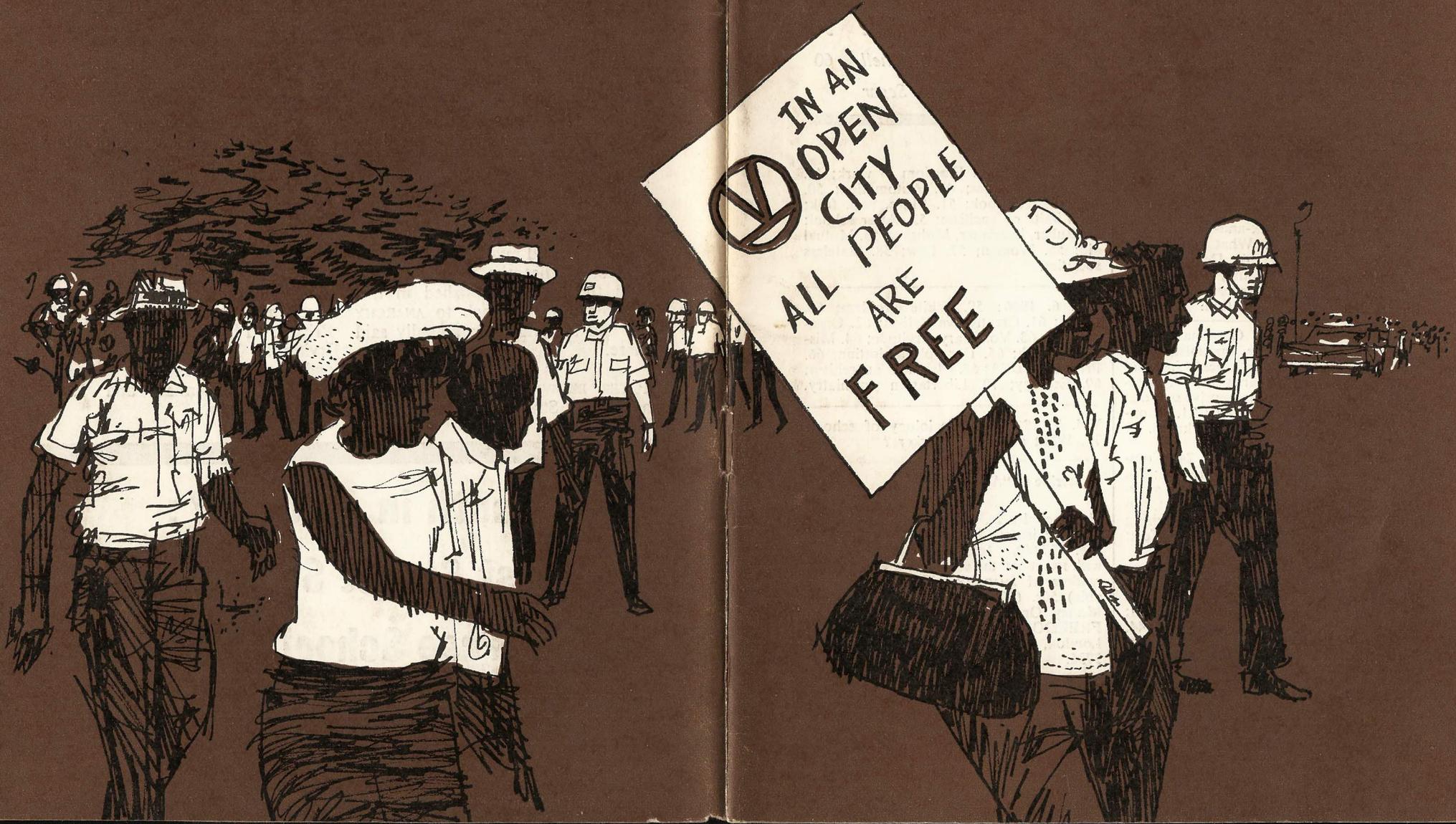


ANARCHY 72

TWO SHILLINGS OR THIRTY CENTS

STRIKE CITY, MISSISSIPPI



Contents of No. 72**February 1967**

Strike City, Mississippi	<i>Peter Brown</i>	33
Anarchy: a philological note	<i>N.W.</i>	37
Anarchism and the working class: a reply	<i>Albert Meltzer</i>	39
Dear John . . .	<i>Arthur Moyses</i>	50
Further comments on ANARCHY 68	<i>Tony Woodiwiss, Frank Pearce, Michael Woolliscroft, Vincent Johnson</i>	53
Observations on ANARCHY 69	<i>Alan Albon, Jimmi Eichenauer, Jeff Robinson</i>	57
Thoughts on the Third Russian Revolution	<i>I. R. Mitchell</i>	60
Cover by	<i>Rufus Segar</i>	

Other issues of "Anarchy":

Please Note: Issues 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 12, 13, 33, 37 and 38 are out of print.

Vol. 1. 1961: 1. Sex-and-Violence; 2. Workers' control; 3. What does anarchism mean today?; 4. Deinstitutionisation; 5. Spain; 6. Cinema; 7. Adventure playground; 8. Anthropology; 9. Prison; 10. Industrial decentralisation.

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Strike City, Mississippi

PETER BROWN

THE WORD "strike" to most Englishmen nowadays brings, not associations of the struggle for justice, but rather the confirmation of their belief that this struggle has long since gained its objectives. But there are parts of the world where the word still carries its revolutionary flavour: one of them is that huge expanse of flat cottonlands in the western part of Mississippi state, known as The Delta. Here, strikers are not only looked upon as dangerous, but 50 of them now live in their own new town, known as Strike City.

One hot Sunday last May I found myself motor-cycling down from Chattanooga to Birmingham, Alabama, across bright, almost emerald-green, rolling countryside. It was a few days before the Democratic primary which was to give Mrs. Wallace the governorship of Alabama, everything seemed strangely peaceful and sunny. The next day I passed through Tuscaloosa into Northern Mississippi, under a blue sky, across similar, rich-looking country, the air magnificent with magnolia scent (Mississippi is called the "Magnolia State").

But maybe I should have taken the name of the last big town in this "Green Belt" as an omen—Starkville. As I descended the last hill from the woodland on to the most dismal plain I have ever seen, it hardly seemed coincidence that the sun had just disappeared, driven out by a grey north wind blowing hard across the flats. A mouldering wooden sign said bleakly: "Welcome to the Mississippi Delta".

There are no hills, no undulations, no trees. There are only telegraph poles, in endless straight lines. And every half mile or so, a tin or wood shack, lost in the enormous flatness. In these live the Delta people, in incredible poverty, incredible ignorance. They may be white or black—it makes little difference here. A large proportion of them are negro share-croppers, living in corrugated iron huts owned by their white bosses, whose cotton they harvest each year. There are many poor negroes and whites with their own small farms, also some wealthy negroes, as well as the wealthy whites in their big villas in the towns.

I stopped at a little country gas-station-cum-store, weather beaten, its door flapping aimlessly in the wind. The white woman who served me could hardly walk, and was barely articulate. The store was miserably small and under-stocked. Some way further on, 10 miles before reaching Greenville, I turned off a couple of miles to my left to Strike City.

Coincident with the growth of the civil rights movement in the past few years has come the mechanisation of cotton-picking, which has been throwing increasing numbers of share-croppers out of their already serf-like occupations. When the Mississippi Freedom Labour Union was busy fomenting strikes in the Greenville area in the summer of 1965, eight families and two lads, led by a very determined man named Wallace Green, realised that it could not be too many years before they would also be turned off the land, and decided to anticipate this by striking. Their wages were then \$4 for a 12-hour day for men, \$3 for women and children, their huts being free. (The minimum wage in the USA, where applicable, is \$1.25 per hour.) Replacements were easily found for strikers, who were ordered out of their houses and off the land. They are now living on two acres of land leased from a negro farmer two miles away, in tents bought with money from the Delta Ministry. This organisation has been supporting them ever since.

As a welcome addition to their sporting life, members of the local Ku Klux Klan began to drop over in their spare time, to take pot-shots at the tents from the road 200 yards back. The occupants returned the fire, and after a few weeks the shootings stopped, fortunately no one having been hit. The experience, however, underlined even more urgently the necessity of finding proper houses for the strikers.

They had no money whatsoever, of course; but they were determined to stick together, and to stay here in Mississippi: not to follow the usual pattern of drifting up to a Northern City to be lost in a ghetto, without skills, or even the knowledge of how to live in a city, subsisting on sporadic employment and the degradation of the American welfare system (so-called).

By the end of November a local civil rights worker, Frank Smith, had received an anonymous gift of \$40,000 to build houses for Strike City. Then around Christmas a group of students from Pennsylvania University came down and built a fine, brick community centre, with \$11,000 they had previously raised. Meanwhile, Cornelius Turner, a negro building contractor from Jackson, 110 miles to the South, offered to construct the houses at cost. He had been a life-long and very close friend of Metga Evans, who was assassinated three years ago for civil rights activities.

Turner is one of many negro contractors in the Old South. In times past, no white wanted to get his hands dirty doing craftsmen's

jobs, so consequently negroes obtained a virtual monopoly in the construction and other skilled trades. The picture is slowly changing, as the poorer whites are forced to take up such work themselves, and they recently pushed through new union rules that practically debar negroes from the higher categories of plumbers' jobs; but it is still true to say that negroes in the Southern towns find much easier access to, and are in greater demand for, skilled work than in the North, where exclusive unions bar their way.

When Turner had agreed to build the houses, the Delta Ministry got in touch with Richard Hatch, a young, white architect, who runs a small, revolutionary organisation called the Architects' Renewal Committee in Harlem (ARCH). This group consists of two full-time architects, a secretary, and a number of architects, lawyers, practical philosophers, and others, who do part-time, voluntary work. They work with local citizens' groups in Harlem and round about, designing, and giving estimates for, rehabilitation of housing projects, community buildings and parks, etc. They carry out detailed planning surveys in Harlem, and have come up with several integrated housing, commercial, and industrial planning schemes, one of these in direct opposition to the official city plan which proposes tearing down a 30-block area of Harlem, and erecting predominantly middle-income (i.e. white) flats. (The ARCH plan is presently being favoured by more enlightened officials in Washington.) In addition, ARCH are running a course in community development and planning in a Harlem school, and they help people to take landlords to court over serious building violations, giving professional evidence.

I was working for ARCH, and this is how I became associated with the Mississippi project. Four of us, expropriating our respective companies' facilities, designed what is possibly the lowest in low-cost housing in the USA. We were aiming at a cost of \$7/sq.ft., and so we planned for 5,000 sq.ft. of gross floor space for the 50 people, hoping to leave \$5,000 for the water supply. So the houses are not huge, but they are certainly much more spacious than the old shacks. There are five houses of two sizes, and three bungalows, tailor-made to suit the three sizes of family in the group.

The strikers were most particular about the sort of houses they were going to get, and our first two designs were rejected with short shrift. This, of course, was a most hopeful sign. Those readers who allow themselves to be misled by feelings of indignation here, should realise that generations of mistreatment have led many negroes to believe that they are in fact inferior, that the most they can hope for is a few works of charity from "The Man". It is this psychological damage which the now black-led SNCC (Students' Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee) is out to repair, under the slogan "Black Power".

Anyway, after two months of postal and telephone discussions with the strikers and Turner, and a month of the coldest weather on

record in the Delta (30 degrees of frost), the building got under way. Turner tried to make use of the strikers' labour, but found, unfortunately, that such help was of limited use—building is skilled work. We had designed the houses so that they would be well ventilated in summer by the prevailing south wind. Being in the middle of such a cold spell, the strikers insisted upon turning them through 90 degrees, to face side on to the wind. We heard of this plan too late to change the foundations back, but we persuaded them of their mistake, and managed to change the window plans around, so that they would not suffocate through the long summer.

Turner had been rather dubious about the \$7/sq.ft. figure, but had said he would do his best to stick to our specifications. But as this was to be a demonstration project, hopefully the first of a whole series of SNCC schemes in the Delta, Turner was concerned to build the finest houses possible, so that they could be exhibited with pride. I arrived at Strike City in May, to find the buildings almost completed, and far more aesthetically appealing than I had dared to hope—in spite of the fiasco with the windows.

I talked to Wallace Green and some of the strikers' families. They are a remarkable bunch, to have stuck so fiercely together with so little hope, in Mississippi, for the future. Two of the young men have just left, one for Cleveland, one for San Francisco, to study under a War on Poverty training scheme. It is unlikely that they will come back. There is still no foreseeable employment. Greenville is only ten miles away, but nobody there wants to employ the strikers. In any case, Greenville is only a small town, with few opportunities, and the men have no skills to offer.

The few crops they grow on the five acres do no more than help out their almost starvation-level economy. For a few months the Delta Ministry had them making Christmas crèches, to sell in "civil rights shops" in New York and elsewhere; but such makework employment is more soul-destroying and demeaning in the long run than sharecropping, as it does nothing to help them achieve any sort of economic independence. But they are not entirely destitute, as they do own a couple of ancient cars—which are a necessity for survival in this desolate country. So it might be possible to find work in Jackson (110 miles is not an unheard-of commuting distance in the States), but the chances are very slim.

I must admit the justice of Turner's criticism of the hasty plan to build Strike City in such a spot, simply because the land was available. He would have preferred to wait, to find a place closer to Greenville, where with the aid of civil rights groups it would have been easier to build up a viable, self-contained community, complete with some form of co-operative industry. In fact the solution to the whole racial problem in the United States can only lie in economics. SNCC may

have brought votes to Southern negroes, but negroes in the North have had the vote for years—and the latter are in many respects worse off (e.g. they have less chance of becoming skilled tradesmen). Political and moral forces are of little effect without the backing of economic power. By this I mean that negroes must begin to see that their activities become such an integral part of the American economy that it will not be able to do without such activities; in addition they require an organisation strong enough to make a threat of withdrawal credible. This is what both business and labour unions have traditionally done, and why they have been successful in gaining power. The negroes will never succeed while they continue to be interested in politically-orientated, white-dominated drives for the chimera of integration. When they achieve power as a separate group they will be able to integrate as much, or as little, as they want, just as other ethnic groups in the USA have done before. And this is precisely what Stokeley Carmichael and SNCC have seen. It is the reasoning behind "Black Power"—i.e. black economic power.

It was in May that I visited Strike City. By now the inhabitants must be living in their new houses. How long will they stay, without work, living upon charity? The ordeal of the shootings, the hard winter in the tents, the hope-inspiring sight of the new houses rising, these previously may have helped their spirit of determination. Now they are living in comparative luxury, with the economic and spiritual hardships of unemployment staring them in the face more inescapably than ever. I should like to imagine them sticking it out until they eventually find work, a symbol of success against white power. But more insistent than the strains of such a fantasy come the beatings of the memory of that grey wind, that broken sign on the plain: "Welcome to the Mississippi Delta".

PHILOLOGICAL NOTE

I DON'T WANT TO GET INVOLVED in what seems to me to be a pretty meaningless argument about what is or is not a society or a state, but I do want to correct a paragraph in Laurens Otter's *Observation on ANARCHY* 63: "*Anarkhia* did not mean absence of government, it meant a society or state which governed itself without *archons*, who were a curious sort of elected priest-king; and it would not have been thought incongruous for a Greek to say of a city that it was *anarkhia* and that it had a *tyrannois*, a self-made king. I did once come across a Greek term for the absence of government, but unfortunately forgot it, *akephalous* (with[out] head) is about as near as one can get."

Now the English word "anarchy" derives from the Greek word *anarchia*, and the modern idea of anarchy derives from the ideas of

some ancient Greek thinkers, so it is important to clear up the meaning of the original word. *Anarchia* meant the absence of *arche* or of an *archon*. Let us examine these two words:

1. *Arche* meant "beginning" or "origin", "government" or "rule", and "law" or "order". *Anarchia* certainly meant "anarchy", both in the neutral sense of "absence of government" and in the pejorative sense of "disorder"—in ancient Greece just as in modern Britain. This was indeed the commonest meaning of *anarchia*, and *anarchia* was the commonest term both for "absence of government" and for "disorder". There were other words with a similar meaning—*akephaleia*, *akrateia*, *anomia*—but they weren't used so often. The most famous use of *anarchia* in the original double sense which is still so familiar was in the phrase coined by Pythagoras and quoted by Sophocles: "*Anarchias de meizon ouk estin kakon*"—"There is no greater evil than anarchy" (*Antigone*, 672).

2. *Archon* meant "one who rules" (from *archein*, "to rule"), both in the general sense of any kind of official, and in the particular sense of an official with the formal title of "Archon" (compare "judge" and "Judge", "governor" and "Governor", "director" and "Director"). The general sense is shown by the common discussion in Greek political thought about the conflict between the rulers (*archontes*) and the ruled (*archomenoi*), and the particular sense is shown by the officials who held the title of Archon in classical Athens. These were neither curious nor priest-kings, nor were they always elected. There were up to nine Archons (*archontes*), one of whom was the chief magistrate, and was called "the Archon" (*ho archon*) because he was the first in rank—even above the King (*basileus*), who was the successor of the old priest-kings of Athens but was only the second Archon. The nine Archons were first elected for life, then for ten years, then for one year, and finally chosen by lot for one year. A year in Athens was called after its first Archon, just as in Rome it was called after its Consuls. So *anarchia* also meant either "absence of a ruler" or "absence of an Archon". The first sense, which was used by Plato and Aristotle, was commoner, but there is one famous use of the second sense—when there were no Archons in Athens during the year of the Thirty Tyrants (404-403 BC), Xenophon commented: "*Anarchian ton eniauton kalousin*"—"They call it the year of anarchy" (*Hellenika*, 2: 3). This is the case which Laurens Otter presumably has in mind, but it was a particular case and not too much should be made of it. Normally it would have been incongruous for a Greek to describe a city as *anarchos* if it had a *turannos* (usurper), for it obviously had a ruler (*archon*) even if he didn't have the title of Archon (*archon*).

To sum up, the usual meaning of the Greek word *anarchia* was exactly the same as the usual meaning of the English word "anarchy", as may be seen in any dictionary of the classical Greek language or textbook of classical Greek history, and it is highly misleading to suggest otherwise.

N.W.

Anarchism and the working class: a reply

ALBERT MELTZER

THE HIGHER CRITICISM OF ANARCHISM, so neatly summarised in one issue of ANARCHY (No. 68) is not so new as its exponents believe; in the 19th century too, the "philosophical" anarchist wished to avoid any mention of class and imagined it was possible to struggle against an authoritarian mentality solely in terms of individual conduct and without any reference to the facts of economic life. The least danger contained in the doctrines of the ANARCHY 68 school is that it would destroy the anarchist movement as an effective force;* it is far more indidious that a movement based on its premises would become the shock troops or Papal Schweitzer-Garde of the working-class-is-always-wrong attitude of the Press, which the political parties, much as they may agree, cannot find it expedient to utter until somebody else makes it intellectually justified in "liberal" terms. These premises were revealingly summed up at a recent meeting (albeit in an "Irish" bull), by a young professional man who claimed "the working classes do not exist; they are only interested in beer and bingo".

This pseudo-individualism, professing to condemn the anarchist movement by its own standards and from within, is less the Higher Criticism than the High Camp of the social revolution. It is not against revolution because its supporters are reactionary; that would be absurd and very far from "in"; on the contrary, it is precisely because it is so revolutionary that it must denounce the left, the working-class struggle and the militants in particular! It does not attack the anarchists because they disbelieve in government—that would scarcely fit a reputation for daring thought—and on the contrary, it is precisely because anarchism is so authoritarian that they see no hope for it, and resign themselves to authoritarian government.

I am aware that in replying to this body of criticism one lays oneself open to the charge that one "thinks the working class can do no wrong". But the point is whether it is a productive class or not. The "Messianic" conception of the working class is often compared to Jewish Messianism. The Jews as such never believed that the "Chosen People" was a herrenvolk. If some did, and consciousness of racial

*It is highly significant that to Laurens Otter, in the period just after the war when the anarchist movement most successfully integrated in industrial struggles, "it virtually died out".

superiority is always an anodyne to worldly distress, it was understandable but far from the actual teaching: the true idea was that "God chose a peculiar people for a particular task". To state that the working class has a particular role to play in history is not to state that it is a substitute for God's elect; *all* classes have particular roles to play in history and if they fail to do so, they disappear. The myth of John Pilgrim and others is that somewhere, socialist and anarchist theorists—whose quotations they have yet to track down—stated that the working class could never do wrong. One is however entitled to protest when the workers are accused of indolence, or addiction to gambling, or materialism, or self-seeking, when such accusations apply generally to every single class and probably some of the accusers themselves. Many writers accuse the Jews of "love of gain"; this can certainly be justified, but only on the understanding that it applies equally to Christians, Buddhists, Moslems, Confucians and Secularists. It must then be pointed out that only Christians are humbugs enough to profess a religion which denounces the love of gain, while their actions are otherwise.

The odd reflection from that remark is that none of the writers who attack the workers would dream of attacking any minority group in such a fashion; they feel one is small-minded to resent attacks upon one's class, or nationality if it is large enough (such as American), but fall over backwards to avoid insults to race or religion or (smaller) nationality, which can be outgrown. In defence of class one is, irritatingly, driven to defend even Marxism from misrepresentation—after all, Marx did not make any of the naive remarks attributed to him*—and to spell out in simple fashion some of the most elementary facts about socialism and anarchism.

DOES IDEALISM RUN A RAILROAD?

The 19th century Christian scholar was able to produce from the Old Testament a "Jewish Church" foreshadowing the teachings of Jesus; the 20th century sociologist is able to produce from 19th century socialism the "working-class myth" that foreshadows the middle-class Labour Party of today, and to prove, to his own satisfaction, the debt to "Methodism rather than Marx". But it was the Christian Socialists (so often confused with "Marxism and even Leninism" by the politically illiterate sociologist) who fostered the myth that the working class had a naturally inherent set of virtues of their own. It is a belief some

*By those who know little or nothing of either, Bakunin's fate is to be bracketed with Marx, in remarks such as Otter's "the sort of society Marx and Bakunin described". Marx being the "founder" of Marxism, some Anarch is necessary to stand as the "founder" of anarchism—and as Bakunin was Marx's opponent in the First International, he is elevated accordingly. Proudhon, or perhaps Godwin, might have prior claims for this position. Bakunin's life was a moving towards anarchism. His critics point to his earlier pan-Slavism and revolutionary democracy as if he were then an anarchist.

materialist socialists might also hold—but they would agree that it had nothing to do with "running a railroad".

The Christian Socialist based himself upon an old class myth: one that lingered for centuries was that the aristocracy, by its natural superiority, breeding and education, attained and deserved its privileges which society was ungrateful to resent. *Noblesse oblige*. The theory could no longer be believed today (though some reactionary writers, cf. Houston Chamberlain, did their best with it by giving it a biological twist). The bourgeoisie had a related myth: a business-like God kept a careful record of their transactions, and in return for their positive virtues—thrift, economy, honesty, sobriety and so on—they were rewarded by commercial success, a Judao-Christian myth still going strong around the suburbs.

To the Christian Socialist, "the poor" had their virtues—like Rousseau's "noble savage" there was a "poor but honest" working man. When driven to admit that this was far from reality all too often, they conceded that *unless* the working man became moral, he could not hope for economic or social betterment. Political change, too, was a reward for solid virtue. Did the Irish want their freedom? Well, they could not expect to be politically free and still wallow in Guinness and beat their wives. Let them reform their manners, and all that would be wanting for their political freedom would be the ending of the British connection! "What use is it for the working man to agitate for the Charter if he is still to revile Christ, beat his wife, get drunk on Saturday nights, and cheat his master?" they asked, without seeing that the capitalist had all the points in the Charter, yet could "revile Christ", beat his wife, get drunk at any time, and cheat his servants. Only a few weeks ago, a professed economist told a meeting that "there is no such thing as the working-class movement; all the workers think of is beer and bingo"—a familiar claim, yet one could scarcely deny that joint stock companies and finance trusts existed, notwithstanding a penchant of the capitalist for champagne and baccarat, neither more nor less characteristic.

No Christian could give up the feeling that "virtue had its own reward", and the insistence that the working class movement was synonymous with all the Christian virtues, or it could not exist, is the Messianism against which John Pilgrim rails. It had, however, nothing to do with movements such as Marxism and anarchism which were rooted in materialism, and could not postulate that economic betterment was some sort of heavenly reward on earth for good conduct. It might well be claimed, especially by anarchists, that the minds of men could become changed and their attitudes libertarian, once they were economically and socially free. It was never a "nineteenth century myth" that people could alter their attitudes, and be rewarded by political and social improvements, except among the Christian Socialists, many of whom found their Messianism in the orthodox Labour movement of a later date. (It is perhaps their influence upon a section of the Labour movement, *vide* George Lansbury and others, that coloured the Peace Pledge Union, and has been passed down as if

it were traditional left thinking.*)

Pilgrim's "exposure of anarchist myths and concepts" boils down to a spirited attack upon the very Christian Socialism they derided; yet he cannot liberate himself from those Christian Socialist concepts. Sitting at the feet of Prof. Lipset and imbibing sociological jargon of the twentieth century, he has no more advanced than the old "booba" who tells me that Mr. Smith is a bad plumber because he is an anti-semitic; or the Welsh grocer who does not object to Congregationalists in the office, but prefers a Baptist for working at the counter. He is saying that the workers cannot run their own industries and cannot achieve control of the economic system because their social ideas are illiberal. This is merely an up-to-date way of expressing the view that economic betterment depends upon moral improvement. And it is, of course, false. There is no reason why the workers at an electrical factory cannot seize control and run the factory because among them are fathers who want their daughters home at 10.30 each night or know the reason why. This is not to support the latter attitude.

The red herring in Pilgrim's article is that the workers are "racialist" (he seeks to prove this by quoting a casually visiting American journalist's interview with an apparently half-witted boy). Does it matter, from the point of view of organising a factory, except in an inter-racial society, if some of the workers are racialistic? The very reason why, in inter-racial societies, the Right Wing has an interest in promoting inter-racial strife, is to stop different sections of workers uniting. But this is only in some places a pressing problem; it is not the universal problem suggested by John Pilgrim (though it could become one). In fact, it is easily soluble when it exists, but the abstract idea is more difficult than the fact itself, just because of its illogicality. The races can mix much easier than they are prepared to admit, in fact. What matters is not illiberal attitudes but the bureaucratisation of those attitudes. It is not the working class that owns armies or concentration camps (they never can, so long as they remain workers and not rulers); it is the codification of prejudices into laws by a bureaucracy with power that is harmful. Of course the workers could control the factories and be sufficiently illiberal to have scorn for homosexuals; they could not send them to prison for seven years, however, unless a legislature existed to codify such a prejudice.

One can point to the Israeli kibbutzim as a society which is almost free, yet controlled by people with minds ossified by racial and religious

*I could not help thinking while reading ANARCHY 68 of that popular doggerel version of the *Red Flag*: "The working class can kiss my arse / I've got the foreman's job at last", which has been quoted and re-quoted over and over again as a critique of militancy. It is, of course, most deplorable that somebody should be a militant and sell out because of promotion; at the same time it is understandable. It is not an attitude confined to the working class or to those of left conviction, nor was it ever unexpected. A doctor who quoted the above lines to me recently was most offended when I suggested some other lines: "You've paid for all my studies, chum, / California, here I come." Only the working class, which "no longer exists" is expected to be "responsible".

prejudice (in many cases). Perhaps it is some similar society Pilgrim has in mind when he says that a victory for the working class in the foreseeable future "would result in a type of society that would be far removed from anarchism". This is a misconception of anarchism that characterises the pseudo-individualist, to whom a free society is a Utopia that he does not expect, and possibly does not wish, to see attained. There is, of course, a strong case for Utopia as the vision towards which society should be heading. The military state of perfect discipline is the Bismarckian ideal; the militarists could not get it, but they shaped society in its image. The Utopian free society, in however airy-fairy a concept, is something we neglect at our peril. But even if perfect freedom is not immediately attainable, it is not to say a free society is not a practical concept now.

A free society is not one on which a majority of people have voted anarchist and produced an anarchist government. This, one would have thought, was obvious. A free society is one in which the repressive organs of government have been removed. If the workers seize control—and out of purely selfish and materialistic motives—they will only be able to retain control by dissolving the organs of power. One must spell this out for the pseudo-individualists who have a sneaking regard for the State as a cohesive whole, to come to their aid when "threatened by the majority" ("I would call in the police if . . .", "you would have a bigger tyranny if . . ."). The Church, already on its last legs, would go. The Police Force (the one institution with which no politician cares to part—every other repressive institution has its particular abolitionists)—that too would go. The Judicature, Legislature and Civil Service as such would all go. None of these institutions could do the work of another. If you abolish the Church, the Police Force will not get you into Heaven, and the Monarchy cannot save you from foreign foes when it has no Army. One assumes at least of a contributor to ANARCHY or of professed anarchists that they do not put up a case for the preservation of the Monarchy, as such, or of the Law, as such, or of Parliament, as such, or the armed forces as such. If one of these institutions can be dispensed with, why not all? If they can go together, why is a free society unlikely? Which is the institution that should linger on? Can it be the police force, the one institution that no politician can bear to be parted from?—for without it, the debates at Westminster are no more important than the debates at the local literary society, and on a far lower intellectual level.

Why then have we to assume that a free society is not possible, purely from a statistical survey that attitudes to certain social problems are less liberal amongst the workers than amongst an unidentified section of the population? One suspects that "freedom and justice" are taken to mean merely a sum total of liberal measures.

*At a recent meeting, one of the supporters of the general conceptions outlined in ANARCHY 68, stated categorically that "the working class are the most reactionary class of all". I pressed him again and again to state which was the least reactionary, or at any rate which class was less reactionary, but got no

I am sorry to make John Pilgrim the whipping-boy for the pseudo-individualists, not merely because I like him personally but also because he is probably the first to object to the pseudo-individualistic tribe, following the Press, who persistently break up our meetings vociferously if they feel we are making headway towards the working class. Mike Walsh has put a good deal of work into trying to organise meetings on working-class problems and anarchism, only to find this hostile element almost at the point of demanding pogroms against the workers. "They are cowards!" screams a young professional man, going around under a false name, for business reasons, when he hears of the seamen's strike. "Beer and bingo . . . the working class can kiss my arse, etc."—a concerted breaking-up of meetings that reminds one of the Mosley days and produced the disgraceful scene when Bill Christopher—of some consequence in the working-class movement quite outside his many contributions to the anarchist movement—was shouted down, following (though perhaps not because of) a letter in *FREEDOM*, "Christopher Must Go". Why? Because he had presumed to speak of working-class problems. He has a "basic belief in the messianic role of the working class" says Pilgrim—but is it merely that he speaks of them at all? The reverse of this "messianism" is the "jeremiadism" that characterises the whole of this "anti-messianic" school. For when they insist that the whole working class is just after the foreman's job and (while not adverse to drink themselves) only interested in drink, they do not postulate, say, the professional men, or the technicians, or the military, as an alternative revolutionary class. It comes down to the fact that most of the Jeremiadists are against any sort of revolutionary change at all (naturally, because they are so revolutionary and not because they are opposed to revolution) and so the most hostile and fanatic interrupters of our meetings expend their passion in opposing any idea that there can be social revolution. They merely want a "permanent protest" sufficient to keep themselves from becoming absorbed in the Liberal Party.

None could be a more enthusiastic Jeremiadist than Martin Wardon in the same issue of *ANARCHY*. He is too far to the right for the Liberal Party, which would never presume to take up his complaints of the lazy dustmen, the inefficient electrician, the bad-tempered bus conductor and the non-co-operative bookshop assistants. (They,

intelligent response. It is noteworthy that Prof. Lipset is quoted as saying that the working class are the "most nationalistic" sector of the population. But he does not, at least, in the quotation given, show any class as being less nationalistic. Pilgrim does occasionally refer vaguely to the "middle class" but does not define what he means by them. Everybody nowadays claims to be middle class, as the advertising executive will tell you. Pilgrim quotes Tristram Shandy's reading of the *FREEDOM* survey to state that 100% of its teenage readership is middle class. This is flagrantly untrue surely?—one has only to find *one* reader to disprove it. It obviously has a large student readership which cannot be all, or all *yet*, middle class; how many teenagers could attain middle-class status unless born to it? Perhaps the answer is that two law students answered the questionnaire, upon which a socio-economic theory is to be based.

after all, know only too well of solicitors who embezzle their clients' money and accountants who shoot their business rivals.) His objection to the working class seems to be (one put to a meeting recently by another Jeremiadist) that they simply will not give "a fair day's work for a fair day's pay". Such is the economic illiteracy of those who think that "the classical anarchist thinkers", not to mention poor Karl, are outmoded.

Again, Martin Wardon assumes the Christian Socialist view that "clearly, if there is to be anarchy there must first be a widespread change of values". (They would have phrased it a little differently.) But it is not true. The plain fact is that providing the workers have the necessary skills, they can run a factory. Either management is necessary or it is not. Either certain oppressive institutions can be abolished, or they are essential. If you want the law courts, if you fear lack of the police force, if you think the legislature essential; say so. If they are not essential, then a free society is possible. Perhaps it might be objected that a free society is not necessarily a perfect society, not even an anarchistic society. This, of course, is true. In a free society, individual attitudes can change. When people are free, they do not need to wear the "Anatolian smile" before the conqueror, which people dislike so much in subject races and Martin Wardon finds objectionable in the people working with him.

I wonder if Martin Wardon, who feels so strongly that a class he dislikes cannot achieve its emancipation, knows how much the English capitalist class was disliked by Heinrich Heine when he visited London? Their beer-and-beef faces and manners represented everything that he found most sordid. They could think of nothing but money; they despised Germans because they ate sauerkraut while they themselves "had twenty religions but only one sauce"; and they detested music. Nothing amused him more than to see their honest burgher faces clad in wigs at the mummeries that went on in the Guildhall. Yet when the King went back on his word and decided to resist the Reform, these same burghers assembled at the Guildhall, troubled in mind because they had vast possessions which would be endangered in a revolution, but quite determined to risk that revolution. Even at such a sublime moment they could not help talking about money, said Heine (they said they would pay no taxes) and could not refrain from remarks about "sending the King and his ugly fat German sow back to Hanover," but with all their "gross materialism", they stood by the cause of liberty "and at that moment I heard the refrain of their music, greater than that of Rossini or Meyerbeer".

As with the burghers, so with the workers; I have known times when the bad-tempered busmen and the lazy dustmen were capable of that "music".

The tragedy of the revolutionary movement today has nothing whatever to do with the obvious fact that "the capitalist mentality" affects the working class too. Martin Wardon, like so many others, thinks that he is saying something new by criticising the "capitalist mentality" of the workers. But this was in the anarchist primer. He

seems to think that anarchist propagandists are some sort of public relations officers for what exists de facto in the working class. It may have been part of the radical democratic creed, but it certainly was not part of the anarchist doctrine (not even the Marxist, actually), that the mere substitution of workers for middle or upper classes in the positions of power would be of any benefit to anyone whatever, other than the fortunate few concerned. The Marxists in practice did go on to take over positions of power, and to put workers in those positions; obviously they were seldom better and often worse than their predecessors. The classical anarchist case was summed up "no master—high or low". If they had accepted the idealistic Christian notion of the moral superiority of the dispossessed, they might have felt that to put a few morally superior people into positions of power would benefit society. But the anarchists either accept that there should be no positions of power or they cease to be anarchists. One can stay in the Christian Church and hate one's enemies, or join the Buddhist Society and eat meat, but there are no meat-eating vegetarians or authoritarian anarchists while those words retain their meaning.

What is the tragedy of the revolutionary movement today? It is one that affects the whole working class. The working class is being slowly dispossessed. Under the smooth phrases "the working class no longer exists; we are all workers now—since coming out Lady Penny herself works in a little boutique—outmoded notions of the class struggle", the working class is being as steadily alienated from production as was the peasantry. As capitalism gives way to non-profit-making State control, the possessing class is able to rely upon assured dividends rather than speculative profits, and the non-possessing class is shifted from the point of production (and power). The Fabian sociologist will assure us that this is progress. "We will abolish the working classes"; but they will not become with-it advertising executives and television personalities, they will not join the growing professional classes—though of course there is much more room in a State-controlled society for a professional class than there is in one relying on private profit, as Prof. Parkinson has testified; they simply drift to the peripheral industries. Part of the trend of redeployment—ostensibly to shift workers to the productive industries—is to take them from car factories where they earn big money and represent a major industrial force, to jobs in the post office, and office jobs which begin to proliferate. The mark of the New Bureaucrat is judged by the number of office workers he employs, just as the Roman conqueror was judged by his slaves.

The history of the revolutionary movement in the past thirty years is that of militants being pushed out of industry. We have all faced it and found ourselves out on our ear. Some, like Bill Christopher, remain key men because they are in growing industries. Others tended to go into dying industries (it was difficult to choose other in the thirties, when one was refusing to go into war industry and the rest were still feeling the depression) from which they were ultimately pushed out. But we cannot resist the fact that the plain trend of today is to dis-

possess the working class out of industry and if it is not being done with as much naked force as was used to dispossess the peasants from the land, it is none the less real. It is difficult amongst militants to stay in industry, and either they find a niche in the service industries, or possessed of some craft they go off into individual trades (the old standby of the revolutionary, especially in exile, and the one which leaves one the most time to think, and the least chance to resist political power with industrial power). Divorced from industry, they either continue to help from outside; or they drift away from the movement while the Jeremiadist triumphantly sings his paean of woeful delight . . . "got the foreman's job at last"; or perhaps they accept the specious pleading of the Jeremiadist—what, after all, has anarchism got to do with the working class, and as long as one smokes pot, wears tattered jeans off duty and talks of Sartre, is it not a little irrelevant to hear of working-class revolution? So they reject Messianism and sit by the waters of Babylon singing strange songs in the new land and wailing "Eli, Eli" when anyone remembers Zion. . . .

THE ANARCHIST PHILOSOPHY

One may compare the anarchist movement to a railway terminus. Trains arrive from many points of departure. Some come along by the express train and reach the terminus somewhat before the others. They miss out a lot of the discomforts suffered by some who have come up by other trains (through the Communist or Socialist stations for instance), but they are apt to get bored pacing the station waiting for others to join them for the connection up to wider activities. Perhaps they occasionally make trips around the station in related causes and activities. Some slower trains arrive fuller than others—this was true of the CND train.* The assumption, so glibly made by Laurens Otter that before the CND train arrived, the anarchist movement had "virtually died out" is backed by a fictitious "steady drift back of many old comrades who have not been seen around for the last 15 years". Anxious not to admit that he took the wrong "train" now that his interest in CND has lapsed, he treats the anarchist movement as if it had been in hiding. May it not be that he did not notice that part of it engaged in social and industrial struggles when he was sitting down? I certainly know of no individual out of any struggle for 15 years who has "drifted back", far less of a "steady drift" as if (assuming there were such an individual) it were a sociological phenomenon. To go

*On this particular "train", I do not know if anarchism recruited those who came from the CND, or if it is not truer to say that a particular movement amongst a particular generation, and perhaps accumulated propaganda too, created a situation in which both CND and a new anarchist "generation" came; if some of the latter were in the former, this may have been mere coincidence. There seem to be a remarkable number of my friends who certainly "went through" CND as former generations "went through" the CP (thirties) or PPU (forties) but do not think they owe anything but annoyance to those organisations for slowing up their progress.

on to say, as he seems to imply, the anarchists were “no longer around when CND was founded” is not just somewhat unfair on those who got to the terminus first; it enables him to justify a piece of “red-baiting” which, amusing in itself, betrays his economic illiteracy, just as surely as his sociological basis against “the workers” proves he has not reached the stage of *De rerum novarum* (even Pope Leo granted the case Laurens Otter rejects):

“Look around you, how many anarchists of yesteryear, *Spugubs* (members of SPGB), or Trots do you know now pulling in comfortable salaries or heavy overtime packets often at the expense of fellow workers and justifying this by saying that while capitalism exists they would be fools not to get as much as they can under the circumstances?”

I have been looking around for a good deal more than fifteen years but I am quite prepared to have another look. Quite frankly, Mr. Otter, you may now scorn me as the press agent for the “anarchists, SPGB and Trotskyites”, but the answer to your specific question “How many?” is *none*. Perhaps, before quoting some professor’s statistics, you would explain how this economic gymnastic is possible? How exactly do these good people pull in comfortable salaries or overtime packets “at the expense of fellow workers”? If you had been frank and said “at the expense of their unfortunate employers”, I would have understood your political persuasion if I could not have wept tears with you. It is utterly impossible to get comfortable salaries at the expense of other people working in the same place, unless you suppose—with some of the old Christian anti-Socialists—that the employer divides up salaries according to merit. Surely you know by now—you who “came from the materialistic tradition of Leftism”—that he pays the market value for labour. It is possible in a few badly organised trades, but also in the print industry, to get overtime by bribery and keep others out of it, but those who do it keep very quiet about it. They certainly do not “justify it by saying” anything; they keep their mouths shut or deny it. This utterly untrue story—which one should not be so narrow-minded as to expose, because it attacks the “left” is of course Mr. Otter’s sociological whistling of “The working class can kiss my arse” and is not meant seriously; but it reveals that he clearly believes in Lassalle’s “Iron Law of Wages”. If he does not, the whole paragraph is meaningless. The theory expounded by Lassalle and more recently picked up by the Labour Party’s “brilliant” economists, that “as wages rise, so prices must rise, thus all trade union activity is meaningless”, one would have thought well exploded long before the turn of the century. But the expositors of “outdated anarchist myths” are driven back to defending “a fair day’s wage for a fair day’s work”; the “Iron Law of Wages”; moral improvement before economic betterment; and ultimately to a defence of oppressive institutions because they do not think that a free society is possible. From whom come the “outmoded myths” but these revisionists? One might not be inclined to treat them seriously but for the need of the new ruling class to have an intellectual-justification for attacking the workers; or for the danger to anarchism of becoming fashionably radical once the possibility of it ever being taken seriously is removed. The mental

struggle against authoritarianism is a good excuse for pot parties, no doubt, but could not the “amoral conscious egoist” manage without a moral excuse for once? If a free society is not possible, because the workers are so wicked, perhaps they will spell out in clear terms which is the necessary oppressive institution they wish to retain. By that institution we can know them. Those who advocate workers’ control are quite well aware that even granted it, there is a danger of oppressive institutions being built up again; the workers, at their place of work, do not have armies and bureaucrats and police at their disposal. If the latter go, you have a free society and those who feel that this may be a “greater tyranny because of public opinion” might state which oppressive institution mitigates the force of public opinion. Most of them bureaucratise and establish public prejudices, which cannot survive in a non-authoritarian atmosphere.

The working class lost out on its chance of control during the thirties, when major battles were fought on this principle, and lost. The rise of the bureaucracy in Russia, and the corresponding rise of the bureaucracy within the capitalist systems of the Western world, have proved that a new class is coming to power. Perhaps, in Hegelian dialectic (Thesis, Antithesis, Synthesis), Capitalism has given rise to its antithesis, Socialism, and the Meritocracy is its synthesis. This new form of State power—variously described as managerialism, non-profit power, or bureaucracy—has brought a new class to power. Many classes have had their day of power. Some have seized it and some have not. Many have played a revolutionary role—even the Church once did. But only productive classes—such as the working class or the peasantry—can play a libertarian role. This is not because they have intrinsic virtues (a conception of idealism), but (materialistically) because so long as they are productive classes they have nobody else to exploit. The bourgeoisie had liberal attitudes. They smashed orthodox religion and the divine right of kings and introduced popular representation. But to become libertarian they would have to cease to exploit, that is to say, cease to be bourgeoisie.

I think it likely that one day people will rebel against the holes-in-the-air offices and want to smash up the Automatic Society before it smashes them up. What if, by then, a large part of the working class only existed as doorkeepers and secretaries to the bureaucracy? They would return to production and resume a class role.

Do not be too bored with the story of industrial “squabbles”, dear would-be individualists. The factory floor is the first place in society where battles against encroaching State control are being pitched each day. Infringements of individual liberty are always tried first on the dockers, then on the car workers; and if they get through, ultimately even the professional man finds himself restricted. Do minor “squabbles” sound romanticised? Individual liberty is to be found (like Teresa of Avila’s God) “there, among the saucepans” or nowhere.

Dear John . . .

ARTHUR MOYSE

I HAVE SMALL WIT FOR DONNISH DISCOURSE and the complex structures of our native tongue are alien to my halting pen, yet with the courage of ignorance I must man the lonely paper barricade of further observation on John Pilgrim, against his massed army of quotations. I am of the working class, simple of tongue and rude of bearing, a creature forced by economic circumstances to bear the wrath and weight of John's moral indignation, that, though expected to perform a messianic role, by other than myself, I understand that I waste my brutish strength in the animal greed of simple-minded material accumulation. For too long I have read or listened to this stock statement that we of the working class can never be the hammer of the revolution, only the anvil, and before the words died on the Liberty wallpaper, I have always asked my glass of wine (for one should never knock the host), "Then why in God's name bother with us?"

I will accept, for the benefit of space, that we are but work animals, incapable of taking our place with the Top Ten, and having defined and accepted our negative role, then at least give us the pleasure of lining the streets to view, if not to cheer, the glorious revolution, as it swings down the St. John's High Road. And should our name be on the mailing list of the Committee of 100, then drop us a card letting us know the result. John states "that a degree of freedom was necessary for economic betterment" and it is here that he is so wrong. For freedom, liberty and the pursuit of happiness *follow on* from a full stomach; they do not precede it. Do not quote me the individual case of the individual hero, but accept the obvious fact that the mass of people within our present world society, who will die within the next few years of starvation, are hardly potential material for contributions to the Civil Liberties fund. The hungry mother with the dead child at her breast is ill fodder for those good liberal sentiments. She is like the starving landless peasants of Ireland's hungry forties, who had first to obtain the elementary right to live before they could fight for the right to be free.

With the working class our problems are always problems of immediacy and just as the drowning man has little time to indulge in a philosophical debate, so neither have we, the working class, for we live with our problems each and every hour of our lives, and unlike the middle class liberal humanitarian we cannot contract out.

John calls the "middle class Committee of 100" the nearest thing to a revolutionary consciousness, but this was not a revolutionary movement, but good solid middle class liberalism that demanded not the overthrow of an existing order but certain reforms within that order. I do not condemn it for this, I merely state it, and support their actions. John accepts Dahrendorf's point that social conflict arises out of the authority structure of associations, rather than hingeing on the ownership of the means of production. But to the man between the whip, authority presupposes ownership, and it is the man who can enforce the final decision who is the owner of the means of production, irrespective of the name at the top of the notepaper. John states that we of the working class are more interested in defending our higher standard of living than in freedom or justice, but this simply is not true. For time and time again the mass of the working class have been prepared to see a material reduction in their living standard when they have believed that it was for a greater good. Today there is a wage freeze that can only be applied to the mass of the working class, yet it has been accepted in principle, and rightly or wrongly, that this is in the interest of the community as a whole. In my brutish lifetime I have been involved in many long and short term strikes, and very seldom were they for economic gains, John. Another man is victimised, and we have struck, a man jumps a queue of promotion that could affect so few of us, an old man is refused a transfer from the night shift to the day shift, and we have struck not once, but many times. Dare I call attention to the seven weeks bus strike when tens of thousands of men and women stood solid *and refused to accept the seven shillings rise that had been granted to them* because a minority of country busmen had not been granted the same rise and when, after seven weeks, the whole of the middle class press crowed that these men and women were beaten *they still voted to continue the strike*. And, for that matter of principle, workers all over London not only walked to work but contributed to the strike fund. This is where the myth of the necessity of the middle class intellectuals was exposed, for never once during the whole of that massive act of defiance was it thought necessary to call in a middle class theoretician to tell us what we had to do.

The middle class liberal may discuss the necessary rejection of the working class, but the militant working class is not even conscious of their existence. John quotes Smethwick as an example of working class intolerance, and he is justified, for it was an unpleasant affair, but again this was a fight for the daily basic struggle for existence when jobs and rooms were held to be in danger, and Smethwick voted for a bar against *alien workers*, yet when the panic died down, Smethwick again voted the Labour Party ticket. For remember this, John, that the British working class have learned to live with and accept the coloured workmen, while the British middle class within South Africa have still to learn this tolerance.

Again, John quotes Professor Lipset, retailing the obvious that when the Communist Party is a mass party it is supported by the

working class, yet six pages later John refers to the Communist Party as the "smaller, weaker Communist Party". As John well knows, the working class within this country have never given the Communist Party mass support, and when the British middle class donned its black shirts to join Mosley's Fascist Party, the working class, with over 2,000,000 unemployed, never gave this totalitarian movement its support. For like the present day Communist Party, it drew its support from a revolutionary middle class strata, and the working class, though literally struggling to survive, refused to surrender their liberty in exchange for economic security. It is for this reason that there is no working class support for the anarchist movement within this country, for there are daily problems that the militant working class does not feel that we, the anarchists, can solve, and so we appear to be doomed to provide the middle class with a political escape clause, for we choose too often to stand in magisterial judgement instead of dirtying our feet in the messy stream of living, for fear that we might make mistakes. In rejection of John's claim that FREEDOM's readership is almost 100% middle class, one might, or might not, quote Martin Wardon's sad little story of nasty people, for in the same number of ANARCHY he quotes the same back number of ANARCHY as John to prove a different readership of FREEDOM. Again and again John makes the point that "the better off are more liberal, the poorer more intolerant". John must surely learn that liberalism, like charity and virtue, is a luxury. Give me a million pounds and I will play the liberal to every worthy cause, while if I am left to starve with but a single crust of bread, I will hide it from the man beside me. I am the same man, but tempered by my circumstances. So do not condemn the hungry for their greed or praise the wealthy for their charity. Throughout it all, John labours the point that it is no good waiting for Lefty to come and save the world for, as the mercenaries of the ideological were, we are too busy fiddling our overtime sheets to worry about the soul beautiful, and to make his point more obvious, he pulls that most shabby of debating tricks, the actual manifestation, scabwise, of the creature that he is deriding. Here it is, on page 293, the comic ha ha working class in all his abysmal, glutinous, slack-jawed, low-browed primeval earthiness (the dirt will be found in the little plastic bag inside the cover). From Colin Jordan we have the comic Negro and the comic Jew, the comic Irishman from any child's comic, and now the comic working man (a genuine reject from Peter Simple?), for to quote John, "this represents a type of authoritarianism in its most pathological form *but it is only an exaggerated form of the basic attitude of whole sections of the working class.*" And what does this representative of my class have to say? That he is a fascist because they oppose the Negro. He will not support the Communist Party and believes that they control the Labour Party and the trade unions, yet despite that, he supports the Labour Party as the only genuine working class party and he admires the power structure of the Communist Party, and though he supports the Fascist Party for its short-term policy, he is aware that it is a rich man's party, like the Tory Party. I have left

out the comic dialogue, and if John was to stop deriding the syntax and examine the logic of the man's case, he would find that it is a rational statement, in that the man believes his long-term interests lie with the Labour Party, but in the world of immediacy he must gamble on the Fascist Party, knowing that they are still the party of big business, and that in world politics, he admires, and rejects, the Communist Party. I have heard less rational points made by middle class speakers at anarchist meetings when there was not a hanging jaw, only a misplaced quotation. We of the working class do not possess more than our fair share of the vices and virtues of the human race. We are the working class by the simple and inescapable fact that we do not have any money. We are stupid and intelligent, and conscious, more or less, of the world around us, and we have various answers to its manifold problems, but our solutions are the hard-headed ones of those who will have to make your good society workable. We are, by our breeding, inarticulate, and we do not circulate our thoughts and our desires on the printed pages for we do not have the minor talent of the trained penman. Our problems are of the day, and the solutions must be as urgent, for when the lines are drawn we will have to man the first line. Without us you are as nothing, for you eat our bread and sleep upon the bed that we made. Always you seek our aid, yet openly despise us. Yet never have we asked for the help of any class other than our own, for therein lies betrayal for us. If we are not worth your demand for salvation, then make your own plans accordingly, but this you will never do. For you are the middle class only because you have the strong backs of the working class to ride on, and only when they rise will you rise, and should they fall, then, brother, you will fall with them like the lice on a dog.

Further comments on Anarchy 68

WHILST AGREEING WITH THE NECESSITY to restate anarchist ideas "in the light of the experience of a changed society and of the findings of psychological and sociological knowledge about the needs and behaviour of man . . ." and also with the view that deterministic notions of the role of the working class are more of a hindrance than a help to the cause of revolution, we are appalled by the slipshod way in which John Pilgrim presented these propositions.

In the first place his presentation of the traditional socialist notion of the working class as "agents of history" is grossly oversimplified. Such polemical techniques can only make the possibility of an adequate

restatement of anarchist ideas more distant. Marx himself, to whom Pilgrim presumably attributes most of the blame for the adoption and usage of the idea of the messianic role of the working class, suggested that consciousness was one of the main problems relating to their participation in and support for revolutionary movements: "the real oppression must be made still more oppressive by joining it to the consciousness of oppression." By neglecting this aspect Pilgrim renders the anarchist criticisms of the Marxist theory of the working class and revolution inexplicable. We had always thought that the most potent anarchist criticisms of this theory revolved precisely around this notion of "consciousness" and in particular how to arouse it. Hence, as Pilgrim himself said, anarchists believe "in utilising direct action in those fields in which it is possible to create the responsibility and far-sightedness that is necessary for the creation of the type of society they would like to see, rather than in providing leadership" from a great dialectical height as some present day Trotskyites suggest.

It is clear that, as the largest single group in society and as the group with the most to gain in terms of work satisfaction, release from alienation and in the achievement of the equitable distribution of wealth, the support of the working class must be won if there is to be any serious attempt to change the bases of society. Further, we would suggest that it is not the complexity and the long term nature of the anarchist theory of social revolution that Pilgrim, rather smugly, blames for the failure of anarchist propaganda among the British working class, but the chronic lack of any such propaganda and the lack of any serious concern for its production amongst anarchists, whom, as Pilgrim points out, are predominantly middle class and strangely proud of it—it is good to be tender-minded and have all the "correct" attitudes. Before we go on we mention the one honourable exception of these strictures, *Solidarity*, which at least is not content to talk to itself and works at the level of attempting to increase the consciousness of the working class.

We were also somewhat surprised to read of Pilgrim's agreement with Lipset that "a reasonable index of liberal attitudes in western countries is the degree to which a multi-party system is favoured". One would have expected that such an index would be wholly irrelevant to an anarchist, given the characteristic view of party politics as a sham and in no way related to the degree of freedom or the possibility of achieving it in any society. Using such an index it would be utterly impossible to understand how the present African governments are an advance over colonial governments.

To turn to his main thesis: that the working class is authoritarian, or at least more so than the middle class. It is particularly unfortunate that he should have used the work of a right-wing sociologist, Seymour Lipset, in this regard, for his theory, which draws very heavily on the work of Adorno et al in the 1940s, has been subjected to such a barrage of criticism that it is wholly untenable today. What we would like to suggest is that authoritarian traits are pretty evenly spread throughout the population and that social movements cannot be distinguished

according to the degree with which they either attract or engender personalities with such traits, but rather must be distinguished with regard to their goals. Thus one may distinguish between Fascists and Communists which Lipset finds himself unable to do. One may then use Michel's "iron law of oligarchy" or Weber's theory of bureaucracy in particular cases to explain their convergence in particular instances.

However, the fundamental weakness of Lipset's theory lies in its dependence on the results of Adorno's study and the many that followed in the same vein, which were completely discredited in such studies as Christy and Jahoda's *Studies in the Scope and Method of the Authoritarian Personality*. There are ten main points of criticism:

1. The sample on which Adorno's survey was conducted, Californian college students, was unrepresentative because it was young, middle class and included no members of minority groups.

2. As a consequence of this it takes no account of formal education, which must be one of the principle variables. In fact if one controls for formal education, the higher socio-economic groups are more authoritarian in this sample.

3. The "F" scale encourages the formation of stereotypes and distorts the answers given by generalising single traits which become cumulative and thereby leads to the confusion of active prejudice with grumbling reserve.

4. The correlation found between anti-semitism, ethno-centrism and plain authoritarianism was spurious because more or less the same questions were asked in constructing each scale.

5. The depth interviews undertaken to validate the questionnaires did no such thing because again more or less the same questions were asked.

6. The concept is culture-bound, since, although the traits defined as authoritarian are pretty widely distributed in the USA, they don't necessarily exist in other societies.

7. When the questionnaires were eventually presented to members of the working class the interview response bias against them became obvious since in an interview situation they normally try to please or get the thing over with as quickly as possible. The result was that, since all the authoritarian answers were the expected ones, the respondents provided them.

8. The explanations, in terms of differences in child rearing techniques, insecurity, etc., are purely psychoanalytical and have no relevance to group membership and the position of such groups in the social structure.

9. There is empirical data to show that authoritarian cultures are not necessarily characterised by authoritarian child-rearing methods—strict potty training, etc. For example, most white South African children are brought up by Bantu nannies, whose child-rearing methods are very definitely child-centred, but nevertheless they become very authoritarian.

10. As Whiting and Child point out, cross-cultural studies have shown there is no relation between permissiveness or non-

permissiveness in one aspect of child-rearing and their operation in another.

Finally, we are not at all surprised to find the working class using authoritarian modes of organisation since such modes pervade the whole society. We believe that libertarian modes of organisation will only obtain a positive response from them when the anarchist movement presents these ideas in an understandable, relevant and practical manner which in Britain it has so far failed to do.

TONY WOODIWISS
FRANK PEARCE

Leeds, 2

★

I SHOULD LIKE TO MAKE A FEW COMMENTS on John Pilgrim's article in ANARCHY 58. Having also had a working-class upbringing in so far as this statement has any meaning, my prejudices would lead me to agree with John Pilgrim. First, however, does the term "class" have any meaning at all? I wonder if there is not a sort of "Uncertainty Principle" valid in social comment and investigation. You can either say a hell of a lot about a very few people on the one hand, or damn all about several million on the other. The point is that the working class is such a wide term that however it is defined it is bound (thank goodness) to include a wide variety of people and wide variations of any characteristics you may care to mention. Hence differences in any given characteristic between classes may not be significantly greater than the variation within the class. Has it been shown that differences in authoritarianism between working and other classes are statistically significant? It is worth mentioning in passing that Fromm's "authoritarian personality" (*The Fear of Freedom*) is typically lower middle class. However much I agree with much of Fromm, I must admit that his approach is not particularly scientific. Also, what was true of pre-war Germany is not necessarily true of the USA or Britain today. However my basic quarrel is with the concept of class which is, I think, too wide a term for characteristics to be ascribed to its members with any accuracy. This is probably becoming increasingly so in a society which is becoming increasingly complex technologically and socially, thus necessitating a more highly trained and, one hopes, educated, population. With around ten per cent of the age group undergoing some sort of higher education, we are, I suggest, going to see a very rapid growth of the educated proletariat, but this is an aside.

London, NW6

MICHAEL WOOLLISCROFT

★

WHAT A PITY THAT JOHN PILGRIM in his "highly original" broadsheet for the Conservative Party, didn't mention the workers who keep coal in the bath. What a pity also that he is incapable of either an original talk or article. No anarchist who is a worker would suggest that our class is yet anarchist or revolutionary. However, they do comprise the mass of the population. I don't see the capitalists or Harold Wilson being any more revolutionary. However if John is an anarchist, thank

Christ they don't come into contact with his stuff, for unlike those who take a delight in knocking the back page of FREEDOM, I thank the lucky stars for it and Bill and Peter. If all of FREEDOM was like that, more people, including myself, might sell. As it is Bill and friends must have to spend half their time converting their co-editors to anarchism, which seems to me to be an impossible task. Let those who will, wallow in nice-sounding cliché or mind-destroying junk, but please don't call yourselves anarchists. We have too much to explain away as it is, and time is running out.

Liverpool 13

VINCENT JOHNSON

OBSERVATIONS ON ANARCHY 69: ECOLOGY AND REVOLUTIONARY THOUGHT

ANARCHY 69 was probably the most important, relevant and realistic document published by the anarchist movement in Britain since the war. Herber restates the case for an anarchist approach to the problems of the relationship of man, his society and his environment.

The basic barrenness of the metropolis struck me a long time ago and many of my friends have also fled to the country or what is left of it. The march of motor car and concrete continues to devour the land that might be needed to nourish the glass and concrete inhabitants. It is impossible to practise a balanced agriculture within the context of the present economic system. An industrial society, as Herber so ably points out, requires an industrialised agriculture. To attempt to do it any other way invites poverty and bankruptcy.

People conditioned by western family life find it difficult to cooperate in an attempt to change the pattern of their lives in order to make their environment more satisfactory. The tendency to larger families in the western industrial countries is due partly to the inadequacies of the small family. To avoid the disabilities of the small family and the danger of over-population calls for the development of groups of families with space for their children to grow up together and space to grow their own food or a large part of it.

I think that anarchism will become a force when ideas crystallise into action and snatch the pie from the sky.

Pevensey, Sussex

ALAN ALBON

★

SOME DAY I WOULD LIKE to see in ANARCHY a treatment of the question of land ownership determined by use. Basically I find the idea attractive, but I am at a loss to imagine how it would be implemented. A lot of the American continent was, in effect, first "opened up" in just about that way, and the wanton destruction of resources and beauty is finally being recognized. The question may seem simpler in England and a lot of the rest of Europe, where much of the land is cleared anyway. But in places with a lot of wilderness area left, it is harder to decide what constitutes "use" when various modes of exploitation conflict. For example, in both the States and Canada the governments

are under considerable pressure from mining and lumbering interests to open up the State and Provincial parks to their "use".

I am part owner of 160 acres in the Canadian bush. Less than 10 acres of it is cleared, and as we are farming most of that there would probably be little dispute about our right to it under ownership by use. But how about the rest of it, from which we get firewood, building supplies, wild meat, and recreation? Admittedly we would not need it all—we bought that much only because it was the size of the lot—but how would lot size be determined anyway? To keep it all, would we be required to have cleared the additional 20-30 acres that have enough soil on them to be arable, and log off the rest? What about the surrounding bush and power-line slash where our goats graze, even though it is not our land? It is easy to say that reasonable people would come to reasonable agreement among themselves, and where the population pressure is not great it is almost as easy to do. But as the pressure increases, people have more tendency to simply elbow each other aside, to grab the land and "use" it without considering either what they are doing to each other or what they are doing to the ecology of the area. Probably part of the answer is that as the population increases the amount of land to which one family is entitled becomes automatically less. But I still wonder how, in practice, the decisions would best be made (local committee?) and whether, under ownership by use, there would be any wilderness areas left.

Since I am writing to you anyway, I would like to bring up another question. In all the debates I have seen in either FREEDOM or ANARCHY concerning the desirable level of technology in an anarchist society—or put another way, shall we live in industrial cities or on isolated pastoral plots—each contributor seems to assume that his own proposals would be universalized. Either we all live in cities or we all live on homesteads. Why, necessarily? Even capitalism affords us the freedom of choice in the matter, and anarchy is supposed to usher in even more freedom.

Fauquier, B.C., Canada

JIMMI EICHENAUER

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ALTHOUGH LEWIS HERBER STATES in his article on ecology "this is not the place to embark on 'utopian writing'," some of it is just that. He writes "what was once regarded as impractical and visionary (i.e. decentralisation, harmony between man and nature and diversity among men) has now become eminently practical." Has it? Surely with every year that goes by and the growth of industrial and urban conurbations goes on decentralisation becomes less practical not more? It would have been easier to decentralise the London of 1900 with two million inhabitants than that of today with over six million. Mr. Herber regards decentralisation as more practical now for two main reasons: (a) Local sources of power, etc., are now possible; (b) The quality of life in the conurbations is now so bad.

As regards the first point, since when has anarchism needed hydro-electric schemes, etc., to make it workable? There is no *necessity* for

men to quarrel over the means of life so long as they are sufficient to preserve health. What is needed before any large-scale libertarian progress can occur is not a change in the physical environment or an increase in the amount of power or goods available but a change in the mental outlook of large numbers of people. Ecologists seem to think that changing the environment changes the outlook. If this is so why were the decentralised Middle Ages a time when life was "poor, brutish and short"?

But I, like Lewis Herber, am putting the cart before the horse. Not only will changes in the environment not automatically change people but unless people change first they won't change their environment. Lewis Herber writes: "the modern city—mass production—the state and its bureaucratic apparatus—all, have reached their limits". (I assume he means their *acceptable* limits because they obviously haven't reached their *physical* limits.) Now by most anarchists' standards (and perhaps by ecologists' standards) most of these things long ago passed their acceptable limits. In the case of the state and bureaucracy anarchists believe they passed their limits the day they began. But by the standards of who else does Mr. Herber say these things have passed their limits? Politicians, bureaucrats, technocrats, businessmen, the man in the street, believe these things are only in their infancy and are content. Few people care about the quality of life, it is the quantity that interests them—income, consumption, status, etc. In Britain I can think offhand of only three outspoken opponents of conurbations other than anarchists and by no means all of them hold the view. The three are J. B. Priestley, Sir Arthur Bryant, an old-time Tory, and Peter Simple, a slick journalist whose sincerity I doubt. It's certainly not true in this country that young malcontents have a "love of nature". The non-conformist here heads not for the woods but the city centre.

Who anyway is going to initiate and organise this move to decentralise? The tiny anarchist movement, the tiny band of ecologists? Or is it our rulers and the scientists and planners? These latter would only act if decentralisation were in the interests of capitalism and power politics. But this would only be "the assimilation of these once liberatory sciences by the established social order", a fate which Lewis Herber deplures in the cases of evolutionary sciences and Freudian psychology. Men would only undertake decentralisation for the decent and sensible reasons Lewis Herber mentions if there were *first*, as I said before, a widespread change of attitudes.

One last point: one of Lewis Herber's reasons for advocating decentralisation is the ugliness of modern industry, etc. But in a country as small and crowded as Britain this would mean merely spreading the ugliness over the whole land—subtopia in the Welsh mountains, etc. The Rance River project in Brittany may be an excellent source of power but it is also a new eyesore. Mr. Herber is worried about the spoiling of the coastlines and countryside but what is uglier than an estuary hydro-electric scheme with its attendant pylons and transformers littering the countryside?

London

JEFF ROBINSON

Thoughts on the Third Russian Revolution

I. R. MITCHELL

IN THE PERIOD 1917-21 in Russia, there were three revolutions. There were the revolutions of 1917, the first of which, in February, overthrew the Tzar and the second of which, in October, brought the Bolsheviks, under Lenin, to power. Then, varying in intensity, between 1918 and 1921, there was what Voline calls the "Unknown Revolution", or the Third Russian Revolution, which is probably a better name since it is certainly not unknown, but is unfortunately regarded as a series of isolated movements and uprisings with no unity of action or aim. I do not intend to give a history of this Revolution. Those who desire one can read Voline and the other authors who have written on it,* but I would like to ask several questions largely ignored by Voline, and, it seems to me, by anarchist authors in general.

Firstly, why was there this third revolution and why did it occur at the time it did? Secondly, in the little time and with the little opportunity it had, what were the concrete social achievements? Next, why did it fail and did it *really* have any chance of success? Lastly, how would it have dealt with the problems which would inevitably have faced it, had it succeeded militarily?

The third revolution did not occur earlier because prior to February 1917 there was little anarchist activity and a complete lack of organisation. Abortive attempts by emigrés in the West to start federations inside Russia came to nothing. Only two months before the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks, who had worked, organised and made propaganda for twenty years, and who engaged in feverish activity between February and October by holding meetings, publishing daily newspapers of wide circulation and by organising cadres in the army and the factories—only two months before October was the first libertarian paper, *Golos Truda*, published in Petrograd, the capital. The situation was better in Moscow, but even worse elsewhere. The reason why this revolution occurred was that people's consciousness, as it

*See for example, Voline: *Nineteen-Seventeen* (Freedom Press, 1954); Voline: *The Unknown Revolution* (Freedom Press, 1955); and Footman (ed.): *Soviet Affairs*, No. 2 (*St. Anthony's Papers*, No. 6, Chatto and Windus, 1959) which contains essays on Kronstadt by George Katkov and on Makhno by David Footman.

always does in revolutions, developed in definite stages. Firstly they thought in terms of satisfying immediate demands—food, an end to the war, removal of the Tzar. Then, by October, realising that these and other aims could not be achieved while power was in the hands of the moderate socialists of the Constituent Assembly, they supported a party, the Bolsheviks, who would seize power and act on their behalf to produce what they wanted: "Land, peace and bread". An overwhelming majority of the urban population supported the Bolsheviks in October 1917. Finally, owing to the increasing hardship under the Bolsheviks, sections of the population desired the revolution to be carried out by the people themselves. In the middle of the Kronstadt revolt, the *Kronstadt Izvestia* declared, "Here in Kronstadt is based the cornerstone of the Third Revolution, which will strike the last chains from the working masses and will open a new broad road for socialist creation." The Kronstadters demanded re-election of soviets, freedom of speech and press, liberation of political prisoners and freedom for peasants to work their own land. This shows how far the concept of the social revolution had developed from "Down with the Tzar". This development was due, in a limited way, to increasing anarchist activity, but mostly to the mess the Bolsheviks had made. Industrial production which, in 1917, had been 75 per cent of pre-war levels, fell by 1920 to approximately 10 per cent. Strikes had been made the industrial equivalent of mutiny in the army, censorship was introduced. The food situation was relatively easier, but also deteriorated greatly between the years 1917 and 1920. The revolution from the left against the Bolsheviks occurred because they had shown themselves incapable of solving Russia's problems. It could not have occurred earlier because there was no libertarian organisation prior to 1917. This may perhaps limit the stupid prejudice some anarchists have for organisation. We can still find Bill Christopher and Peter Turner saying, "Organisation should be kept to a minimum. The all-important word is liaison. . . ."¹

The reader will notice that in Voline's book *The Unknown Revolution*, the chapters on "Constructive Work" are short. Many reasons are put forward for the limited success in this field, including the Bolshevik one that anarchists are impractical and incapable of organising, but the most likely reason is that there was little opportunity for this because of military pressure. The Kronstadt Revolt of 1921 lasted only 18 days and was under constant attack and harassed by bombardment. The peasant anarchist movement in the Ukraine (1918-21) led by Nestor Makhno, had to fight against the Bolsheviks, Denikin's Whites, Wrangel's Whites, Petlura's Ukrainian nationalists, and the German occupying forces. The other important part of this third revolution, the struggle around Tambov (1920-21) where peasants revolted against the Bolsheviks, led by Antonov, a former social revolutionary, was also constantly engaged in a life-or-death struggle with superior Bolshevik forces. Voline gives no account of this, but a good one exists in Volume Two of Chamberlain's *The Russian Revolution*.

In Kronstadt, the main constructional work was done, not in 1921, but between the overthrow of the Tzar and the advent of the Bolsheviks.

The soviet was probably the most advanced and militant in the whole of Russia. Propagandists were sent to areas on the mainland to stir up radical demands. Quantities of scrap were collected and made into essential articles—nails, sickles, horse-shoes—and at a time when industries were slowing down this was important. Collective vegetable gardens were set up in the limited areas of empty land and provided a useful insurance against famine. Tenants committees supervised housing. These are undeniably limited achievements but they stand in marked contrast to the general trend in Russia at the time which was towards a great worsening of conditions. During the actual revolt against the Bolsheviks in March 1921 the constructional work mainly concerned defence. The whole population without exception was armed. Food and fuel supplies were ensured. A daily paper, the already-mentioned *Izvestia*, was published to give the rebels' side of the case.

The Antonovite movement is probably less well known among anarchists than the Makhnovite one. Tambov is an agricultural region about 300 miles south-east of Moscow, which had, like the Ukraine and Kronstadt, been one of the most active areas in its opposition to Tzarism and the landlords. Red Army deserters and peasants formed the rebel army which was about 20,000 strong at its maximum. Constructional activity was limited to disbanding state farms and dividing the land among the peasants. From January to April 1921 all the Tambov province along with parts of the neighbouring Saratov and Penza were in open revolt. This movement was put down with amazing savagery by the Red Army and Cheka, and because of its constant military preoccupations had little chance for any real constructive activity.

From December 1918 to June 1919 an extensive area in the eastern Ukraine was free from these military preoccupations, and here occurred the widest and most successful attempts at establishing some kind of libertarian society. Free communes were set up by the poorer peasants and grew rapidly. Efforts were made to establish contacts with workers and artisans in the towns. The Makhnovist Insurrectionary Army was set up, on as anarchistic a basis as possible, to protect the gains of the revolution. A thriving anarchist press was established, to which Voline, Arshinov and others contributed. When the Makhnovists captured large towns, for example, Alexandrovsk and Ekaterinoslav, they attempted to bring their ideas to the workers, but largely failed. Attempts were made in Gulai-Polya, Makhno's home town, to establish schools run on Francisco Ferrer's principles. One striking event must be mentioned, which shows more than anything, the spirit of this Third Revolution. At a time when the Bolsheviks could get no grain for the towns from the peasants because they tried requisitioning and gave no manufactured goods in return for the farm produce they seized, the Makhnovists sent 100 cartloads of wheat as a gift to the workers of Petrograd and Moscow, who were near starvation. So we can see that although the achievements of this revolution far from inaugurated the millenium, they do perhaps lend support to the anarchist con-

ception of the social revolution.

The Third Revolution did not succeed militarily, but it could have done so at one point. Just as the Bolsheviks were almost ousted from the right towards the end of 1919, so they were almost destroyed by the leftist opposition in March 1921. This is known in the bourgeois histories as "The Crisis of War Communism" and is seen as a movement, not important in itself, but only significant in so far as it influenced Bolshevik policies and caused the introduction of the NEP. In that month Antonov was in control of large areas in Tambov and was successfully resisting Red Army forces. There had been a general strike in Petrograd, followed by the Kronstadt uprising. It is conceivable that, had the Kronstadt revolutionaries attacked Petrograd, they would have been supported and the Bolsheviks ousted. The very fury with which the Bolsheviks suppressed the risings shows their fear. Apart from military considerations, exhaustion of ammunition and the tactical failure to attack Petrograd, there were other factors which limited the success of this movement. Because of the time lag between October 1917 and these uprisings in Tambov, the Ukraine and Kronstadt, the Bolsheviks, who had come to power by voicing popular demands, and were trusted by the people long after there was any reason for such trust, had developed "the two characteristics of a stable State—a police force and an armed body of men, in other words, the Cheka and the Red Army".² Also the people were war weary. Three years of war on the eastern front followed by two revolutions and four years of civil war brought the country to a state where many thought another revolution folly. In fact the surprising thing is not that this revolution did not succeed but that it occurred at all, and at one point almost succeeded, considering the state of the country. Another factor which limited the chances of success is that the revolts were not coordinated. It is doubtful whether, at the time, they knew that they were not fighting alone.

Finally, the Bolshevik tactics of lies, repression and murder, undoubtedly helped them. They shelled Kronstadt indiscriminately, called it a "White Guard" uprising, and shot thousands upon thousands of workers and sailors when Kronstadt fell. Antonov and his brother were shot by the Cheka escaping from a house which had been set alight. Whole families suspected of harbouring insurgents were shot and many villages totally destroyed. It is impossible even to *begin* to catalogue the treachery to Makhno. The fact that in spite of so many adverse factors the Bolsheviks were almost ousted, must, I think, show that those actually in revolt were but the tip of the iceberg of discontent, and that most of the Russian people supported them passively. This is the opinion of Chamberlain, who says that the demands of the Kronstadters, "expressed pretty faithfully the more or less conscious desires of the great majority of the Russian working-class and peasant masses."³ And you can hardly accuse him of being an anarchist. So it appears that the people wanted what the anarchists thought they wanted, and not what the Bolsheviks, in their wisdom, told them they wanted.

Finally I want to consider how a libertarian Russia could have faced certain problems. The "free creative spirit of the masses" is unfortunately, often channelled into harmful activities. In Russia there are 125 nationalities, many of which, sadly, slaughter each other whenever they get the chance. Undoubtedly decentralisation would have rendered life for minorities, especially Jews, very dangerous. This problem was one which, I think, was largely unresolvable in a libertarian manner. Its extent is shown by the fact that even in Makhno's peasant army there was a great deal of anti-semitism, although Makhno opposed it. Another problem is that of defence. Voline argues, very unconvincingly, that if Russia had inaugurated the millenium, Germany and other countries would have followed suit. Given the failure of the German revolution in 1918-19 (which had very little to do with events in Russia), how could an anarchist Russia have faced up to a Fascist Germany? Even given the fact that the armies of Antonov and Makhno were more enthusiastic and effective than the Red Army, although only about a tenth of its size, it is impossible to see how defence against such a neighbour could be achieved without industrialisation. This is really what the five-year plans were about, but anarchists could not, of course, support what they entailed. But between 1921 and 1928 there was very little industrialisation, and the growth of the kulak class of peasant made industrialisation more difficult. It is conceivable that slower industrialisation in this period could have allowed for a libertarian adjustment and not the inevitable totalitarianism which the five-year plans caused. Production and distribution, the other problem, is easier. In Russia in 1917, 85 per cent of the population were peasants, with the effect that a very small surplus of food had to be produced to feed the towns. This surplus could have been eased out of them by exchanging essential manufactured goods. The peasants in turn did not need a great deal of these for they made much of their own equipment themselves. The problems created by slower industrialisation would not have been too great to be solved by this kind of "libertarian adjustment".

I have tried in a sketchy way to seek answers to some of the problems which present themselves to anarchists in discussing the Russian Revolution. Anarchists should try to realise that "the leadership sold out" does not really explain historical processes. For nearly all the circumstances operating at a point in history are outside the control of the "leader". He usually merely adapts himself to them. Apart from the obvious question, "Is anarchy possible in all circumstances at all times?", others, such as "What is the exact relationship of the ruling class to the State?" and "Which of these causes wars?", are hardly ever asked by anarchists. Slogans, such as "Power Corrupts!" or "War is the health of the State!" may be more or less true, but we must work towards a broader anarchist interpretation of history.

NOTES

¹Anarchism—Six Essays by Members of the LAG.

²Kochan: *The Making of Modern Russia*, p. 259.

³Chamberlain: *The Russian Revolution*, Vol. II, p. 442.

Notes in the margin . . .

IS AN ANARCHIST EDITOR bound to publish everything that is received in reply to a controversial article, even if it contributes nothing but abuse to the discussion, even if it attacks attitudes and points of view which were not expressed in the original article? Should he consider the effect upon the new or casual reader who may be bored by the apparent ideological hair-splitting, amused by the holier-than-thou atmosphere of English sectarianism, or repelled by the self-conscious posing or by the degree of venom displayed?

These were the problems faced in deciding what to publish of the replies received to the articles which appeared in ANARCHY 68, and, in particular, the one by John Pilgrim: "Salvation by the working class: is it an outmoded myth?" All we can suggest is that the reader, having read the replies published in this issue, should go back to ANARCHY 68, and see what was actually said there.

* * *

PETER BROWN, the author of the article on Strike City, Mississippi,

has recently returned from a year-and-a-half in the United States, where he became somewhat involved in the civil rights scene.

* * *

THE REVIEW by Nicolas Walter of the recently published anarchist anthologies in ANARCHY 70 had to be severely cut at the last moment and got rather disconnected as a result. The reference to Masaryk's book at the foot of p. 380 should have been an insertion in the text, and the reference to Sidney Hook on pp. 381-2 should say "though in Sidney Hook's words, for some reason, rather than those of Marx himself," because the passage from *The German Ideology* is quoted from Hook's summary of Marx rather than from Marx's original text.

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BOTH THE ANARCHIST ANTHOLOGIES, by the way, are available from Freedom Bookshop for readers in Britain. *The Anarchists*, edited by Irving L. Horowitz costs 7s. 6d., and *Patterns of Anarchy*, edited by Leonard Krimerman and Lewis Perry costs 15s.

Next month in ANARCHY :
The First Street School,
London Free School, etc.