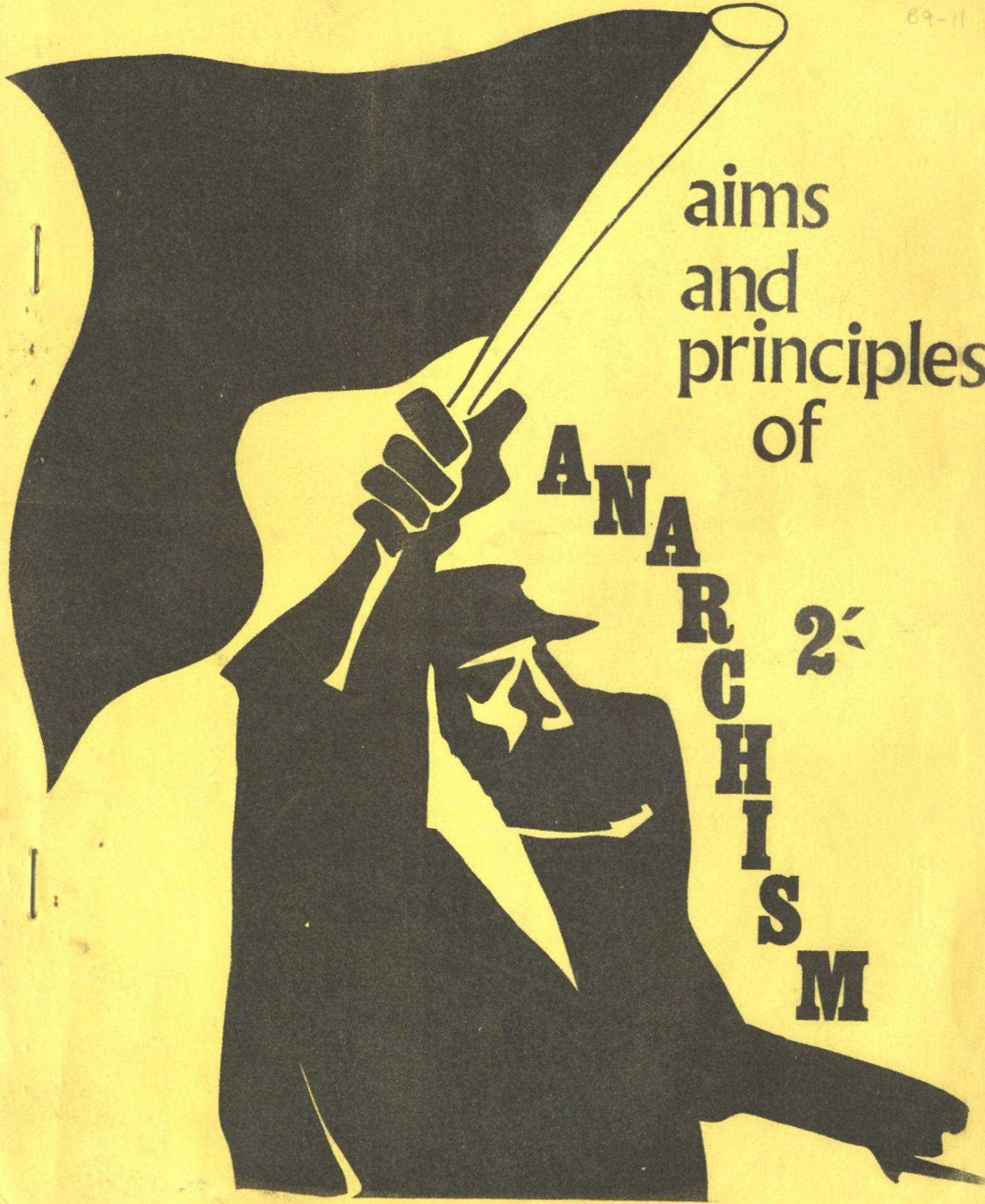


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THE AIMS AND PRINCIPLES

of

A N A R C H I S M

An essay at defining what
the Anarchist Movement is
and how wide a field it
covers.

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" The charge that Anarchism is destructive, rather than constructive, and that, therefore, Anarchism is opposed to organisation, is one of the many falsehoods spread by our opponents. They confound our present social institutions with organisation; hence they fail to understand how we can oppose the former, and yet favour the latter. The fact, however, is that the two are not identical.

" The State is commonly regarded as the highest form of organisation. But is it in reality a true organisation? Is it not rather an arbitrary institution cunningly imposed upon the masses?

" Industry, too, is called an organisation; yet nothing is farther from the truth. Industry is the ceaseless piracy of the rich against the poor.

" We are asked to believe that the Army is an organisation, but a close investigation will show that it is nothing else than a cruel instrument of blind force.

" The School! Colleges and other institutions of learning, are they not models of organisation, offering the people fine opportunities for instruction? Far from it. The school, more than any other institution, is a veritable barrack, where the human mind is drilled and manipulated into submission to various social and moral spooks, and thus fitted to continue our system of exploitation and oppression.

" Organisation, as we understand it, however, is a different thing. It is based, primarily, on freedom. It is a natural and voluntary grouping of energies to secure results beneficial to humanity....There is a mistaken notion that organisation does not foster individual freedom; that on the contrary, it means the decay of individuality. In reality, however, the true function of organisation is to aid the development and growth of personality.

" An organisation, in the true sense, cannot result from the combination of mere nonentities. It must be composed of self-conscious, intelligent individualities. Indeed, the total of the possibilities and activities of an organisation is represented in the expression of individual energies.

" Anarchism asserts the possibility of an organisation without discipline, fear or punishment, and without the pressure of poverty; a new social organism which will make an end to the terrible struggle for the means of existence - the savage struggle, which undermines the finest qualities in man and ever widens the social abyss. In short, Anarchism strives towards a social organisation which will establish well-being for all.

" The germ of such an organisation can be found in that form of trades-unionism which has done away with centralisation, bureaucracy and discipline, and which favours independent and direct action on the part of its members."

Emma Goldman (Amsterdam Conference 1907)

This is not "one man's view" of what Anarchism is, a "personal interpretation" or anything of that sort. At least, it is not intended to be so. It purports to be no less than a reasonably definitive description of ANARCHISM IN THEORY AND PRACTICE. It is possible that it is beyond the author's powers and ability to do this. When it has been shown, in this form, to many comrades, criticisms, additions and amendments will be invited, to make it as reasonably definitive as it is possible to be.

Few subjects are as misrepresented as Anarchism. Leaving aside the caricature of the sensational Press (though in practice, even in the serious Press, even in Court, this is rarely left aside) it suffers from gross misrepresentation. There are those who will say it is impossible to define Anarchism, that "in seeking to define Anarchism you are destroying Anarchism" or some such semantic absurdity. Few books have been translated into English, or written directly on that subject by convinced Anarchists. Such as are written are often useless. Then again, people come into the Anarchist movement understanding the basic principles, but are too involved in militant activity, or too lazy in theory, to work out the implications of that theory. So they will take refuge in the lazy man's comfortable statement, "there are as many definitions of Anarchism as there are Anarchists"; or "the Anarchist programme is that it has no programme".

Then too, everyone nowadays wants a fashionable dash of radicalism to go with the way they wear their clothes; anarchism has been picked up in certain quarters and used, either directly or in conjunction with a contrary definition, to mean whatever the user cares to think. To the author's presumption in defining the word in such a way that it excludes them, they will cry indignantly, "Who appointed you Pope to decide whom to admit and whom to excommunicate? How can you presume to state who is an Anarchist and who is not an Anarchist?"

Yet we can, after all, presume to state who is not an Anarchist: Mr. Harold Wilson is not, for instance, the late Adolf Hitler was not, the secretaries of the Communist Parties of the world are not; priests of the authoritarian Churches are not. We can draw the line somewhere, without the necessity of assuming pontifical robes. By a simple definition, we could say that anyone who cares to call himself an Anarchist is one; then, if it is commercially profitable for a popsinger to call himself one, he will be one. If it is politically advantageous, many more people will call themselves the same. Yet these will not be Anarchists in my definition, or at least - if ultimately we cannot prevent them from calling themselves such - they will not be what the Anarchist Movement means when it uses the term Anarchist; and if there is too much confusion, we will (like the Socialist) need another term to qualify ourselves - Revolutionary Anarchists, or Non-Governmental Anarchists, or something of that sort!

(1st. duplicated edition).

It is not without interest that what might be called the anarchist approach goes back into antiquity; nor that there is an anarchism of sorts in the peasant movements that struggled against State oppression over the centuries. But the modern Anarchist Movement could not claim such precursors of revolt as its own, any more than the other modern working-class theories. To trace the modern Anarchist movement we must look closer to our own times. The writer would hazard a personal guess that its centenary year was 1969; that while there existed libertarian and non-Statist and federalist groups, which we would now call anarchist, before 1869, it was only in or about that year that they first became what we now call Anarchist.

In particular, we may cite three philosophical precursors of Anarchism: Godwin, Proudhon and Hegel. None of the three was in fact an Anarchist, though Proudhon first used the term in its modern sense (taking it from the French Revolution, when it was first used politically and not entirely pejoratively). None of them engaged in Anarchist activity or struggle, nor know of such a thing as "Anarchism". (One of the worst books written on Anarchism, Eltzbacher's "Anarchism", reprinted by Freedom Press as a carefully-printed book at a time when it had the entire literature of Anarchism available to it, solely because of the political ignorance of its then editor, describes Anarchism as a sort of hydra-headed theory some of which comes from Godwin, or Proudhon, or Stirner, or Kropotkin, and so on. The book may be tossed aside as valueless except in its descriptions of what these particular men thought.) There could not be a Proudhonian Anarchism today, for instance, because Proudhon did not write a programme for all time; nor did Kropotkin in his time write for a sect of Anarchists.

Godwin is the father of the Stateless Society Movement; which we may begin at once by saying diverged into three lines. One, that of the Anarchists (with which we will deal). Two, that of American Individualism, which included Thoreau and his school, sometimes thought of as anarchistic, but which equally gives rise to "Rugged Individualism" of the Goldwater school and to Tolstoyanism (so-called) and Gandhism. This second line of descent from Godwin is responsible for the Pacifist - Anarchist approach or the Individualist - Anarchist approach that differs radically from revolutionary anarchism in the first line of descent. It is too readily conceded that "this is, after all, anarchism". Pacifist movements, and the Gandhian in particular, are usually totalitarian and impose authority (even if by moral means); the school of Benjamin Tucker - by virtue of their "individualism" - accepted the need for police to break strikes so as to guarantee the employer's "freedom". All this school of so-called Individualists accept, at one time or another, the necessity for the police force, hence for government, and our a priori definition of anarchism is no government. The third school of descent from Godwin is pure and simple liberalism.

Dealing here only with the "first line of descent" from Godwin, his idea of Stateless Society was introduced into the working class movement by Ambrose Cuddon. A revolutionary, "internationalist", and

non-statist socialism came along with the late days of English Chartism. It had some sympathy with the French Proudhonians. Those who in Paris accepted Proudhon's theory did not consider themselves Anarchists, but Republicans. They were for the most part master artisans, running one-man productive businesses. The whole of French economy was geared both to the peasantry and to the master artisan. Independent, individualistic, and receiving no benefit from the State save the dubious privilege of paying taxes and fighting, they were at that time concerned to find out an economic method of survival and to withstand encroaching capitalism.

These French and English movements came together in the International. The International Workingmen's Association owed its existence to Marx, indirectly to Hegelian philosophy. But within the International, there was not only the "scientific" socialism of Marx, but also Utopian Socialism, Blanquism, English Trade Unionism, German authoritarian and opportunistic socialism, Republicanism, and the various "federalistic" trends. Bakunin was not the father of anarchism, nor the "Marx" of anarchism, as often thought. He was not an anarchist until late in life. He learned his federalism and socialism from the Swiss workers of the Jura, and gave expression to the ideas of the Godwinian and Proudhonian "federalists" or non-State socialists. In many countries, Spain and Italy in particular, it was Bakunin's criticism of the ideas of Marx that gave the federalist movement its definition. (While to Anarchists, Marx is of course "the villain of the piece" in the International, it must be granted that without Marx, clearly defining one form of socialism, there would have been no direct clash, no Bakunin clearly defining an opposite). There had grown up by 1869 a very noticeable trend within the Internationalism that was called "Bakuninist", but which was very clearly in one line of descent from Godwin and in another line from Proudhon. When the PARIS COMMUNE exploded in the face of the International, it was the parting of the ways (though this was deferred a little longer, and seemed to follow personal lines). From then on, Anarchists and Marxists know by their different analyses and interpretations and actions during the Paris Commune, that they were separate.

For many years, all the same, Anarchists continued to form part of the Socialist Movement. Marx had not succeeded in building a mass movement. The German socialist movement was more influenced by Lassalle; English socialism by the reformist and Christian traditions of Radical Nonconformity. Only after Marx's death, when Marxism was the official doctrine of German social-democracy, were Anarchists excluded from Socialist Internationals; Social-Democracy marched on to its own new schism, that between English Liberalism masquerading as Labour on the one hand, and Social-Democracy on the other; and that between Majority-Social-Democracy (Bolshovism) and reformism. There were no more schisms in the anarchist movement; popular opinion made such figures as Tolstoy into an Anarchist (he was not; neither was he a Christian nor a Pacifist, as popularly supposed - we must deal with that elsewhere) but he derived, if he were such, very clearly from the "second line" of Godwinism. What we may perhaps call "mainstream Anarchism" was singularly coherent and united, and it was given body by the writings of a number of theoreticians, such as Peter Kropotkin.

After the bloody suppression of the Paris Commune, and the repressions in many parts of the world, Anarchism passed into the well-known stage of individual terrorism; it fought back, and survived, and gave birth to (or was carried forward in) the revolutionary syndicalist movement which began in France. It lost ground after the First World War, both because of the growth of reformist socialism, and the rise of fascism; and while it made a certain contribution to the Russian Revolution, it was defeated by the Bolshevik counter-revolution. It was seen in both a destructive and a constructive role in the Spanish Revolution of 1936.

By the time of the Second World War, Anarchism had been tried and tested in many revolutionary situations and labour struggles. Alternative forms had been tried and discarded. The German Revolution introduced the idea of Workers' Councils; the experience of the American I.W.W. had shown the possibilities inherent in industrial unionism. Moreover, the "flint against flint" in the argument against Marxist Communism, the lessons of what socialism without freedom meant in Russia, and the failure of reformist socialism everywhere, helped to shape the anarchist doctrine.

There were never theoreticians of Anarchism as such, though it produced a number of theoreticians who discussed aspects of the philosophy. Anarchism has remained a creed that has been worked out in practice. Very often, a bourgeois writer comes along and writes down what has already been worked out in practice by workers and peasants; he is attributed by bourgeois historians as being a leader, and by successive bourgeois writers (citing the bourgeois historians) as being one more case that proves the working-class relies upon bourgeois leaders.

The idea of Anarchism survived the failure of anarchist organisation. The reconstituted I.W.M.A. ("the Berlin International") became in effect reformist; exiled organisations were reduced to impotence; in some cases the name became fashionable but the idea unknown or ignored. In these pages we are attempting to describe, as best we may, the fundamental aims and principles of Anarchism at the present day.

(Continued)

SHORTLY AVAILABLE IN THIS FORMAT:-

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE BONNOT GANG

THE ORIGINS OF THE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT IN CHINA

WORKERS COUNCILS IN THE BRITISH ARMY

* * * * *

(All of these will be ready before September 1968).

JUSTIFICATION OF ANARCHISM

That Man is born free.

We have rights, but not duties. Our rights are inalienable. Each person born on the world is heir to all the preceding ages. The whole world is ours by right of birth alone. Duties, imposed as obligations or ideals, such as patriotism, duty to the State, worship of God, submission to higher classes or authorities, respect for inherited privileges, are lies.

If man is born free, slavery is murder.

Nobody is fit to rule another. It is not alleged that Man is perfect, and that his natural goodness means he should not be submitted to rule. There are no supermen or privileged classes who are "above imperfect Man" and are capable or entitled to rule the rest of us. By submitting Man to the yoke, his life is destroyed.

As slavery is murder, so property is theft.

The fact that Man cannot enter into his inheritance means that part of it has been taken from him; either by force (old, legalised conquest or robbery) or fraud (persuasion that the State or a superior class is entitled to privilege). The system of ownership means that some are deprived of the fruits of their labour. It is true that, in a competitive society, only the possession of independent means enables one to be free of the economy (this is what Proudhon meant when, addressing himself to the master artisan, he said "property is liberty" which seems at contradiction with his dictum that it was theft.) But the principle of ownership, in that which concerns the community, is at the bottom of inequity.

If property is theft, government is tyranny.

If we accept the principle of a socialised society, and abolish hereditary privilege, and superior classes, the State becomes unnecessary and unnecessary government is tyranny. "Liberty without socialism is exploitation; socialism without liberty is tyranny" (Bakunin).

If government is tyranny, anarchy is liberty.

Those who use the word "anarchy" to mean disorder or misrule are not incorrect; if they regard Government as necessary, if they think we could not live without Whitehall directing our affairs, if they think politicians are essential to our well-being and that we could not behave decently without policemen, they are logical in assuming that anarchy means the opposite to what government guarantees. But those who take the reverse opinion, and consider government to be tyranny, are right too in considering anarchy, no-government, to be liberty.

WHAT IS AN ANARCHIST ?

An Anarchist is a person who believes in the desirability and practicality of anarchy, and directs his or her actions to that end.

(A person who believes it desirable but not practical, is not by this definition an Anarchist).

An Anarchist is not someone who lives in an anarchist society. The philosophic gibberish that "you cannot be an anarchist because you (go to work) (don't go to work) (don't give all you have to the poor) (obey certain dicta of the State) etc" is humorous but not relevant. It is not an essential of being an anarchist that you be consistent or inconsistent; no doubt the consistent anarchist may refuse to do a great many things, or live in a different way, from others; it is not a sign of insincerity in any political persuasion, however, that you fail to realise all your principles before you are in a position to do so. The argument that anarchism is "something within you" does not belong to anarchism except on the idealistic plane ("second in line" from Godwin) and comes of course from the early Christian alibi (when Jesus' predictions all failed and the Kingdom did not come, the apostles explained it was "within you").

The Class Struggle.

Revolutionary anarchism is based upon the class struggle, though it is true that often even the best of anarchist theoreticians, striving to avoid Marxist phraseology, may express it differently. It does not take the mechanistic view of the class struggle taken by Marx and Engels. It does not take the view that only the industrial proletariat can achieve socialism, and that the victory of this class represents the final victory. On the contrary: had anarchism been victorious in any period before 1914, it would have been a triumph for the peasants and artisans, rather than the industrial proletariat amongst whom it was not widespread.*

Any class may be revolutionary in its day and time; only a productive class may be libertarian in its nature, because it does not need anyone to exploit. The industrialisation of most Western countries has meant that the industrial proletariat has replaced the old "petit bourgeoisie"; and what is left of the "petit bourgeoisie" has become capitalist instead of working-class, or the functionaries of the State.

As this happened, so the anarchist movement developed into anarcho-syndicalism, i.e. the idea that combinations of workers could,

*Marxists accuse the artisans of being "petit bourgeois" which is a phrase used at that time; but there was a vast difference between the "petit bourgeoisie" of that day - cobblers, tailors, bookbinders, one-man printers, goldsmiths, saddlers, etc., all productive men engaged on their own account, and the non-productive "petit bourgeoisie" (Civil Servants, manufacturers &c.) of today.

by organising themselves at their places of work and ultimately by running their own places of work, be the means of by-passing a State-run economy at the same time as eliminating a ruling-class.

It has become fashionable in some radical quarters (including the sociological school of advanced liberalism which finds its expression in the magazine "Anarchy") to speak of the class struggle as outmoded; and by relying on the many jokes used against Marxist over-emphasis on dogma, to put the very idea of working-class revolution as an absurdity which only the oldest-fashioned square would hold in credence. (The Paris barricades of 1968 swept a lot of this away). It has never been claimed (even, and especially, by Marx) that the working class were an idealised class (this belonged to the Christian Socialists, not the anti-idealistic Marxists or Bakuninists). Nor was it ever suggested they alone could be revolutionary; or that they could not be reactionary. It would be trying the reader's patience too much to reiterate all the "working-class are not angels" statements which purport to refute that the working-class could not run their own places of work. Suffice it to say that only in heaven would it be necessary for angels to take over the functions of management.

Organisation and Anarchism.

Those belonging to or coming from authoritarian parties find it hard to believe that it is possible to organise without "some form" of government. Therefore they conclude, and it is a popular argument against anarchism, that "anarchists do not believe in organisation".

"They break up other people's organisations but are unable to do anything because they do not believe in building their own" - Letter from member of P.P.U.

They may well break up organisations because these are dangerous, hierarchical or useless, but it is not true to say they do not believe in building their own. It can well be admitted that particular people in particular places may have failed in such a task. It is true that in Great Britain, to date, the anarchists have not succeeded in building up an effective organisation. This is a valid, internal criticism. But it is untrue to say that there cannot be such a thing as anarchist organisation. An organisation may be democratic or dictatorial; it may be authoritarian or libertarian; and there are many libertarian organisations, not necessarily anarchistic, which prove that all organisation need not be run from the top downwards.

It is significant that many trade unions, in order to keep their movement disciplined, and their members in an integral part of capitalist society, become (if they do not start as) authoritarian; but how many employers' organisations impose similar discipline? They cannot; because their members would walk out. They must come to free agreement, because the members have their independence ("property is liberty"!).

Only the most revolutionary unions of the world (I.W.W. of America, C.N.T. of Spain etc.) have learned how to keep the form

of organisation of mass labour movements on an informal basis, with a minimum of central administration, and with every decision referred back to the workers on the job.

The Role of the Anarchist in an Authoritarian Society. The only place for a free man in a slave

society was in prison, said Thoreau (after spending a night inside). It is a stirring affirmation, but not one to live by. The revolutionary must indeed be prepared for persecution and prosecution, but only the masochist would welcome it. It must always remain an individual action and decision as to how far one can be consistent in one's rebellion; it is not something that can be laid down. Anarchists have pioneered or participated in many forms of social rebellion and social reconstruction: libertarian education, the formation of labour movements, collectivisation, individual direct action in its many forms, and so on.

When advocating anarcho-syndicalist tactics, it is because social change for the whole of society can only come about through a change of the economy. Individual action may serve some liberatory purpose for the individual; for example, one may retire to a country commune, surround oneself with likeminded people and ignore the world. One may then, indeed, live in a free economy. But one will not bring about social change. It is not because we think that "the industrial proletariat can do no wrong" that we advocate action by the industrial proletariat; it is simply because they have the effective means to destroy the old economy and build a new one, in our type of society at least. The FREE SOCIETY (which we shall later describe) will come about through workers' councils taking over the places of work and by conscious destruction of the authoritarian institutions.

Workers' Control. When advocating workers' control of the places of work, we divide from those who merely want a share of management, or imagine there can be an encroachment upon managerial function by the workers. We want no authority supreme to that of the workers' council, consisting of all the workers and not of their delegates. We reject "nationalisation" - State control.

It should not be (but is, alas) necessary to explain that there are, of course, ways of personal liberation, and in some cases these may be necessary lest one starve, other than by mass action. But none of these can ultimately change society. The master artisan no longer plays an important part in production, as he did in Proudhon's day. One can get more satisfaction by working on one's own; one may indeed have to by economic necessity; but the means of changing society rest with those who are working in its basic economy. The "gang system" of Coventry is sometimes advocated as a means of workers' control. But it is partial control only: power remains with the financial boss. It can become a more pleasant method of working, within the capitalist system; but it cannot be a means of overthrowing the system. By all means let the system be alleviated; we do not oppose the reform of conditions of work. But we do not pretend either that this has anything to do with building the free society.

It is not unknown for the individual Anarchist to fight on, alone, both putting forward his own principles and

acting as a catalyst of rebellion. The examples come to mind of M.P.T. Acharya, in India, and J.W. Fleming, in Australia, fighting on for their anarchist ideas, alone, the only one in the country. But it was not of their choice. Mostly, anarchists tend to form groups based upon the locality in which they live. They may participate in other struggles (anti-militarism, anti-imperialism &c.) or solely within the context of the class struggle (as "agitators" at work) or they may form organisations.

It is no part of the case for anarchism to say that the mere profession of its ideas changes peoples' character; or that the movement invites itself to be judged on anyone who happened to be around at any particular time. Organisations may become reformist or authoritarian. People may become corrupted by money or power. All we do say is that ultimately such corruption leads them to drop the name "anarchist" as standing in their way. (If ever the term became "respectable", no doubt we would have to choose a fresh one, equally connotative of libertarian rebellion!)

In all organisations, personalities play a part, and it may be that in different countries different schisms may occur. Some will say that there are different types of Anarchism - syndicalism, communism, individualism, pacifism. This is not so. If one wishes to cause a schism, purely because of personal reasons or because one wishes to become more quietist or reformist, it is no doubt more convenient to pick a name as a "banner". But in reality there are not different forms of anarchism. Anarchist-Communism, in any definition (the usual definitions are those of Kropotkin) means a method of socialisation without government. An alternative idea, Anarchist-Collectivism (favoured by the Spanish Anarchists) was found in practice to be no different. If one is going to have no rule from above, one cannot lay down a precise economic plan. Communism, in the sense used by the Anarchists, is society based upon the commune, i.e. the locality. Collectivism, based upon the place of work, is merely a division of the commune. But few anarcho-communists would dispute that unless the commune were very small (based upon the village, not upon the town) it would have to be sub-divided into smaller units, collectives, in order that all might participate and not merely their elected representatives. Otherwise, it would become merely industrial democracy. Whilst communism is an aim, syndicalism is a method of struggle. It is the union of workers within the industrial system, attempting to transform it into a free communistic society.

Whilst in a largely peasant country, like Bulgaria, the anarchist movement was "anarcho-communist" because its natural form of organisation was the village commune, it could not be said that the aim of Bulgarian anarchist-communism was any different from that say of Italian anarcho-syndicalism. It is true that just as communism is not necessarily anarchist (we do not speak of the Russian type of Statism which has long since ceased to be even State communism, but of authoritarian communism in its genuine form), so syndicalism need not necessarily be revolutionary. Moreover, even revolutionary syndicalism (the idea that the workers can seize the places of work through

factory organisation) need not be libertarian; it could go hand in hand with the idea of a political party exercising ultimate control.

Non-Violence. Is pacifism a trend within the anarchist movement? We have distinguished the pacifism of Gandhi etc. as essentially authoritarian. The cult of non-violence as such always implies an elite, the Satyagrahi, who keep everyone else in check either by force or by moral persuasion. The general history of the pacifist movement is that it always attempts to dilute the revolutionary movement; but comes down on the side of force either in imperialist war or by condoning aggressive actions by the governments it supports. However, it would be true to say that many Anarchists do consider it compatible with their Anarchism to be pacifists, in the sense that they advocate the use of non-violent methods (though usually nowadays advocating this on the ground of expediency rather than principle). This type of pacifist-Anarchism might be considered a difference of policy rather than of idea; it should not be confused with the "Tolstoyan Anarchism" (neither advocated by Tolstoy nor anarchistic) which elevates non-violence as an idol in itself.

//This confusion was brought out in an exchange of views in "Freedom" recently: a Pacifist, imagining himself to be an Anarchist, complained of violence done to the police, which subsequently transpired to be untrue, and called for "a collection for the police": being attacked by Anarchists, he was defended by a confused pacifist-anarchist who thought "pacifists" were being regarded as "heretics" within the anarchist movement. He did not understand the difference between an anarchist who might (whether rightly or wrongly) accept pacifism as a tactic, and someone who was basically a pacifist (and might perhaps accept anarchism as a goal) and supported the police.//

Immediate Aims of the Anarchist

A "reformist" is not someone who beings about reforms (he usually does not); it is someone who can

see no further than amelioration of certain parts of the system. It is often necessary to agitate for the abolition of certain laws. Sometimes the law is more harmful than the thing it legislates against and there is a danger that abolition of the law, bad as it is, might imply approval of the act itself (e.g. suicide). But this is a risk that the libertarian must take. No laws are worth passing; even

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NOW READY

those which are socially beneficial on the surface (e.g. against racial discrimination) are quite likely to be used wrongly. The Anarchist seeks to change attitudes and minds. When these are altered, laws become obsolete and unnecessary. At a certain point, the lawyers will be unable to operate them; at a later date, the politicians will re-codify their laws so as to be able to continue in business. The refusal of juries to convict thieves accused of theft above a certain amount, led to the ending of the death penalty for theft. The Witchcraft Act remained on the books until a mere 25 years ago, but the Public Prosecutor only dared rely on a few of its clauses, for fear of public ridicule. The Tories passed the Trades Disputes Act in vindictiveness after the General Strike, but public opinion was so much against it they never could use it and until a solid trade unionist became Minister of Labour, it was worthless.

It is necessary to carry on a resistance to any form of tyranny. It has been shown, too, very clearly in recent years that it is often useful to provoke the allegedly democratic forces of government into a position where it shows its true face of violence and repression. When governments see their privileges threatened, they drop the pretence of benevolence which most politicians prefer.

"Anarchists are able to bring about disorder, but cannot seize power. Hence they are unable to take advantage of the situation they create...and the bourgeoisie, regrouping its strength, turns to fascism." - Letter from Marxist.

Anarchists can, of course, "seize power" quite as much as strict totalitarians can get blind drunk. Nothing prevents them doing so, but they would require another name afterwards. Anarchists in power would not be necessarily any better or worse than socialists or liberals; they might be as bad as communists and fascists; they would, we hope, be totally ineffective because unprepared. Their task is not to "seize power" (and those who use this term show surely that they seek personal power for themselves but to abolish the bases of power.

It is true that if one leaves the wild animal of State power partially wounded, it becomes a raging beast that will destroy or be destroyed. It is this very logic that causes anarchists to form organisations to bring about a revolutionary change. The nature of anarchism as an individualistic creed has often caused many to view the question of such organisation as one that might well be left to "spontaneity", "voluntary will", and so on. In other words, to say that there can be no organisation (save that of propaganda only) until the entire community forms its own organisations. But it is shown by events that a unity of resistance is needed against repression; that there must be united forms of action even if there are diversified forms of propaganda; and that even when, for instance, workers' councils are formed, there are divisions between them on political grounds. Each political faction has its representatives - united outside on party lines - which are able to put forward a united front within such councils and to dominate and ultimately subordinate them. There

must therefore be an organised movement of anarchists if they are to be able to withstand the forces of authoritarianism.

According to circumstances, such an organisation might well be obliged to rely upon acts of individual terrorism (such as used in China and Spain) to defend itself; or it might be obliged, within a revolutionary situation, to organise workers' self-defence.

Workers' Self-Defence.

The Marxist may in times of revolution prefer to rely upon the formation of a Red Army; we can see only too clearly how this can become a major instrument of repression. (Poland, after the first world war; Hungary etc. after the Second). The very formation of an Army, to supersede workers' militias, will destroy the Revolution (Spain 1936). The newest romantic notion of a Red Army is the Guevarist idea of a peasants' army - combining the spontaneity and freedom of the Makhnovista and Zapatista (anarchistic) peasant armies with the discipline of the Party intellectuals. It has appealed immensely to the Party intellectuals but found less favour amongst the peasants; it finds even more favour among Party intellectuals the fewer peasants there are! Regis Debray derides the "workers' self-defence" notions of anarcho-syndicalism. Briefly, these are that the workers use arms in their own defence, against the enemy at hand: it is the idea of the people at work, armed, during periods of social transformation. (The Israelis have taken over the "self-defence" idea with major success; indeed, so far as military action is concerned, they have shown that it can if necessary wage aggressive war successively, and defeat a Red Army-led invasion. For purely political reasons, Debray declined to take this into account; although it is an example more apposite to Western industrial countries than is the Castro movement, for instance). The lack of discipline in the workers' militias does not necessarily imply inefficiency. (Many criticisms of the Spanish Anarchist mode of fighting completely neglect to point out that they fought as Spaniards - courageously, and neglecting to take any precautions. The Israelis were equally "undisciplined" in a military sense, being mostly civilians, but neglected no aspect necessary to their victory).

How will a revolution come about? We do not know. When a revolutionary situation presents itself - as it did with the occupation of the factories in France in 1968 (or 1936); as it did in Spain in 1936 with the fascist uprising; or with the break-down of the Russian Armies in 1917; or in many other times and places; we are either ready for it, or we are not. Too often the workers are partially ready, and leave the "wounded wild animal" of capitalism or Statism fiercer than ever. It may be purely individual action that sets off the spark. But only if, at that period, there is a conscious movement towards the free society, that throws off the shackles of the past, will that situation become a Social Change.

What constitutes an unfree society? The organs of repression, which consist of many arms of "The Establishment", for example:-

THE APPARATUS OF GOVERNMENT - the legislature, the judicature, the monarchy, the Civil Service, the Armed Forces, the Police &c.

THE APPARATUS OF PERSUASION - the Church*, the Press &c.,

THE APPARATUS OF EXPLOITATION - the monetary system, financial control, the Banks, the Stock Exchange, individual & collective & State employers.

Most political reformers have some part of the unfree system that they wish to abolish (Republicans would abolish the Monarchy; Secularists would abolish the Church; Socialists would, or used to wish to, abolish the apparatus of exploitation; Pacifists would abolish the Church.) Anarchists are in fact unique in wishing to abolish all. Nobody but the Anarchists wishes to abolish the Police. The Police (or the Police in Ultimate Practice, which includes the Armed Forces) are the cornerstone of the State. Without control of the police, debates at Westminster become as sterile of result as debates of the West Kensington Debating Society (and probably far less interesting). With German money, supplied by Helphand, Lenin was able both to return to Russia and pay Lettish mercenaries to act as police. He was the only one whp could do so and in this one fact Bolshevik success is constituted.

Can one do without the State? It seems to be generally agreed we can do without some organs of the State; can we do without them all, altogether? One cannot do the work of another (if the monarchy does not have an army, it cannot save you from foreign invasion; and the police will not get you into heaven, if you do not have a church!) Any common-sense codification of conduct would be better than the farrago of laws we have at present, which occupy both the lawyers and the politicians, the one interpreting the apparent desires of the other.

It is true that government does take over certain necessary social functions. The postmen are "civil servants" and we need a postal service. But it does not follow that only the State could run it. (Hull shows that it is possible to have a telephone service without the State). The railways were not always run by the State; they belonged to the capitalists, and could equally in

* Of course, the Church can be, in some societies, an instrument of Government itself. It probably would be in the absence of a secular State.

a future society belong to the workers. Even the police at times fulfil some necessary functions: one goes to the police station to find lost dogs simply because it happens to be there. It does not follow we should never find our lost dogs if there were no policeman, and that we need to be clubbed over the heads in time of social unrest so that old ladies need not lose their dogs.

There was an old superstition that if the Church excommunicated a country, it was under a terrible disaster. One could not be married, buried, leave property, do business in safety, be educated, be tended whilst sick, whilst the country was excommunicated. It was not an idle superstition; so long as people believed in the Church, if it banned a country from the communion of believers, the hospitals (run by the Church) were closed; there could be no trust in business (the clerics administered oaths); no education (they ran the schools); children could indeed be begotten, but not christened and were therefore barred from the community of believers; and unmarried parents could not leave property to their illegitimate children. One did not need the physical reality of Hell to make excommunication effective. We are wiser now. But our superstition has been transferred to belief in the State. If, the opponents of Anarchism assure us, we were to put government under a ban, there would be no education (for the government controls the schools), no hospitals (ditto); nobody could carry on working because the government regulates the means of exploitation, and so on. The truth all the time has been that NOT THE CHURCH AND NOT THE STATE BUT WE THE PEOPLE have worked for everything we have got; and if we have not done so, they have not provided for us. Even the privileged class has been maintained by US not by THEM.

The myth of taxation. The State myth calls into creation a secondary myth, the money myth. According to this legend, all the wealth of the country is to be found at Waterlow's printing works. As the notes roll off the presses, so our wealth is created; and if this ceased, we should be impoverished! An alternative but dated version was that these notes had to correspond with a quantity of gold buried deep in a mysterious vault (but it has long since been found that the government "welshed" on that angle!) A secondary myth is involved: that the rich help the poor (and not vice versa): that by means of TAXATION taken from the rich, those who are poor are "subsidised". The widespread belief in subsidisation is so great that it defies reasoned attack. Many w rthy people believe that if Lady X did not spend money on her yacht, that yacht could mysteriously be transformed into an X ray apparatus for the local hospital. They do not understand that yacht builders cannot produce X ray machines. Others think that those on National Assistance are being supported by those at work (though they rarely think that loafers in Jaguars are supported by those at work). Yet the margin of unemployment is plainly needed by the State to make the system of exploitation work. It is an necessary as the Armed Forces. Still more people believe there is a relation between the way their wages go up or down and the wages received by other people. In fact, in a competitive society, they get what they are able to command.

The Abolition of the Wage
& Monetary Systems.

To abolish the system of financial control, it is necessary first to understand it. We put it here in a simple fashion. The Government, or the effective financial controller which may in some cases be over the government (the banks), assesses the national wealth. A corresponding number of bank notes are printed, coin is struck, credits are granted to financial houses. According to the degree of efficiency or inefficiency of the government (which is the stuff of day-to-day press political sloganeering, but need not concern us), the assessment, or budget, may be correct or incorrect. The Chancellor of the Exchequer may be "generous" or "niggardly". But his assessment is entirely a fictitious one. According to this assessment, so is the national "cake", and so are our various "slices". Salaries and wages are determined by social convention, tradition, Government patronage, economic competition, hereditary influence, trade union bargaining, individual enterprise and wildcat strikes, changing of jobs, and by various other means. According to their effectiveness, so is the "slice" of cake each receives. The cake, is of course the same.

In time of war, under "fair rationing", such a system need not apply. In the second World War, we had "fair rations", under which everyone, no matter what his income, received only so many coupons for meat, reckoned by weight. This was because it had been decided that meat should be shared equally, irrespective of income. The coupons had no value in themselves. Today they are only souvenirs in Carnaby Street. Then, they were highly important.

Many communal products are equally available to all, either on payment of a fixed sum, or free. The highways are free; it would probably make no economic difference if the underground railway was also free, bearing in mind the cost of ticket collection. We pay water rates, but may draw as much as we like (it is rationed in the Sahara and may be costly).

A FREE SOCIETY would vastly extend the range of communal products that would be free. It might be that some products were in short supply and would have to be rationed by some means. It could be by "labour value" tickets (an hour's work per ticket, as a means of exchange) as suggested by the collectivists; it could be by ordinary "fair rationing" in the case of many items, food included; it might be that some means of exchange, similar to money but not based upon the wages system which immediately brings inequality, might be used. We cannot lay down economic laws for a future free society. The authoritarian economist can do so ("so long as I, or my party, are in power, the £ sterling will be worth 20 shillings"); the libertarian can only make such statements as "if you have inequality, you must have a privileged class and government" - not because the "must" is his dictum, but because it is something that follows logically (just as does the statement that if there are twenty shillings to the pound there will be four lots of five shillings, whatever you might call them).

A free society is not exactly an anarchist society, and far from being a perfect society (utopia) if the latter is possible. It is a society free from repressive institutions. Only in such a society can we build up anarchism. The UTOPIAN SOCIETY is one on which we should aim our sights. That is the direction in

which we should be moving, and the criterion by which we justify our success and failure. No anarchist seriously expects that one Monday morning he will read that capitalism has been abolished and that the State will fall before Tuesday, when the rent collector is due and need therefore not be paid. Nor does he accept the Marxist-Leninist argument that there is needed a "transitory stage" in which the State and bureaucracy must be strengthened, beyond all previous extent, so that it may "withor away" when unnecessary (as if any bureaucrat would ever find he was unnecessary). Transition is the period through which we are moving: the State will be superseded as the places of work are occupied (and re-started under self control) and as free organisms replace direction from above.

Even the fascist has his utopia, a militarised society divided into class and racial strata. While he may never achieve it, his actions are determined by his vision of what he wants. The same applies to all who are not entirely deluded (in that they want one thing as a future utopia but entirely different actions are undertaken meanwhile; they perhaps "want peace but prepare for war"). Even if the anarchist does not succeed within his lifetime, he does, to the extent that he is successful, modify society, mitigate tyranny, reform some evils.

The liberal may, perhaps, be as sincerely opposed to racial discrimination as the anarchist. But whereas the liberal can see only State reforms, the anarchist alters terms of reference and conceptions. The liberal - such as the C.A.R.D. people (even within the pages of "Freedom") - sneers at the revolutionary solution. No doubt it will abolish race hatred, when you get it, he argues. Not so. It is not the revolution ITSELF which abolishes prejudice or discrimination; it is the change of mind amongst those who are working for a revolution. For it becomes patent that racial hatreds are a method of building nationalities; national divisions are the means by which the State is maintained.

The Employers do not give work.

Since the Enoch Powell speech, many have by accepting his anti-racialism, also accepted his anti-socialism. "Send the blacks home," they say, basically because they are afraid of the unknown and don't wish to know more; then they try to justify this. "They are taking our jobs" etc. Work is not something, however, that is given by the employer. He may have the legal right to distribute work, but only because a demand for it has been made. The wealth of the country is due to the workers. The immigrants help to contribute to it (it is the emigrants who do not, but nobody objects to them!) It may be that in some technological society of the future, run by the State, in a sort of boss-utopia, the working-class will be displaced as a productive force. But this has not yet come about. It may be that technology will reduce us, as a productive class, to mere turners of switches and openers of the scientists' car-doors; to secretaries and receptionists; to janitors and clerks. Insofar as that happens, we must smash that society up. Those who revolt against ALIENATION see the signs already.

Objections to Anarchism.

Wherever one attacks present-day society, one senses the fears and prejudices of the average audience. They know that society is a jungle today, but do not like to admit it. Once one speaks of anarchism, their tongues are loosened. They bring forward objections to anarchism which are, in fact, criticisms of present-day society but which they think of as objections to a free society of the future.

They fear murder, rape, robbery, violent attack - if there were no government to prevent it. And yet we all know the government cannot prevent it. (Read the "News of the World"!) It can only punish where it finds out, while its own methods of repressive action cause far more damage. The "cure" is worse than the disease. "What would you do without a police force?" - Society would obviously never tolerate the murderer at large, whether it had a police force or not. The institutionalisation of a body to look after crime means not only that it "looks after" (and nourishes) crime, but that the rest of society fools itself absolved. A murder next door is the State's business, not mine! Responsibility for one's neighbour is reduced in an authoritarian society, which wishes to be solely responsible for our behaviour.

"Who will do the dirty work?" - This is a question society has to ask itself, not merely the anarchist society. There are dirty jobs which are socially unacceptable and poorly paid, and nobody wants to do them. People are therefore forced to do them (by slavery); or there is competition and the jobs become better paid (and therefore socially acceptable); or there is conscription for such jobs; or (as in England today) the capitalist introduces immigration, thus putting off the problem for a generation or two, or the jobs don't get done (the street gutters aren't swept out any more and we get deluged with water shooting out from cars packed with graduate psychologists). Only a clairvoyant could tell what an anarchist society would do; it is plain to all of us what it could not do (use force, since it would lack the repressive machinery). The question implies a criticism of prosperity and freedom, which bring problems in their train.

"If the Anarchists do not seize power, and have superseded other forms of socialist that would, they objectively make way for fascism." There is really only one answer to dictatorship, and that is by the personal removal of the dictator. Anyone will seize power if given the opportunity; but if the seat is hot enough they might try to desist. We do not want to see a privileged class, and cannot put forward any claim that we would make a better privileged degree of leadership than any other.

Leadership. This is often a vexed question: do anarchists believe in leadership or not? Obviously not, because the leadership principle leads to the elite party, and the elite party to government. Yet for all that, there is such a thing as leadership. Some people, in some circumstances, do naturally "give a lead". But this should not mean they are a class apart. Any revolutionary, in a factory where the majority have no revolutionary experience, will at times "give a lead". But no anarchist would form an INSTITUTIONALISED LEADERSHIP.

"Cannot public opinion itself be of an authoritarian nature?"

Most certainly. Even in a free society? Certainly.

But this is not an argument against a free society. There might well be, in a society controlled economically by the producers, prejudice against some minorities, for instance. But there would be no means of codifying prejudice, no repressive machinery against non-conformists. Only within a free society can public opinion become superior to its prejudices.

UNITY One last objection is made against Anarchism, usually by those about to "come over". Why disunity in the ranks of those who take up a similar position on many stands? Why cannot we be all one libertarian left? Why any divisions at all?

Insofar as we form councils of action - workers industrial councils - even social groups based upon radical activity - we can be united with others of the libertarian left, or indeed (in the case of workers' councils) with people of reformist or reactionary points of view. The expression of our anarchist opinions does not make us hermits. We still mix within society with people of all opinions and none. Anarchist groups need to keep alive their individual identity, but only a party machine could keep us from "speaking to outsiders".

(This pamphlet will later be printed. Comments and discussion on it are welcome, and the second edition will be improved accordingly).

ANARCHIST PUBLICATIONS IN LONDON. "Freedom" (Weekly); "Anarchy" (Monthly).
"Cuddon's Cosmopolitan Review" (occasionally).

A new paper, "THE BLACK FLAG" will shortly appear.

The pamphlets advertised in this publication have been issued by COPTIC PRESS in conjunction with CUDDON'S COSMOPOLITAN REVIEW. Obtainable from Coptic Press, 7 Coptic Street, London, W.C.1.

(A Cuddon's bookshop and Anarchist publishing centre will be opened in FULHAM, London, in the near future).

A CRITICISM

Inevitably criticism has been made in these pages of both FREEDOM and ANARCHY. The clearer to define a philosophy, the more it is necessary to rectify mistakes made by those already attempting to define it. As an affirmation of Diluted Anarchism, the 40 minute radio programme (produced for BBC Radio 3 and broadcast on Jan.10th and 30th 1968; reproduced in ANARCHY No. 85, March 68) would be hard to beat. It purported to be a general view of anarchism by taking several different people. In fact, they were carefully chosen either by the BBC producer or someone else. Three of them were merely advanced liberals, two confessedly Labour voters; all the editors of Freedom & Anarchy then active were chosen, with the exception of one who would certainly have given a revolutionary line; the two industrial speakers were not eloquent and in the event said little. A delightful picture of "nice people with nice manners" came over; but it had nothing to do with anarchism.

"There are so many sorts of anarchist that one sometimes wonders whether such a thing as a plain and simple anarchist exists", said the producer. As we have explained in these pages, this is quite false. But the speakers went out of their way to invent differences. One (JR) even brought in the mythical "Catholic anarchist" though he admitted it to be a contradiction in terms. From the context it sounded as if the "Kropotkinite" could not believe in syndicates nor the "syndicalist" in communes, as if either one or the other were sufficient in a complex society. Nobody can dogmatically state how a libertarian economy can be run or it will not be libertarian; but the obvious implication is that if one dispenses with the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the anarchist will always state, there can be no FINAL class in victory; i.e. the free society may turn to the one-man artisan as much as to the factory, as it wills.

CW stated that there was a problem in having "a revolutionary ideology in a non-revolutionary situation": how so, since it must determine one's stand in society? His idea was to give anarchism "intellectual respectability" by showing how it could fit in to "contemporary life", that is to say capitalist life (by reforms of education, participation in management etc.) This has nothing to do with anarchism. One can live a fairly happy life beachcombing in the summer and working in the winter: this is the hippy idea of "contracting out" and it is all very well but "it has nothing to do with collecting potatoes"; nothing to do with anarchism, nor with change of society; all very well if there is no war and no authoritarian crisis. But it provokes capitalist reaction and fascism and cannot resist it. (That is what happened to the Wandervogel of Germany contracting out to "go on the bum").

To IR it was a sign that we were moving towards anarchism "because now there are more and more people living together and having children without being married and without asking the State"; she is obviously unaware that the State marriage is of very recent origin and in many countries still does not exist. She was a pacifist because she did not like to see people getting killed. Again a case of someone wanting "fitting in to contemporary life".

DR claimed to be a Stirnerite, a name which covers many points of view, except possibly anything advocated by Max Stirner. (The later did not at any time call himself an anarchist; the influence of his philosophy was at one time wide, but merely to account for

motivation. Stirner did not lay down a programme, like Trotsky: to call oneself a Stirnerite is precisely the sort of self-abnegation that Stirner opposed when he disliked the use of the word "Christian" or "Buddhist"). Actually, DR is by far the best of those in England using the word "Stirnerite", and his answers are the most convincing to prove that "Stirnerism" as distinct from Stirner have nothing to do with anarchism. The latter, he states, "may or may not be achieved" eventually; but the others will go so far as to say it "will not". What is the block to a free society? The majority that "constitutes a worse tyranny than the State"; what repressive institution is therefore considered by the so-called super-Individualist to be necessary, at least meantime? None of them make any bones about it: The Police. True DR "once thought the police was a repressive agency" but he does so no longer:-

"It's a very difficult job and instead of saying now we ought to be rid of the police force I would rather say that the society which needs a police force is a sick society."

(But the sane society "may or may not" be achieved!)

"It's not the same thing at all as saying that you would cure society by getting rid of the police force. The police force is rather like crutches. With all its faults I suppose at the present day it's necessary."

This is the honest voice of Individualism. It is of course (DR may not realise it) pure and simple Godwaterism or Poujadism (descended from Godwin but in a bastard line!); and the other super-Individualists are far to his right ("of course I would call in the police to protect my individuality" etc.)

And of course if you have the police, they need to be controlled; they need a code (which we call the law); they need someone to administer the laws (we call it the judicature); and so Super-Ego standing on its own right Man Defying The Universe I Myself The Outsider, Man Incarnate in his Own Destiny, re-creates the old Mumbo-Jumbo of the State. He is well entitled to do so. Let him call himself an Individualist by all means. But why insult our intelligence by saying this is Individualist-ANARCHISM?

ANARCHISTS AND DEMONSTRATIONS.

There are many points of view amongst Anarchists, ranging from the view that all demonstrations without an immediate practical purpose and all demonstrations led by political organisations, are useless and should not be supported; to the completely opposite point of view that all demonstrations of a leftwing nature lead to a confrontation with the forces of the State and should therefore be supported. In the absence of a cohesive anarchist organisation (for the Anarchist Federation is as loosely bound as the term "Anarchist Movement" itself) a discussion on tactics is futile. It is a weakness of the British Anarchist movement at present that it discusses tactics at length and engages in militant activity, without having made even the most elementary steps towards an organisation. Hence no discussion can lead to agreement.