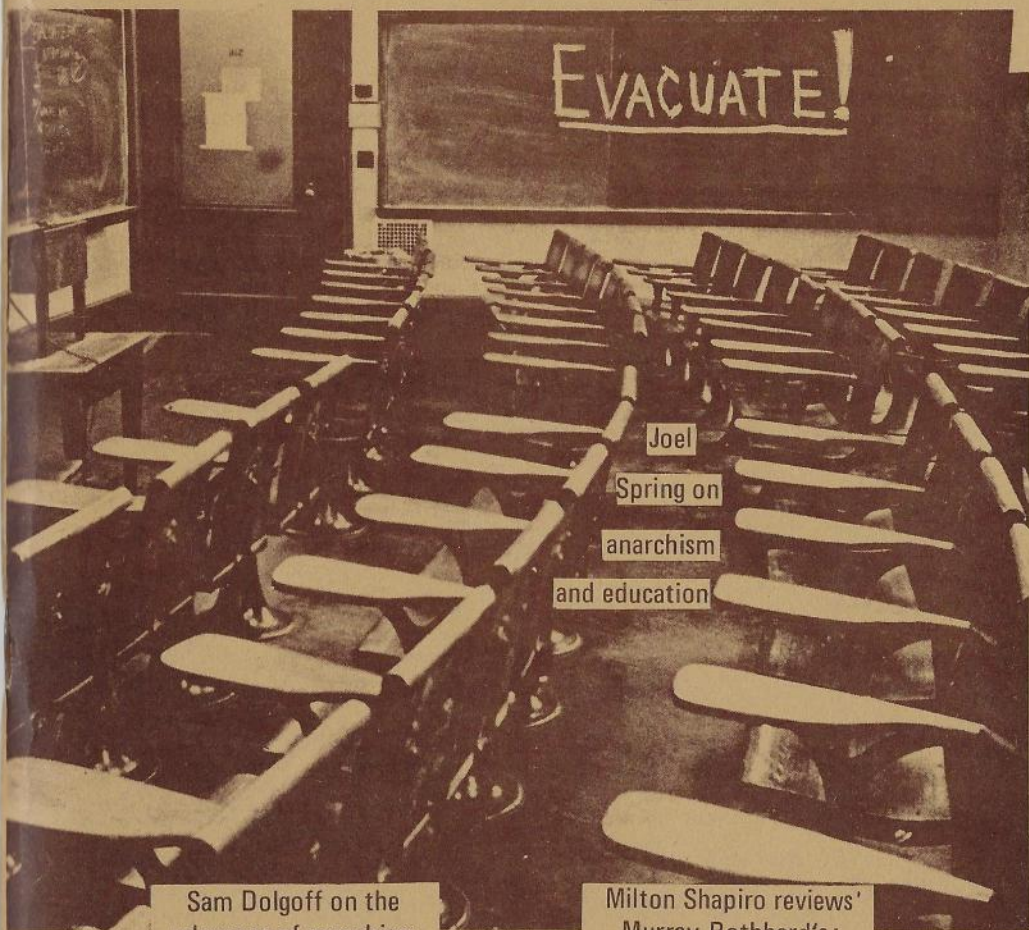


libertarian analysis

VOLUME I

NUMBER 4

\$ 1



Joel
Spring on
anarchism
and education

Sam Dolgoff on the
relevance of anarchism
to modern society

Milton Shapiro reviews
Murray Rothbard's:
Power and Market

and more !

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libertarian analysis

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LIBERTARIAN ANALYSIS is a quarterly journal of libertarian thought devoted to the study of the areas of social philosophy, economics, history, and strategy for social change. Libertarians of all viewpoints are encouraged to contribute.

Manuscripts and other communications from our readers are welcome and will be given careful consideration. Please send all manuscripts, subscription requests, and other correspondence to: **LIBERTARIAN ANALYSIS, P.O. Box 210, Village Station, New York, N. Y. 10014.**

Our subscription rate is \$4.00 per year (\$5.00 overseas), and single copies are \$1.00 per copy (\$1.25 overseas). Subscribers who wish to help support L. A. by sending \$10 or more will receive a copy of either **THE BOLSHEVIKS AND WORKERS' CONTROL** by Maurice Brinton, or **NO TREASON** by Lysander Spooner (your choice).

LIBERTARIAN ANALYSIS is now being distributed in England by **Anarchy** magazine and **Libertaria Bookshop**, 95 West Green Road, London N.15, England.

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DECEMBER	Peter KROPOTKIN Born Moscow 1842	LIBERTARIAN ANALYSIS published 1971	Thomas Paine's CRISIS published 1776
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Barbara Bertch typeset this issue !



editorial

introduction

When anarchist ideas are presented to others, there are two almost inevitable responses. First: "Anarchism wants to go back to an idealized past to which we cannot return. The world is too complex now." Or if that isn't appropriate, there is always the other extreme: "Anarchism is just a myth of an idyllic future. It has no meaning or possibility for today." George Woodcock has summed up this general attitude very nicely:

Not having come to power, it [anarchism] was never discredited in power, and in this sense it presents an untarnished image, the image of an idea which, in practical terms, has had nothing but a future. [1]

Anarchism, in short, is said to be irrelevant in the present. And where it isn't irrelevant, it is negative. That's that.

It is this kind of slight-of-mind that Sam Dolgoff refutes in his article. He points out that anarchism has always been a constructive doctrine, rejecting simple answers (endless centralization and elitism) for the true complexity of human nature. Further, anarchists base their ideals and goals (to quote Kropotkin) "upon those data which are supplied by the observations of life at the present time."

Dolgoff goes on to suggest that the very complexity of present-day society makes anarchistic tendencies more evident in actual practice (the increasing need for decentralization to solve social problems is one example) and more necessary. The sharp contrasts between these and totalitarian tendencies are likewise evident. It is important for us to point out and develop these directions (the task of anarchist theory). Then we must purposefully choose to go in that direction. The choice, though, is for libertarian *directions* and not for some kind of "pure" anarchism.

[1] George Woodcock, "Anarchism Revisited"; *Commentary*, August, 1968. p. 57.

[2]

Social transformation is a process that must rise out of what we are now and where we are now. The true relevance of anarchism, as Dolgoff sees it, is the "application of anarchist principles to the realities of social living."

These principles are broad enough to encompass a myriad of approaches: so long as they enhance individual freedom, voluntarism, and social harmony.

Milton Shapiro takes up one of these approaches when he reviews Murray Rothbard's new book, *Power and Market*. This book is a masterful attack against government on two counts. Rothbard is a market anarchist who believes that exchange and production have to be mediated through the market. He is also a trained economist, presenting a perspective sorely needed in anarchist circles.

Shapiro leads us through Rothbard's analysis of *political* interventions in society: from regulation and taxation to government spending. Rothbard then offers, in Shapiro's words "a truly competent, no-holds-barred defense of the free market economy." For Rothbard, if the market isn't free then neither are we: for then we have no way of *being* free.

In the first of two articles on anarchism and education, Joel Spring discusses the critiques of education presented by William Godwin, Francisco Ferrer, Max Stirner, and Leo Tolstoy. The central concern of these men, and of libertarians in general, has been individual autonomy. Their goal was freedom rather than "education"—a unique perspective.

In state education they all saw the subservience of the individual. Schooling starts what Ivan Illich has called "the institutionalization of values [which] leads inevitably to physical pollution, social polarization, and psychological impotence." [2] Through the tools of education, the state brainwashes its "citizens" into supporting and defending an existing system that uses them.

Anarchists aren't content merely to suggest alternative forms of education. Spring points out that their educational critique is part of a more fundamental critique of existing society which raises issues centering around the family, sexism, etc. Yet, within this larger perspective, libertarians have always experimented with concrete educational alternatives.

Spring concludes this article by pointing to a dilemma in anarchist educational thought. If an educational alternative means teaching anarchism, then that means teaching dogma. Again, individual growth and freedom have been suppressed. Anarchists haven't always been clear in resolving this dilemma. But in a contemporary vein, Paulo Freire, has caught the spirit of their convictions when he writes:

The oppressed must be their own example in the struggle for their redemption. . . . Authentic liberation — the process of humanization —

[2] Ivan Illich, *Deschooling Society*; Harper & Row, N. Y. 1970. p. 1.

is not another deposit to be made in men. (our emphasis) [3]

In his time, Gustav Landauer was an extremely influential German anarchist; both in his writings and in direct action. His works contain much of interest for us, but unfortunately very little has been translated. J. M. Frager presents us with a short look at Gustav Landauer, giving us a feel for his personality and his importance.

Then, in "Social Democracy in Germany" Gustav Landauer speaks for himself. Here he severely criticizes the German Social Democratic Party on two levels. First, the strong party rule of the Social Democrats had led to rule from above and to a distrust, even fear, of any independent actions taken by the people. It also had led to an extreme intolerance of any differing currents or factions on the issues of theory and practice.

Second, as the Social Democratic Party started to take part in the parliamentary process, it took up the standard of bourgeois society. The lure of votes and petty successes had led them to reform little bits of legislation rather than to change the oppressive aspects of society. All their time was spent voting. They ended up rejecting and fighting change that wasn't parliamentary and didn't go through their own hands. These criticisms still have relevance for those seeking radical social change.

Landauer does not merely present a critique. In opposition to State Socialism and participation in government he places his faith in the people. We must spend our energies building alternative institutions by direct action (for instance, co-operatives). By "contracting other relationships, by behaving differently," we can destroy the state apparatus.

Leonard Liggio reviews three important works of revisionist history covering the period from 1918-19 to the beginnings of the Cold War. What becomes strikingly evident as Liggio reviews these books, is the patterns that run through this period.

There is the importance of Russia in the eyes of the West; not only as an enemy but most importantly as a necessary part of the world economy. This was true of the 1918-19 period, and again after World War II. Then it was the Morgenthau Plan that tried to reintegrate Russia into the capitalist world economy. Similarly, after both World War I and II, the European left was successfully brought within the modern corporate state structure.

Throughout this period, American ambitions had been clear: first, the prevention of revolutionary movements and the insurance of stability. Then, within this structure, the goal of strengthening the American economic hegemony.

One wonders how this scenario has been played out in the post 1945 period.

[3] Paulo Freire. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*; Herder & Herder, N. Y. 1971. pp. 39 & 66.

the relevance of anarchism

Anarchism is not a repudiation of social discipline but rather an assumption of humanitarian responsibility. --Sholom Asch

to modern society

by Sam Dolgoff

Bourgeois Neo-Anarchism:

Meaningful discussion about the relevance of anarchist ideas to modern industrialized societies must first, for the sake of clarity, outline the difference between today's "neo-anarchism" and the classical anarchism of Proudhon, Bakunin, Kropotkin, Malatesta and their successors. With rare exceptions one is struck by the mediocre and superficial character of the ideas advanced by modern writers on anarchism. Instead of presenting fresh insights, there is the repetition of utopistic ideas which the anarchist movement had long since outgrown and rejected as totally irrelevant to the problems of our increasingly complex society.

Many of the ideas which the noted anarchist writer Luigi Fabbri a half century ago labelled "Bourgeois Influences in Anarchism" are again in circulation.[1] For example, there is Kingsley Widmer's article, "Anarchism Revived Right-Left and All Around." Like similar bourgeois movements in the past, Widmer correctly points out that:

1. *Influences Bourgeoises en el Anarquismo*; Solidaridad Obrera, Paris 1959

Sam Weiner has been the pseudonym for this long-time Wobbly and anarchist writer. This is his first article under his real name. In January, Knopf will publish his *Bakunin on Anarchy*, a book of Bakunin's anarchist writings with a forward by Paul Avrich and a fine introduction by Sam.

Anarchism's contemporary revival . . . mostly comes from the dissident middle class-intellectuals, students and other marginal groups who (base themselves) on individualist, utopian and other non-working class aspects of anarchism . . . [2]

(All words throughout the article between parentheses and emphasized are ours.)

Like the old bourgeois anarchists, Widmer too, practically denies the link between anarchism and free socialism and chides Noam Chomsky for seeing "anarchism as purely integral to socialism."



AN ILLUSTRATION OF UN

Other typical bourgeois anarchist characteristics are:

Escapism— the hope that the establishment will be gradually undermined if enough people 'cop out' of the system and "live like anarchists in communes . . . and other life-style institutions. . . (Widmer)

Nechayevism— romantic glorification of conspiracy, ruthlessness, violence in the amoral tradition of Nechayev.

Bohemianism— total irresponsibility; exclusive preoccupation with one's picturesque "life-style"; exhibitionism; rejection of any form of organization or self-discipline.

Anti-Social Individualism— the urge to "idealize the most anti-social forms of individual rebellion." (Fabbri)

Intolerance of oppression (writes Malatesta) , the desire to be free and to develop one's personality to its full limits, is not enough to make one an anarchist. That aspiration towards unlimited freedom, if not tempered by a love for mankind and by the desire that all should enjoy equal freedom, may well create rebels who . . . soon become exploiters and tyrants . . . [3]



CULTURED INDIVIDUALISM.

Still other neo-anarchists are obsessed with "action for the sake of action." One of the foremost historians of Italian anarchism, Pier Carlo Masini notes that for them 'spontaneity' is the panacea that will automatically solve all problems. No theoretical or practical preparation is needed. In the 'revolution' which is 'just around the corner' the fundamental differences between libertarians and our mortal enemies, authoritarian groups like the 'Marxist-Leninists' will miraculously vanish.

Paradoxically enough, (observes Masini) the really modern anarchists are those with white hair, those who guided by the teachings of Bakunin and Malatesta, who in Italy and in Spain (as well as in Russia) had learned from bitter personal participation how serious a matter revolution can be . . . [4]

It is not our intention to belittle the many fine things the scholars do say, nor to downgrade the magnificent struggles of our young rebels against war, racism and the false values of that vast crime 'The Establishment'—struggles which sparked the revival of the long dormant radical movement. But they stress the negative aspects and ignore or misinterpret the constructive principles of anarchism. Bakunin and the classical anarchists always emphasized the necessity for constructive thinking and action:

It (1848 revolutionary movement) was rich in instincts and negative theoretical ideas which gave it full justification for its fight against privilege, but it lacked completely any positive and practical ideas which would have been needed to enable it to erect a new system upon the ruins of the old bourgeois setup . . . [5]

Lacking such solid foundations, such movements must eventually disintegrate.

Distorting Anarchist Ideas

Recent works on anarchism, like George Woodcock's *Anarchism* and the two books by Horowitz and Joll—both titled *The Anarchists*—perpetuate the myth that the anarchists are living antiques, visionaries yearning to return to an idyllic past. According to Woodcock, " . . . The historical anarchist movement that sprang from Bakunin and his followers is dead . . ." The cardinal principles of classical anarchism: economic and political decentralization of power, individual and local

4. quoted in letter from a friend—no date

5. *Federalism—Socialism—Anti-Theologism*

autonomy, self-management of industry ('workers' control') and federalism are

obsolete forms of organization (running counter) to the world wide trend toward political and economic centralization . . . The real social revolution of the modern age has in fact been this process of centralization toward which every development of scientific and technological progress has contributed. [(the trend is in the opposite direction) . . . the anarchist movement failed to present an alternative to the state or the capitalist economy . . . [6]

It is hard to understand how scholars even slightly acquainted with the vast libertarian literature on social reconstruction could possibly come to such absurd conclusions!! A notable exception is the French sociologist-historian Daniel Guérin whose excellent little book *L'anarchisme* has just been translated into English with an introduction by Noam Chomsky (Monthly Review Press, N. Y.) Guérin concentrates on the constructive aspects of anarchism. While not without its faults (he underestimates the importance of Kropotkin's ideas and exaggerates Stirner's) it is still the best short introduction to the subject. Guérin effectively refutes the arguments of recent historians, particularly Jean Maitron, Woodcock and Joll, concluding that their

. . . image of anarchism is not true. Constructive anarchism which found its most accomplished expression in the writings of Bakunin, relies on organization, on self-discipline, on integration, on a centralization which is not coercive, but federalist. It relates to large scale industry, to modern technology, to the modern proletariat, to genuine internationalism . . . In the modern world the material, intellectual and moral interests have created between all parts of a nation and even different nations, a real and solid unity, and this unity will survive all states.. [7]

To assess the extent to which classical anarchism is applicable to modern societies it is first necessary to summarize briefly its leading constructive tenets.

Complex Societies Necessitate Anarchism

It is a fallacy to assume that anarchists ignore the complexity of social life. On the contrary, the classical anarchists have always rejected the kind of 'simplicity' which camouflages regimentation in favor of the

6. *Anarchism*; World Publishing, Cleveland 1962, pp. 469, 473

7. *L'anarchisme*; Gallimard, Paris 1965, pp. 180-81

natural complexity which reflects the many faceted richness and diversity of social and individual life. The Cybernetic mathematician John B. McEwan, writing on the relevance of anarchism to cybernetics explains that:

Libertarian socialists, (synonym for non-individualist anarchism) especially Kropotkin and Landauer, showed an early grasp of the complex structure of society as a complex network of changing relationships, involving many structures of correlated activity and mutual aid, independent of authoritarian coercion. It was against this background that they developed their theories of social organization . . . [8]

Like his predecessors, Proudhon and Bakunin, Kropotkin elaborated the idea that the very complexity of social life demanded the decentralization and self-management of industry by the workers. From his studies of economic life in England and Scotland he concluded that:

. . . production and exchange represented an undertaking so complicated that no government (without establishing a cumbersome, inefficient bureaucratic dictatorship) would be able to organize production if the workers themselves, through their unions, did not do it in each branch of industry; for, in all production there arises daily thousands of difficulties that...no government can hope to foresee . . . Only the efforts of thousands of intelligences working on problems can cooperate in the development of the new social system and find solutions for the thousands of local needs . . . (emphasis ours) [9]

Decentralization and autonomy does not mean the breakup of society into small, isolated, economically self-sufficient groups, which is neither possible nor desirable. The Spanish anarchist, Diego Abad De Santillan, Minister of the Economy in Catalonia in the early period of the Spanish Civil War, (December, 1936) reminded some of his comrades:

. . . Once and for all we must realize that we are no longer . . . in a little utopian world. . . we cannot realize our economic revolution in a local sense; for economy on a localist basis can only cause collective privation . . . economy is today a vast organism and all isolation must prove detrimental . . . We must work with a social criterion, considering

8. *Anarchy*; No. 25, March, 1963, London

9. *Revolutionary Pamphlets*; Vanguard Press, N.Y. 1927, pp.76-77. Proudhon's, position was similar, " . . . through the progress of ideas and the complexity of interests, society is forced to oblige the state . . . "

[10]

the interests of the whole country and if possible the whole world . . . [10]

A balance must be achieved between the suffocating tyranny of unbridled authority and the kind of 'autonomy' that leads to petty local patriotism, separatism of little grouplets and the fragmentation of society. Libertarian organization must reflect the complexity of social relationships and promote solidarity on the widest possible scale. It can be defined as federalism: coordination through free agreement, locally, regionally, nationally and internationally. A vast coordinated network of voluntary alliances embracing the totality of social life, in which all the groups and associations reap the benefits of unity while still exercising autonomy within their own spheres and expanding the range of their freedom. Anarchist organizational principles are not separate entities. Autonomy is impossible without decentralization, and decentralization is impossible without federalism.

The increasing complexity of society is making anarchism *more* and *not less* relevant to modern life. It is precisely this complexity and diversity, above all their overriding concern for freedom and human values that led the anarchist thinker to base their ideas on the principles of diffusion of power, self-management and federalism. The greatest attribute of the free society is that it is self-regulating and "bears within itself the seeds of its own regeneration." (Buber) The self-governing associations will be flexible enough to adjust their differences, correct and learn from their mistakes, experiment with new, creative forms of social living and thereby achieve genuine harmony on a higher, humanistic plane. Errors and conflicts confined to the limited jurisdiction of special purpose groups, may do limited damage. But miscalculations and criminal decisions made by the state and other autocratically centralized organizations affecting whole nations, and even the whole world, can have the most disastrous consequences.

Modern Industry Better Organized Anarchistically

Bourgeois economists, sociologists, and administrators like Peter Drucker, Gunnar Myrdal, John Kenneth Galbraith, Daniel Bell, etc. now favor a large measure of decentralization not because they have suddenly become anarchists, but primarily because technology has rendered anarchistic forms of organization "operational necessities." The bourgeois reformers have yet to learn that as long as these organizational forms are tied to the state or to capitalism, which connotes the monopoly of political economic power, decentralization and federalism will remain a fraud—a more efficient device to enlist the

10. *After the Revolution*; Greenberg Publisher, N. Y. 1937, pp. 85, 100

[11]

cooperation of the masses in their own enslavement. To illustrate wherein their ideas inadvertently demonstrate the practicality of anarchist organization and how they contradict themselves, we cite the 'free enterpriser' Drucker and the 'welfare statist' Myrdal. In the chapter titled, "The Sickness of Government" Drucker writes:

... Disenchantment with government cuts across national boundaries and ideological lines... government itself has become one of the vested interests... the moment government undertakes anything it becomes entrenched and permanent... the unproductive becomes built into the political process itself... social theory to be meaningful at all, must start with the reality of pluralism of institutions, a galaxy of suns rather than one big center surrounded by moons that shine only by reflected light... a society of institutional diversity and diffusion of power... in a pluralist society of organizations (each unit would be) limited to the specific service it renders to the members of society which it meant to perform—yet, since every institution has power in its own sphere, it would be as such, affected with the public interest... such a view of organizations as being autonomous and limited are necessary both to make the organization perform and to safeguard the individual's freedom... (emphasis Drucker's) [11]

After demonstrating the 'monstrosity of government, its lack of performance and its impotence' Drucker flatly contradicts himself and comes to the suprising conclusion that "never has strong, effective government been needed more than in this dangerous world... never more than in this pluralist society of organizations..."

Myrdal convincingly demonstrates that both the Soviet and the "free world states" need decentralization for administrative efficiency in order that (political and economic life) shall not succumb to the rigidity of the central apparatus. But then he expects the paternalistic welfare state to loosen "its controls over everyday life" and gradually transfer most of its powers to "all sorts of organizations and communities controlled by the people themselves..." No anarchist could refute Myrdal's argument better than he does himself:

... to give up autocratic patterns, to give up administrative controls and... withdraw willingly from intervening when it is no longer necessary, are steps which do not correspond to the inner workings of a functioning bureaucracy... [12]

11. *The Age of Discontinuity*; Harper and Row, N. Y. 1968, pp. 212, 217, 222, 225, 226, 251-2.

12. *Beyond the Welfare State*; Yale University, New Haven 1960. pp. 102, 97, 108
[12]

If these advocates of decentralization and autonomy were consistent, they would realize that the diffusion of power leads to anarchism.



ONWARD TO VICTORY! THE WORKERS' WAR IS FOR EMANCIPATION.

"Forming the New Society Within the Shell of the Old" (preamble of the I.W.W.)

The anarchists have always opposed the Jacobins, Blanquists, Bolsheviks and other would-be dictators, who would in Proudhon's words: *... reconstruct society upon an imaginary plan, much like the astronomers who for respect for their calculations would make over the system of the universe... [13]*

The anarchist theoreticians limited themselves to suggest the utilization of all the useful organisms in the old society in order to reconstruct the new. They envisioned the generalization of practices and tendencies which are already in effect. The very fact that autonomy, decentralization and federalism are more practical alternatives to centralism and statism already presupposes that these vast organizational networks now performing the functions of society are prepared to replace the old bankrupt hyper-centralized administrations. That the "elements of the new society are already developing in the collapsing bourgeois society" (Marx) is a fundamental principle shared by all tendencies in the socialist movement. Kropotkin was very explicit on this subject:

The anarchists..... build their previsions of the future upon those data which are supplied by the observations of life at the present time... [14] The idea of independent communes for the territorial

13. *General Idea in the Revolution in the 19th Century*; Freedom Press, London 1923, p. 90

14. *Revolutionary Pamphlets*; p. 168.

organizations and of federations of trade unions for the organization of men in accordance with their different functions, gives a concrete conception of a society generated by a social revolution. There remained only to add these two modes of organization, a third, growing up everywhere for the satisfaction of all possible and imaginable needs...and all of them ready to meet new needs and adjustments... [15]

One need not, in view of modern developments, agree with all of Kropotkin's specific suggestions to see that, in general, the concepts sketched out by him constitute a realistic basis for the reconstruction of society. Society is a vast interlocking network of cooperative labor: and all the deeply rooted institutions listed by Kropotkin, now functioning, will in some form continue to function for the simple reason that the very existence of mankind depends upon this inner cohesion. This has never been questioned by anyone. What is needed is emancipation from authoritarian institutions *over* society and authoritarianism *within* the organizations themselves: above all, they must be infused with revolutionary spirit and confidence in the creative capacities of the people. Kropotkin in working out the sociology of anarchism, has opened an avenue of fruitful research which has been largely neglected by social scientists busily engaged in mapping out new areas for state control.

The anarchist's insistence on workers' control—the idea of self-management of industry by workers' associations "in accordance with their different functions" rests on very solid foundations. This tendency traces back to Robert Owen, the first International Workingmen's Association, the Guild Socialist movement in England and the pre-World War I syndicalist movements. With the Russian Revolution, the trend towards workers' control in the form of free soviets (councils) which arose spontaneously, was finally snuffed out with the Kronstadt massacre of 1921. The same tragic fate awaited the workers' councils in the Hungarian, Polish and East German risings around 1956. Among the many other attempts that were made, there is of course, the classic example of the Spanish Revolution of 1936, with the monumental constructive achievements in the libertarian rural collectives and workers' control of urban industry. The prediction of the *News Bulletin* of the reformist 'International Union of Food and Allied Workers Associations' [16] (July 1964) that: "...The demand

15. *Ibid*; pp. 166-67.

16. a confederation of national unions affiliated to the International Labor Organization, a branch of the United Nations.

for workers' control may well become the common ground for advanced sectors in the labor movement both 'east' and 'west'..." is now a fact.

Although the purged Bolshevik 'left oppositionist', Victor Serge, refers to the economic crisis that gripped Russia during the early years of the revolution, his remarks are, in general still pertinent and incidentally illustrate Kropotkin's theme:

...certain industries could have been revived [and] an enormous degree of recovery achieved by appealing to the initiative of groups of producers and consumers, freeing the state strangled cooperatives and inviting the various associations to take over management of different branches of economic activity. I was arguing for a Communism of Associations—in contrast to Communism of the State—the total plan not dictated on high by the State, but resulting from the harmonizing by congresses and special assemblies from below... [17]

"After the Revolution"

The anarchist thinkers were not so naive as to expect the installation of the perfect society composed of perfect individuals who would miraculously shed all their ingrained prejudices and old habits on the day after the revolution. They were primarily concerned with the immediate problems of social reconstruction that will have to be faced in any country—industrialized or not.

They are issues which no serious revolutionary has the right to ignore. It was for this reason that the anarchists tried to work out measures to meet the pressing problems most likely to emerge during what Malatesta called: "...the period of reorganization and transition..." [18] We summarize Malatesta's discussion of some of the more important questions: [19]

Crucial problems cannot be avoided by postponing them to the distant future—perhaps a century or more—when anarchism will have been fully realized and the masses will have finally become convinced and dedicated anarchist-communists. We anarchists must have our own solutions if we are not to be relegated to the role of useless and impotent grumblers, while the more realistic and unscrupulous authoritarians seize power. Anarchy or no anarchy, the people must eat and be provided with the necessities of life. The cities must be provisioned and vital services cannot be disrupted. Even if poorly

17. *Memoires of a Revolutionary*; Oxford University, London, 1963, pp. 147-48

18. *Malatesta*; p. 100.

19. *Ibid*; See pp. 159, 36, 103.

served, the people in their own interests would not allow us or anyone else to disrupt these services unless and until they are reorganized in a better way; and this cannot be achieved in a day.

The urbanization of the anarchist-communist society on a large scale can only be achieved gradually as material conditions permit, and as the masses convince themselves of the benefits to be gained and as they gradually become psychologically accustomed to radical alterations in their way of life. Since free and voluntary communism (Malatesta's synonym for anarchism) cannot be imposed, Malatesta stressed the necessity for the coexistence of various economic forms, collectivist, mutualist, individualist; on the condition that there will be no exploitation of others. Malatesta was confident that the convincing example of successful libertarian collectives will

attract others into the orbit of the collectivity . . . for my part I do not believe that there is 'one' solution to the social problem, but a thousand different and changing solutions, in the same way as social existence is different in time and space . . . [20]

"Pure" Anarchism is a Fiction

Aside from the 'individualists' (a very ambiguous term) none of the anarchist thinkers were "pure" anarchists. The typical "pure" anarchist grouping, explains George Woodcock "... is the loose and flexible affinity group," which needs no formal organization and carries on anarchist propaganda through an "invisible network of personal contacts and intellectual influences." Woodcock argues that "pure" anarchism is incompatible with mass movements like Anarcho-Syndicalism because they need

stable organizations precisely because it moves in a world that is only partly governed by anarchist ideals . . . and make compromises with day-to-day situations . . . [It] has to maintain the allegiance of masses of working men who are only remotely conscious of the final aim of anarchism. [21]

If these statements are true, then "pure" anarchism is a pipe dream. First, because there will never be a time when everybody will be a "pure" anarchist, and humanity will forever have to make "compromises with the day-to-day situation." Second, because the intricate economic and social operations of an interdependent world cannot be carried on without these 'stable organizations.' Even if every inhabitant were a convinced anarchist, "pure" anarchism would still be

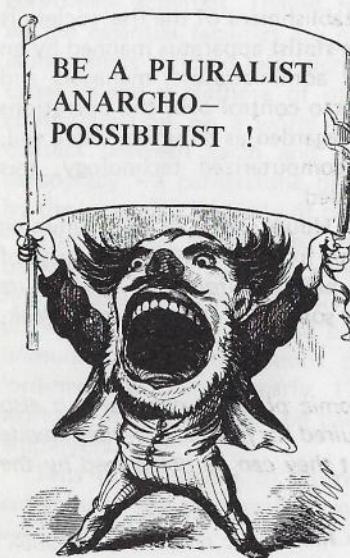
20. *Ibid*; pp. 99, 151.

21. *Anarchism*; pp. 273, 274

impossible for technical and functional reasons alone. This is not to say that anarchism excludes affinity groups. Anarchism envisions a flexible, pluralist society where all the needs of mankind would be supplied by a infinite variety of voluntary associations. The world is honeycombed with affinity groups from chess clubs to anarchist propaganda groups. They are formed, dissolved and reconstituted according to the fluctuating whims and fancies of the individual adherents. It is precisely because they *reflect individual preferences* that such groups are the lifeblood of the free society.

But the anarchists have also insisted that since the necessities of life and vital services must be supplied without fail and cannot be left to the whims of individuals, they are *social obligations* which every able bodied individual is honor-bound to fulfill, if he expects to enjoy the benefits of collective labor. The large scale organizations, federations and confederations supplying these necessities, must therefore underpin the free society. Such stable associations, anarchistically organized, are NOT a DEVIATION. They are THE VERY ESSENCE OF ANARCHISM AS A VIABLE SOCIAL ORDER.

THERE IS NO "PURE" ANARCHISM. THERE IS ONLY THE APPLICATION OF ANARCHIST PRINCIPLES TO THE REALITIES OF SOCIAL LIVING. THE AIM OF ANARCHISM IS TO STIMULATE FORCES THAT PROPEL SOCIETY IN A LIBERTARIAN DIRECTION. IT IS ONLY FROM THIS STANDPOINT THAT THE RELEVANCE OF ANARCHISM TO MODERN LIFE CAN BE PROPERLY ASSESSED.



Liberty and experiment alone can determine the best economic forms of Society. Voltairine De Cleyre

Automation Could Expedite Anarchism

We consider that the constructive ideas of anarchism are rendered even more timely by the cybernetic revolution still in its early stages, and will become increasingly more relevant as this revolution unfolds. There are, even now, no insurmountable *technical-scientific barriers* to the introduction of anarchism. The greatest material drawback to the realization of the ideal (which the anarchists hold in common with all socialist tendencies: "To each according to his needs from each according to his ability,") has been the scarcity of goods and services. "...Cybernation, a system of almost unlimited productive capacity which requires progressively less human labor... would make possible the abolition of poverty at home and abroad..." [22] In a consumer economy where purchasing power is not tied to production, the wage system becomes obsolete and the preconditions for the realization of the socialist ideal immeasurably enhanced.

When Kropotkin in 1899 wrote his *Fields, Factories and Workshops*, to demonstrate the feasibility of decentralizing industry to achieve a greater balance between rural and urban living, his ideas were dismissed as premature. It is now no longer disputed that the problem of scaling down industry to manageable human proportions, rendered even more acute by the pollution threatening the very existence of life on this planet, can now be largely solved by modern technology. There is an enormous amount of literature on this topic. (Murray Bookchin has done an enormous amount of research on this subject—see his *Post-Scarcity Anarchism* Ramparts Press—1971)

One of the major obstacles to the establishment of the free society is the cumbersome, all pervasive, corporate-statist apparatus manned by an entrenched bureaucratic elite class of administrators, managers and officials who at all levels exercise de facto control over the operations of society. This has up till now been regarded as an unavoidable evil, but thanks to the development of computerized technology, this byzantine apparatus can now be dismantled.

Alan Toffer (*Future Shock*, Random House, 1970, p. 141) summing up the evidence, concludes that: "Far from fastening the grip of bureaucracy on civilization more than before, *automation leads to its overthrow*..." (emphasis ours) Another source, quoting *Business Week*, emphasizes that:

... automation not only makes economic planning necessary—it also makes it possible. The calculations required for planning on nationwide scale are complicated and difficult, but they can be performed by the

22. *Manifesto ... Committee for the Triple Revolution*; quoted in *Liberation* magazine, N. Y., April 1964

new electronic computers in an amazingly short time ... [23]

The libertarian principle of workers' control will not be invalidated by changes in the composition of the work force or in the nature of work itself. With or without automation, the economic structure of the new society must be based on self-administration by the people directly involved in economic functions. Under automation millions of highly trained technicians, engineers, scientists, educators, etc. who are already organized into local, regional, national, and international federations will freely circulate information, constantly improving both the quality and availability of goods and services and developing new products for new needs.

By closely intermeshing and greatly expanding the already existing networks of consumer cooperative associations with the producers associations at every level, the consumers will make their wants known and be supplied by the producers. The innumerable variety of supermarkets chain stores and service centers of every description now blanketing the country, though owned by corporations or privately, are so structured that they could be easily socialized and converted into cooperative networks. In general, the same holds true for production, exchange, and other branches of the economy. The integration of these economic organisms will undoubtedly be greatly facilitated because the same people are both producers and consumers.

The progress of the new society will depend greatly upon the extent to which its self-governing units will be able to speed up direct communication—to understand each other's problems and better coordinate activities. Thanks to modern communications technology, all the essential facilities are now available: tape libraries, "computer laundromats", closed television and telephone circuits, communication satellites and a plethora of other devices are making instant, direct communication on a world scale accessible to all. (visual and radio contact between earth and moon within seconds!) "Face to face democracy"—a cornerstone of a free society, is already foreshadowed by the increasing mobility of peoples.

There is an exaggerated fear that a minority of scientific and technical workers would, in a free society, set up a dictatorship over the rest of society. They certainly do not now wield the power generally attributed to them. In spite of their 'higher' status, they are no less immune to the fluctuations of the economic system than are the 'ordinary' workers. (nearly 100,000 are jobless) Like lower paid workers, they too, must on pain of dismissal obey the orders of their employers.

Tens of thousands of frustrated first-rate technical and scientific employees, not permitted to exercise their knowledge creatively find

23. *Robot Revolution*; Socialist Party, U.S.A., 1965, pp. 43,44

themselves trapped in monotonous, useless and anti-social tasks. And nothing is more maddening than to stand helplessly by, while ignoramuses who do not even understand the language of science, dictate the direction of research and development. Nor are these workers free to exercise these right in Russia or anywhere else.

In addition to these general consideration, there are two other preventative checks to dictatorship of the techno-scientific elite. The first is that the wider diffusion of scientific and technical training, providing millions of new specialists, would break up any possible monopoly by a minority and eliminate the threat of dictatorship "... the number of scientists and technologists in this country has doubled in little more than ten years and now forms twenty percent of the labor force—this growth is much faster than that of the population..." (New York Times, December 29, 1970)

The second check to dictatorship is not to invest specialists or any other group with political power to rule over others. While we must ceaselessly guard against the abuse of power, we must never forget that in the joint effort to build a better world, we must also learn to trust each other. If we do not, then this better world will forever remain a utopia.

The True Relevance of Anarchism

I have tried to show that anarchism is not a panacea that will miraculously cure all the ills of the body social, but rather, a 20th century guide to action based on a realistic conception of social reconstruction. The well-nigh insuperable material obstacles to the introduction of anarchism—scarcity of goods and services and excessive industrial-managerial centralization— have or can be removed by the cybernetic-technical revolution. Yet, the movement for emancipation is threatened by the far more formidable political, social and brain-washing techniques of "The Establishment".

In their polemics with the Marxists, the anarchists insisted that the political state subjects the economy to its own ends. A highly sophisticated economic system, once viewed as the prerequisite for the realization of socialism, now serves to reinforce the domination of the ruling classes with the technology of physical and mental repression and the ensuing obliteration of human values. The very abundance which can liberate man from want and drudgery, now enables the state to establish what is, in effect, a nationalized poorhouse, where the millions of technologically unemployed—forgotten, faceless outcasts—on public "welfare" will be given only enough to keep them quiet. The very technology that has opened new roads to freedom, has also armed states with unimaginably frightful weapons for the annihilation of humanity.

While the anarchists never underestimated the great importance of

the economic factor in social change, they have nevertheless rejected fanatical economic fatalism. One of the most cogent contributions of anarchism to social theory is the proper emphasis on how political institutions, in turn, mold economic life. Equally significant is the importance attached to the will of man, his aspirations, the moral factor, and above all, the spirit of revolt in the shaping of human history. In this area too, anarchism is particularly relevant to the renewal of society. To indicate the importance attached to this factor, we quote a passage from a letter that Bakunin wrote to his friend Elisee Reclus:

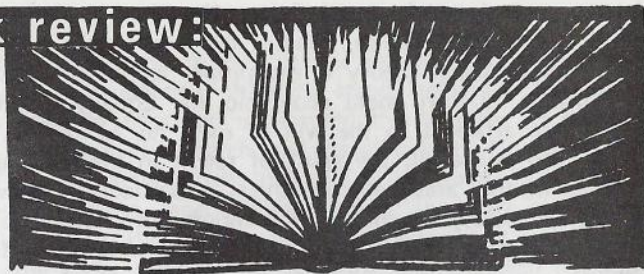
...the hour of revolution is passed, not because of the frightful disaster (the Franco-Prussian War and the slaughter of the Paris Commune, May 1871) but because, to my great despair, I have found it a fact, and I am finding it every day anew, that revolutionary hope, passion, are absolutely lacking in the masses; and when these are absent, it is vain to make desperate efforts...

The availability of more and more consumer goods plus the sophisticated techniques of mass indoctrination has corrupted the public mind. Bourgeoisification has sapped the revolutionary vitality of the masses. It is precisely this divorce from the inspiring values of socialism, which, to a large extent, accounts for the venality and corruption in modern labor and socialist movements.

To forge a revolutionary movement, which, inspired by anarchist ideas, would be capable of reversing this reactionary trend, is a task of staggering proportions. But therein lies the true relevance of anarchism.



book review:



Drawing by Louis Moreau

power or market

by Milton M. Shapiro

Power and Market: Government and the Economy by Murray N. Rothbard. (Menlo Park, Calif.: Institute for Humane Studies; paper and hardback; 225 pages)

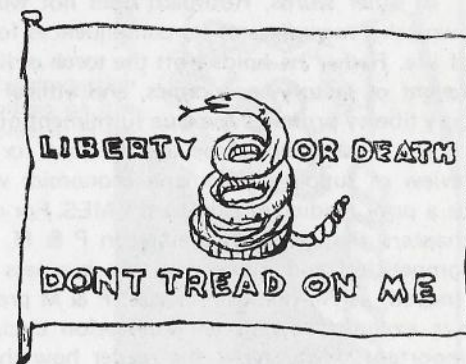
As a preliminary, the reader should be informed that Rothbard's new book merely bespeaks the existence of a (strange as it sounds) "right-wing" in the anarchist movement, a wing variegated in thought and hence variously labelled as "individualist," "libertarian," or "radical libertarian." [1] The libertarian branch of anarchism, which is as "American" as any movement can be, is to be distinguished, though not necessarily divorced, from the mainly European but more well-known brand of anarchism, which consists of "communist," "syndicalist," or other "left-wing" variations. The world, when referring to anarchism, unwittingly implies there is only a "left" wing.

It is now high time for the world to wake up to the fact that there is also a "right" wing, with which Rothbard and a host of others are

1. For a valuable survey of the contemporary libertarian movement, as distinguished from the purely "conservative" movement, the reader should see the article by M. N. Rothbard, "Know Your Rights," in WIN magazine, War Resisters League, March 1, 1971, a special issue on libertarianism.

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identified, and that it is alive and kicking, and—most important—is perpetuating an estimable tradition of individualist anarchism in the U. S. that reaches back to, at least, pre-Civil War years. It is a tradition of thought and action that was developed by such luminaries as Lysander Spooner and Benjamin Tucker, among others, and that was nursed more recently, in their own way, by such men as Albert Jay Nock, Henry Mencken, and Frank Chodorov. [2] Today, we find Rothbard, already the author of important works in economics and economic history, as unquestionably the most prolific contemporary writer in this noteworthy American tradition of individualist anarchism.



Extremism in the Defense of Liberty

When Rothbard's comprehensive treatise on the market economy, *Man, Economy and State* (2 volumes; Van Nostrand), appeared in 1962, Ludwig von Mises, the venerable leader of the "Austrian" school of economics, did not hesitate to welcome Rothbard to the rank of "eminent economists" for the "epochal contribution" to the general science of human action (praxeology) and to economics in particular. "Henceforth," he added, "all essential studies in these branches of knowledge will have to take full account of the theories and criticisms expounded by Dr. Rothbard." Now in *Power and Market* (hereafter referred to as P & M), Rothbard offers a sequel to his *Man, Economy and State* (hereafter referred to as MES) that maintains the high calibre of the earlier work.

Without question Rothbard stands today as the greatest one-man wrecking crew of the leviathan State. And no reader will read P & M without being impressed by the thoroughness of the job done. For in 220 tightly written pages Rothbard has pulled off probably the most comprehensive political-economic critique of the State and government interventionism written from the free-market point of view. Rothbard has subjected practically every major rationalization used in defense of

2. A unique study of individualist anarchism in the U.S. is to be found in James J. Martin, *Men Against the State*, published in paperback by Ralph Myles, Inc., Colorado Springs, 1970.

State interventionism to a precise, incisive, and merciless analysis—and has found them all wanting.

Rothbard is a true “extremist in defense of liberty”—one who pursues liberty in all of its logical implications. This pursuit is based on historical-empirical analysis that informs him that “limited” government has not stayed limited. Furthermore, Rothbard shows how economic analysis leads him to conclude that it is the free market—not State interventionism—which is the dependable instrument for achieving maximum individual and social development through optimizing the opportunities for exchange and production.

In other words, Rothbard does not worship liberty merely for its own sake, regardless of its consequences for humanity and the quality of life. Rather he holds aloft the torch of liberty because the combined weight of history, economics, and ethical science impresses him that only liberty promises the true fulfillment of man’s humanity.

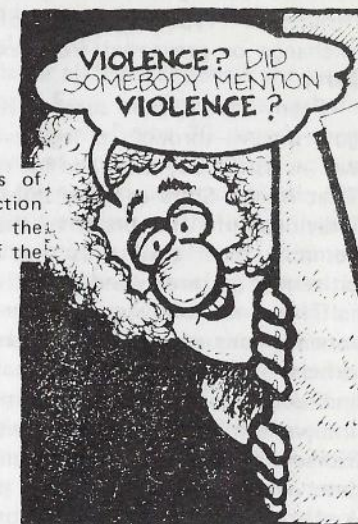
The reader should be alerted that for some parts of the book a review of supply-and-demand economics will help. Even better would be a prior reading of Rothbard’s MES. For one thing volume II contains chapters that properly belong in P & M, such as those dealing with competition and monopoly, the business cycle, and unemployment. (Indeed, as Rothbard intimates, P & M properly belonged in MES but was excluded owing to publication circumstances.) But even more important, MES shows the reader how the free-market principle can serve as the comprehensive basis of a social economy. Thus MES and P & M constitute, in Rothbard’s own words, “the first analysis of the economics of government to argue that no provision of goods or services requires the existence of government.”

Further, the reader should be alerted to Rothbard’s cogent concept of freedom and liberty—as a “negative” condition, one that assumes the absence of “violence” or invasion of individual rights to person and property—a condition that recognizes the fundamental right of self-ownership (“self-sovereignty”). In other words, liberty means that neither the State nor anyone else aggresses against a person’s property right to his own life and product. From this it follows that the only “human” rights are really “property” rights. Clearly this negative concept of freedom is unambiguous and stands in stark contrast to the popular “positive” concept which assumes absolute freedom to act (including, for example, freedom to steal and murder) and is, therefore, unacceptable. (See P & M, 176-88.)

In this connection it is also important to know that Rothbard properly insists that, ideally speaking, there are only two principles on which interpersonal or social relations or transactions (i.e., “society”) can be based. These are the principle of liberty or freedom, and its opposite, the principle of violence or invasion of individual rights of self-ownership through such acts as killing, theft, fraud, etc. The freedom principle implies non-violence and voluntarism in interpersonal

relations, and is socially embodied by the free-market economy, or “anarcho-capitalism.” On the other hand, Statism or “government” are the legalized embodiment of the monopoly of violence. But whereas the former has never existed in its ideal form for more than relatively brief periods in scattered places, the latter has predominated recorded history.

... There are fundamentally two ways of satisfying a person’s wants: 1) by production and voluntary exchange with others on the market, and 2) by violent expropriation of the wealth of others. p.9



The State as Criminal

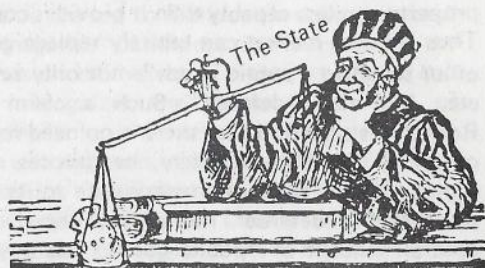
Rothbard begins P & M joltingly, with the thesis that the free-market society is able to offer defense goods and services, to protect life and property, no less capably than it provides consumers goods and services. Thus the free-market can entirely replace government in the provision of *all* so-called “public goods”—not only schools, roads, mail delivery, etc., but also “defense.” Such a claim is, of course, pivotal to Rothbard’s assertion that there is no need for government in any sphere of social life. Unfortunately, he devotes only six pages plus to this topic, which is hardly commensurate to its crucial importance. For the problem of “defense” not only raises the question of whether the general concept of “public goods” has any validity, but also involves the matter of imperialism and war (hot and cold) and the question of whether there is a special relationship between these bedeviling phenomena and the very existence of states.

Having got the question of defense off his chest in Chapter One, Rothbard devotes Chapter Two, on the “fundamentals of intervention,” to a clinical classification of the various categories of violent intervention by the State, building upon elements provided in MES, II. Without question, this chapter and the next three (which elaborate the analysis in great detail) are unique in their comprehensive approach to the subject. Examples of the three key types of

intervention or invasive actions are fairly familiar. Homicide and compulsory prohibitions by the State exemplify "autistic" interventions because they directly involve an individual's life or property alone. Robbery, taxes, slavery and conscription are of the "binary" type in that they involve the individual in a kind of forced exchange or transfer with the aggressor himself. Finally government controls over prices and production in the market represent the "triangular" type since a pair of individuals are either being forced to exchange or prevented from exchanging with each other by a third party.

From this brief survey it is but a step to realizing that government—through its legalized powers to tax, conscript, and make war—is essentially a vehicle for monopolizing the right to act violently. That is, the State can and does legally commit all the crimes against individual life and property that are prohibited to its citizens—and commits them against its own citizens no less than against foreign citizens (e.g., threats and acts of war).

This and following chapters also enable us to see that State interventions are devices for benefiting some people at the expense of others. Indeed, since these interventions exert negative effects indirectly as well as directly, it is possible for Rothbard to show that interventionism makes the community as a whole no better off, if not worse off, than otherwise. Finally, these chapters help us see why State interventionism is the most powerful instrument for exploitation known in history, "exploitation" here referring to transactions that enable some to gain forcibly at the expense of others.



The Referee is not Neutral

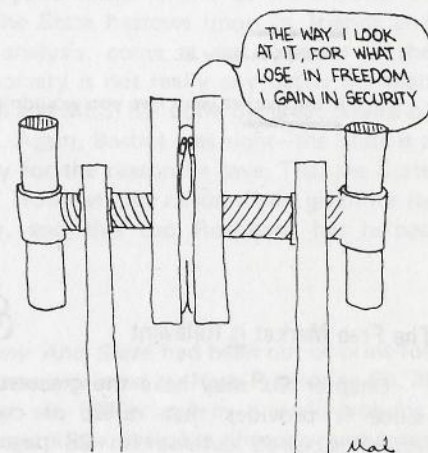
Chapter Three is a lengthy (over 40 pages) analysis of "triangular" interventions, covering some 20 types, in which government acts as a third party interfering into exchange transactions between private parties, either forcing them to exchange or prohibiting them from doing so. Examples range all the way from price controls, tariffs, and antitrust laws to conservation laws, minimum wage laws, child labor laws, and other measures for production control and monopolistic privilege. Some technical economics begins to enter in this chapter, but only for a

few topics. The bulk of the chapter is conveyed in non-technical terms.

In most cases Rothbard patiently explores the repercussions caused by each intervention, and assesses their possible effects on the "utility" or subjective satisfactions of the people affected directly and indirectly. However, a few sections may strike the reader as much too skimpy for the topic discussed. For instance, child labor laws cover less than a page, while little over a page is devoted to conscription, minimum wages, compulsory unionism, and subsidies to the unemployed—possibly because they were already discussed in MES, II.

Since the primary financial basis for all State actions is the power to tax, Rothbard fittingly uses Chapter Four to dissect the varieties of taxation. This, the book's longest chapter (some 70 pages), together with Chapter Five on the varieties of government spending (in 25 pages), constitute required reading for every student of public finance and fiscal policy. However, they omit analysis of the other important source of finance—inflation of the money supply—which is amply treated in MES, II. In any event, Rothbard concludes there is no difference, in their nature and effects, between taxation and inflation, on the one hand, and robbery and counterfeiting, on the other hand. This assertion, plus the fact that practically no aspect of life escapes the certain impacts and burdens of tax and inflation policies, is enough to whet anyone's interest in Rothbard's dissection of fiscal intricacies.

The chapter on taxation is a fitting sequel to the analysis in MES, II. There Rothbard had argued that fiscal policy cannot in *practice* accomplish what is expected. Now he shows that the *theory* offered to justify various taxes—such as "ability to pay," "benefit," "uniformity," and "neutrality"—cannot withstand the test of his exacting scrutiny. In addition Rothbard offers two bonuses: an effective critique of Henry George's single-tax proposal, and a demolition of the idea that taxes can represent a "voluntary contribution" to government.



Spending of whose, by who, and for what

Whereas the chapter on taxation unavoidably involves some technical analysis of tax impacts and burdens or "incidence," the chapter on government spending covers terrain more familiar to the layman, such as subsidies ("transfer payments") to producers, the unemployed, and the poor. Right off Rothbard makes it clear that, in effect, there ain't no such thing as a free lunch ("tanstaaf!")—that the so-called "free services" provided via government expenditures must be paid for by someone, i.e., taxpayers, including the recipients of benefits themselves, who pay taxes indirectly in various ways.

In what sense can politicians claim that government spending makes the community better off than otherwise? In no way, says Rothbard. Indeed, the burden of proof is on the Statist: can he show that government spending does not make the community *worse off* than otherwise? Rothbard demonstrates that, in one way or another, spending by politicians is inherently inefficient, tends to be squandered, causes misallocation of scarce economic resources, gives government enterprises undue advantages over private firms, tends to foster increased Statist monopoly in the economy, and logically leads to socialism, that is, the total abolition of the market economy.

In sum, the government's powers to tax, inflate, and spend enable politicians and bureaucrats to extort income and wealth from the people, for their own purposes. Can the "democratic" process save the people from the special designs of their political leaders? Yes and no, says Rothbard, in an unusually acute analysis that alone is worth the price of admission.

Would you buy a . . .

If the market were free you wouldn't have to



The Free Market is Relevant

Chapter Six may have the greatest interest for the general reader, since it provides that rarest of commodities—a truly competent, no-holds-barred defense (in 28 pages) of the free-market economy against the major anti-market criticisms levelled by socialists, "liberals,"

et al. You name it, and Rothbard parries it—from the cliché that the free market means monopoly, boom-and-bust and unemployment, all the way to the claim that it fosters selfishness, a dog-eat-dog jungle, inequality, insecurity, poverty and denial of human rights. Here are all the tongue-lashings which have for so long made free-market advocates feel guilty for allegedly being a bunch of cold-hearted "Social Darwinists" and what not—all the stinging clichés that too often were only fumblingly parried by free-market proponents. And here, at last, is the counter-critique to quiet the baying hounds.

This leaves only a brief final Chapter Seven, with its concluding remarks on the vital roles played by economic theory and economists in the arena of public policy. Here too Rothbard elaborates a bit on the fundamental dichotomy between the free-market principle and the "hegemonic" principle of State violence and exploitation. Here too Rothbard inadvertently rouses the question on nearly all interested minds: "How do we get from here to there?" Will full liberty come only after there is a revolution of will in masses of people? Or will liberty-desiring people need a little help from the friendly "laws" of praxeology and economics which remind us that interventionist public policies cannot avoid one failure after another—until, finally, the essential bankruptcy of interventionist policies will be revealed to one and all? But this is stuff for another book. For the present book it suffices for Rothbard to close with the great cry from Proudhon: "Liberty the Mother, not the Daughter, of Order!"

So much for this very important book. I would like to add a few thoughts prompted by its publication. More than a century ago the great French libertarian writer Frederic Bastiat proclaimed that the State used the Law to legitimate its machinery for a kind of "mutual plunder" and exploitation. In his own words, the State was "the great fictitious entity by which everyone seeks to live at the expense of everyone else." The benefits the State bestows upon its friends and adherents must, in the final analysis, come at the expense of the taxpayers, so that on balance society is not really any better off than before. Rothbard now, in *P & M* and *MES*, has done the great service of spelling out all the gory details. Again, Bastiat was right—the State *is* a "fictitious" entity, but not only for the reason he gave. That the State exists is a fact, not a "fiction." However, the *raison d'être* given for its existence is myth and fallacy, and this too Rothbard has helped demonstrate.

Murray Rothbard's *Man Economy And State* had been out of print for a number of years. It has just been reprinted by Nash Publishing Co. in both a two volume hard-cover set (\$30) and in a single volume, soft-cover edition (\$10). Discounts are available through numerous libertarian organizations.



anarchism and education:

the dissenting tradition

by Joel H. Spring

The implications of the rise of state supported public schools is often obscured by the lack of a critical tradition. There have certainly existed enough internal criticisms centering around the form, methods, and goals of public schooling which have been treated with great detail by historians. What has been lacking in historical literature is the exploration of a critical tradition which questions the very existence of state supported schools and offers an alternative direction for education. Anarchism as a social and political philosophy concerned with the role and nature of authority in a society has since the eighteenth century raised serious and important questions about the very existence of state systems of schooling and the possibility of non-authoritarian forms of education. From William Godwin in the eighteenth century to Paul Goodman in the twentieth century, anarchist literature abounds with educational discussions and represents what one might call the dissenting tradition in education.

The central concern of traditional anarchists has been the development of social and economic systems which enhance individual autonomy. Simply defined, autonomy means assuming the responsibility for determining one's own actions. At first glance this goal would not appear radical, but when one begins to work out its

Joel H. Spring is assistant professor of Education at Case Western Reserve University. Beacon Press will publish his *Education and the Rise of the Corporate State* in the fall of 1972.

This article was first published by the Center for Intercultural Documentation (CIDOC), Cuernavaca, Mexico, March, 1971. It has been shortened slightly.

[30]

implications, it brings into question many of the established and accepted institutions in the modern world. In the first place, anarchists oppose the existence of the state in any form because it destroys individual autonomy by legislating laws which determine individual action. Anarchists in the nineteenth and twentieth century have argued that the state and its laws exist for the protection of the political and economic elite. This rejection of the state includes democratic societies where the individual is required to sacrifice his autonomy either to the majority or a representative. The state has also been viewed as a mechanism which protects economic systems which allow for the exploitation of one man by another man. Working from this perspective, anarchists have found themselves in the interesting position in the twentieth century of being equally opposed to the political and economic system of both the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Secondly, anarchists have believed that individual autonomy means an individual who is able to make a choice free from all imposed dogma. This means that to freely determine one's actions one has to establish his own values and goals. This has meant the rejection of all institutions which attempt to make the individual into something. Of particular importance in this respect has been the objection to the school and the church as institutions which limit autonomy by molding character.

Godwin: state education and fear of subservience

One of the most important objections made by anarchists to the existence of national systems of schooling was that education in the hands of the state would become subservient to the political interests of those in control. Within this context schooling was viewed as a formidable weapon used by the state to mold and direct the will and character of its citizens so that they would support and maintain existing institutions. Education linked to the national state was viewed as the ultimate form of authority because it limited individual autonomy by directly controlling desires, aspirations, and goals.

William Godwin was one of the first writers in the anarchist tradition to voice these criticisms of national education. Godwin's most important work was *An Enquiry Concerning Political Justice and Its Influence on Morals and Happiness* published in England in 1793 in which he warned that before government is allowed to assume the role of educator "it behooves us to consider well what it is that we do." [1] Godwin argued that education in the hands of government agents would be used to strengthen their positions of power. He stated, "Their views as institutors of a system of education will not fail to be

1. William Godwin, *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice and its Influence on Morals and Happiness*, Photographic Facsimile of the Third Edition (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1946), Vol. II, p. 302.

analogous to their views in their political capacity: the data upon which their conduct as statesmen is vindicated, will be the data upon which their instructions are founded." [2] Godwin rejected the assumption made by many in the eighteenth and nineteenth century that public schooling would result in individual freedom. That national schooling could be used for totalitarian purposes was not made clear to the Western world until the twentieth century. "Had the scheme of a national education," Godwin warned in the eighteenth century, "been adopted when despotism was most triumphant, it is not to be believed that it could have forever stifled the voice of truth. But it would have been the most formidable and profound contrivance for that purpose that imagination can suggest." Even in countries where liberty prevailed, Godwin argued, one could assume the existence of serious social errors which a national education would tend to perpetuate. [3]

Ferrer: oppressive institutions & social inertia

Godwin's criticisms came at a time when public schools were still in their infancy. His concerns were with what might happen with national education rather than being a critique of actual results. By the end of the nineteenth century some form of national education had triumphed in most industrialized Western countries and anarchists could turn to these institutions for more direct evaluation of the relationship between schooling and the national state. One of the foremost anarchist critics was Spanish educator Francisco Ferrer who founded the Modern School in 1901 in Barcelona. Ferrer's work gained international recognition when in 1909 he was accused by the Spanish government of leading an insurrection in Barcelona and was executed. His execution elicited a cry of injustice from many groups in Europe and the United States and sparked interest in his career and educational ideas. In the United States a Ferrer Society was organized and a Modern School established in Stelton, New Jersey. In Europe the International League for the Rational Education of Children, which had been founded by Ferrer, was re-organized after his death and claimed as its Honorary President, Anatole France.

During Ferrer's career as educator he argued that governments had come to monopolize education. "They know, better than anyone else, that their power is based almost entirely on the school." [4] In the past, Ferrer maintained, governments had kept the masses in a state of

2. *Ibid.*, p. 302.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 303-304.

4. Francisco Ferrer, "L'Ecole Renovee," *Mother Earth* (November, 1909), Vol. IV, No. 9, p. 267.

ignorance as a means of controlling them. With the rise of industrialism in the nineteenth century, governments found themselves involved in an international economic competition which required a trained industrial worker. Schools triumphed in the nineteenth century not because of a general desire to reform society but because of economic need. Ferrer wrote that governments wanted schools "not because they hope for the renovation of society through education, but because they need individuals, workmen, perfected instruments of labor to make their industrial enterprises and the capital employed in them profitable." [5] At first there was a great hope in the nineteenth century, Ferrer felt, that schooling would become a means of liberating humanity. That hope had been crushed when it became clear that a national system of schooling by its very organization could only serve the interests of those with political power. School teachers became

the conscious or unconscious instruments of these powers, modeled moreover according to their principles; they have from their youth up . . . been subjected to the discipline of their authority; few indeed are those who have escaped the influence of this domination . . . because the school organization constrains them so strongly that they cannot but obey. [6]

In Ferrer's mind the schools had accomplished exactly the things Godwin had warned of in the previous century. The schools in becoming the focal points for maintaining existing institutions depended on a system which conditioned the student for obedience and docility. This, of course, was a charge leveled at the schools by a variety of critics. From Ferrer's point of view it was an inevitable result of a school controlled by the state. "Children must be accustomed," Ferrer wrote, "to obey, to believe, to think, according to the social dogmas which govern us. Hence, education cannot be other than such as it is to-day." [7] For Ferrer one of the central problems for reform was breaking government's power over education. Reform that tried to work within the system could accomplish nothing towards the goal of human emancipation. Those who organized the national schools, Ferrer claimed, "have never wanted the uplift of the individual, but his enslavement; and it is perfectly useless to hope for anything from the school of to-day." [8]

5. *Ibid.*, p. 268.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 271.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 272.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 272.



* Betty Rothenberg, age 11

*These are reproductions of linoleum cuts made by the children of the Modern School, Stelton, N.J.

For Ferrer it was inconceivable for a government to create a system of education which would lead to any radical changes in the society which supported that government. It was therefore unrealistic to believe that national schooling would be a means of significantly changing the conditions of the lower classes. Since it was the existing social structure which produced the poor, education could only eliminate poverty by freeing men to radically change the social structure. An education of this nature would not result from a national education because the government would not teach something which threatened its own stability. Writing in a bulletin of the Modern School about the mixing of rich and poor in the schools of Belgium, Ferrer stressed that "the instruction that is given in them is based on the supposed eternal necessity for a division of rich and poor, and on the principle that social harmony consists in the fulfilment of the laws."^[9]

9. Francisco Ferrer, *The Origin and Ideals of the Modern School*, Trans. by Joseph McCage (New York: G. P. Putnam & Sons, 1913), p. 48.

What the poor were taught, according to Ferrer, was the acceptance of the existing social structure and the belief that economic improvement depended on individual effort within the existing structure. Developing this attitude in the poor reduced the threat to the controlling economic powers of any major social changes.

Stirner: freeman or learner

The critical factor that anarchists were to perceive in a state controlled educational system was that the political dogmas expounded and the attempt to shape the individual into a useful citizen undermined the autonomy of the individual by fixing the boundaries and limits of the will. While state and religious schools were recognized as the greatest threat to individual freedom this did not mean that freedom from these strictures was the sole condition for an anarchist school.

The central issue for anarchists was the meaning of freedom and its relationship to education. Most anarchists have agreed with Max Stirner's statement in the 1840's that the major problem with the stress upon freedom in the nineteenth century was that it "appeared . . . as independence from authorities, however, it lacked self-determination and still produced none of the acts of a man who is free-in-himself . . ."^[10] From an anarchist standpoint this meant that a state might free the individual from direct authority structures but still enslave the individual by determining how he would act through a system of schooling. To be "free-in-himself" required that an individual choose his own goals, ideals, and character rather than having them imposed through a planned system of schooling.

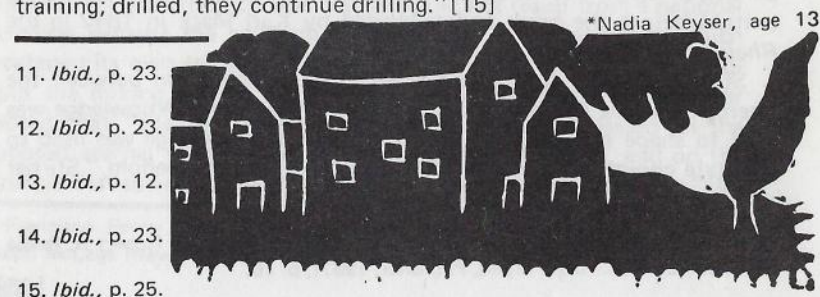
What this meant was that knowledge could be both freeing and enslaving. Whether it was one or the other depended on how one gained knowledge. Probably the most cogent statement of this position was made by Stirner in *The False Principle of Our Education*. Max Stirner, whose real name was Johann Casper Schmidt, was a poor German school teacher who in the 1840's attended meetings of the Young Hegelians in Berlin with Marx and Engels. Stirner's one and only major book, *The Ego and his Own*, was written during this period and so upset Marx that he devoted a large section of the *German Ideology* to an attack upon Stirner's ideas. Stirner's articles on education were written before the book and published by Karl Marx in 1842 in the *Rheinische Zeitung*.

Stirner believed that one had to make a distinction between the freeman and the educated man. For the educated man knowledge was used to shape his character. For the freeman knowledge was used to facilitate choice. "If one awakens in men the idea of freedom," Stirner

10. Max Stirner, *The False Principle of Our Education*, Trans. by Robert H. Beebe (Colorado Springs: Ralph Myles, Publisher, 1967), p. 16.

wrote, "then the free men will incessantly go on to free themselves; if, on the contrary, one only educates them, then they will at all times accommodate themselves to circumstances in the most highly educated and elegant manner and degenerate into subservient cringing souls." [11] It was Stirner's belief that knowledge should not be taught because this turned the individual into a learner rather than a creative person. The learner was a subservient person because he was taught to depend on authoritarian sources for his beliefs and goals rather than on himself. A learning person was without free will because he depended on learning how to act rather than determining how to act. "... where will a creative person be educated instead of a learning one," Stirner asked, "where does the teacher turn into a fellow worker, where does he recognize knowledge as turning into will, where does the free man count as a goal and not the merely educated?" [12]

To avoid the mere learner the goal of pedagogy, according to Stirner, should be self-development in the sense that an individual gain self-awareness and ability to act. For him the existing schools worked against the freedom of the will. In discussing the development of education up to his time, he argued, that following the reformation education in the humanistic tradition was a means to power. Referring to the humanistic tradition, he wrote, "... education, as a power, raised him who possessed it over the weak, who lacked it, and the educated man counted in his circle, however large or small it was, as the mighty, the powerful, the imposing one: for he was an authority." [13] The rise of the idea of universal schooling undermined the authority of the humanist scholar with a system designed to produce useful citizens trained for a practical life. Authority under the system of popular education was not that of one man over another but rather dogmas of what was practical and useful over the minds of men. Stirner wrote, "... only scholars come out of the menageries of the humanists, only 'useful citizens' out of those of the realists, both of whom are indeed nothing but subservient people." [14] Education for practical life, Stirner believed, produced people of principles who acted according to maxims. "Most college students," he stated, "are living examples of this sad turn of events. Trained in the most excellent manner, they go on training; drilled, they continue drilling." [15]



11. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

[36]

For Stirner and future anarchists the heart of education should be the development of a mind which is able to choose free of dogma and prejudice and whose goals and purposes are self-determined. Knowledge pursued in this fashion would become a result of self-direction designed to strengthen the will. The individual would not be taught but would teach himself. This did not mean that the individual might not seek a teacher. The acquisition of knowledge would be the result of an individual desire and, consequently, directly related to the will of an individual. Stirner, in a statement which would reflect the attitude of later anarchist educators, put the matter in these terms,

If man puts his honor first in relying upon himself and applying himself, thus in self-reliance, self-assertion, and freedom, he then strives to rid himself of the ignorance which makes out of the strange impenetrable object a barrier and hindrance to his self-knowledge. [16]

Tolstoy: culture or education

This approach to education required a careful distinction between what was normally defined as schooling and what anarchists hoped to accomplish. Leo Tolstoy, the Russian novelist and Christian anarchist, who established his own school in Russia in the 1860's, carefully defined these distinctions in an article titled "Education and Culture" published in 1862. Tolstoy argued that culture, education, instruction and teaching had distinct and important meanings. He defined culture as the total of all the social forces which shaped the character of the individual. Education was the conscious attempt to give men a particular type of character and habits. As Tolstoy stated, "Education is the tendency of one man to make another just like himself." [17] The difference between education and culture was on the issue of compulsion. "Education is culture under restraint. Culture is free." He argued that instruction and teaching were related to both education and culture. Instruction was the transmission of one man's information to another and teaching, which overlapped into the area of instruction, taught physical skills. Teaching and instruction were a means of culture, Tolstoy claimed, when they were free, and a means of education, "when the teaching is forced upon the pupil, and when the instruction is exclusive, that is when only those subjects are taught which the educator regards as necessary." [18]

16. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

17. Leo Tolstoy, "Education and Culture," in *Tolstoy on Education*, Trans. by Leo Wiener (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1967), p. 111.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 109.

[37]

For anarchists, using Tolstoy's definitions, schooling was to be a process of culture and not education. This meant a school of non-interference and compulsion, where the student learned what he wanted to learn. Tolstoy defined a school as "the conscious activity of him who gives culture upon those who receive it..." Non-interference in the school meant "granting the person under culture the full freedom to avail himself of the teaching which answers his need, which he wants... and to avoid teaching which he does not need and which he does not want." [19] Museums and public lectures were examples of schools of non-interference. They were consciously planned by the institution or lecturer to achieve a certain goal, but the user was free to attend or not to attend. Established schools and universities on the other hand used a system of rewards and punishments and limited the area of studies to achieve their particular ends. Tolstoy's example of his noncompulsory school was one without a planned program where teachers could teach what they wanted and their offerings would be regulated by the demands of the students. The school would not be interested in how its teaching was used or what the

Ten forty-three.
In exactly TWO MINUTES
I'll ring the
FIRST BELL and
they'll all
stand still!



Because when they've
learned not to question
the FIRST BELL, they'll
learn not to question
their TEXTS! Their
TEACHERS! Their
COURSES!
EXAMINATIONS!



19. *Ibid.*, p. 143.

All, that is, except
your potential DEVIATE!
Your fledgling REBEL!
Your incipient BOAT-
ROCKER! THEY'LL try
to move all right!
THEY'LL have to
learn the HARD
way not to move!



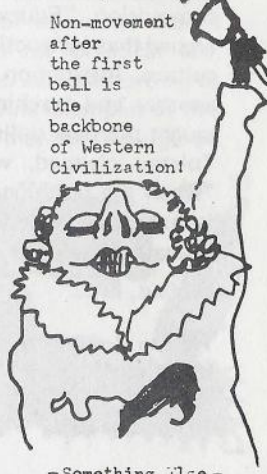
They'll grow up to accept
TAXES! HOUSING DEVELOP-
MENTS! INSURANCE! WAR!
MEN ON THE MOON! LIQUOR!
LAWS! POLITICAL SPEECHES!
PARKING METERS!
TELEVISION!
FUNERALS!



So I'll SCREAM at 'em
and take their NAMES
and give them FIVE
DETENTIONS and EXTRA
HOMEWORK! NEXT time
they won't move
after the first
bell!



Non-movement
after
the first
bell is
the
backbone
of Western
Civilization!



-Something Else-

effect would be on the students. The school would be a place of culture and not education.

In varying degrees Stirner and Tolstoy reflected general anarchist thought about learning. In the United States, Elisabeth Burns Ferm, writing in the anarchist journal *Mother Earth* in 1907 emphasized the distinction between making the child into something and allowing the child to become something. Using different terms than Tolstoy had, Ferm defined the pedagogue as one who endeavors "to make and leave an impression on the child." Rejecting the pedagogue, Ferm believed the teacher should aid the individual in gaining an awareness of self and, consequently, autonomy. The role of the teacher would be to act as a mirror for students' actions, so that the "individual may see how his act reflects his thought and his thought reflects his act. That thought and action are indivisibly, inseparably one—helping the individual to realize this, consciously, by holding him responsible for every word and act." [20] A teacher serving in this capacity would help the individual, in Stirner's sense, become free-in-himself. Acquisition of knowledge would then become a function of the free choice of the individual.

Beyond education

Most anarchists believed that any form of education would have little meaning unless the family were changed. Emma Goldman, the leading spokesperson for anarchist thought in the United States in the early twentieth century, declared in 1906,

The terrible struggle of the thinking man and woman against political, social and moral conventions owes its origin to the family, where the child is ever compelled to battle against the internal and external use of force. [21]

From Emma Goldman's point of view the central problem in overcoming the modern authoritarian family structure was the end of the subservient role of the woman in modern society. Goldman's career was characterized by a life-long fight for women's liberation.

Francisco Ferrer also recognized the importance of the social role of the woman as a factor in anarchist education. Since women had the major responsibility in the care of the child, free humans could never develop until women were free. Ferrer wrote,

It is a conspicuous fact in our modern Christian society that, as a result and culmination of our patriarchal development, the woman does not

20. Elisabeth Burns Ferm, "Activity and Passivity of the Educator," *Mother Earth* (March, 1970) Vol. II, No. 1, p. 26.

21. Emma Goldman, "The Child and Its Enemies," *Mother Earth* (April, 1906), Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 10-11.

belong to herself; she is neither more nor less than an adjunct of man, subject constantly to his absolute dominion, bound to him—it may be—by chains of gold. Man has made her a perpetual minor. [22]

Co-education at Ferrer's Modern School in Barcelona was unique not only because it was not generally practiced in Spain, but also because it emphasized the teaching of girls as a means of freeing humanity. He argued this was crucial because so many of one's ideas were wrapped in the emotions of childhood association with the mother. Ferrer did label the male and female with terms that would later be rejected by ardent feminists. For Ferrer the male was the individual and woman the conserver. While this identification was not to be accepted by later groups of women liberationists, his recognition of the necessity of changing the status of women as a precondition for any important social change was to become a important argument in that movement.

to teach anarchism or facts for use

Freeing the child in the family and the school of all authoritarian dogma created an important dilemma in anarchist educational thought. If the teaching of children was to be free of dogma, what exactly would be taught? For instance, Ferrer searched in vain before the opening of his school for books that would meet this criterion. Interestingly, the Modern School was opened without one book in its library because Ferrer could not find one that would meet his approval.[23] There was also a concern about an anarchist education forcing the child to become an anarchist since this would be a product of dogmatic imposition. Emma Goldman warned radical parents who imposed beliefs on their children that they would find that

boy or girl, over-fed on Thomas Paine, will land in the arms of the Church, or they will vote for imperialism only to escape the drag of economic determinism and scientific socialism, or that they . . . cling to their right of accumulating property, only to find relief from the old-fashioned communism of their father. [24]

Anarchist discussions of this dilemma were often resolved in conviction rather than logic. For instance, the statement of purposes of the International League for the Rational Education of Children founded by Ferrer admitted that there was no neutral instruction and argued, "We should not, in the school, hide the fact that we would awaken in the children the desire for a society of men . . . equal economically . . . without violence, without hierarchies, and without

22. Ferrer, *The Origin and Ideals of the Modern School*, pp. 36-37.

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 76-87.

24. Goldman, pp. 12-13.

[40]

privilege of any sort." In the next paragraph the League warned, "...we have no right to impose this ideal on the child."^[25] The League claimed that if the child's conscience, sense of justice and reason were aroused, this would lead him to work for human emancipation. The conviction underlying this feeling and other anarchist statements regarding education was that reason, which was cultivated free of dogma, would create naturally within the individual a desire for the preservation of his own autonomy and that of others.










It was from this standpoint that Ferrer emphasized the presentation of facts from which the child would draw his own conclusions. Ferrer exhibited a great faith in the ability of the natural and social sciences to yield objective data with which the human mind could reason. It was, of course, open to judgment what constituted objective data. For example, Ferrer argued that arithmetic should be presented without reference to wages, economy, and profit. The substance of arithmetic would be problems dealing with the just distribution of production, communication, transportation, the benefits of machinery, and public works. "In a word," Ferrer wrote, "the Modern School wants a number of problems showing what arithmetic really ought to be—the science of the social economy (taking the word 'economy' in its etymological sense of 'good distribution')." [26]

Objective fact and knowledge therefore had a special meaning in anarchist groups. It was objective in the sense that the individual could use it for maintaining his own individual freedom. For Ferrer, arithmetic placed in the framework of existing production systems

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All education is despotism.....				
Go there; do that; read; write; rise; lie down; will perhaps for-				 
ever be the language addressed to youth by age.			  	
				
<i>The Enquirer: Reflections on</i>				
<i>Education, Manners, and Literature</i>				—William Godwin

[41]

became a method by which the individual was indoctrinated into those systems. On the other hand, arithmetic presented as a tool for creating a more just organization of the economy was a body of knowledge the individual could use to free himself. It was from this standpoint that Emma Goldman criticized traditional methods for teaching history in the schools. With reference to the teaching of history, she wrote, "See how the events of the world become like a cheap puppet show, where a few wirepullers are supposed to have directed the course of development of the entire race." History which emphasized the actions of rulers, governments, and great men conditioned the individual to accept a society where things were done to men rather than men acting. From Emma Goldman's perspective history had to emphasize the ability of all men to act and shape the direction of history. History presented in the traditional manner enslaved man to authoritarian institutions. History presented as all men acting convinced the individual of his own power to shape history.[27]

25. "The International League for the Rational Education of Children." *Mother Earth* (July, 1910), p. 156.

26. Ferrer, *The Origin and Ideals of the Modern School*, pp. 89-90.

27. Goldman, p. 9.

In the second of his two articles on "Anarchism and Education," Dr. Spring will evaluate the ideological and psychological positions of radical education proposals in the twentieth century. Particular emphasis will be given to labor education, the development of the Modern School and Wilhelm Reich. This article will appear in our June issue.

THE ABOLITIONIST PO BOX 14

VERONA, N.J. 07044 a journal of libertarian opinion, published monthly. The libertarian philosophy advocates individual liberty and peaceful cooperation among people. We hold that prosperity and social harmony are best achieved by a non-manipulative voluntary society with a radically decentralized free market. Briefly stated, our goals are economic and personal freedom at home, and an end to militarism abroad.

a look at gustav landauer

by J. M. Frager

When "Social Democracy in Germany" appeared in the July 18, 1896 issue of the *Sozialist* (originally as "Von Zurich Bis London") it was in anticipation of the struggle between the anarchists and socialists at the London International Congress later that year.

In connection with this Congress, Landauer dared call the editor of *Forwards*, Wilhelm Liebknecht, the holy cow of S.P.D. (the German Social Democratic Party), a scoundrel ("lump"), and saw no valid reason to retract. Neither was he sparing of the all-mighty August Bebel, when, in a confrontation, Landauer told him to his face, "You're lying, Herr Bebel". And about Karl Marx, Landauer quipped, "Old women prophesy from coffee grounds. Karl Marx prophesied from steam."

Landauer embraced, and was enraptured by, the class struggle, general strike, and social revolution. But he warned against any change by dictatorship.

In 1893 Landauer's university years were interrupted by a jail sentence for editing the *Sozialist*. But this was not a deterrent to him. Landauer became deeply involved not only in the struggles of society but also in literature, theatre, philosophy and history. We are indebted to Martin Buber, the eminent philosopher, for giving us Landauer's works (not yet in English). Buber gave ten long years of his life to collect, edit, and publish Landauer. This, coming from a man who is now a world-famous philosopher, should tell us much about the meaning of Gustav Landauer for us today. Buber was Landauer's intimate friend; under Landauer's influence he became a socialist. Buber also joined Landauer's Bund.

It should be of interest to Americans to learn that Gustav Landauer was one of the early German enthusiasts of Walt Whitman. He

J. M. Frager is the Secretary of the editorial board of the *Freie Arbeiter Stimme*, one of the oldest anarchist papers in existence in the world today. The editors of *Libertarian Analysis* would like to thank Mr. Frager for the use of his original copy of "Social Democracy in Germany," and the picture of Gustav Landauer.

translated Whitman's poems which were published along with his own essay on Whitman. This essay is a literary gem. In Walt Whitman Landauer saw not only the product of America but its prophet. "His (Whitman's) feeling of self is really a feeling of his people as himself," because Walt Whitman seemed "to have thought only with his senses."

Landauer foresaw the coming of World War I. His article "Der Krieg" in 1909 proved to be, in 1914, the work of a prophet. Even during the war Landauer fought against war. About this the German critic Julius Bab cracked that Landauer was the best watched man in Germany during the war. In spite of this a letter from Landauer to Woodrow Wilson was smuggled from Germany and some believe that in Wilson's speech "Peace Without Victory" are to be found ideas similar to those advocated by Landauer. But whether Wilson received such a letter has not been documented yet.

In Landauer we have a rich, colourful, versatile, and creative personality. His intimate involvement in many fields of human endeavour and creativity was not escapism, but rather a glowing desire, a burning passion, to synthesize. Landauer's anarchism is not only in "Aufruf Zum Socialismus" (*Call to Socialism*) and "Die Revolution": wrathful proclamations to us to "prepare internally and externally to step outside capitalism". He is the same anarchist and rebel in his works of literature, philosophy and history.

In his novel *Der Totesprediger* we read the speech of the French anarchist terrorist Ravachol before the court. In the same manner, only philosophically, Landauer intertwines Shakespeare into his *Weltanschauung* through his fine two volume study *Shakespeare, dargestellt in Vortragen (Lectures on Shakespeare)*. Stephen Zweig, who never met Landauer, classified *Shakespeare* a masterpiece, and "within the book he discovered the author, a personality for which he felt the highest admiration." (Charles B. Maurer, *Call to Revolution*, Wayne State University Press, p.158) Readers may also be interested to know that some literati are of the opinion that Landauer wrote the finest love letters of the twentieth century.

In "evolution" and "revolution" Landauer did not see antonyms. These terms do not contradict one another, but rather bring fulfilment to one another; a formula he so logically developed in his *Die Revolution* as the relationship between Topia and Utopia.

When the Revolution came to Bavaria in 1918/1919, the author of *Aufruf Zum Socialismus* and *Die Revolution* became deeply involved; as could have been expected. In the Revolution, Landauer opposed "dictatorship of the proletariat" and state control of industry. He also opposed elections to the Bavarian Landtag because of its usual parliamentary procedures. During the Revolution, Landauer's assignment was education; as no one else, he was well qualified and

[44]

equipped for this task.

By January, 1919, Landauer was discouraged by the way things were going. The murders in Berlin of Karl Liebknecht and the legendary Rosa Luxemburg further embittered him, yet he was resolved "to do my duty still better than before." (*Ibid.*, p.176.) But on the second of May, 1919, the counter-revolutionary soldiers of German Social Democracy who suppressed the Revolution killed Gustav Landauer with their bayonets, on the order of their officer. Many reported his last words to have been "Erschlagt mich doch! Das ihr menschen seid!" ("Yes, beat me to death! Think that you are human beings!") (*Ibid.* pp.196-7)

Thus lived and died Gustav Landauer. In life as in death Landauer was a *man*.

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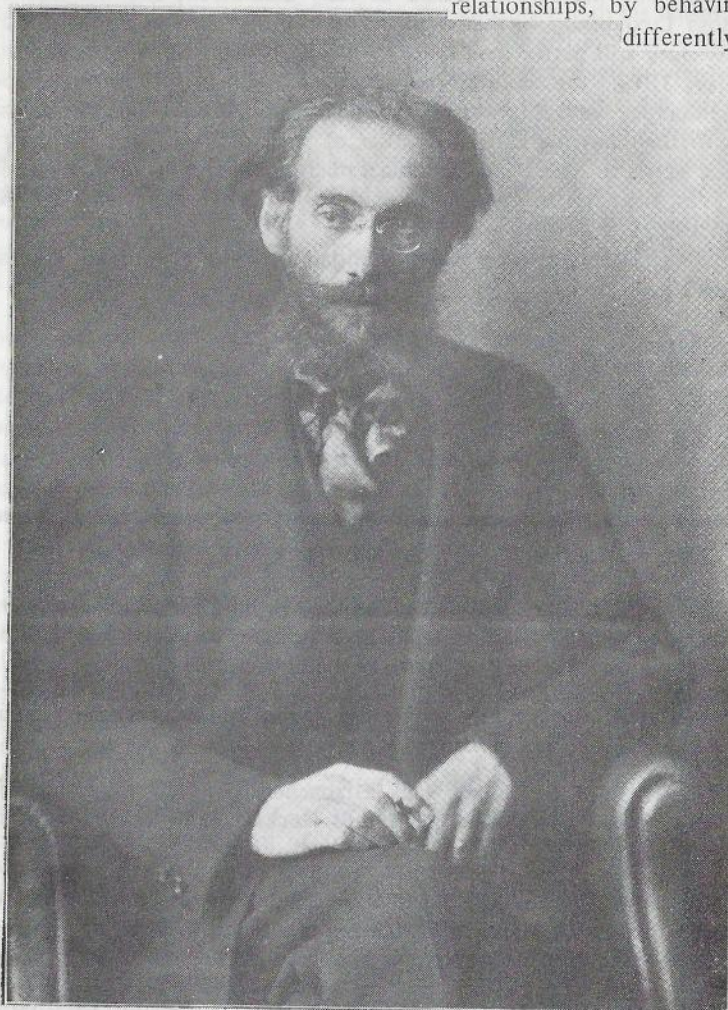
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The State is a condition, a certain relationship between human beings,
a mode of human behavior; we destroy it by contracting other
relationships, by behaving
differently.



PRICE ONE HALFPENNY.

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IN GERMANY.

BY GUSTAV LANDAUER.

This report, addressed to the London International Congress, has for its chief aim, to give to the non-German Socialists of other countries a concise picture of the German labour movement as seen by us Anarchists, situated as we are in the midst of the labour movement, but outside the Social Democratic Party.

In no other country has a single party, as an isolated sect, managed to such a degree to pass for the unique and only legitimate representative of the proletariat as this happens in Germany. Everywhere, else, before all in the two countries where, in my opinion, Socialism and the evolution towards socialisation are most advanced, in France and in England, different currents exist side by side, not always peaceful yet recognising each others right of existence. All efforts made in France, England, Italy, Spain, Holland, to represent the Marxist theories or in general a party formed after the model of intolerant and despotic German Social-Democracy as the sole rightful theory or party, have hitherto led to miserable failure and shall always fail, thanks to the political maturity and the free temper of these peoples. Only in Germany such a severely disciplined and pattern-cut labor party exists—huge masses wont to dance to the tune played by the upper regions of the party government. To understand this we must remember that Germany enjoys the doubtful honor of being the home of monarchism and militarism. This Imperialist and military spirit, this dependence and obedience of the masses exists, we are sorry to say,

also in the poorest classes of the people, which are socially, politically and economically oppressed to the utmost—and the German Social Democratic party in the most shameful way used this reactionary tendency of an oppressed people, this dependence of the masses, as the basis upon which an extremely strict party rule could be constructed, strong enough to crush on every occasion the rising germs of freedom and revolt.

The leaders of German Social Democracy (clever stage-managers and journalists as they are) contrived in a very clever way to show up their party before eyes of other countries and to represent the German labor movement as the strongest movement on the face of the globe. I, as a German revolutionist and Anarchist, consider it my duty today, as three years ago at Zurich, to tear off this painted mask and solemnly declare, that the apparent splendour of the labor movement in Germany is but skin-deep, whilst in reality the number of those who fully and conscientiously go in for a total regeneration of human society, who struggle to realise a free Socialist society, is infinitely smaller than the number of Social Democratic voters.

Voters—this is the word which, on the surface, creates such an impression upon people of other countries; whilst it has become the true curse of the German labor movement. By the tactics of Social Democracy in that country, concentrating all political interests in parliamentarism, all independent action of the proletariat, all educational work, the struggle for ideas, and, above all, the economic struggle, have been relegated to the background. The chief aims of Social Democracy consist in catering for votes; and an electioneering contest is only used to induce the uneducated masses, by all the tricks of demagogues, to vote (secretly) for the Social Democratic candidate. Genuine Socialist propaganda, agitation against private property and all exploitation and oppression, is out of question at the time of elections; nothing else is talked of save the reform of taxation, and other projects by which the poorer classes, the laborer or the artisan, the peasant or the petty official, may be benefitted within the present bourgeois society by means of laws and the State. These laws (at the elaboration of which the Social Democratic deputies work with great assiduity in parliament and in the various committees) merely strengthen the State and the power of the police—the German, Prussian, monarchist and capitalist State of today—and it becomes more and more a question whether our Social Democracy thinks that some mere finishing touches applied to our centralised, tutelary, ceaselessly interfering police-state, are all that is necessary to transform the German Empire into the famous State of the future.

For not only at election times when the blind passions of the uneducated masses are played upon, the Social Democratic party denies the principles of Socialism, but it also takes part in parliamentary work entirely from the standpoint of bourgeois society. Nor is this even

denied any longer. Often enough lately, Social Democratic leaders declared that in Parliament they content themselves with making merely Radical (bourgeois) Democratic demands; and that they do not dream of preaching the ideas of socialism to deaf ears. If so, the question may be asked: "Why, then do those gentlemen cast pearls before swine? Why do they not rather address those who long for words of emancipation and of inspiration — the men and women of the oppressed classes?"

From the many materials at my disposal, which, if occasion offers, I am quite willing to place before the Congress, I shall only quote one quite recent example. For years, already,—in fact since the foundation of the new German Empire, the propertied classes of Germany have urged the adoption of a uniform code of civil law, that is, a modification of the laws relating to private property, business relations, convictions, marriage, the family, etc. There was never a better opportunity offered (for the Social Democrats in Parliament) to expose and to shake the real foundations of bourgeois society. Against the German Empire, the Empire of the rich, the universal reign of freedom and justice ought to have been proclaimed; against the ridiculous attempt to put together once more the laws relating to private property, on the eve of a new time when the exploited masses shall make an end to private property, socialism ought to have been put forward. And what great, new vivifying and fertile ideas might not have been uttered on marriage and the family! Had it not become necessary to say before all that marriage, free union and the family are not in the least any concern of the State, and are only matters concerning each individual for himself? But what did the Social-Democrats do? Nothing of the kind. Nothing was said on the foundations of modern society, no word spoken against private property as such, not a syllable uttered against the impudence of wanting to regulate private affairs by Statute Law, not a single word of principle, in short, no Socialist ideas were brought forward on this unique occasion. It must not be supposed, however, that the Social-Democratic deputies kept silent altogether. Oh no, on the contrary they overflowed with shallow loquacity; endeavouring to tinker and patch up this poor bill of the rich classes whom blindness had struck. For hours they wrangled with the bourgeois lawyers on greater facilities for divorce, the wife's property, etc. It was a lawyers quarrel, but in no way a struggle between two opposed sets of ideas; between the rotten and doomed past and the young, rising future. Coming times and Socialism have no place or vote in Parliament—this was proved once more on this occasion; and men who by their past ought to be Socialists, give up Socialism when once in Parliament, and become bourgeois reformers and participants of State power.

On various occasions during the last three years the German Social-Democrats proved that they decline to rouse the spirit of revolt

slumbering in the masses and make it properly conscious of itself. On the contrary they did all to prevent powerful demonstrations of the oppressed masses, and to calumniate the acts of individuals, on the advisability of which everyone may have his own opinion, but which may at least be understood, and, owing to the murderous system under which we all suffer, excused. Vaillant and Henry, who doubtless stood up courageously for their acts, have been tried by the *Vorwärts* (the central organ of German Social-Democracy) with greater severity and bitterness than by their bloodthirsty bourgeois judges. Dozens of times the *Vorwärts* called them madmen, fools, lunatics—although it is a matter of fact that however passionate and ready to use extreme means they have been, they were Socialists clearly conscious of their ideas, and in no way of unhinged minds. But hatred of Anarchists and fear that such acts of violence may jeopardise their own party, deprives such men of all feelings of justice, good faith, and even their right mind. Why does not the *Vorwärts* call the men of violence in the ranks of the government, the army and the ruling classes, lunatics? Why are its poisoned arrows only used against the unhappy men from the ranks of the oppressed, whom overflowing pity or extreme provocation, or cold, reasoning hatred drive to oppose illegal violence to legal violence? Never did the German Social-Democratic party of order doubt the sound reason of President Carnot, who signed so many death-warrants, nor that of Bismark or Moltke; but Caserio is called by the *Vorwärts* an “epileptic attacked by religious-anarchist mania.” This is trimming and cowardly mendacity deserving of the sharpest castigation.

And how did the Social-Democratic Party act on the occasion of the anniversary of the Franco-German war? In the beginning they sided with the general attitude of protest of the working classes. But after the well-known speech of the Emperor, calling all who did not participate in this celebration “a mob unworthy of the name of Germans” and committing high-treason, the Social-Democratic party at once sounded a quick retreat. Mr. Auer, member of the party executive, delivered a speech refuting successfully all those aspersions. He explained that, if properly treated, Social Democrats were quite open to be loyal to the Crown, that they took part in the war with enthusiasm, that a restitution of Alsace and Lorraine to France was out the question; the German workers had fought and died for the unity of the Empire; his words were “and strange would be the attitude of working-men to oppose the formation of a national State.” He emphatically rejects the reproach of enmity against the Empire, and declares on his part that those are the real enemies of the Empire—who are opposed to manhood suffrage. He talked like a candidate for a place in the cabinet and not as the mouthpiece of an oppressed and mortally insulted class of producers.

And what was the attitude of German Social-Democrats towards the May Day Demonstration? At the Zurich International Congress the

strict cessation of all work on that day had been resolved. But, a few months after, the Cologne Conference of the German party almost unanimously declared the impossibility of such action under the present economic conditions; and it was resolved that only those workers should leave work on that day who could do so “without damaging the interests of the workers.” All this is cowardly humbug. The economic situation in Germany is identical with that of Austria;—and what would be impossible in Germany that *has been possible* in Austria? The reason of this lamentable attitude only lies in the so-called Social-Democratic voters and the May-Day demonstrators; for the result would be a plain proof that though there exist many voters, these are by no means energetic and active Socialists. Besides this, the leaders are afraid, in general, of all independent action of the masses. Could not these masses see that independent action and organisation is the right thing for them to do in all matters, and that it is of small use for them to have “representatives” in Parliament? All that is done from below is repulsive to Social-Democrats, who expect to solve the social problem from above—the committee room, the parliamentary platform, by means of the machinery of legislation.

I will not enter into fuller details in this report, which owing to the want of time to elaborate a longer one must be a short one. But this one fact must be added: that the same aversion to any movements of the masses holds good with regard to STRIKES. Not only is the cessation of work on May-Day not carried out; not only is the General Strike continually treated as a ridiculous idea, and in Auer’s words a “general stupidity” (*General blödsinn*); whilst nearly all sections of the French workers are partisans of the General Strike—but in all larger strikes of single trades it becomes apparent that the Social-Democratic leaders are extremely displeased with them and will make an end of them as soon as possible. This was seen in a most conspicuous and odious way during the great strike in the tailoring trades in the spring of 1896, at Berlin and in other towns. As usual on such occasions, when it was essential to rouse the masses and prepare the strike, none of the leading Social-Democrats were to be seen. But to this we are already used in Germany: in parliament, at the discussion of the most paltry and insignificant bills, these gentlemen are always in their places; but in the midst of independent economic struggles of the working classes they will mostly be looked for in vain. But on the occasion of the tailor’s strike they were beforehand in the ranks of those who by all sorts of dark hints tried to discourage the strike and frustrate it. In this they did not succeed; the strike of the wretchedly paid women and men began and reached a height of passion, and dimensions unforeseen by everybody. More than 20,000 were on strike at Berlin, and their numbers were daily increasing. Suddenly the strike came to an end—the Social-Democratic strike leaders had concluded peace with the employers without consulting the strikers themselves. Of the essential items of the modest demands of the workers none were granted. At this juncture

some Berlin Anarchists intervened, a leaflet was issued urging on the workers to remain on strike and not to throw up the struggle at a time when the movement was still increasing. And indeed, more than half of those present at fourteen large meetings resolved to remain on strike. Then the *Vorwärts* inaugurated a whole system of lying reports, and throwing suspicion and insults, so that it became impossible to keep together any longer the inexperienced and unorganised masses—mostly women. It was a general stampede, arranged and ordered by the German Social-Democracy. Truly this was an occasion to learn to



despise mankind thoroughly for those who, at that time, had to undergo these miserable insults simply for having advocated from good reasons the continuation of the strike, had their optimism and hope not been inexhaustable. Persons who in this way make use of their authority to the detriment of class-struggle, have full reason to provide with passionate fanaticism for the non-admission to the International Congress of those who are willing to post them to an international pillory. It is because the Social-Democrats are afraid of us German Anarchists, that they fight with such an odious intolerance against the admission of German delegates who stand outside of the ranks of Social-Democracy.

In conclusion, it becomes necessary to supplement this rapidly sketched, pitiful picture by some less gloomy touches. In spite of all tutelage and discipline, the spirit of the masses which comes to the

front in spite of everything, is not unsatisfactory. Notwithstanding all Social-Democratic vilification, the German workers begin to give up their fanatical intolerance against us Anarchists and other independent sections. In most of the industrial centres we are not interfered with, but listened to with manifest interest; revolutionary sentiment and ideas, never quite to be crushed in an oppressed class, begin to stir with new vigour. Doubt as to the value of parliamentarism begins to spread everywhere; it becomes manifest that education of the masses themselves is what is wanted, and that the masses themselves must struggle economically and organise new economic associations if they are to win Socialism. Economic struggles, demands for higher wages, and strikes have become more vigorous and frequent during the past year. Also the general interest in workingmen's productive associations on a co-operative basis is increasing—though meeting with the distrust of many in the Anarchist camp. The opinions of German Anarchists on this question are divided; still it must be mentioned that Anarchists were among the first to recommend this economic self-help, this solidary amalgamation of the interests of consumers as a means of emancipation, as a nucleus for the socialisation of all wealth—in opposition to State Socialism and participation in Government and Parliament. In doing so we pointed out, the English Cooperative societies and the successful Belgian Associations. We are met by the sneers of the German Social Democratic party; as a conservative party execrating all innovations they tell us that the situation of our country is different from those above-mentioned. This is an easy way to prove a point and shelve the matter, it is true; but we intend to show—also to our still reluctant friends—that also in Germany a strong co-operative movement can exist side by side with the Trade-Unionist movement, and that both shall be the main foundations for free, anti-statist, and anti-governmental Socialism.

We could also point out some other signs of the advent of a more free and lively spirit in Germany. They embrace not only—and not even in the first place—the working class, but ever increasing parts of the middle-classes who thoroughly and finally reject all prejudices and advocate the regeneration of human society. These efforts which are beginning to centre round Von Egidy, a former lieutenant-colonel, are not to be under-rated. Men who were formerly deeply imbued with all the prejudices of religion, monarchism, militarism, capitalism,—men of science, artists, soldiers and priests, begin to emancipate themselves from the miserable present, the deathbed of intellects, and to work hand in hand with us for free thought and action, for a leveling of the political, social and economic contrasts. I could but desire that a man of the brilliant energy of M. Von Egidy was present in London; our foreign friends would easily come to the conclusion that his manner of thinking and acting is in many respects much more advanced than the tactics of German Social-Democracy, who, eager for domination as they

are, sneer at the rise of any other movement besides their own.

So it becomes evident also in Germany—in spite of the oppression all free currents from two different camps—that the old is rotten and ready to tumble down, and that something new, grand, magnificent is about to be realised by the united efforts of mankind—hitherto for the greater part so much repressed: the free life of the individual on the basis of the interest of all, of solidarity, of Socialism. We Anarchists in Germany feel ourselves one and all as Socialists; and those who maintain that we are not Socialists, tell lies. What we fight is State Socialism, levelling from above, bureaucracy; what we advocate is free association and union, the absence of authority, mind freed from all fetters, independence and well-being of all. Before all others it is we who preach *tolerance* for all—whether we think their opinions to be right or wrong—we do not want to crush them by force or otherwise. In the same way we claim tolerance towards us, and where Revolutionary Socialists, where working-men of all countries meet, we want to be among them and to say what we have got to say; we are men with the same intellectual capacities as all others. If our ideas are wrong, let those who know better teach us better; but if we are right, if, which is our inmost conviction, the road to progress lies under the sign of Anarchy, then we shall convince you sooner or later of the truth of our ideas—if only you will listen to us, whether you be eager for conviction or not. And even if you deafen your ears against us, others shall come to listen to us and to understand us, and the logic of facts shall in the end carry with us also those who now resist.

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CAN YOU IDENTIFY THIS MAN????

He was the son of a Revolutionary War hero; he was the deviser of over 1000 mechanical inventions, none of which he ever patented, choosing instead to give them freely to all mankind; he was called "the first anarchist," and was certainly the first scientific anarchist; he conducted the first deliberately planned experiments in social science ever recorded; he was a musician of note, and led concert orchestras, he conceived the idea of Consumer Co-ops and taught it to Robert Owen (who usually gets the credit for it); he defined a Labor Theory of Value before Karl Marx; he anticipated Henry George's criticisms of rent by almost 30 years; he worked out a system of individualist anarchism before Proudhon; he was the first to bring Pestalozzi's educational methods to this country, and founded the first manual training schools; he conceived and operated the first self-service supermarket; he was a successful manufacturer of the first lard-burning lamps (which he invented himself); his ideas strongly influenced the early anti-slavery movement, the feminist movement and the anti-clerical movement; he was the first exponent of responsible sexual freedom in this country; he wrote and published the world's first anarchist newspaper, setting the type himself and printing it on a press he invented himself (from which the modern rotary press derives); he invented a type of non-interest bearing currency which has several times been revived during depressions and has always helped to restore prosperity; he was the greatest thinker America ever produced and his name is never mentioned in the textbooks of history used in our schools.

THIS MAN WAS JOSIAH WARREN

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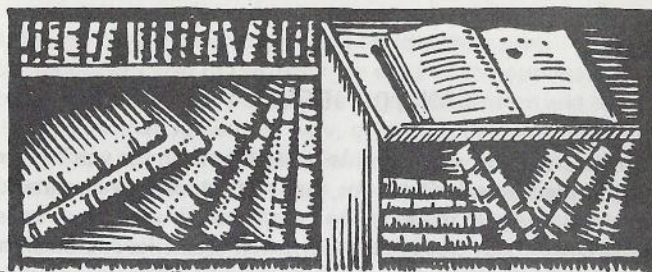
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book review:

revisionist history and american foreign policy

by Leonard P. Liggio

Gabriel Kolko, *The Politics of War: The World and United States Foreign Policy, 1943-45*, Random House, 1968.

N. Gordon Levin, Jr., *Woodrow Wilson and World Politics, America's Response to War and Revolution*, Oxford University Press, 1968.

Arno J. Mayer, *Politics and Diplomacy of Peacemaking, Containment and Counter-revolution at Versailles, 1918-1919*, Alfred A. Knopf, 1967.

The new International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences singles out only five American historians for biographical articles. Surprisingly, they are mainly the radicals associated with the New History initiated in the early twentieth century, and two—Harry Elmer Barnes and Charles A. Beard—ended their careers under attack by the Establishment for their historical revisionism regarding American foreign policy objectives, especially concerning World War II. It is not unlikely that the radical historians whose revisionist works are reviewed here will find themselves among those American historians selected for recognition in a subsequent edition of the encyclopedia.

In *The Politics of War*, Gabriel Kolko recommends *Politics and Diplomacy of Peacemaking* and *Woodrow Wilson and World Politics* as

Leonard P. Liggio teaches history at City College, New York. He has contributed to numerous radical publications ranging from *Left & Right* to the *Liberated Guardian*.

the two books which provide an understanding of the background of World War II and the origins of the Cold War. Gordon Levin and Arno Mayer discuss the centrality of the Bolshevik revolution to the debates and decisions among the Allied powers, and especially the Wilson administration, during the Versailles conference. One reason was explained by Secretary of State Robert Lansing: "Russia is among the largest factors in the complicated system of production and distribution by which the world is clothed and fed. It is not to be expected that economic balance can be regained and living costs brought once more to moderate levels while its vast area [is under the revolution.]"

The October Revolution was successful because it represented the popular hostility to the Allies' imperialist war. The Allies understood that Bolshevism could not maintain that popular support if it continued in the war in alliance with the Allied powers, and Lenin rejected the proposals for Allied aid and fulfilled his promise of peace. Levin indicates that Bolshevik critics of Lenin sought to turn the imperialist war into a revolutionary war by Russia's continued participation in order to precipitate the European revolution beginning in Germany where the workers' movement was strongest. Trotsky was willing to accept Allied aid in continuation of the war while the Left-communists rejected any alliance with Allied imperialism.

Lenin's argument was proven correct—the European Left mainly declined to assume a revolutionary role. Arno Mayer presents a thorough historical analysis of the essentially counter-revolutionary positions of European socialists during the critical period of the collapse of the major states of Central Europe. Whereas the revolutionary Soviet coalition was successful because of popular support for withdrawal from the war and distribution of feudal land to the peasants; in Germany, Austria and Hungary the state authorities transferred cabinet positions to the socialist leaders because the socialists acted as "an ideal foil against revolutionary and anarchist excesses" associated with the Soviet revolution. These socialist parties acted as wardens against revolution by their peoples.

The European communists during and after World War II played the same role regarding revolution that the socialists had a generation earlier. As Kolko notes, in the twentieth century war is the "necessary precondition for the emergence of a powerful Left, and for the first time since 1919 the Left, both in Europe and Asia, issued forth from the shadow of political defeat and impotence to the center of world politics." From their low points during the depression years (economic crises appear to cause the success of the Right whether as fascism or corporate liberalism) war created the condition for the success of the Left. But, for the World War II Allies, the mere numerical growth of the Left was only half the story for this represented the growth of the non-communist or revolutionary Left which "in many nations were no less powerful, and were frequently more militant than the Communist

party." Where the Communist parties were controlled by the Soviet Union they acted as a conservative force dividing the Left and creating the conditions for cooptation. Due to the moderating influence of the communists, the European Left was willingly incorporated into the modern corporate state structure. With the Communist parties forced to choose between obedience and revolutionary success, the popular, national Communist parties in Yugoslavia and China disobeyed the Soviet leadership and gained success. Kolko notes: "Only Tito, Stalin perceived in 1945, stood for nationalism and autonomy, and only he could prevent the fulfillment of Soviet objectives for stability and security in Eastern Europe. With an independent mass base and a nationalist line Tito threatened to checkmate both Russian and American ambitions."

American ambitions in both World Wars are carefully presented in each of these volumes. American economic advisors in both World Wars—often the same people, such as Allen and John Foster Dulles, (nephews of Secretary Lansing), Bernard Baruch and Herbert Hoover—viewed America's post-war economic objectives as two fold—using economic power to prevent the rise or success of revolutionary movements, and improving the long-term economic position of the American monopoly system in the world. Herbert Hoover played a major role in wartime and postwar planning. As Mayer suggests: "admittedly Hoover had the most precocious, integrated, and operational conception of the politics and diplomacy of foreign aid. But he merely articulated and synthesized ideas and programs that were just then crystallized in influential segments of the American power elite." At the end of World War I the pressure for foreign aid came from the export industries, and Senator William Borah charged that foreign aid did not originate among Europeans but among American businessmen and bureaucrats. In order to get foreign aid appropriations through Congress, Wilson constantly appealed to the specter of Bolshevism.

As Secretary of Commerce and President, Hoover was central to the continued implementation of this foreign economic policy, through massive legalized American price-fixing and export-trade associations during the 1920s, which was accelerated after the great depression. In 1945 Hoover participated in post-war planning urging the politically crucial food program be shifted from the neutral UNRRA to U. S. military authorities. War Secretary Henry Stimson said Hoover's "ideas followed very much the line which [John J.] McCloy and I had been fighting for. . . . We could turn the tide of Communism in all those countries. Hoover stamped out communism in this way in central Europe." What Stimson, McCloy and Hoover did not recognize was that the promises in 1919 condemned it to passivity, to cooperation and integration into the program of Allied imperialism.

Levin's analysis of Wilsonian world finance is especially valuable. Baruch, Hoover, Dulles "all expressed concern over what they saw as efforts being made by the Allies to have the United States assume a larger share of war indebtedness through the creation of economic plans involving America in the unsound financial structure of Europe." The Wilsonians rejected John Maynard Keynes' plan for America to add to its creditor position with the Allies the role of underwriter of German bonds issued to cover reparations. The Americans did not believe the United States' financial position was sufficient to assure dominance in the world economy, and were even less enthused when Keynes' plan for reasonable reparations was replaced with impossible demands upon Germany.



'A Paradox, A Paradox, A Most Ingenious Paradox'

The impact of the Versailles economic system and the consequent great depression was a major factor in the development of America's post-World War II objectives. United States economic policy in the 1930s caused deeper and longer unemployment and decline in economic activity than suffered by any other industrialized nation. Access to desired raw materials was restricted by the colonial systems, especially the Sterling Bloc. The Lend-Lease agreements with England in 1941-42 was the United States' opening wedge into the Sterling bloc.

Similarly, the international monetary system established at Bretton Woods (1944) represented a victory for the United States and the defeat of Keynes' plan which would have permitted business expansion subsidized through taxation by inflation without limitations imposed by balance-of-payments or gold requirements. Harry Dexter White of the Treasury Department presented the counter-plan which recognized American dominance in international finance. White's plan "demanded

an international banking fund which would expand trade and stimulate loans in a much more accelerated fashion, with special emphasis on its holding currencies in short supply, which is to say United States dollars, and they insisted that control of any cooperative organization be vested in proportion to contributions giving the U. S. a dominant voice with international protection for the dollar.

One of Kolko's major contributions is his discussion of Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau's plan for postwar Germany. Kolko emphasizes that to analyze it merely as a proposal to destroy the German arms industry, prohibit all but consumer production and separate the Ruhr has caused misunderstanding. It "was in a most integral fashion also a plan for de-Bolshevizing Russia and of reintegrating it into a new capitalist world economy." First, the Morgenthau plan aimed at preventing Germany from regaining a major role in Europe's industrial production, and substituting England, allied to the United States, as the major industrial unit in Europe. Second, it implied a limitation on the reparations expected by Russia, since Russia could receive larger and faster reparations from Germany's producing industry than from the transferring of machinery to Russia. Thus, the Soviet Union would be forced to rely on U. S. industrial goods in exchange for raw materials. Kolko concluded that, "Morgenthau and White became the most important and sophisticated advocates of the reintegration of the USSR into the capitalist world economy on a basis which economists have dubbed as neocolonialism."

U. S.-Soviet wartime negotiations reached an impasse at the Potsdam conference over a rational reparations policy and forced upon the Soviet Union inefficient economic development rather than cooptation and integration into the American-dominated Western monopoly economy. With the studies by Mayer and Levin as introductions, Kolko's masterful analysis of United States foreign and economic and political policy during World War II provides the most comprehensive treatment of the origins of the Cold War. The continuation of the analysis past mid-1945 will be a further major contribution to historical revision of American foreign policy. [This continuation is the subject of a forthcoming book by Kolko—ed.]

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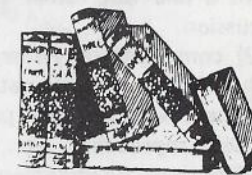
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Dear Reader ;

Libertarian Analysis is now a year old. It was a year largely spent learning the ins and outs of printing a journal, doing layout and handling subscriptions. Our problems were technical ones leading to delays, mix-ups, etc. Such technical problems are now behind us. We hope .

What about the future? We are, after all, the only scholarly journal of libertarian thought in the U. S. (and is it ever needed) There have been a number of good articles in each issue. Our circulation is now close to 2000. For our part though, *Libertarian Analysis* would be no more fun if we (the editors) became mere publishing technicians. Because we have had to spend our time in putting out a journal rather than "putting in" and working on the content, and because reader's response has been negligible, our content vitality is lacking. We have no desire to become a staid and stale journal talking to ourselves.

Over the next year both the physical organization of the journal and the vitality of the content have got to change, if *L. A.* is to be meaningful. At this stage, then, we think there are some commitments that both the editors and our readers must make. The test will come with the next few issues.

In the next issue we would like to see, and hope to start with:

1) editorials that bring up major questions of controversy, and suggest anarchistic approaches to problems. Our intent is not to set down a *line* but rather to formulate a framework and to stimulate discussion.

2) comments (anywhere from 100-500 words) and articles dealing with domestic and international affairs.

3) a review of the press: short (100-500 words) comments on articles, approaches, etc. of other journals; pointing out significant contributions, disagreements, and directions for further work.

4) a section of short reviews in addition to our longer reviews.

5) more fine articles. As part of serious and well thought out articles,

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2

we want controversy. We have no interest in taking factional sides within a libertarian framework of individual liberty, voluntarism, and social harmony. These are the issues that need to be more fully defined and developed in theory and in practice. We need to work through and discuss ideas and examples of social transformation. We need a myriad of visions.

This can't be done without your help: comments, suggestions, articles, reviews. If you are concerned about liberty, then this is a forum for you to voice these concerns. You can start with letters and commentaries about the articles we run. (Certainly Sam Dolgoff's article and Milton Shapiro's review contain issues that should be more fully discussed.) We would like to see 6 or 7 pages of each issue devoted to your comments.

There is plenty of room, too, for your help with subscriptions, getting *L. A.* better known and into libraries, and getting it into bookstores.

OUR NEXT ISSUE will have articles on the historical roots of libertarianism, tax resistance, the first of a two part critique of anarcho-communism by an individualist anarchist, and a number of reviews. . . . and comments by you, our readers.

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the editors

Our second issue is now out of print.

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In our last issue we forgot to credit the Kronstadt pictures we ran (pages 5 and 12) to Paul Avrich's fine book on the subject *Kronstadt 1921* (Princeton University Press, 1970, \$8.50).

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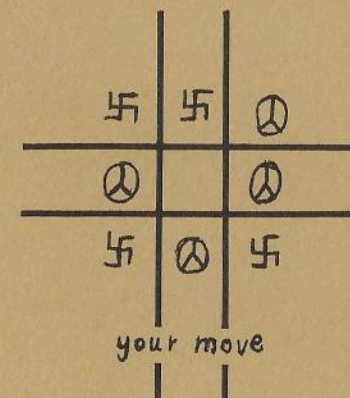
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