritarian social institutions. What they often do not comprehend is the way in which this opposition to present social conditions fits into the anarchist position as a whole.

#### VIII. THE ANARCHIST VIEW OF HUMAN NATURE

A central element of anarchism is its view of human nature. The anarchist believes that there are qualities of human beings which enable them to live together in a condition of peace and freedom. Most anarchists go further and describe the human capacity for mutual aid, cooperation, respect, and communal relationships, which are seen as the basis for expectation of social progress. While most anarchists hold a belief in such human solidarity, it is significant that some individualists reject it. Instead, they base their proposals for social organization on contract; on rational self-interest; and, in the extreme case of Stirner, on ruthless egoism (44). In both social and individualist anarchism, however, there exists the view that people have a great potential for voluntaristic action, and ability to overcome the use of violence and coercion.

This view is the basis for the frequent criticism of anarchism that it is excessively optimistic about human nature. For anarchism to be a coherent theory, it must have a conception of human nature which forms the basis for speculation about the ideal for society and which gives a foundation for those practical proposals that are necessary if the ideal is to have political and social relevance. However, it is false that all the views of human nature that have been put forth by anarchists have been in any meaningful way 'optimistic', and that this quality is a necessary characteristic of the theory. It might be argued, in fact, that in some ways anarchists hold a quite realistic if not pessimistic view of human nature. It is the belief that power corrupts and that people easily become irresponsible in their exercise of it that forms the basis for much of their criticism of political authority and centralized power. Power must be dispersed, they say not so much because everyone is always so good, but because when it is concentrated some people tend to become extremely evil. The point is made, not only in regard to political power, but also to a variety of other sorts, ranging from concentrated economic power on the level of society to concentrated patriarchal power on the level of the family.

There is, of course, abundant evidence of optimism in the anarchist tradition. Some of the greatest anarchist philosophers (e.g. Kropotkin) have at times expressed a rather naive belief in the capacity of people to act benevolently and to cooperate. Yet such optimism should certainly not be taken as part of the definition of anarchism, as it is by those who dismiss it as 'utopian socialism', in the derogatory sense of that term. There is much in the anarchist tradition which would point to a rejection of all dogmatic views of human nature (whether 'optimistic', 'pessimistic', or 'realistic'), and to the acceptance of environmentalism. Godwin's thought is explicitly based on this outlook, and it is implicit in Bakunin's deterministic materialism. In such a view, people are inherently neither good nor evil, but rather they behave and think in radically different ways under different circumstances. The problem for

anarchists is to create the social conditions under which the libertarian rather than the authoritarian (or, in some cases, the cooperative rather than the competitive) capacities of people are realized. What all anarchist positions have in common is that they accept the libertarian potential as a constituent of human nature.

#### IX. THE ANARCHIST PROGRAMME FOR CHANGE

The final defining characteristic of anarchism is its practical proposals for change. An anarchist has a distinctive program for action in the present, which constitutes a strategy for movement in the direction of the ideal, which is a response to the failure of existing institutions, and which is consistent with the anarchist view of human potentialities. Anarchism can have no meaning as a social and political theory if it says nothing about praxis, and it can have no clear meaning if it is defined in ways which would confuse its proposals with those of theories known by other names. Thus, as has been mentioned, theories that say nothing about strategies for change, or which advocate centralist, authoritarian, or bureaucratic policies cannot meaningfully be labelled 'anarchist', if the theory that has been known by that name since Proudhon (and which has roots, some claim, as far back in history as the thought of Lao-tzu and Diogenes the Cynic, and in the practice of tribal society) is to be considered relevant.

The distinctive characteristic of anarchist programs is that they institute an immediate movement in the direction of voluntarism and anti-authoritarianism. Examples of typical anarchist programs include decentralization of political authority; worker self-management of workplaces, extension of freedom of thought and expression; expansion of sexual freedom; voluntary education; decentralization of economic structures; cooperatives; open access to media; free schools; open education and deschooling; neighbourhood government; noninstitutional psychotherapy; nondominating family and personal relationships; and elimination of arbitrary distinctions based on sex, race, age, linguistic usage, and so forth. Such anarchist proposals are practical in two senses. The most ambitious of those mentioned are within the power of a society to institute, were anarchist ideology to become widely accepted within the society (as happened historically during the Spanish Revolution of 1936-39) (45). Furthermore, it is within the reach of anarchists in many societies in which anarchist theory is not yet widely accepted to put some of the proposals into immediate practice among themselves, as an alternative to the dominant institutions. In fact, the greatest energy of anarchists themselves (as opposed to writers about anarchism) has been put into this task, rather than into speculation about minute details of an ideal society.

It should now be clear how erroneous the view is which reduces the anarchist programme to an uncritical demand for the immediate abolition of government. What has confused many superficial observers is the demand by anarchists that the state be abolished. In most cases they do not, however, propose that the nation-state be replaced by an ideal anarchic society, but rather by a decentralised system, in which federation from below increasingly displaces centralised authority. It is certainly held to be desirable that the primary groups which federate be as voluntary as is practically possible, but there is no dogmatic demand that all vestiges of government, even in a decentralised form, be immediately destroyed. The guiding principle, to be applied according to historical conditions, is the replacement of coercive and authoritarian institutions by voluntary and libertarian ones.

A consideration of anarchist proposals as analysed here shows that they differ markedly from those typical of other political ideologies. These proposals emphasize decentralization and voluntarism, while the Marxist, the non-Marxist socialist, the welfare statist and the modern liberal have quite obviously come to rely increasingly on the state, centralized political authority, and hierarchical bureaucracy as a means toward social change. The anarchist differs from the classical liberal (who has been reincarnated in some elements of American conservatism) in that the former rejects the use of government to protect any interests, including those based on private ownership of the means of production and class differences, while the classical liberal accepts the limited state as a means by which to preserve capitalism. In spite of these distinctions, there are no clear boundaries between the political positions mentioned, and they tend to merge at some points. Thus, left-wing Marxism merges into anarcho-syndicalism. Daniel and

Gabriel Cohn-Bendit, in their well-known book on the 1968 French revolt, call their position Linkradicalism or le gauchisme, and describe it as being both Marxist and anarchist (46). When leftist Marxists call for workers' councils and attack elitism and bureaucracy, it becomes difficult to distinguish them from the anarcho-syndicalists, who present similar proposals based on a similar class analysis (47). On the other hand, the position of the individualists merges with that of classical liberals. As Benjamin Tucker, the great American individualist, claimed, "genuine (i.e. individualist) Anarchism is consistent Manchesterism" (48). The individualist anarchists hoped that the abolition of state interference would lead to a free and relatively equal society based on the labour theory of value. In this they have much in common with Locke, Adam Smith, Jefferson, and, above all, Spencer (49). In view of such similarities, it must be concluded that while most of those who fall within the definition of 'anarchist' presented here hold a position which is distinctive, and which constitutes an alternative to the standard political options, it is nevertheless the case that some who fulfill the criteria have viewpoints which are quite close to those of others who fit within other identifiable political traditions. There is no reason why terms in political theory such as 'anarchist' and 'Marxist' should be mutually exclusive in their denotation, even though their connotations differ considerably.

#### X. IS ANARCHISM UTOPIAN?

I believe that the definition of anarchism that has been presented and discussed can help avoid certain errors about the anarchist position. One of these is the charge that anarchists must be or always have been utopians. Some have attempted to demonstrate that anarchists are utopians by including the quality of utopianism in the definition of anarchism. I would suggest a different approach to the question. If we wish to find out whether anarchism is utopian, insofar as that term implies some sort of neglect for reality, we should examine the theories and practical proposals of those who have been conventionally called, and who have called themselves, anarchists. If we do, I do not believe that we will come to De George's conclusion that the anarchist's "threshold of acceptance is so high, his faith in the rationality and morality of the ordinary person so little in accord with what many people experience in their dealings with their fellow man, and his scheme for bringing about his desired anarchist society is as vague that he is not a political realist but an idealistic utopian" (50).

I see no reason why anarchism should be defined as to exclude people who can practically accept, if not be entirely satisfied with limited progress toward the idea. Many great anarchists have, in fact, been such 'pragmatic libertarians' (for example, Proudhon among the classical anarchists, and Paul Goodman among the recent ones). Thus, Goodman defends 'piecemeal change' in his article The Black Flag of Anarchism. This article drew a ranting, simplistic, and blatantly ad hominem reply from Mark Rudd, who interprets anarchism as conservative because it attempts to change a variety of institutions instead of putting all its efforts into toppling the economic structure (assumed to be the sole basis for all the ills of society) at once (51). Criticism like Rudd's makes De George's first accusation sound strange and suggests that they might each be missing something important about the nature of anarchism.

Problems also arise in connection with De George's second point. As has been noted, anarchists do not have an exclusively optimistic view of human nature. It has, in fact, become popular recently for liberals and unsympathetic socialists to condemn anarchism for the opposite quality: a lack of faith in the capacities of ordinary people. Barber, for example, accuses anarchists of having contempt for the masses and being elitists. Not being totally oblivious to history, he is forced to recognize that anarchists have indeed defended people's ability to determine their own destiny. Rather than questioning the accuracy of his previous contention, or considering the possibility that he is describing two conflicting factions within anarchism, he concludes that anarchists are 'egalitarian elitists' (52). Kramnick, who relies heavily on Barber's analysis, goes a step further and depicts anarchism as unmitigated elitism. Through the method of selective quotation (when he bothers to cite evidence at all), he attempts to show that anarchists are extremely pessimistic about the abilities of the average person (53). While such criticism does little to increase understanding of anarchism, it at least serves to point out that

element of anarchist thought which exhibits scepticism about human goodness.

Finally, it should be noted that anarchists are not as vague about their proposals as De George thinks they are, and in fact, must be. Paul and Percival Goodman, for example, present numerous proposals (based on an anarchist outlook) for community planning in their book Communitas (54). Richard Sennett's viewpoint in The Uses of Disorder, the second part of which he calls 'a new anarchism', is highly suggestive in terms of urban policy issues (55). A.S. Neill's Summerhill presents an educational philosophy which has been closely identified with anarchism, and which has been applied not only at his school for over fifty years but at numerous others which it has influenced (56). Description of large-scale application of the anarchist programme in the collectivised factories and communal farms in which millions participated during the Spanish Revolution can be found in Dolgoff's The Anarchist Collectives (57). In view of such evidence (an abundance of which exists for those who care to investigate), the attribution of vagueness to anarchist proposals must be judged incomplete as a description of the actual performance of anarchism as a whole. Although some anarchists have been vague (whether out of principle or lack of imagination), others have not, especially in regard to immediate strategies for change. The desire not to impose one's will on others does not, as De George contends, demand vagueness. What it demands is that suggestions, which might be fully worked out, perhaps in terms of possible variations, should not be imposed through coercion, or accepted uncritically by the community.

#### XI. VARIETIES OF ANARCHISM

I would like to discuss one final topic that might help clarify the nature of anarchism. This concerns the various schemes of classifying anarchist positions. One such scheme divides anarchism into those varieties which put the greatest emphasis on personal autonomy and individual freedom, and those which stress participation in communal and intentional groups. In this way a distinction can be made between individualist and social anarchism (although some figures, like Emma Goldman, seem to have an equally strong commitment to both individual freedom and social solidarity).

A more detailed classification based on theories of social organisation divides anarchists into individualists, mutualists, syndicalists, and communists. Individualists (whose major theorists include Max Stirner, Josiah Warren and Benjamin Tucker) are interested not so much in forming associations, as in enabling individuals to pursue their own ends without interference from others. They desire a society of self-reliant and largely self-sufficient individuals, achieving their ends through voluntary agreement or contracts, with others. The mutualists, following Proudhon, see a greater need for social organization. Since economic and political power are concentrated, people must organize to defend their interests, and especially to eliminate such state-supported abuses as rent, profit, and interest. There is, for that reason, a need for mutual banks and producers' and consumers' cooperatives. The anarcho-syndicalists go one step further and propose large-scale organisation of the working class into a single labour union as the essential means toward meaningful social change. Their typical tactic is the general strike, which is to be followed by the reorganisation of the means of production on principles of self-management. They are much in the tradition of Bakunin's collectivism. Finally, anarchist communism takes the commune, town, or neighbourhood as its basic unit. Decisions are to be made on the basis of communal needs, with production according to ability and distribution according

#### NOTES

- (1) George Woodcock, Anarchism (Harmondsworth, Middx: Penguin Books, 1963), p. 7.
- (2) Peter Kropotkin, Revolutionary Pamphlets (New York: Dover, 1970), p. 284.
- (3) Emma Goldman, Anarchism and Other Essays (New York: Dover, 1969), p. 50.
- (4) Colin Ward, Anarchy in Action (London: Allen and Unwin, 1973), p. 11.
- (5) *Ibid.*, p. 12.
- (6) Steward Edwards, ed. Selected Writings of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (Garden City: Doubleday Anchor, 1969), p. 89. With

to need. Kropotkin is the classical theorist of this variety of anarchism.

I would like to elaborate somewhat on the distinction between anarcho-syndicalism and anarcho-communism for two reasons. First, these are the two forms of anarchism which have been of the greatest historical importance and have produced the most debate among anarchists themselves concerning practical proposals. Secondly, many observers of anarchism do not realise the fundamental importance of this division to anarchist theory. De George, for examples, holds that "the strongest present-day position" consists of an 'amalgam' of the two positions mentioned. He takes Guérin as the best exemplar of this position (58). I believe that Guérin has rendered an enormous service to Marxists, anarchists, and to those interested in either of these theories, in his attempts to effect a synthesis between the two traditions. His outstanding book on anarchism is a notable product of this endeavour. However, it is this synthesis of Marxism and anarchism that is the 'amalgam' presented by Guérin, not the one mentioned by De George. There is still a fundamental opposition between the position taken by Guérin and that of anarcho-communists like Murray Bookchin, or of any of those who are in a meaningful sense 'communitarian' or 'community' anarchists (59).

While it is true that communitarian anarchism has incorporated many elements of the anarcho-syndicalist position, the converse does not seem to be true. We find in present-day anarchism a perpetuation of a traditional division, in which the communitarians continue in the tradition of the communist anarchists (who did not deny the importance of the syndicalist emphasis on liberating the workplace), while others, like Guérin and Chomsky, preserve an essentially syndicalist approach (60). The communitarian anarchists do not take the workplace or even the economy as the primary focus (as important as these may be), but rather the total community, with all its interrelated elements, such as work, play, education, communication, transportation, ecology and so forth. They argue that to isolate problems of production from their social context might lead to the perennial Marxist error of combating economic exploitation while perpetuating and perhaps even expanding other forms of domination. Further, communitarian anarchists argue that the analysis of economics and class on which both classical Marxism and syndicalism are built is outdated, and that anarcho-syndicalism itself is therefore at least partially obsolete. (61) If anarchism is to be fully understood, the nature of this very important dispute must be understood: one alternative focuses on work, the other on life as a whole; one on economic relationships, the other on the totality of human relationships, and on the relationships between humanity and nature.

Although the subject cannot be discussed in detail here, it is my view that the anarcho-communist position as developed by Bookchin and others is the strongest contemporary anarchist position. In fact, it appears to be the sociopolitical position which is best capable of incorporating such developments in modern thought as the theory of the rise of neotechnic civilization (62), the ecological view of human society and nature (63), and, on the highest level of generality, the organic and process view of reality, based in part on modern science (64). If anarchism is to be evaluated, it is this, its strongest and most highly developed form, which should be considered.

It is hoped that the definition presented and the distinctions delineated here can make a contribution to reducing the prevailing confusion concerning the nature of anarchism. If so, it will perhaps become increasingly possible for anarchism to be seen for what it is - a complex and challenging social and political theory - and to be judged according to its merits.

JOHN CLARK

- his usual penchant for paradox, Proudhon describes this condition as "a form of government".
- (7) G.P. Maximoff, ed. The Political Philosophy of Bakunin (New York: Free Press, 1964), pp. 297-98.
  - (8) Woodcock, p. 11.
  - (9) *Ibid.*, p. 7.
  - (10) Errico Malatesta, Anarchy (London: Freedom Press, n.d.) p. 7.
  - (11) Ward, p. 12.
  - (12) Gerald Runkle, Anarchism: Old and New (New York: Delta 1972) p. 3.
  - (13) Daniel Guérin, Anarchism: From Theory to Practice (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970), p. 13.