

THE

RAVEN

**HEINER BECKER on
Johann Most**

**PAUL RABIN on
Computers and Anarchism**

**CHRIS POWELL on
New Zoos of Deviancy**

**DAVID PEPPER on
The Geography of an
Anarchist Britain**

**NICOLAS WALTER on
Rudolf Rocker**

**JOHN HEWETSON on
Sexual Freedom for
the Young**

**Plus: Illustrations,
Polemics and
Editorial**

**and 8 pages of
ILLUSTRATIONS**

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ANARCHIST QUARTERLY

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Editorial

The Raven has survived its first year, and as a matter of fact feels encouraged to honour its name and grow to achieve a considerable age. Although the editors feel that full flight hasn't been reached yet, it is nevertheless quite useful and even entertaining to hop around: one picks up, after all, quite a few interesting bits.

History and historical articles still form a considerable part of the incoming material, and quite a few of our readers also seem to enjoy this thoroughly. Historical features will therefore also in future regularly fill our pages.

Johann Most was in many ways an important figure in the socialist and anarchist movements in Austria, Germany, England, and the United States. He is often referred to, though hardly ever correctly. Usually even the most elementary facts are not known, and though a substantial biography by Rudolf Rocker is available, with the exception of Paul Avrich nobody seems to have used it when writing about Most. We therefore thought it useful to provide at least some information up to the vital turning-point in his life — his imprisonment in England — and also on the differences between 'Social Revolutionarism' and anarchism.

Computers play such an important part in most of our lives that we are very happy to include an article on their relationship with anarchism — a subject we hope to follow up with further contributions. (We cannot forget to mention, however, that *The Raven* is also produced by means of computers.)

Criminology is of crucial importance to everybody who concerns him/herself with the organisation of a possible anarchist society, and Alex Comfort's *Authority and Delinquency in the Modern State* is still one of the most interesting and important contributions in this field, though published 38 years ago. Chris Powell's article we thought might be useful to initiate a discussion of this important subject by anarchists — like so many other crucial points unfortunately in anarchist publications rarely mentioned or when mentioned then merely skipped over.

Our interest in educational matters is this time manifested not by a

historical or autobiographical piece, but by David Pepper's more practical outline of the geography of an anarchist Britain.

Rudolf Rocker's books on Anarcho-Syndicalism have been recently reprinted, and Nicolas Walter offers some background information on this still important introduction to the ideology by one of its most important propagandists.

There is no need to say much about John Hewetson and the pamphlet (originally a series of articles) we reproduce in this issue, as the important information that could be given is related in Colin Ward's new introduction.

And, since a quick glance ahead is always so encouraging at the end of an editorial, we might as well indicate that our next issue will probably contain an interview with Nellie Dick, one of the so inspiring nonagenarians of our movement; an article on one of the most mysterious figures of the anarchist movement, establishing for the first time his identity; and, since it might get boring if we leave complaints about the appalling state of modern architecture only to more or less well-informed Royalty, an article by an insider on the appalling state of Christmas crackers and modern architecture.



Heiner Becker

Johann Most in Europe

This is, so far as is known, the only autobiography of Johann Joseph ('John') Most which he ever published in English. It is also one of the shortest he ever produced for publication. He was a prolific writer of reminiscences of all kinds, as may already be gathered from this text. They were sometimes written immediately after the events, and were re-used, re-written and re-modelled, in some cases many times over the years, to please the readers (and the author!), often gaining in literary value, though not necessarily in historical accuracy.

'I was born on the 5th February 1846, in Augsburg [Bavaria], Germany. From my fifth to my twelfth year I attended the elementary school in my native town, and after leaving it at the age indicated, I went to the High School in Augsburg until I attained my fourteenth year. From my eighth to my thirteenth year I suffered from inflammation of the face, and the disease was only removed by an operation, in which a portion of my jawbone had to be cut away.

From my fourteenth to my seventeenth year I was apprenticed to the bookbinding, to a master who compelled me to work from fourteen to sixteen hours a day for which my father had to pay 100 florins (about £10).

From my earliest youth, therefore, in my own case, as well as from that of others around me, I had the best opportunity for studying the whole social question from a practical and painful side. Even before emerging from my teens, I had to battle with Church and State, for it needed but little reflection to perceive that, as evidenced by all my surroundings, there was something radically wrong with society; so consequently I refused to accept as final or satisfactory the current teachings respecting social, political, moral, and religious questions. For my independence of thought, the priests handed me over to the police, who put me in prison, where I was detained for twenty-four hours.

After the completion of my apprenticeship, following the custom of my countrymen, I set out on my travels, to perfect in my craft. I went

on foot throughout Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and Italy; going about in this way from 1863 to 1868, and working at my trade in the different places I passed through.

I gave an account of my wanderings in this way in the autumn of 1868, which was published under the title of 'From Place to Place' in the *Berlin Free Press*, of which I subsequently became the editor.

From 1868, when I had finished my travels, my political life began. In the year 1866 I studied somewhat more closely than previously the social question, and in 1868 I assisted in agitating in favour of Socialism. In 1869, for one of my speeches, in which I had announced my concurrence of views with the Social Democrats, I had to suffer a month's imprisonment, viz., from July to August, 1869.

At that time there was a violent prosecution of the Socialists in Austria, which ultimately led to the calling of a mass meeting, or popular demonstration, of the people in Vienna, to protest against the Government's course. Just before the Reichstag met, about 60,000 people assembled in Vienna, to protest inarticulately against the oppression of the working classes. The Austrian Government answered this demonstration within eight days by the imprisonment of thirteen of the leaders of the popular movement, and among these I was included.

When in prison on this last occasion, I was detained for a long time, merely on suspicion, the Government having no proof against me, whilst their treatment of me and the other prisoners was very cruel.

In 1872 I published a detailed account of my prison experiences in Vienna in the *Nessknacker* [Nutcracker], a journal printed in Chemnitz, Saxony.

On the 19th July, 1870, after fourteen days' trial, Messers Oberwinder, Scheu, Pabst, and I were convicted and sentenced to five years' imprisonment in a fortress for high treason. The rest of the accused were only imprisoned for a few months each. The proceedings of the trial are narrated in two books: one published by the Austrian Government; the other by Mr H. Scheu, brother of one of the prisoners.

By a peculiar arrangement, of an experimental kind, brought about by Dr Schaeffle, of the Catheder (Philosophical) Socialists, a general amnesty was proclaimed on the 9th of February, 1871, and the door of my prison at Suben was opened for me. Shortly after this I undertook a journey to agitate Socialistic views throughout Lower Austria. When I returned to Vienna I was expelled from Austrian territory.

I then went to Leipzig to try to find work as a bookbinder, but after remaining there for a few days, I was expelled from that place.

In other towns in Saxony through which I passed they endeavoured

to arrest me; but to this day I have never succeeded in learning on what pretext.

In July, 1871, when in Chemnitz, I undertook the office of editor of the *Free Press*. Whilst in that place in the evenings I gave lectures both in this town and in the surrounding neighbourhood. Within six weeks I was arrested on suspicion of high treason; but four weeks afterwards they were obliged to liberate me, there being no evidence against me. I was, however, again and again arrested by the authorities; and within the space of one year I had no fewer than forty summonses to answer. Notwithstanding all this, I managed to retain my liberty.

In the majority of instances in which I was arrested at that time, or in twenty-seven cases, I was proclaimed 'Not Guilty'.

At last, in September, 1872, I was thrown into prison in Zwickau, and kept there without trial until the end of October, 1873. The reason assigned for my incarceration was that I had committed the crime (?) of denouncing the annual celebration of the battle of Sedan; saying if it was kept it would be neither more nor less than the celebration of murder en masse; and, further, by seeking to induce the people to abstain from observing the day in future.

After my liberation from Zwickau, I tried to find a place near Chemnitz to reside in; but the police threatened me that, if I would not leave that neighbourhood, they would transport me to my native place.

At this time a situation was offered me in Mayence as editor of the *Volksstimme* [People's Voice], which I accepted.

On the 10th of January, 1874, the people of Chemnitz, to mark their disapproval of the brutal conduct of the police towards me, returned me to the German Reichstag by 10,000 votes.

When in Parliament, where I went in response to their instruction, I had the opportunity of learning many things relating to statecraft. I there saw statesmen, and observed their mode of working, and acquired a contempt for the humbug of what is commonly called Parliamentary Government.

On the 18th March, 1874, I addressed a large public meeting in Berlin, and defended thereat the Paris Commune. At the end of the month of April following I was arrested for my speech on that occasion, and was subsequently condemned to nineteen months' imprisonment. In a pamphlet called the *Paris Commune for the Berlin Assizes* the proceedings at my trial on that occasion are given.

In addition to the nineteen months to which I was sentenced I had to remain in prison until the middle of June, 1876, or several months extra for various minor offences alleged against me. I was shut up in the Plötzensee in Berlin, where I was treated as a common criminal, against which I indignantly protested, and ultimately secured better treatment.

In a pamphlet called *The Bastille of Plötzensee* I gave an account of my prison experiences.

After my liberation, I undertook the office of editor of the *Berlin Free Press*, a journal having a large circulation among the Berlin working classes. From time to time I published pamphlets which I wrote in prison at Plötzensee — *The Solution of the Social Question*, *The Middle Classes and the Social Democracy*, *The Social Movement in Ancient Rome*, etc.

Here I may mention that during my imprisonment in Saxony I wrote a pamphlet under the title of *Capital and Labour*, which was a popular compendium of Karl Marx's book *Das Capital*. In addition to these I also wrote a book of *Songs of the Proletariat*.

On the 10th of January 1878, I was elected for the second time in Chemnitz by 12,000 votes. In May, 1878, I went to my constituents to give a short report of my conduct in Parliament. The police broke up the meeting, and as I protested against their action, I was imprisoned for six weeks.

After my release, I was again expelled from Chemnitz by the police, who took me to Berlin, where I had to undergo another five months' imprisonment. This latter incarceration was ostensibly for insulting the priests in an article I wrote in the *Berlin Free Press*. On being liberated, I was expelled from Berlin.

From there I went to Hamburg, where I had only arrived when I learned that I was to be taken into custody and transported to Elberfeld Prison, in which I was to be detained for six months for a former offence, which consisted in my expressing atheistic views.

I immediately left for London, it having now become clear to me that I could not remain longer in Germany under the new anti-Socialistic law. On arriving in this country, the members of the Socialistic Party asked me to take the editorship of the *Freiheit*. The obstacles the latter journal has had to encounter are narrated in a pamphlet called *Taktik contra Freiheit*. The rest of my life since I came to Great Britain is well known.'

In this short text Most mentions two earlier versions. The first was 'Von Ort zu Ort (Handwerksburschen-Skizzen)' (From Place to Place (Sketches by an itinerant journeyman)), covering the years up to 1868. This was written during his imprisonment in Plötzensee, a prison near Berlin, in Autumn 1878 and was published in the *Berliner Freie Presse* (2-23 October 1878), a Social Democratic paper of which he had been one of the editors between July 1876 and his arrest on 26 May 1878.

The other one was 'a detailed account of my prison experiences in Vienna' called 'Abenteuer mit der Polizei und im Gefängnis' (Adventures with the police and in prison), which was published in *Der Nussknacker* (The Nutcracker) between February (?) and June 1872. This was the first political satirical paper of German Social Democracy, published by Most from January to September 1872 as a supplement to the *Chemnitzer Freie Presse* which Most edited from 6 July 1871 until his expulsion from Chemnitz early in October 1873 (interrupted by several imprisonments). *Der Nussknacker* also printed accounts of Most's imprisonments in Chemnitz during the Summer 1872 as 'Briefe aus dem stillen Kämmerlein' (Letters from the Quiet Closet) and 'Abenteuer im Roten Thurm' (Adventures in the Red Tower: the Chemnitz prison). Some recollections of his time with the *Chemnitzer Freie Presse* were published as 'Eine Proletarierzeitung' (A Proletarian Paper) in *Freiheit* (29 March 1879).

Most's editorship of the *Chemnitzer Freie Presse* was nominally terminated on 28 September 1872 when he was arrested in Hof (Bavaria) during a propaganda tour (nominally, since then — as also on other occasions — he continued for a while to fulfil at least part of his editorial responsibilities). He was returned to Chemnitz and imprisoned on remand until 28 February 1873, when he was sentenced to eight months which he had to spend in Zwickau prison.

Prison reminiscences take a prominent part among his autobiographical writings, and indeed his imprisonments played an important role in his intellectual development. A Social Democratic historian wrote in 1911, in a somewhat amusing effort to explain his development towards anarchism: 'The excess of imprisonments that destroyed quite a few others in body, had caused in him undoubtedly a mental disturbance.' Between his entry into the labour movement in a prominent role in Autumn 1868 and his final departure from Germany in December 1878, Most had to spend more than five years behind bars. The same Social Democrat (Ernst Heilmann, *Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung in Chemnitz und dem Erzgebirge*, Chemnitz, n.d.) added further: 'There is no comrade in the party who had to suffer the same in such short time, and there is probably no human being who had supported that without damage.'

Most liked occasionally to refer to prisons (at least in Germany and Austria) as 'the universities of the tired-out propagandist'. He certainly used these enforced holidays in the 1870s to read and study books he otherwise didn't have the leisure to look at. Many of his longer and more elaborate pamphlets and series of articles were written in prison. In Chemnitz and Zwickau in 1872-73, for example, he found time to read Marx's *Das Kapital* and produce the first popularisation of it,

Kapital und Arbeit (Capital and Labour). It was first published in Chemnitz in 1874, and a second edition in 1876 — revised by Marx himself, without mentioning it! An American translation of this second edition by Otto Weydemeyer (with corrections by F.A. Sorge) was published in *The Labor Standard* (30 December 1877 - 10 March 1878) and then as a pamphlet under the title *Extracts from the 'Capital' of Carl Marx* (Hoboken NJ, August 1878), Most no longer being mentioned as author. It is noteworthy — whatever conclusion one might draw — that the second popular digest of *Das Kapital* was done by Carlo Cafiero, the Italian anarchist and friend of Bakunin and Malatesta — *Il Capitale di Carl Marx* (Milan, 1879); and the third by Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis, the Dutch socialist who some ten years later was, like Most, to join forces with the anarchist *Kapitaal en Arbeid* (The Hague, 1881). One could add that Bakunin was the first to start translating *Das Kapital* (into Russian) in the late 1860s, and is also said to have produced the first (lost?) translation of *The Manifesto of the Communist Party* — and be amused by the role anarchists played in the propagation of Marxism.

Most was released from Zwickau prison three weeks early, on 6 October 1873 (his own statement is here, as in a few other instances, somewhat inaccurate). He edited the *Süddeutsche Volksstimme* in Mainz from November. Nearly all his articles in this paper were unsigned, signed §, or -t — with one notable exception, the only novel he ever published: *Proletarierleben: Soziales Zeitgemälde* (Proletarian Life: A Social Picture of Our Times), which was serialised from 8 February to 29 April 1874 (and previously, but signed X.Y., in the *Chemnitzer Freie Presse* in 1873). Elected to the Reichstag in January 1874, he soon sent from Berlin 'Parlamentarische Guckkastenbilder' (Parliamentary Peepshows), published in the *Süddeutsche Volksstimme* (25 February - 29 March 1874), signed -t, already expressing a strong anti-parliamentarian sentiment and showing his disillusionment with parliamentarism in general. They formed the basis of his 'Parliamentarian Reminiscences', published on several occasions in *Freiheit* (e.g. 1897).

In one respect, mainly for reasons of space, this autobiography differs from Most's other published ones: its sole purpose is to inform. Others were intended to entertain, and to some extent also to instruct. Furthermore, it omits nearly all information about Most's private life. Otherwise he rarely missed the opportunity to mention that he was born 'against the law' — officially an illegitimate child, as his father, in the eyes of the authorities too poor to maintain a family, did not get the necessary marriage licence until October 1848. He equally does not mention the illness that befell him on New Year 1854, which led finally

to an operation in March 1859 that disfigured him for life. Nor does he mention the death of his mother (and other close relatives) from cholera in May 1858, or his marriage to Clara Hänsch on 21 January 1874 at Bischofsheim near Mainz. The marriage was not happy, all their children died young (for example, their first son, born in mid-September 1874, survived only for a few weeks). Nevertheless, Clara Most accompanied her husband to London, where they separated in 1880 and where she died in 1882.

There are a few other minor inaccuracies. In connection with the trial for high treason in Vienna, it should be noted that Heinrich Oberwinder (who, incidentally, in later years became an informer for the police) was sentenced to six years, and that the sentences were reduced in September 1870, Most's to three years.

One paragraph, however, is incorrect not only by negligence, for otherwise it might have provided a somewhat ironical note in view of the reason for Most's trial in London in 1881. He mentions correctly that he was elected to the Reichstag for the second time in January 1877, and then that he went, in May 1878, 'to my constituents to give a short report of my conduct in Parliament. The police broke up the meeting, and as I protested against their action, I was imprisoned for six weeks.' On 11 May 1878 an attempt on the life of the German Emperor was made by a man named Max Hödel (who had at one point been a member of the Social Democratic Party). Bismarck, who wanted to use this as a pretext to pass an anti-socialist law, finally got his will after another attempt on the Emperor on 2 June. The Social Democrats already knew what was up after Hödel's attempt and resolutely tried to dissociate themselves from him. Most was, in the *Berliner Freie Presse*, one of the most energetic writers to denounce Hödel as insane. On 26 May he wanted to address a meeting at Chemnitz on 'Attentate und Sozialdemokratie' (Assassinations and Social Democracy) to dissociate Social Democracy from any such attempts. Public meetings had to be authorised by the police, and one on this subject was prohibited; it was also forbidden to report Most's and the Social Democrat's conduct in Parliament. But Most was finally allowed to speak on 'Das Reichsgesundheitsamt' (Public Health Administration) — which he did! But at the end of his speech Most, not entirely unexpectedly, remarked that the Public Health Administration could relieve Parliament considerably, as insane criminals like Hödel should preoccupy the doctors instead of the politicians; the meeting was dissolved and Most arrested and imprisoned for six weeks for having spoken in a public meeting on the attentat. By 1881, however, Most's attitude towards the whole problem had changed, and Hödel had entered the Pantheon of his heroes.

In 1877 he had begun a campaign against the Christian churches, which soon brought him into collision with and the strong opposition of many of the other Social Democratic leaders. A high point in this campaign was a series of speeches in Elberfeld, Barmen and Essen on 3 March 1878. They earned him a six-month sentence, which he was to serve at Elberfeld prison after his release from Plötzensee. There, however, he was liberated a week early and on the same day, 9 December 1878, he was expelled from Berlin. He then spent a week in Hamburg, before he embarked for Britain on the day before Christmas.

On his arrival in London, as he says, 'the members of the Socialistic party [i.e. the Communist Working Men's Club, CABV, 6 Rose Street, Soho] asked me to take the editorship of the *Freiheit*'. The publication of the paper had been planned for some time by members of the CABV, in particular Franz Joseph Ehrhart and Johann Neve. Several titles had been considered — in the beginning, for instance, *Die Commune* (The Commune), until with the tightening of the repression in Germany the definite one was found: *Freiheit* (Freedom). Most, fleeing from Germany and on his way to Liverpool and then the United States, just came handy and was persuaded to accept the editorship. In later reminiscences his own role was rather over-emphasised: the *Freiheit* had by then become his 'child', the continuous 'source of sorrow and of joy' — and he became 'the father and the founder' against many obstacles.

In fact, until his arrest he was the employee of the CABV, on the basis usually of three-month contracts. Article 3 of one of these said, for example: 'The editor, Citizen Most, is obliged to conform the attitude of the *Freiheit* entirely to the Social Revolutionary principle and in general to maintain in this paper with vigorous regardlessness the Social Democratic standpoint in all directions. . . .' A press committee was to exert a continuous control — and did so in competition with the numerous factions and groups in the club. Most was employed in the first place for his unusual capacity to coin strong and popular words and phrases — not to develop his own line of thinking! Max Nettlau, who knew the whole milieu and many of the individuals involved well (and who deeply despised the German groups in particular), later remarked repeatedly that Most's tragedy was that he had to be a slave to his employers and subscribers. He frequently found himself attacked for one 'deviation' or another, and he rarely had defenders — in that respect he had similar experiences in the Social Democratic, Social Revolutionary and anarchist milieus in which he was active in turn.

Freiheit began as a straight Social Democratic paper, following the principles of German Social Democracy as set out in the programme passed by the Congress at Gotha in 1875. It was welcomed by the

ordinary party members and attacked by most of the leaders because it was started without consultation of the leadership. Continuous attacks by the leadership, the growing radicalisation of the majority of the club members (ahead of Most, it seems!), and the influence of old friends like Andreas Scheu altered the outlook of Most and *Freiheit* from Autumn 1879 onwards, and especially after the Congress at Wyden (Switzerland) in August 1880, when Most was expelled from the Party.

Up to then *Freiheit* was still subtitled 'Social-Democratic Organ'. But in its issue of 12 September 1880 *Freiheit* published Bakunin's 'Revolutionary Principles' (written in 1869 for Nechaev), and in the following issues the first really anarchist articles (written by August Reinsdorf). But even this needed an apology by Most, explaining that he was only following the express wish of leading comrades in Berlin and that 'we have published for our readers from time to time articles on nearly all theories developed to date by social revolutionaries — from Marat, Hébert and Baboeuf down to Blanqui, Marx and Dühring'. And, when further explanations were demanded, Most declared on 2 October 1880: 'We have not become Anarchists. But it is true that we regard them as honest social revolutionaries who stand closest to us and with whom we — exactly as the Belgian revolutionaries of all colours also do now — can go *hand in hand*. . . .' On 27 November 1880, as announced in the declaration just quoted, Most commenced a series of articles by one headed 'Warum wir uns Socialrevolutionäre nennen' (Why We Call Ourselves Social Revolutionaries). He dismissed recent Social Democratic conceptions as 'the state of which more or less . . . the liberal Philistine dreamed' and in which, as in America, 'the bourgeoisie controls the proletariat "democratically" exactly as at present it's being ruled by the God's-grace-rulers'.

We draw from that the conclusion that it is wrong to believe that the democratic state could be the means whereby the workers could produce Socialism as if by magic. . . . Whoever strives for a *complete* new order of things, should not take into his head things whose soles the bourgeoisie had already worn out in its childhood. A new society cannot use an antiquated political form.

He who thinks of a *general* transformation of society, has therefore to be a *revolutionary*. He has to be revolutionary in the double sense of the word. First, because the overthrow of the existing order is quite clearly named as the aim by the word revolution; and secondly because it makes at the same time clear that the overthrow shall be done by *violent* means. For only sophists and ignoramuses can declaim to the people the nonsense of a 'peaceful revolution' of the entire society. . . .

To call oneself revolutionary without any further qualification, however, would be also questionable. For, revolutionaries are also those who think only of a political transformation and want nothing but to replace an autocratic

commonwealth by a constitutional one. . . . Therefore we have to call ourselves in this case *social* revolutionaries.

By this term we express our intention to transform *society*, and as the existing society cannot be broken into pieces without at the same time destroying her political vessel, the modern state, the social revolution includes, that goes without saying, also the political revolution.

The social revolution must consist . . . in nothing but the most absolute destruction of all existing instruments of 'order', to have free scope for the building of a harmoniously constituted society.

One need fear nothing from this general disintegration of things which inevitably has to precede the reconstruction. To ensure that during the short period of transition humanity does not peter out like sand on the shore, there will be a factor to serve as a sufficient cement — we have in view *the armed revolutionary people*. . . .

In another article in this series 'Durch Terrorismus zur Freiheit' (Through Terrorism to Freedom) on 11 December 1880, Most explained further what he meant by that, and one may see quite clearly what connects and what still separates him (and other social revolutionaries, like Frank Kitz) from anarchism:

Through Terrorism to Freedom

'We have made it clear recently that our ideal is not the improved liberal state, but that free society in which one cannot speak of any proper government whatsoever.

We thought then of the passage in the *Communist Manifesto* where it says: 'When, in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared, and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, *the public power will lose its political character. Political power, properly so called, is merely the organised power of one class for oppressing another.* If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by the force of circumstances, to organise itself as a *class*, if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the *ruling class*, and, as such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms, and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished *its own supremacy* as a class.

In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an *association*, in which the *free* development of *each* is the condition for the free development of all' [emphasis throughout by Most and not in the original edition of the *Communist Manifesto*].

Only up to this stage there will be a kind of republic (*Volksstaat*); afterwards it will no longer have any purpose, it will by itself come to nothing. *Blanqui* managed to express the claim of this ideal condition of human society in a program as short as it is clear, heading today his masterfully edited paper: *Ni Dieu, ni Maître* — 'Neither God nor Master!'

But until we have reached that stage, the main point will be to unite all forces of the revolution as, so to speak, a giant hammer with which can be smashed to atoms all gods and masters together with their tabernacles, thrones and other seats of power.

Our readers know already that we expect salvation simply and solely from an upheaval of the people. We add further that, in our view, public opinion has already been sufficiently won over to this thought. In every shed the poor whisper it into each other's ears. *They're only lacking courage to start the attack.* The main point is therefore to rouse in the masses the courage necessary for the liberating act. And if that can happen only through continuous incitement, as many claim — well then: *let us incite!*

It is a delusion to hope that in time the proletariat quite on its own, without any stimulation by those through whose heart a little more hatred and anger pulsates than in the dear ordinary man, will set the torch to the churches and palaces. The worse the servitude of the people is, and the longer it lasts, the more discouraged and hesitant they become. If the contrary were the case, one wouldn't need revolutionary parties.

The masses want the present building of society to be smashed, but it will certainly be reserved to a comparatively small group of courageous men to take the initiative at an appropriate moment. The rest will depend completely on the initial success, meaning also that sometimes a small accident can be decisive. . . .

Let's assume that one day the alarm raised by the social revolutionaries gets sufficient response by the people in the big cities; the masses lunge into the streets; it comes to a clash with the armed power; in the breast of the soldier the fraternal heart makes itself felt; confusion breaks out in the files of the military — the battle will be won in the capital; in the other big cities the blow will reverberate and will send the enemies also there into their doom. *And what next?*

The excitement of those who were on the battlefield might be tremendous; hundreds of thousands may have flocked together — though compared with the whole of society it will have been only a minority that fought the battle. Are we then expected immediately to lay down our weapons and to proclaim the universal brotherhood? That would be more than stupidity, it would be sheer madness! Once one has

succeeded to drive a wedge into bourgeois society, one should beware of allowing it to regain breath. The point will be to literally *wipe it out*, so that it becomes impossible for it to recover again.

In class wars one does not content oneself with beating the enemy; one pursues him into his last refuge; one destroys him. The bourgeoisie of Versailles has proven that drastically; it will not have practised this brutal doctrine for nothing!

The revolutionary army, therefore, will have to be complemented by men from the most reliable circles of the people; it will have to build a firmly constructed organisation — it has to seize political power entirely and simply to proclaim a *reign of terror*.

Woe to the revolutionaries of the future, if by any chance, they should want to convene a parliament once the fight is finished; once again, they would be talked out of their victory, as has already happened so often.

Let them be called tyrants, when they use violence; we do not fear the tyranny of the revolutionary proletariat. We know in advance that it will put at its head only an executive power which, chosen from its midst, not only consists of tried and trustworthy people but also cannot do anything that has not the complete approval of the soldiers of the revolution. Yet these would conjure up a new revolutionary army against themselves, if they did things which couldn't be sure of the approval of the great masses of the whole people.

Only those gangs and packs have to tremble with the terrorism of the revolutionaries, which exercised power before the victory of the people . . .'

Most had already manifested his separation from Social Democracy some time before his expulsion from the Party, consciously or unconsciously. In June 1880 the Belgian parliamentarian socialists had proposed an International Socialist World Congress. Most protested against this in *Freiheit* on 19 June 1880, and in turn proposed a conference of delegates of the *revolutionary* Social Democrats of all countries. Apparently urged by the German Social Democrats in Zürich, Peter Kropotkin commented on this in *Le Révolté* on 22 August, and implicitly reproved Most by remarking that he opposed the tendency to put editors in a place that belonged to organisations; it should be the affair of the Sections and Federations to call a congress. Subsequently, the CABV expressed in a letter to the Congress of the Cercles Réunis (Blanquists and anarchists) which took place in Brussels on 19 September 1880 the 'wish that the congress should take the

initiative to convene a social-revolutionary world congress (as opposed to the congress of the Parliamentarians)' (*Freiheit*, 18 September 1880; *La Révolution Sociale*, September 1880); which the Belgian congress did. On the proposal of two German delegates, the location was chosen as London, where indeed this social-revolutionary and anarchist congress took place from 14 to 19 July 1881.

It is easy to speculate on why Most eventually changed the way he did. The easiest solution is undoubtedly to content oneself with what he himself said in later years: he quite naturally 'grew up' ideologically and got rid of all sorts of blinkers.

An important role was certainly played by his growing estrangement from his Social Democratic friends in Germany (and then Switzerland), which preceded his ideological development. Certainly in his first year in London he felt pushed by his friends (and employers) in the CABV — and rebuked by the party leadership and 'leading comrades' in Germany — and he seems usually to have tried to mediate and moderate, true to his past in Germany. During strikes, for example, in 1872 in Chemnitz, he tended to be a 'moderate' and, contrary to his own (published) opinion, purely out of solidarity he then agreed to represent a line he did not necessarily believe in. This was typical of him throughout the 1870s (and brought him to disrepute with some of the other party leaders, who regarded him as ideologically unstable and too easily influenced by 'the masses', therefore he had already been given a 'watchdog' when editor of the *Berliner Freie Presse*); and he continued this way later, only in letters then complaining about the little understanding he found. He was at times well aware of the role his dramatic verbal or written outpourings played, apart from amusing people, and later he was frequently depressed at finding that most of his revolutionary worker friends slept so much better after somebody had colourfully described what one could or would do with all these enemies of the workers. (In 1905 still, long after Most had dissociated himself from his *Revolutionary Warfare* manual, a German anarchist recounted that a copy of this notorious booklet was to be found at the bedside of most anarchists.)

Drastic revolutionary phraseology (or verbal wanking, if one prefers to put it in Most-like terms) was demanded of him by most of the Rose Street Club members fairly soon, but he obviously resisted up to a certain time when he was too openly made to feel by Liebknecht and other Social Democratic leaders that he was for them mainly a useful idiot. In addition to feeling put off by the party leadership, he certainly came more and more under the influence of Russian revolutionaries in London — he had already in Summer 1876 established close relationships with some of them and was deeply impressed by their

absolute dedication to the cause. As well as that, his conversion to becoming an advocate of individual violent acts and 'terrorism' was further helped by his old friend Andreas Scheu, who actually conspired with Edouard Vaillant, a French Blanquist, to turn Most and *Freiheit* their way. Another, purely theoretical, influence was also the writings of Edward Nathan Ganz, who became a contributor to *Freiheit* in Autumn 1880. All this, together with his formal exclusion from the Social Democratic Party in August 1880, encouraged his ideological development towards 'Social Revolutionarism'.

On 2 October 1880, Most approvingly summarised in *Freiheit* a letter which the Russian revolutionary Leo Hartmann had written to the *Daily Telegraph*, rebuking reports of the production of bombs and preparation of plots in London by saying that he and his friends would never think of committing such follies in a country where they enjoyed hospitality. (This, however, could of course be dismissed as merely tactical.) But, on 13 March 1881, the Russian Tsar Alexander II was at last killed by Social Revolutionaries, and Most was delighted — as were many others, at least in the German-speaking countries and France, including non-socialists. He saw it as a decisive step towards the revolution, a major encouragement for all revolutionaries, especially since Alexander II had in previous years survived so many plots and attempts. So on 19 March he published in *Freiheit* the article eulogising this act for which he was arrested on 30 March and subsequently sentenced to 16 months' hard labour (the trial was heard on 17 May at the Central Criminal Court before Lord Coleridge, and the appeal was heard and dismissed on 26 June). As Most's friends immediately suspected, and as is confirmed by materials in Continental archives, the prosecution was initiated by pressure from 'a foreign power' — in the first place Germany. (The official records on the matter in Britain have been largely 'weeded', obviously to conceal this and a few other unpleasant facts.)

Most was arrested in his home and office at 101 Great Titchfield Street (without being cautioned); in addition to the *Freiheit* plant and money, 'there was a large quantity of paper taken possession of, and amongst them many documents'. The Home Secretary commented, that 'the documents . . . are believed to be of considerably importance. They consisted chiefly in lists of persons as correspondents in the principal capitals of Europe. There was also a cypher of which the key has been discovered and which it is expected will cast considerable light on the plans of this nefarious conspiracy. . . . There is evidence of a most extensive Nihilist organisation at Vienna.' The representatives of the courts of Berlin, Vienna and St Petersburg were invited 'to inspect these papers in order that they might take such measures as they



Johann Most in 1875 (above) and in 1900 (below)





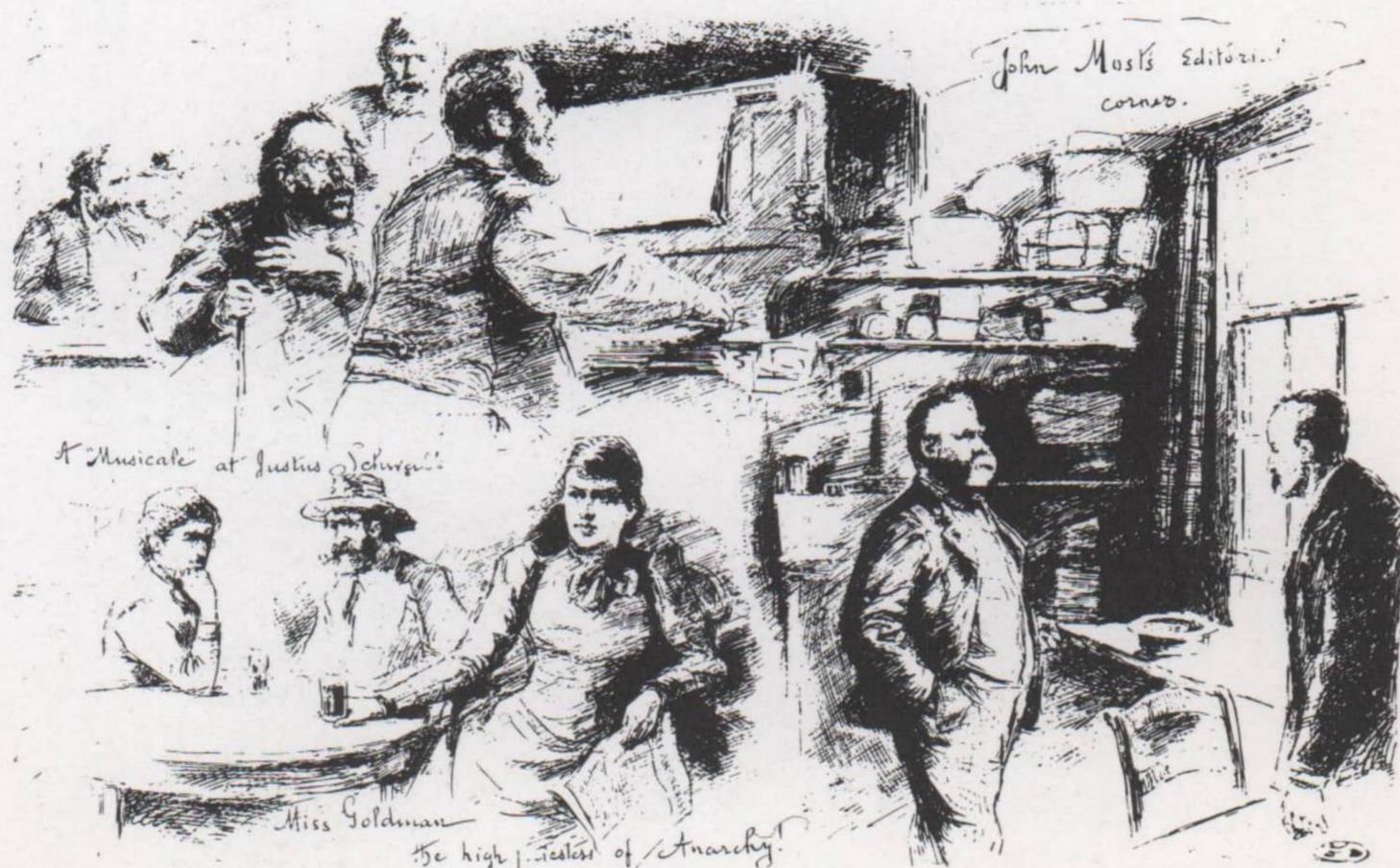
The wives of Johann Most — Clara Hänsch (above) and Helene Minkin (below)





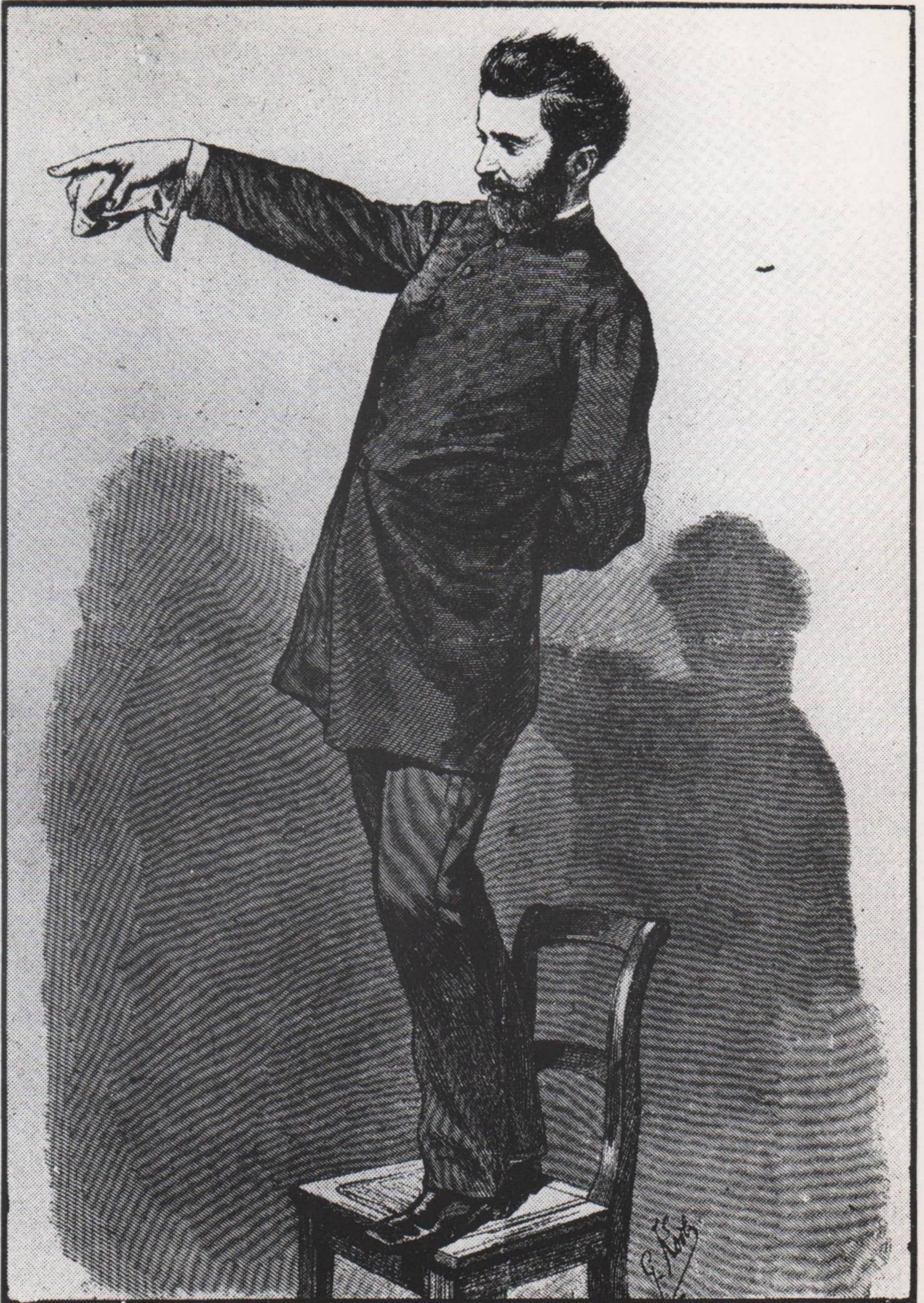
The arrest of Most on 30 March 1881, as shown in the 'Penny Pictorial News & Family Story Paper' (above)

A drawing by V. Gribayedoff of Justus Schwab's saloon and of Most's 'Freiheit' office in New York in the 1890s (below)





*Most acting in Gerhard Hauptmann's play 'Die Weber' (The Weavers)
in the United States*



Most speaking at a workers' meeting in Berlin in the late 1870s

A Workers' Friend picnic group in July 1905 — standing: Simon Freeman, 'Klarent Morleit' ('Pierre Ramus'), Rudolf Rocker, Lazar Sabelinsky, — Lief, David Isakovitz, Samuel Friedmann, William Wess; sitting: Milly Witcop, J. Tapler, Sam Dreen, Henry Isakovitz (later Henry David), M. Kerkelevich



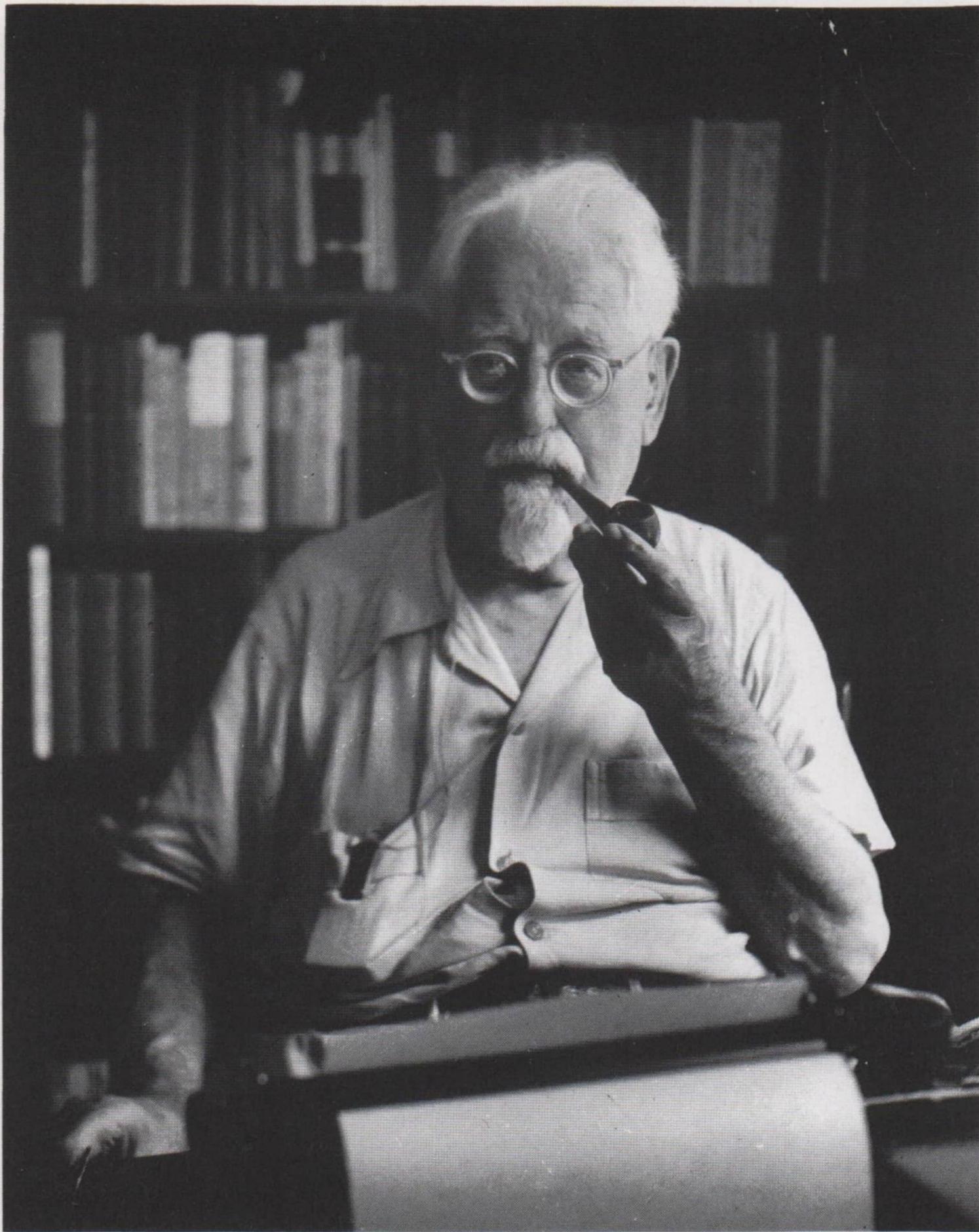
Sabelinsky Photo

WORKERS' FRIEND GROUP July 7, 1905

GREGG



Rudolf Rocker at his desk in middle life



Rudolf Rocker at his desk in old age

thought fit to defeat these criminal plots and it is hoped that the information may enable measures of security to be taken'. It was, of course, 'imposed upon all persons who have been entrusted with this information injunctions to observe the most careful secrecy, as any indication on the subject might have the most injurious consequences'. When after wide-ranging arrests in Vienna London papers reported these as the result of information provided by the British government, this was most emphatically denied. When the English *Freiheit* reported the seizure of papers etc., at Most's arrest, only Charles Bradlaugh (a strong republican as well as a leading secularist) commented on this in the *National Reformer* (1 May 1881): 'We do not quite understand what this means. In *Entick v. Carrington* there was held that there was no power to issue a warrant or seize the papers of a person charged with seditious libel. On the 22nd April, 1766, the House of Commons resolved: "That the seizing or taking away the papers of the author, printer or publisher of a libel, is illegal" (*Commons Journals*, vol. 30, p. 754). The law on this point is collected in *Folkard on Libel*, 4th edition, p. 735. . . . There seems to us something requiring explanation.' Such explanation, of course, was never publicly given. Internally, however, the Treasury Solicitor A.K. Stephenson stated that there was no law or statute authorising this action, and that a search warrant could not have been obtained. Police, as a matter of *practice* confiscated property which might come in useful as evidence. 'I believe that the police often necessarily *in the proper discharge of their duties* commit acts which are said to be *illegal*, inasmuch as there may be *no statutable* authority for such acts.' (How little things change!)

In prison, Most — well experienced in similar institutions on the Continent — found that the 'freer' a state is popularly believed to be, the worse it treats its prisoners — an insight he later found even dramatically confirmed in American prisons. (His first report on 'Conditions in English prisons' was published in *Freiheit* on 9 July 1881). For a while, however, he managed to continue to write for *Freiheit*, thanks to prison officials whose sympathy with the prisoner was amplified a little by small additions to their salary. *Freiheit* (as was already described in detail in *The Raven 2*, pages 107-8) was published in England until 3 June 1882. Then it continued its much poorer existence on the Continent. Most was released on 25 October 1882 — a day before his sentence expired, to pre-empt possible demonstrations. He found the CABV and the German movement in general in London in shambles, offering him no chance to continue publication of the paper. On 2 December 1882 he left from Liverpool on the steamer *Wisconsin* and arrived at New York on 18 December. Previously, he had sent material to fill an issue of *Freiheit* to his friend Justus Schwab,

who had invited him to New York, and the first American issue was published on 9 December, erroneously numbered Volume IV, number 41 (number 40 never appeared). Most was enthusiastically received in New York, and in the following year he moved definitely towards anarchism.

Here, meanwhile, is the notorious article 'Endlich!' for which Most was arrested, tried and imprisoned, and which had so much importance for the international anarchist and the British socialist movement in particular:

At Last!

*Seize this one, seize that one;
Someone ne'ertheless will reach thee.*

C. Beck

'Triumph! Triumph! The word of the poet has accomplished itself. One of the most abominable tyrants of Europe to whom downfall had long since been sworn, and who therefore in wild revenge breathings caused innumerable heroes and heroines of the Russian people to be destroyed or imprisoned — the Emperor of Russia, *is no more*.

On Sunday last at noon just as the monster was returning from one of those diversions which are wont to consist of eye-feastings on well-drilled herds of stupid blood-and-iron slaves, and which one calls military reviews, the executioner of the people who long since pronounced his death-sentence, overtook, and with vigorous hand, settled the brute.

Five times did this rascal have the luck to brush with the coatsleeve the boundary stone between the on this side and the beyond, and already was he at this time once more on the point of drivelling about the 'God's finger' which had newly saved his accursed life, when the fist of the people stopped his mouth for ever.

One of those daring young men whom the social revolutionary movement of Russia brought forth, Rousakoff — with reverence we pronounce his name — had thrown under the despot's carriage a dynamite bomb, which indeed effected a great devastation on the conveyance and the immediate neighbourhood, yet left the crowned murderer for prey uninjured.

Michaelewitch, a princely general, and others, at once fall upon the noble executor of the people's will. The latter, however, with one hand draws a dagger against the autocrat's face, and with the other hand guides the barrel of a revolver against the breast of the same. In an

Great Titchfield-Street is not exactly the quarter where one would expect to find celebrities in a literary or political way. It serves as a kind of Whitechapel-road in miniature to the inhabitants of the mixed district lying to the north of the eastern end of Oxford-street, and is made melodious at all hours by the cries of costermongers and their customers cheapening vegetables, fish, and scraps of meat. Nevertheless it was the upper part of a house near the end of this street that served for some months as publishing and printing office of *Freiheit*, and as residence for its editor, Herr Most. Editor, however, is scarcely a comprehensive enough word to describe his varied functions; for there is nothing connected with the little sheet — from writing the leaders to setting the types, turning off the paper, or receiving the threehalfpence charged for it — that seems above or below his dignity as he sits at the table in the 'first-floor front,' surrounded with all the necessaries of a weekly journal of very limited circulation. he has never shrouded himself in mystery of any sort, but has

been ready to talk to inquirers and give all information regarding his doctrines; speaking, if necessary, hesitantly and imperfectly in English, but always breaking off into fluent and vigorous German when he finds that understood. . . .

. . . Most . . . was about thirty at this time [1878], and a decidedly striking figure on the platform. His hair was of a peculiar dingy hue, neither fair nor dark, and was thrown right back from his brow, showing fully his strongly-marked features. he was always dressed in the same way, in a short black frock-coat buttoned up to the throat, and fitting close to a figure well proportioned, but considerably under the middle size. There was no man in the party who could wield a meeting in one of the vast halls outside the Oranienburg Gate as he did, and his reckless assertions and fierce revolutionary phrases would rouse three thousand closely-packed hearers till it seemed as if it only needed a word to send them into the streets, and against the bayonets, as in 1848. . . .

from *The World*, 6 April 1881

instant he is disarmed, and the belaced, betufted, and by corruption eaten through and through retinue of the Emperor, breathe again on account of the supposed averted danger. Then flies a new bomb near, this time it falls down at the despot's feet, shatters for him the legs, hips, opens for him the belly, and causes amongst the surrounding military and civil Cossacks, numerous, wounds and annihilations.

The personages of the scene are as if paralyzed, only the energetic bomb thrower, does not lose his presence of mind, and is able safely to fly.

The Emperor, however, is dragged to his palace where yet for an hour and a half, he is able, amidst horrible sufferings, to meditate on his life full of crimes. At last he died!

This in reference to the simple state of facts.

Instantly the telegraph wires played up to the remotest corners of the earth to make the occurrence known to the whole world. The effect of this publication was as various as it was drastic.

Like a thunderclap it penetrated into princely palaces where dwell those crime-beladen abortions [meaning the sovereigns and rulers of Europe], of every profligacy who long since have earned a similar fate a thousand-fold.

For three years past has many a shot whistled by the ears of these monsters [meaning the said sovereigns and rulers of Europe]. Without that, but for Nobiling's shot with small shot [meaning an attempt which had before been made by one Nobiling to murder the said Emperor William], even one hair had been bent for them. Always and always again could they indemnify themselves in princely fashion for the fright endured by executions and regulations of the masses of all kinds; nay, just in the most recent period they [meaning the said sovereigns and rulers of Europe] whispered with gratification in each others' ears, that all danger was over because the most energetic of all tyrant-haters — the Russian Nihilists, had been successfully exterminated to the last member.

Then comes such a hit.

William, erstwhile canister-shot Prince of Prussia, the now Protestant Pope and soldier-Emperor of Germany, got convulsions in due form from excitement; like things happened at other Courts [meaning the Courts of the said sovereigns and rulers of Europe].

Howling and gnashing of teeth prevailed in every residence-nest.

But the other rabble too, which in the various countries, pulls the wires of the Government-mechanism of the ruling classes, experienced a powerful 'moral' headache, and melted in tears of condolence.

The whimpering was no less in France, Switzerland and America, than in Montenegro or Greece.

A Gambetta carried through the adjournment of the Chambers and thereby put an insult on France from which even Austria was saved by the then president of the Reichstrat.

Public opinion is startled, and seeks in vain for the reasons of such a miserable attitude. One thinks of diplomatic motives and the like, but one misses the mark.

Much may indeed have contributed here and there which resembles mere political hypocrisy; in the main the grounds lie deeper.

The supporters of the ruling classes see just in the destruction of an autocrat which has taken place, *more* than the mere act of homicide in itself. They are face to face with a successful attack upon *authority as such*. At the same time they all know that *every* success [meaning a murder of a sovereign or ruler] has the wonderful power not only of instilling respect, but also of inciting to *imitation*. There they [meaning the said sovereigns and rulers] simply tremble then from Constantinople to Washington for their long since forfeited heads.

This fright is a high enjoyment for us, just as we have heard with the most joyful feelings of the heroic deed of those social revolutionaries of St Petersburg who slaughtered a tyrant on Sunday last.

In this time of the most general humility and woe, at a period when in many countries old women only and little children yet limp about the political stage with tears in their eyes, with the most loathsome fear in their bosoms of the castigating rod of the State night-watchman; now when real heroes [meaning murderers of sovereigns and rulers] have become so scarce, such a Brutus-deed has the same effect on better natures as a refreshing storm.

Let some say behind our backs we are carrying on a 'game with Nihilists,' let others blame us as cynical or brutal, yet we know that in expressing our joy at the successful deed, we were disclosing not only our own feelings but were also giving utterance to what millions of men, down-trodden and tyrannised over, thought with us when they read of the execution of Alexander.

To be sure it will happen once again that here and there even Socialists start up who, without that any one asks them, assert that they for their part abominate regicide, because such an one after all does no good, and because they are combatting not persons but institutions.

This sophistry is so gross that it may be confuted in a single sentence. It is clear, namely, even to a mere political tyro, that State and social institutions cannot be got rid of until one has overcome the *persons* who wish to maintain the same [meaning amongst others the said rulers and sovereigns of Europe]. With mere philosophy you cannot so much as drive a sparrow from a cherry tree, any more than bees are rid of their drones by simply humming.

On the other hand it is altogether false that the destruction of a prince is entirely without value, because a substitute, appointed beforehand, forthwith takes his place.

What one might in any case complain of, that is only the *rarity* of so-called tyrannicide. If only a single crowned wretch [meaning amongst others the said rulers and sovereigns of Europe], were disposed of every month, in a short time it should afford no one gratification henceforward still to play the monarch.

Moreover, it is certainly a satisfaction for every right-thinking man, when such a capital criminal [meaning amongst others the said sovereigns and rulers of Europe] is done away with, *i.e.*, is punished according to his evil deeds. It does not occur to the jurists of civil society to hang no murderer or to lock up no thief, because it is proved that these punishments do *not* remove murder and theft (both institutions of *this* society) out of the world.

When we had entirely to do with such a subject as Alexander Romanow was, then one must accept his destruction with *double* satisfaction.

If one could believe newspaper writers, then one must, according to their chatter, take it that the exterminated Czar was a real pattern of benevolence. The facts prove that he belonged to the worst doers of abominations that have ever disgraced humanity.

Some 100,000 men were banished to Siberia during his reign; dozens were hanged after they had suffered the cruellest tortures. All these victims the Russian crown Moloch claimed, only because those concerned were striving against him for the improvement of society — wishing for the general welfare — perhaps had only passed on a single forbidden book, or written one letter in which a censure on the Government was expressed.

Out of the war abominations which this tyrant conjured up, we take but one scene from the last Turkish War.

Alexander was celebrating his name-day, and wished a warlike spectacle. He ordered a storming of Plevna; the generals ventured to call to his mind that such an one would not only fail, but would cost an enormous number of men. In vain! The order stood good, and in order to witness the slaughter with more gratification, the tyrant caused a special stand, with a kind of imperial box, to be erected for himself, whence he might watch the storming without himself falling into danger. The result corresponded with the predictions of the Generals. The storming was repulsed, and 8,000 dead and wounded covered the ground outside the walls of Plevna. But the 'little father,' as the despot by preference caused himself to be called, had amused himself cannibalistically.

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Parteigenossen! Vergesst den Flugschriftenfonds nicht.

ENDLICH!

„Fasse Diesen, fasse Jenen;
Einer wird dich doch erreichen.“
C. Beck.

Triumph! Triumph! Das Wort des Dichters hat sich erfüllt. Einer der schlauesten Tyrannen Europas, dem längst der Untergang geschworen worden, und der deshalb in wüstem Rachehohn unzählige Helden und Heldinnen des russischen Volkes vernichten oder einkerkern liess — der Kaiser von Russland ist nicht mehr. —

Am vergangenen Sonntag Mittag, als das Ungeheuer gerade von einer jener Belastigungen zurückkehrte, welche in einer Augenweide an wohlgedrillten Heerden stupider Blut- und Eisensklaven zu bestehen pflegen, und die man militärische Revuen nennt, hat die Bestie der Richter des Volkes, das deren Todesurtheil längst gesprochen, ertötet und mit kräftiger Hand abgethan.

Fünfmal war es dieser Cannaille geblüht, den Grenzstein zwischen Diesseits und Jenseits mit dem Rockärmel zu streifen; und schon war er diesmal abermals im Begriffe, von dem „Finger Gottes“ zu fassen, der sein vermaledeites Leben neuerdings gerettet habe, als die Faust des Volkes ihm für immer den Mund stopfte.

Einer jener kühnen jungen Männer, welche die socialrevolutionäre Bewegung Russlands hervorbrachte, Boussakoff — mit Ehrfurcht sprechen wir seinen Namen aus —, hatte unter den Wagen des Despoten eine Dynamitbombe geworfen, welche zwar am Gefährt und der nächsten Umgebung desselben eine grosse Verwüstung anrichtete, den gekrönten Raubmörder jedoch unversehrt liess.

Michalewitsch, ein prinzipieller General, und Andere fallen sogleich über den edlen Vollstrecker des Volkswillens her, dieser aber stücht mit der einen Hand einen Dolch gegen das Gesicht des Autokraten und lenkt den Lauf eines Revolvers mit der andern Hand gegen die Brust desselben. Er wird im Nu entwaftet; und die bestialisches Geknurre und von Corrosion durch und durch zerfressene Umgebung des Kaisers athmet auf ob der vermeintlich beseitigten Gefahr. Da fliegt eine neue Bombe heran; diesmal fällt sie zu den Füßen des Despoten nieder, zerschmettert ihm die Beine, reißt ihm den Bauch auf und veruracht unter den umstehenden Militär und Zivilsacken zahlreiche Verwundungen und Vernichtungen.

Die Personen der Scene sind wie gelähmt, nur der energische Bombenwerfer verliert seine Fassung nicht, und vermag sich glücklich zu flüchten. Der Kaiser aber wird nach seinem Palast geschleppt, wo er noch ein und eine halbe Stunde lang unter grässlichen Schmerzen über sein Leben voller Verbrechen nachzudenken vermag. Endlich kreppte er.

Dies zunächst der einfache Sachverhalt.

Augenblicklich spielten die Telegraphendrähte bis nach den entlegensten Winkeln der Erde hin, um das Ereigniss in der ganzen Welt bekannt zu machen. Die Wirkung dieser Publikation war ebenso mannigfaltig als dramatisch.

Wie ein Donnerschlag drang sie in die Fürstenschlösser, wo jene schuldbeladenen Ausgeburten aller Buchlosigkeit hausten, die längst ein ähnliches Schicksal tausendfach verdient haben.

Seit drei Jahren ist manches Geschoss gleichsam an dem Ohren dieser Scheusalen vorbei gesaust, ohne dass ihnen — vom Nobilitäten Schrottschuss abgesehen — auch nur ein Haar gekrümmt worden wäre. Immer und immer wieder konnten sie sich für den ausgehenden Schrecken durch Hinrichtungen und Massenmassregelungen aller Art „fürstlich“ entschädigen. Ja, sie raunten sich gerade in der jüngsten Zeit schon mit Behagen in die Ohren, dass alle Gefahr vorbei sei, weil es gelungen wäre, die Energiichsten aller Tyrannenhasser, die russischen „Nihilisten“, bis zum letzten Glied auszurotten.

Da kommt ein solcher Treffer!

Wilhelm, weiland Kartätschenprinz von Preussen, der jetzige Protestantenspapst und Soldatenkaiser von Deutschland bekam förmliche Krämpfe vor Aufregung. An anderen Höfen passirten ähnliche Dinge.

Heulen und Zähneklappern herrschte in jedem Reichthum.

Aber auch das sonstige Geinadel, welches in den verschiedenen Ländern die Drähte des Regierungsmechanismus der herrschenden Klaven zieht, verparpte einen gewaltigen „moralischen“ Katzenjammer und zerliess in Belfeldthränen — mochte es nun aus einfachen Oberlakalen an den Stufen eines Kaiserthrones oder aus „republikanischen“ Ordnungsbandiden erster Klasse bestehen.

Das Gefenne war in Frankreich, der Schweiz und Amerika nicht geringer, wie in Montenegro oder Griechenland.

Ein Gambetta setzte die Vertagung der Kammern durch und that so Frankreich eine Schmach an, vor welcher sogar Oesterreich durch den derzeitigen Reichsrathpräsidenten bewahrt wurde.

Die öffentliche Meinung stutzt und sieht vergebens nach Gründen einer solch elenden Haltung. Man denkt an diplomatische Motive und Aehnliches; allein man geht fehl.

Es mag wohl Manches hier und da mitgespielt haben, was wie einfache politische Heuchelei aussieht; in der Hauptsache liegen die Gründe tiefer.

Die Träger der herrschenden Klaven erblickten eben in dem stattgehabten Vernichten eines Autokraten mehr wie den blossen Tötungsakt an sich. Sie stehen vor einem erfolgreichen Angriff auf die Autorität als solcher. Gleichzeitig wissen sie alle, dass jeder Erfolg die wunderbare Kraft hat, nicht allein Respekt einzufliessen, sondern auch zur Nachahmung anzuregen. Da zittern sie denn einfach von Konstantinopel bis nach Washington für ihre längst verwirkten Köpfe.

Uns ist dieser Schrecken ein Hochgenuss, gleichwie wir mit den freudigsten Gefühlen die Heldenthat jener Socialrevolutionäre von St. Petersburg vernommen haben, welche am letzten Sonntag einen Tyrannen schlachteten.

In dieser Zeit der allgemeinsten De- und Wehmütheil; in einer Periode, wo in vielen Ländern nur noch alte Weiber und kleine Kinder, voller Thränen in den Augen, die ekelhafteste Furcht vor der Zuchttrübe der Staatsnachtwächter im Leibe, auf der politischen Bühne umher humpeln; jetzt, wo die echten Helden so selten geworden sind, wirkt eine solche Bräusthat auf bessere Naturen, wie ein erfrischendes Gewitter.

Mögen uns die Einen nachsagen, wir trieben ein „Spiel mit Nihilisten“, mögen die Anderen uns Cyniker oder brutal schelten; wir wissen doch, dass wir, indem wir unsere Freude über die gelückte That austrückten, nicht nur unsere eigenen Gefühle an den Tag legten, sondern aussprachen, was mit uns Millionen gedrückter und tyrannterter Menschen theilten, als sie von der Hinrichtung Alexanders laßen.

Freilich wird es wieder einmal passiren, dass da und dort sogar Socialisten auftauchen, welche, ohne dass sie Jemand befragt, versichern, sie für ihren Theil verabscheuten schon deshalb den Königsmord, weil ein solcher ja doch nichts nütze, und weil sie nicht Personen, sondern Einrichtungen bekämpfen.

Diese Sophistik ist so plump, dass sie mit einem einzigen Satze zu Schanden gemacht werden kann. Es liegt nämlich selbst für einen politischen ABC-Schlüssler auf der Hand, dass Staats- und Gesellschaftsrichtungen nicht eher beseitigt werden können, als bis man die Personen besiegt hat, welche dieselben aufrecht erhalten wollen. Mit blosser Philosophie verjagt man nicht einmal einen Spatzen vom Kirschbaum, so wenig wie die Bienen ihre Drohnen durch einfaches Summen los werden.

Andererseits ist es durchaus falsch, dass die Vernichtung eines Fürsten ganz ohne Werth sei, weil ja sofort ein im voraus bestimmter Stellvertreter an dessen Platz komme.

Was man allenfalls beklagen könnte, das ist nur die Seltenheit des sogenannten Tyrannenmordes. Würde nur alle Monate ein einziger Kronenschuss abgethan; in kurzer Zeit sollte es Keinem mehr behagen, noch fernerhin einen Monarchen zu spielen.

Ferner ist es selber eine Genugthuung für jeden gerecht denkenden Menschen, wenn so ein Capitalverbrecher abgethan, d. h. entsprechend seiner Unthaten geächtet wird. Es fällt ja auch den Juristen der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft nicht ein, keinen Mörder zu hängen oder keinen Dieb einzusperrn, weil es erwiesen ist, dass diese Strafen Mord und Diebstahl (auch Institutionen dieser Gesellschaft) nicht aus der Welt schaffen.

Wenn man es vollends mit einem Subjekt zu thun hat, wie Alexander Romanow war, so muss man dessen Vernichtung mit doppelter Befriedigung hinnehmen.

Würde man den Zeitungsschreibern glauben können, so müsste man nach deren Geschwätz annehmen, der abgethane Czar sei ein wahres Muster von Herzensgüte gewesen. Die Thatfachen beweisen, dass er zu den ärgsten Gräueltathätern gehörte, welche je die Menschheit geschändet haben.

Gegen 100,000 Menschen sind während seiner Regierung nach Sibirien verbannt worden, Dutzende wurden gehängt, nachdem sie zuvor die grässlichsten Folterungen erduldet hatten. Alle diese Opfer forderte der russische Kronmoloeh ein, nur weil die Betreffenden eine Gesellschaft-verbesserung anstrebten, das allgemeine Beste wünschten — vielleicht nur ein einzelnes verbotenes Buch weiter gegeben oder einen Brief geschrieben haben, in welchem ein Tadel gegen die Regierung ausgesprochen war.

Von den Kriegsgräueln, die dieser Tyrann heraufschworen, greifen wir nur eine Scene vom letzten Türkenkrieg heraus.

Alexander feierte seinen Namenstag und wünschte ein kriegerisches Schauspiel. Er befahl einen Sturm auf Plewna; die Generale wagten es, darauf aufmerksam zu machen, dass ein solcher nicht allein misglücken, sondern auch eine Unmasse Menschen kosten werde. Unsonst! Es blieb bei dem Befehle; und um die Schlächterei mit mehr Behagen betrachten zu können, liess sich der Tyrann ohne eigene Tribüne mit einer AM Kaiserloge bauen, von wo aus er den Sturm beobachtete konnte, ohne selbst in Gefahr zu gerathen. Das Resultat entsprach den Vorhersagungen der Generale. Der Sturm wurde abgeschlagen und 8,000 Tode und Verwundete bedeckten das Terrain ausserhalb der Wälle von Plewna. Das „Väterchen“ aber, wie sich der Despot mit Vorliebe nennen liess, hatte sich cannibalsch amüsirt. —

Alle Bitten, alle Wünsche auf Einführung noch so geringfügiger Reformen, die fast täglich zu seinen Füßen niedergelegt wurden, beantwortete er nur durch neue Gemeinheiten eines asiatischen Regierungsbarbarismus. Jeder Warnung oder Drohung folgten wahre Dragonaden. Versuchte, aber misglückte Angriffe auf seine Person steigerten seine Niedertracht ins Ungeheuerliche.

Wer ist Hallunke genug, den Tod einer solchen Bestie wirklich zu beklagen!

Aber, sagt man: Wird es der Nachfolger des Zerschmetterten besser treiben wie dieser! Wir wissen es nicht. Da aber wissen wir, dass derselbe kaum lange regieren dürfte, wenn er nur in die Festschneppen seines Vaters tritt.

Ja, wir möchten geradezu wünschen, dass es so kommt, denn wir haben die heuchlerischen, schweißliberalen Monarchen nicht weniger als die Despoten satt, weil die Ersteren die Culturentwicklung vielleicht noch ärger hintanzuhalten vermögen, wie die Letzteren.

Zudem muss das Verharren des neuen Czaren beim alten Regierungsprinzip sofort die Feinde desselben verdoppelt und verdreifacht, weil es in Russland eine Menge Leute von jener Sorte gibt, welche an die in allen Ländern und zu allen Zeiten üblich gewesene Kronprinzenlegende geglaubt hat, wonach der betreffende Thronfolger nur auf den Moment lauert, wo er ein ganzes Füllhorn voll Glückseligkeiten über das Volk zu ergiessen vermag.

Alle diese Schwärmer sind sofort bekehrt, wenn sie sehen, dass die neuen Ukase ebenso sehr nach Juchten riechen wie die alten.

Indessen, wie dem auch immer sein mag: Der Wurf war gut! Und wir hoffen, dass es nicht der letzte war.

Möge die kühne That, die — wir wiederholen es — unsere volle Sympathie hat, die Revolutionäre weit und breit mit neuem Muth bezaubere. Gedenke Jeder der Worte Herweghs:

„Und wo es noch Tyrannen gibt,
Die lasst uns heft erfassen;
Wir haben lang genug geliebt,
Und wollen endlich lassen!“

Der 18. Maerz 1871.

Ein angebliches Arbeiterblatt hat es vor einigen Tagen gewagt, dem Proletariat das Recht auf die Feier des 18. März streitig machen zu wollen. Und mögen ihm das verzeihen, wirkliche Socialisten werden damit auf dem Wege der Erkenntniss wieder um einen Schritt weiter gebracht worden sein.

Wir unsererseits halten es heuer für angemessen, nicht nur den Jahrestag des Ausbruchs der Commune-Erhebung zu feiern, sondern während der Dauer der 2 1/2 Monate des Communekampfes ein gut Theil vom Raume unseres Blattes einer geschichtlichen Skizze dieser ewig denkwürdigen Revolution zu widmen.

Wir werden freilich dabei nicht umhin können, auch kritisch zu sein. Denn jede kritiklose Geschichtsdarstellung ist für den Politiker werthlos; die Geschichte des arbeitenden Volkes aber kann der Kritik schon deshalb nicht entbehren, weil ohne dieselbe die Lehre, welche aus früheren Begebenheiten für die Zukunft zu ziehen ist, verloren gieng.

Wenn wir aber betonen werden, was unserer Ansicht nach in dieser oder jener Beziehung im einen oder im anderen Augenblicke hätte geschehen müssen, so erkünnen wir uns damit noch nicht, auf die braven Männer der Commune auch nur den kleinsten Stein zu werfen. Wir wissen ja, dass die nachträgliche Kritik weit leichter ist, wie die That im entscheidenden Momente. Auch hängt die Art und Weise des Handelns selten von dem Talent oder dem Willen der Einzelnen ab, sondern von der Beschaffenheit des politischen Masse-intellekts —

All petitions, all wishes for the introduction of ever so slight reforms, which were almost daily laid at his feet, he only answered by fresh meannesses of an Asiatic government — barbarism. Genuine 'dragonades' followed every warning or threat attempted, but unsuccessful attacks on his person increased his baseness to the monstrous.

Who is scoundrel enough really to bewail the death of such a beast?

But it is said: 'Will the successor of the smashed one do any better than he did?' We know it not. But this we do know, that the same can hardly be permitted to reign long, if he only steps in his father's footsteps.

Yes, we could actually *wish* that it should so happen, for we hate the hypocritical, mock-liberal, monarchs, no less than the despots 'sans phrase' (which words are words in the French language, and being interpreted, mean 'pure and simple,') because the former, perhaps, have still greater power of retarding the development of civilisation than the latter.

In addition, the persistence of the new Czar in the old principle of government, must forthwith double and treble its enemies, because in Russia there are a number of people of that sort, which has believed in the Crown Prince legend, usual in all countries and at all times, according to which the successor spoken of only awaits the moment when he may be able to pour over the people a whole horn of plenty, full of blessings.

All these enthusiasts are forthwith converted, when they see that the new ukases smell as much of Russian leather as the old.

Meanwhile, be this as it may: *the throw was good*, and we hope that it was not the last.

May the bold deed, which, we repeat it, has our full sympathy, inspire revolutionists far and wide with fresh courage. Let each think of Herwegh's words:

*And where tyrants still exist,
There let us boldly seize them;
We have loved long enough,
And we wish at last to hate!*

Notes and Acknowledgements

Most's autobiography was first published in *Freedom (Freiheit)*, No 4, 15 May 1881. This shortlived offspring of *Freiheit* was published by the 'Freiheit' Defence Committee, formed by his friends and comrades around the Rose Street Club. Seven issues were published between 24 April and 5 June 1881, plus previously a specimen issue, unnumbered and undated (and reproduced in *The Raven* 2, p. 160).

The English version of Most's famous article 'Endlich!' is reproduced here from a pamphlet published by the 'Freiheit' Defence Committee in June 1881 and entitled *The 'Freiheit' Prosecution: The Trial of Herr Johann Most with verbatim Rapport of the Address of Mr. A. M. Sullivan MP for the Defence*. The preface is signed Benleigh, a pseudonym of the then well-known war correspondent and soon socialist Bennett Burleigh, who also, with the Liberal MP Joseph Cowen, provided most of the funds for the Defence. An English translation had previously been published in No 2 of *Freedom (Freiheit)*, 1 May 1881; in the printed transcript of the trial; and in a number of daily papers — e.g. *The Times*, 26 May 1881, p. 13.

On this, and the second *Freiheit* trial a year later, Bernard Porter has, despite minor inaccuracies, much useful information to offer in 'The *Freiheit* Prosecutions, 1881-1882', in *The Historical Journal*, 23, (1980), pp. 833-856.

Frederic Trautmann's *The Voice of Terror: A Biography of Johann Most* (Westport, Connecticut/London: Greenwood Press, 1980) is anything but a book to be recommended: apart from being thoroughly hostile to its subject (which need not be an obstacle for a good treatment), it is extremely badly researched and manages even on a factual basis to fall far behind the books published by Rudolf Rocker and Max Nettlau some 60 years ago. Even worse is Andrew Carlson's *Anarchism in Germany, Vol. 1: The early Movement* (Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, 1972), which at times makes one doubt whether the author knows German at all.

The standard books are still Rocker's biography, *Johann Most: Das Leben eines Rebellen* (Berlin 1924-25, reprinted 1973 and 1985), of which an American translation has been advertised since 1978 by Revisionist Press; and Max Nettlau's *Anarchisten und Sozialrevolutionäre* (Berlin 1931, reprinted several times since 1972).

Extensive use has been made of unpublished material in British and Continental archives.

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Paul Rabin

Computers and Anarchism

1 Introduction

In this paper I hope to give a brief survey of two aspects of human culture and the relationships between them — anarchism, the most positive and forward-looking expression of the human spirit; and computers, the most powerful and complex technology produced by human ingenuity.

It may seem strange to consider anarchism and computers together. After all, hasn't anarchism always been a marginal and unsuccessful political movement, while computers have been so central and effective? There is hardly an area of life which is not being revolutionised by computers. Besides, anarchism and computers are like opposites — extremes of disorganisation and organisation. They could hardly be relevant to each other.

Well, anarchism and computers *are* opposites in a way, and their difference *does* have to do with organisation. But it is a difference of kind rather than of degree. And, as I hope to show, each raises crucial concerns, both theoretical and practical, for the other. Further, when considered generally, anarchism and computers are representative of two major forces in cultural history.

Anarchism is the political expression of anarchy, a cultural force for the proliferation of human forms of life. Computers are the technological expression of another cultural force, which I shall call order, which strives for definition and control. In human history these forces have both developed, now in harmony, now in opposition.

In psychic life, anarchy is reflected in eros, expansive and joyful; order in thanatos, static and insecure. In political life, anarchy is reflected in liberty, order in authority. In economic life, anarchy is reflected in sharing and giving; order in owning and taking. Seen in these terms, the mutual, and equal relevance of anarchism and computers becomes clearer.

Currently, order is ascendant and anarchy is discredited and discouraged. As an anarchist, I am interested in the nature of, and requirements for, a world in which anarchy is the reigning spirit. In Section 2 I shall survey the realm of anarchy, looking at our relations

with other people and with society in general, our relations with things and with the world in general, and our relations with ourselves. our sense of identity, our knowledge and activity. In Section 3 I shall survey the realm of order, and the place of computers within it.

Neither anarchy nor order alone is a possible basis for human culture. Anarchy without order is limited in its means of existence and its means of expression. Order without anarchy is sterile and self-destructive. The current domination of order is both oppressive and dangerous. The discovery of possible healthy relationships between anarchy and order — and, more concretely, the delineation of the requirements for the socially beneficial design and use of computers — are among the most urgent tasks facing us. In Section 4 I shall describe some of the ways in which the use of computers threatens human freedom. I conclude that there is no safe way to use computers. The benefits of computers are always bought at the price of freedom.

My own conception of anarchy is based on several years of reading, discussion and rumination. It is only one of a wide variety of conceptions of anarchy. I have been involved with computers for about 18 years in various capacities. I am fascinated by their suggestiveness and by their challenge. At the intersection of these two interests, as well as many others, lies a persistent puzzle: what are the possible relations between the formal and the informal? The thoughts expressed here are necessarily incomplete.

2 The realm of anarchy

Anarchism is the political and intellectual movement in support of anarchy. Anarchy is based on the desirability and innate possibility of free, creative, and responsible activity of people, separately and in association. Anarchism is motivated by both the feeling and the understanding that such autonomous activity is necessary for the growth and development of human intelligence, dignity and happiness.

Anarchism has manifested itself in a variety of organisations and theories. But anarchy itself is not a specific theory or form of organisation. It is a spirit which can find expression, to a greater or lesser extent, in theories and organisations. Anarchy is not complete or consistent or definite.

To analyse anarchy is necessarily to inflict an injury on it. Anarchy can not be captured in any formulation. Anarchy is metaphysically primitive. The substance of anarchy can only be understood intuitively. The form which this understanding takes is as a distinction between

those forms of human life which support anarchy and those which are hostile to it.

Anarchism is optimistic about human nature. Only remove domination, and humanity will flower in a myriad cultures. People are naturally creative and cooperative. Of course, this is an ideal. The realisation of any anarchist society will involve many compromises with order, if only to provide some security for those who wish a less adventurous life. But in accepting order, anarchy puts itself in peril of losing its freedom.

To secure anarchy, we must first secure its foundations, the basic relations which people enter into with others, themselves, and the world around them. Having set forth the basic relations of anarchy, we must still devise forms of social organisation based on these relations to solve all of the practical problems of life. But I am concerned here with the basic relations because it is on this level that the fundamental conflict between anarchy and order occurs, and it is on this level that the social significance of computers must be understood. The practical problems of social construction will keep for another day.

The basic relations of anarchy all involve people. The qualities of objectivity and subjectivity are fused in these relations. The following are sketches from three angles: relations with others, relations with things, and relations with one's self. These relations are all connected.

A Relations between people

Versions of anarchism differ in their conceptions of social relations. Individualists see society as a constraint of the freedom of individuals. Free relations are modelled on contracts between autonomous social atoms, each acting in their own self-interest. As Marx observed, this model of social relations is based on capitalist ideology, is not natural but highly constructed, and is the opposite of free.

Social, or communist, anarchism understands that human freedom and development are grounded in a social matrix. The greatest emphasis of anarchism must be on social relations. In fact, all anarchist relations have a social dimension. In order for people to be free, the relations between people must be free. People must interact directly with one another. People must not dominate one another. Mediation limits interaction, and hence the relations which are based on interaction. Mediation alienates people from one another and masks domination.

People can form voluntary associations in order to pursue common interests. Each person may be involved in any number of clearly or vaguely defined associations. Association entails responsibility. Responsibilities are not duties; they are not exacted by the threat of

sanction. Instead, they are based on a shared ethic of respect for one's self and for others. Involvement with an association is always voluntary. The degree of lightness with which a person will enter or leave an association will depend on the responsibilities involved.

Some associations will be transient, others long-lasting. Associations can include or overlap each other in space or time. Society consists of this organic network of associations. Some associations will be engaged in production; others in inquiry; still others in free expression.

People will be respected regardless of their associations or responsibilities. There will be many associations which will include and support people, regardless of the degree of responsibility which they can or will assume. In particular, the associations in which people are born will respect and support them.

Since relations must be direct and non-hierarchical, the size, duration, and effectiveness of anarchist associations are limited. Even to approach these limits may require extraordinary stamina in a voluntary association. To surpass these limits requires that the free and voluntary nature of the association be compromised in favour of organisational centralisation and autonomy. This is a dangerous step since it removes control from the people involved in the organisation. Hierarchy and mediation will be introduced. The organisation will reproduce itself, extending the domain in which anarchist social relations are suppressed. Autonomous organisations are in basic conflict with anarchy. They can, perhaps must be tolerated, but only when kept within vigilantly observed limits. We must accept limits to effectiveness.

Anarchist society requires shared ethics, a determination to preserve freedom, and an understanding of the threats to freedom. People will share their own visions, and will respect the visions of others. Both knowledge and practice will be pluralistic. Anarchist community depends on sharing, on shared worlds.

B Relations between people and things

Anarchism has until recently had little to say about our material relations. Like many other doctrines it has not questioned the simple economic categories of production and consumption. Material abundance would be provided by the bounty of nature augmented by technology. Our manipulation of things and our understanding of things would also be objective, independent of social relationships.

This naive picture must be replaced. An attitude of domination towards nature leads to domination in social relations. Technological choices necessarily constrain social relations. An objective stance towards things spills over into alienation between people.

We must accept limits to consumption. We do not have the right to destroy nature. As we make use of nature, our responsibilities to others oblige us to renew what we use. We must choose our technologies with care, making sure that we do not thereby build social relations which we do not want. We must not consider things objectively, but in personal, social, and natural contexts. This implies also seeing ourselves as part of nature.

Private property in its current form will not exist. There will be no state to protect 'property rights'. If rights in things are recognised, they will be based on responsibility and respect.

C Relations between people and themselves

Anarchist self-relations are reflections of relations with the social and natural worlds. People will see themselves within social and natural contexts, and will understand the social and natural relations involved in their own visions and activities. Yet these relations shall not determine each person's visions and activities. Each person shall be autonomous: free, creative, and responsible.

Just as anarchist reason and practice must be firmly rooted in social and natural contexts, so therefore the whole person must be similarly rooted. This implies that the social and natural environments of people must be relatively stable.

3 The realm of order

Such are the basic relations within the realm of anarchy. The realm of order is quite different. Where anarchy supports creative power, order supports dominating power. Order seeks to fix and to hold. Where anarchy integrates reason, practical and theoretical, within contexts of social and natural relations, order seeks to separate reason utterly from these contexts, to reify reason as a technology of domination over the social and natural worlds. This separation between reason and reality under the influence of domination creates a distorting tension, and this tension is resolved by the formation of two complementary ideologies — rationalism and instrumentalism. These ideologies buttress and legitimise reason in its isolated and purified form.

Within the ideology of rationalism, all reality can be completely and objectively understood by pure reason. Objective understanding is the exclusive domain of science, whose methods and theories are untainted by subjectivity. A phenomenon is considered understood when it can be isolated and controlled.

Within the ideology of instrumentalism, this is all turned around the

other way. Instrumentalism is pragmatic. What can be controlled is real. What is real can be controlled completely. The natural function of reason is domination. Objectivity is denied.

These ideologies maintain the separability, the authority, and the effectiveness of reason. Through these ideologies, the realm of order provides both the means of control and the mystification of control. The rule of order has been supported therefore precisely by those seeking to dominate people and things. It has repaid this support handsomely. The rule of order has also been supported by those who hope to use it as a shield against domination. This is a tragic mistake.

Of course neither rationalism nor instrumentalism is true. They are two separate but mutually supporting rationalisations of a single process: the subjugation of reason as an instrument of domination. Reason becomes a technology. Just as reason is purified, so also that on which reason operates must be purified. The object of reason is information. The unfettered use of instrumental reason requires an arena of pure information. The more information is separated from its social and natural contexts, the greater the scope of operation of instrumental reason.

Computers are mechanical implementations of instrumental reason. They store, transmit, and manipulate purified information. They are information filters. As computers invade the world, they create widening zones of purified information, thus expanding the scope of operation of all forms of instrumental reason. Within this scope, computers are powerful devices for control. Instrumentalism enhances the power of computers by legitimising the purification of information; computers confirm instrumentalism by demonstrating the effectiveness of instrumental reason.

Computers are just as deeply implicated in rationalism. Purified reason cares only about the behaviour of things; computers are ideal simulators. Since computers are the most effective instrument of purified reason, they become models for scientific theory and method. This is a self-reinforcing process. As computers filter information, they create a reality which they can in fact model and control. Thus, computers are creatures of the underlying processes of order and of the ideologies of order.

4 Computers and the threat to freedom

The forces of anarchy and order are in deep conflict. Anarchy abhors domination, while order serves domination. The use of computers

manifests this conflict in specific ways as disruptions of anarchist relations.

If computers mediate relations between people, then these relations cannot be direct or free. Computer mediation is alienating, reducing interaction to objective behaviour. Computer mediation restricts the variety of interaction, and thereby restricts the variety of relations built on interaction.

Computer-mediated relations with things are also alienated. The thing is replaced by its image, reduced to behaviour which can be objectively observed and controlled. The context of things is reduced to the width of the information channel by which one is connected with them.

Within associations, computers greatly strengthen organisational autonomy. Autonomous organisations dominate the whole society, by lasting, by spreading, by reproducing themselves, by introducing hierarchical and mediated relations between people.

Since each person's self-image reflects relations with society and nature, the more people's relations are mediated by computers and the more autonomy is in fact surrendered to other people or organizations, the more those people will define themselves as alienated and passive. This will in turn corrupt other relations which were originally free.

The zone of order which each computer defines is real and expansive. Within this zone, reason and information are alienated and the ideologies of rationalism and instrumentalism are established, corrupting everything they touch.

Computers present in tangible form a danger which inheres in all forms of order: theory, language, technique, organisation. These do not need to be completely formalised to take on the character of order. Reason is always partially formalised, so the dominion of order is always partially established. Limits are necessary. They must be defined and enforced. But this is precisely the function of order itself. Order cannot be trusted as its own controller.

The boundaries of freedom cannot be defined, or it is not freedom. Only anarchy, the living spirit of freedom, can defend freedom.

*Chris Powell***Designing the New Zoos of Deviancy:
Professional Criminology and Anarchist
Impulses**

Current shifts in professional criminological thought in this country necessitate analysis and response from an anarchist perspective. I intend to make some observations about commonsensical establishment discourses on 'anarchism'; to demonstrate the debt which 'critical criminology' owes to anarchist insights; and to argue that the anarchist impulse can and should not be cast aside in the pursuit of short-sighted, narrow-minded pragmatic objectives. This project is particularly inspired by the (in my view) alarming success which criminologists with Labour Party sympathies are having in setting up 'crime' as a socialist issue.

It should of course be borne in mind that traditional positivist criminology is still highly influential and the central feature of the British system of research. It is carried out by researchers in the Home Office and a handful of universities — especially Oxford and Cambridge. It is relatively well-funded and policy-orientated within the conventional frameworks or limitations of what passes for 'acceptable' policy. It is in ideological terms primarily 'conservative/liberal', implying the need to retain 'a sense of "balance" about the crime problem' and the desirability of not allowing situations to get too far out of hand in any direction. As a critical criminologist, I am no more concerned about this now than at any other point since I began studying the subject. What concerns me far more is the fate of 'alternative' or 'New Criminology' in the light of the recent rise of a 'New Realism'.

First I want to make a few general comments concerning 'anarchy' and 'crime'. Conventional common-sense perspectives invariably assume that anarchy can be conflated with crime — anarchy is both a part of 'the crime problem' and the end-product of it. Crime causes anarchy causes crime etc. Margaret Thatcher (being a scientist and presumably liking equations) informs us for example that:

- (a) Post Office workers banning mail for South Africa = anarchy.
- (b) Workers refusing to make instruments of torture destined for Chile = anarchy. (They are of course happy to make them for the British Army to use in Northern Ireland, but I expect everyone has limits!)

(c) Young desperate blacks, stealing for survival in the Inner Cities = anarchy.

(d) Women 'neglecting their children' by trying to engage in wage labour which only men are really entitled to = anarchy.

(e) Workers not accepting the capitalist logic that they 'have to' lose their jobs, or more optimistically expecting to receive a greater proportion of the results of their labour = anarchy.

So crime and deviance lead to anarchism — one crime is the thin end of the wedge; all righteous people must stand firm and protect the rule of law and its agents; the alternative is anarchy. Thus the forces of 'law and order' — the red-cloaked judges and the (now thick) blue line of police — are there to protect us all from such anarchy, and of course they do, and we're all expected to be very grateful, and most people are; though with enemies like Mrs Thatcher, maybe anarchy might have something to offer. The British establishment feels confident in identifying anarchy as the enemy that everyone can agree on — right-wing and left-wing — and they do. The socialists' most damning indictment is to refer to 'the anarchy' of the capitalist market economy. For both left and right anarchy is perceived and asserted as the ultimate threat, and of course it could be true — a threat to any social, political, or economic group who either do, or wish to, impose their power (redefined without doubt as 'authority') over other people. So anarchy has had a bad press in common-sense discourse, and also in social science discourse.

A search through the major criminology, sociology of law and social problem journals has unearthed only two articles in which the authors openly suggested that anarchism might have some desirable features — L. Tift, 'The Coming Redefinitions of Crime: An Anarchist Perspective', *Social Problems*, April 1979; K. Ferguson, 'Towards a New Anarchism', *Contemporary Crises*, January 1983. I might still be the first person in Britain with a declaredly academic criminology book openly defining itself as 'anarchist'. I should emphasise that I am not referring to writings 'on crime' produced by anarchists. There is of course a long and honourable anarchist tradition 'on crime' which my readers will almost certainly be familiar with. Specific writers include Tony Gibson, Peter Ford, Colin Ward and Alex Comfort, and generally it could be said that the issues of law and crime underlie or even define anarchist positions. I am referring here to the more specific and more limited professional academic criminological community, and my point is that in such circles such literature either isn't being produced or isn't being published. While conspiracy theories of the media are gaining increasing credibility in a period of considerable legitimation crisis, I suspect that the primary cause rests on the production side. (There is

one notable exception, Larry Tifft's and Dennis Sullivan's book, *The Struggle to Be Human: Crime, Criminology and Anarchism*, written in the United States and published by Cienfuegos Press in 1980.)

Clearly I want to argue for a redefinition or rather a retrieval of the term 'anarchism' in a more positive direction. Linked to this is a desire to jettison the concept of 'crime'. 'Crime' as a concept has not *outlived* its usefulness — it never *had* usefulness for most people, only pain. It is irretrievably and inevitably ideologically contaminated. It is no use to try to redefine crime, as is done by the operational definitions of such as D. Chapman, S. Box, J. Braithwaite and M. Levi. The terrain is lost and belongs to somebody else. It belongs to rightist states and, if 'New Realism' had anything to do with it, it would belong to leftist states. As in an ideal world I should prefer multilateral disarmament to a nuclear explosion or a mere moratorium, so I prefer abolition of crime. Don't we all? Of course not!

The anarchist desire to eradicate crime is much more sincere than the proclamations of other ideologies. 'Crime' assumes and accepts punishment by the 'authorities' — the police need crimes as doctors need illness. 'Crime' and the fear of it is the basis of political authority. Heinz Steinert tells us to take 'troubles seriously but not as crimes, the former are real the latter myth' ('The Amazing New Left Law and Order Campaign', *Contemporary Crises*, December 1985). Alternatively a large number of writers have suggested that we should substitute control as the term and the focus for attention. Perhaps we can replace 'crime' by 'control'. It is more neutral; it can serve various masters and mistresses; it is an 'amoral' term merely recognising power. Crime can and should only be discussed in the context of power — cannot logically be isolated or extricated from it — but unfortunately it is so extricated ideologically. A criminology, or any other 'ology', must be primarily an analysis of power in all its forms. Steinert favourably quotes Antonio Gramsci in wanting to 'de-moralise the ruling classes'; I want to de-moralise the dominating elites wherever they are, I should also like to de-legitimise them. This is obviously an anarchist perspective.

But surely an anarchist social theory, and certainly its social practice, are impossible. A political perspective based on quite non-sociological assumptions concerning individual persons in some utopian 'state of nature', Kropotkin's assertion that bereft of negative institutionalised influences people have 'good instincts'? But let us hold the romantic utopian aspect in abeyance for a while.

If we return to Mrs Thatcher's links between crime and anarchy, it would appear ridiculous to suggest that anarchy might be a solution to the crime problem. As a fifteen-year-old I used to furtively read anarchist magazines during the religion lessons at school. They told me

about crime-free societies in various parts of the world, and superficially these sounded like they might be peaceful places — not like schools, where you got beaten up either ‘legally’ by teachers or just slightly less arbitrarily by other male children. One of the articles told of ‘the Zoo Keepers of Deviancy’, reinforcing my negative attitudes to police and prisons by saying how they were all counterproductive and should never be countenanced. The article was written by someone called Jock Young (*Catalyst* 5, 1970). All these years later, naive and unreasonable as it probably is, I feel a sense of betrayal. I am saying that the New Criminology, of which Young was a central figure, owed a debt to an anarchist tradition that has gone largely unrecognised but needs to be restated. Because what were the basic insights of New Criminology, Radical Criminology, Deviancy Theory, Conflict Theory (any of the terms one could use as long as it wasn’t ‘anarchist’)? To understand ‘crime’, we have first to understand and explain the development and construction of law in terms of structure, history and ideology — the emphasis on law as the only cause of crime. The macro-theorists handled that — R. Quinney, A. Turk, W. Chambliss. Then the focus of attention on the operators of the ‘social control’ institutions and their relations with various subordinated social groups — the emphasis on process. And the attempts to understand the meanings which subordinated groups gave to their actions — the ‘appreciative’ stance (as in D. Matza, *Delinquency and Drift*, 1964). The emphasis also on the so-called ‘unintended consequences’ of various policy implementation. These latter were generally from within the various micro theories. For a while these eclectic interests and concerns (I’d suggest anarchist-inspired) hung together in what in my view was the most prolific, exciting and creative thought in recent times, unfettered by rigid ideologies.

Let us look at some of the components a little more. Later, in a critical vein, Alvin Gouldner was to call the school of ‘ethnomethodology’ ‘Anarchist Sociology’ (*The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology*, 1971), which was not really true. But he meant that the propensity of ‘ethnomethodology’ was to render the world ‘chaotic’. In a world in which social institutions function to render ‘the chaotic’ ‘normal’, ‘law-abiding’, and ‘reasonable’, this seems a praiseworthy project. It is an important part of the process of demystification.

Connected with this is the desire to expose the differences between manifest and latent functions of institutions. The anarchistic impulse to show that all things are not as clear-cut, self-evident or above-board as officials would claim them to be has been an implicit assumption behind much sociology and criminology. The New Realism (to which I return) wants to gloss over all this, to turn back the clocks, and pretend

it never happened. From the sharper institutional analysis came Gouldner's own recognition of sociologists as the functional equivalents of police (*For Sociology*, 1975). It also allowed a retrieval of a subordinated history. Of the subjugators of Wales by the English, a nineteenth-century Secretary of State wrote to a colleague that 'one teacher is worth ten policemen'. If overstated, such comments at least serve to sensitise us to the multi-dimensions of social control and domination. Of law Steinert is able to tell us that 'we know it does not reduce "undesirable conduct", but is an ideological machine which uses human victims to demonstrate a morality, not to bring it about'. The capacity of institutions and bureaucracies to foster anti-human value and practices was stated well by Max Stirner who wrote: 'The warm heart is not for the person whether criminal or victim but for the law and the institution' (*The Ego and His Own*, 1844). A recent illustration of this came when the Malaysian Minister of Justice announced that there was to be no reprieve from the death sentence for two convicted heroin smugglers; he declared that he was satisfied that the law had been correctly applied — and then smiled! As Nietzsche (who was much influenced by Stirner) put it: 'Madness is rare in individuals, but in groups, parties and nations it is the rule.' Which is not dissimilar to some of the things the anti-psychiatry movement of R. D. Laing and David Cooper was to argue rather later. I want to suggest that anarchism's stress on the multiple dimensions of power, macro and micro, render it both the political and theoretical perspective best placed for critical analysis. Marxism finds the analysis of administration and bureaucracy much more problematic because of its emphasis on macro dimensions and because of its stress on state bureaucratic routes to the proletariat's paradise.

For similar reasons, anarchist perspectives interrelate much more comfortably with feminist perspectives. Sensitivity to the various facets of power has meant that the 'personal as political' and questions of gender and sexuality have always been prominent in anarchist considerations. Sensitivity also towards the notion that de facto equal human beings have their own perspectives and preferences. American naturalism, most evidently in the form of Matza's 'appreciative stance', reflects this attitude closely. The view was that the sociologist should attempt to give an account of people's subjective experience, accepting them as authentic. On its own, such an approach was of great value: and it would be more so when and if allied to the anarchist structuralist dimension identifying the oppressive power-ridden and exploitative context within which people establish and express their subjectivity. As for New Criminology's primary policy implication, 'non-interventionism', Edwin Schur's comment that 'we should leave the

kids alone' (*Radical Non-Intervention*, 1973) has been traditionally read as a liberal appeal, and so it is.

But there are now two essentially anarchist extensions which several people implicitly grasped: that it isn't just a question of pragmatism that we should not advocate intervention (the correct and obvious observation about 'deviancy amplification'), but also a moral point — no organised state has the right to interfere; and that it isn't 'we' who can in practice decide whether or not to leave the kids alone, but rather a vast array of 'them'.

Then let us consider the early work of the American conflict theorists I have mentioned, such as Quinney, Chambliss and Turk. Their emphasis on the domination aspects of law and the need to switch our attention from the subordinate sections of society to the superordinates was actually a classical anarchist perspective. Quite early the American conflict theories were criticised by left-wing European criminology for their too generalised conception of power. Their subsequent shift on to the conventional Marxist category of 'economy' drew them into an academic criminological community which commends them for their conversion to 'rigour'. Their scholarship is now 'respectable', but I wonder whether they might have lost more than they gained. In my view, the implicit anarchist spirit and eclecticism dissolved through the 1970s as the economic climate toughened, and leftish academics turned once more to the narrower economic concerns which they were either persuaded were more 'serious' or which they had really believed in all the time. A signal of this was the follow-up book to *New Criminology*, (1973) by Ian Taylor, Paul Walton and Jock Young. Published in 1975, the original title was to be *Radical Criminology* but the authors changed it to *Critical Criminology* (1975), presumably feeling that it sounded less 'woolly' and more Marxist. In this book, Young has an article in which he openly criticises himself and others for their past 'petit-bourgeois' excesses. It was the start of a backlash. Clearly marxist criminologists had always been unhappy with New Criminology's anarchistic concerns with individuals and the implicit assumption that the process of bureaucratisation itself was repressive, irrespective of the ideological costume of the bureaucrats. For several years the new Saint Pauls and the old left guard concerned themselves with theoretical debates on what Marx really meant and what a Marxist criminology of law might be, and with using negative slogans to instill guilt into those of us who still felt that late 1960s concerns could not and should not be dismissed. Young talked now less of 'the Zookeepers of Deviancy' more of 'naive left idealists and infantilism', Taylor of 'petit-bourgeois romantics', and Geoffrey Pearson of 'misfit sociologists and primitive rebels' (*The Deviant Imagination*, 1975).

One of the primary 'successes' of right-wing ideology during the Thatcher period has been a gradual supplanting of commercial capitalist liberalism by an earlier form of austere capitalist conservatism. This shift can be linked with eroding economic conditions which have required of large numbers of people that they should no longer expect to engage so fully with the fruits of the economy. New Right ideology demanded 'New Realism', an acclimatisation of demands to officially defined 'objective' circumstances. Its success depended upon convincing people that the commercial liberal phase was a permissive indulgence which was undeserved and which had to be paid for. The economic logic of a capitalist economy in a phase of boom and demanding markets was rendered virtually invisible or was distracted by reference to only the psychological greed of individuals or the collective greed of undeserving or less deserving categories — the working class, women and blacks. Discipline was required to inhibit such greed. Perhaps the most disappointing aspect of 'left-wing' 'New Realist' criminologists has been that they have implicitly accepted this rightist analysis. The problem for them has been and is an overly self-indulgent and indulged radical intelligentsia who refuse to acknowledge the necessity for a discipline which seeks to restrain their imaginations within 'New Realist' agendas. Imagination, with its suspicion and indeed intolerance of preset, externally imposed limits, is the ultimate indulgence — the one least acceptable to New Realists.

Young's recently created Centre for Criminology at Middlesex Polytechnic has attracted £88,000 worth of grants for a strictly pragmatic study into architectural influences on the 'crime rate'. They could be said to be involved in designing the 'New Zoos of Deviancy'. To be fair, some of New Realism's criticisms are justified. Most apparently at its worst, 'the appreciative stance' was voyeuristic, descriptive and applauding of officially defined criminals and deviants, rather than descriptive and critically analytical. The underdogs' voice should be heard but not uncritically celebrated. There was certainly a tendency to romanticise 'criminals' as some kind of potential or actual revolutionary superheros. Unfortunately, too, there were few heroines — women were much more likely to be portrayed as victims. It should be acknowledged that Bob Dylan's comment, 'To live outside the law you must be honest', just isn't true. However, I would suggest that this perspective constitutes an honourable fault, perhaps a mechanism to some extent useful for refocussing our gaze upwards.

However, over the past couple of years the 'old left' focus has switched again, away from theory and on to practice. Enter New Realism. New Realists implicitly distance themselves from and in

practice further subjugate those sections of society S. Spitzer has characterised as 'social junk' and 'social dynamite'. They thus reflect Marx's own antagonism to the so-called non-productive classes. Marxist parties in Britain, although they clearly contained members who were sympathetic, ranged from tokenist acknowledgement of such groups as PROP, MPU, and Claimants Unions to outright antagonism and hostility. To some extent feminists, gays and ethnic minorities were rather opportunistically embraced and jettisoned. The trade union movement and their ostensible employer enemy together constitute a 'productive' bloc against 'unproductive' and marginal labour. New Realism's social role is to voice the desires of the respectable element of the 'productive working-class' bloc and to formulate policies to advance their interests. In the process the most oppressed lose their voice and their conditions deteriorate.

New Realism's method is to undertake crime surveys in order to find out what 'people' want in respect of policy, to articulate that and to attempt to implement it. Part of their 'realism' is to assert that it is no use relating to people in terms of where you want them to be, but rather where they are now. You find out where people are and then try to give them what they want. An obvious objection to this is that people do not come to be where they are out of a vacuum. New Realism, in other words, ignores or skates over the ideological context in which people are constructed or constituted. The outcome of the ideological and material context within which most respectable working-class people live their lives is a set of general social attitudes and beliefs in respect of law and order which are probably the most reactionary in current British society. It is the respectable working class who express the most punitive wishes in respect of those lumpenproletariat sectors lower down in the social hierarchy — the unemployed, ethnic minorities, and prisoners. And it is their crimes and deviance which New Realism wants to expose. If people are not useful in conventional terms, their interests can be ignored and they become greater scapegoats. (I don't feel the traditional socialist reverence for the working class. Human respect, yes; reverence, no. Nor, unlike many socialists who actually feel contempt for the working class, do I feel guilty about it.)

In voicing the opinions of the respectable 'productive working class', New Realism rediscovers traditional crime, and in so doing ignores the misdemeanours of 'the powerful'. We are encouraged to look down for our villains once more, rather than up. Because, of course, crime surveys do not discover great public concern in respect of the 'crimes' of the powerful. And if there is no demand, New Realism will make no attempt to supply. Because of course, supplying (being a part of the policy formulation and implementation bureaucracy) is very much part

of New Realism's agenda. They want to be the administrators of a 'labour movement' criminology, which actually looks not too dissimilar to conventional traditional criminology, although in some senses the latter is rather more permissive. New Realism criticises the police for the lack of efficiency in clearing up traditional crime — Young advocates increasing use of computerisation to help police in this task. A depressing aspect of these developments has been delight expressed on the New Right in British criminology (people such as P. Waddington) who gloat that at last even the left have had to come to their senses and take 'real crime' seriously.

As Kathy Ferguson says in one of the two favourable articles on 'anarchism' which I referred to earlier, 'There is a danger of growing technocratic totalitarianism', and we have to decide whether we join it à la New Realism or emphatically assert that we will not join it. Increasing bureaucratisation serves to blur surface political gulfs in the process of formulating a common new ideological programme of control. The relative ease with which law and crime specialists wearing different political badges can find common ground would be remarkable if we were naive enough to take such badges seriously. Interpol can draw on Chile and China, the Hungarian criminologist Josef Vigh can confidently assert that 'we have common interests and values', lawyers and various kinds of security staff can converge amicably in international forums.

When chided for their 'reformist' (kind term) tendencies, New Realists will privately admit to some reservations but justify themselves in terms of needing to do something practical. My view is the one expressed by Hannah Arendt when she said that those who claim to choose the lesser of two evils have a tendency to forget that they've chosen evil (*On Revolution*, 1965). I want to reaffirm the anarchist romanticism of early New Criminology, and maybe temper it with a little pessimism. (Romantic pessimism seems to be an appropriate stance for the late 1980s.) I am highly suspicious (certainly in the British context) of New Realism's policy, bureaucratic and social engineering tendencies. A better role for the academic criminologist is to sit at the margins and continually criticise, to stand for human freedom and refuse to permit established or new 'authority' to become complacent. Continual rebellion seems to me more desirable than cataclysmic revolution.

In 'practical' terms the possibilities are clearly limited. In one sense New Realist criticism of 'anarchist theory' is correct — the emphasis is on 'bourgeois freedoms'. Personally I tend to value such freedoms — the problem seems to be that bourgeois freedoms do not really exist for most people in bourgeois society, and they certainly won't in a Marxist

one. We need to force bourgeois society to see itself — to recognise and expose the difference between ideology and reality. Tactically this could mean confronting ideology with its own ideology. We may live for a while in the world of 'as if'. For example, we might pretend that the policies' manifest role — to protect life and safety — is the real one. In September 1986 even the Norwegian police (a restrained ideal model for many liberal and social democratic criminologists) took the view that providing a sumptuous banquet for Mrs Thatcher and assorted dignitaries justified people being tear-gassed, bitten and beaten. One never sees anarchy on the streets of the world's cities, but one does see the law and a kind of organised chaos. By identifying the rational gulf between action and theory, one demonstrates that other motives may have priority. It is a question of, as P. Scraton and K. Chadwick put it, 'turning cases into issues into politics' rather than into bureaucratic 'containing' channels ('Deaths in Custody', *Journal of Law and Society*, Spring 1986). If all we can do is, in Herbert Marcuse's phrase, 'negate the negative' (*Negations*, 1968), well, so be it — it may be better to be a voice in the wilderness than silent in the city. Before he fell at least Icarus got to fly a little.

So it may be out of the question that 'anarchism' (as positively defined by traditional and contemporary theorists) could emerge in the foreseeable future, if ever. Because of this, anarchist thought is prone to be cursorily dismissed as mere posturing. But I don't think this is sufficient reason for such dismissal. After all, many ideologies perhaps contribute something in terrain which to all intents and purposes is barren and hopeless. Maybe you only learn to recognise things of value when they are gone — and that's New Realism's threat. I'd like to close with a famous quotation from Dylan Thomas:

Do not go gentle into that good night,
Rage, rage against the dying of the light.



David Pepper

The Geography and Landscapes of an Anarchist Britain

This is how we stand. England was once a country of clearings amongst the woods and wastes, with a few towns interspersed, which were fortresses for the feudal army, markets for the folk, gathering places for the craftsmen. It then became a country of huge and foul workshops and fouler gambling dens, surrounded by an ill-kept, poverty-stricken farm, pillaged by the masters of the workshops. It is now a garden, where nothing is wasted and nothing is spoilt, with the necessary dwellings, sheds and workshops scattered up and down the country, all trim and neat and pretty. For, indeed, we should be too much ashamed of ourselves if we allowed the making of goods, even on a large scale, to carry with it the appearance, even, of desolation and misery.

William Morris: *News from Nowhere* (Chapter 10)

Teaching about anarchism

The idea of introducing the subject of anarchism into geography classrooms seems at first exciting. But after pupils have come to realise that the heart of anarchism lies far from popular images — bomb-throwing, or the siege of Sidney Street — one wonders if their interest would be maintained by what could be rather dry abstract issues, such as individualism versus collectivism, the role of the state in present society, and so forth. Teachers must somehow make the subject come alive and appeal to the imagination. One way of doing this might be to evoke what probably most interests children about geography in the first place — that is, a curiosity about different places and landscapes, what they look like, and how they are organised. Some absorbing classroom exercises could perhaps be constructed around the idea that the *geography* of an anarchist Britain would differ significantly from the geography of today's Britain. (Geography is here defined as the relationship between society and the environment, as manifested in spatial patterns on and near the earth's surface, and expressed particularly in the visible landscape.)

There might be two ways of approaching this. First, pupils could be informed of some of the *principles* underlying various forms of anarchism (e.g., decentralism, self-reliance, anti-specialism, anti-urban/pro-rural, egalitarianism), and asked to speculate on what

changes would occur in Britain's geography if these principles were applied. This approach would assume a good working knowledge of Britain's present economic, social, political, urban and transport geography: hence it might appeal particularly to sixth-formers. Once the initial conceptual leap has been made — from themes like decentralism, anti-urbanism and self-reliance, to specific landscape features like expanded villages, dispersed small-scale settlements, industry scattered through the countryside — then the exercise can become steadily more detailed. As with crossword puzzles, a particular kind of lateral thinking mentality needs first to be assumed and cultivated; then there is a progressive call on geographical imagination and on powers of ingenuity.

The second approach is the reverse of the first. It may therefore particularly appeal to classes below sixth-form level. Here one starts with a picture of an anarchist Britain, analyses the elements in the landscape, and asks why they are as they are.

In what follows, I take two works — Peter Kropotkin's *Fields, Factories and Workshops Tomorrow*, edited by Colin Ward, and William Morris's *News from Nowhere* — and I attempt to draw from them a picture of the geography and landscapes of the Britain which they depict.

The context

I have chosen these works because they seem to me to be very visual — they stimulate the mind to draw mental pictures. Kropotkin's approach is mainly to discuss anarchistic principles, which he relates to what he believes to be already coming about in Britain at the time of writing (1890), as well as to the future. Hence, he refers to elements of existing and would-be landscapes, and the reader is readily drawn into this process and into extending it for him or herself. (In commentaries on each chapter, the editor does this as well, relating Kropotkin's work to 1974 Britain.) William Morris's more utopian vision of England (first published in 1890) is full of landscape descriptions; particularly of London and the Thames Valley. One can pull out from these, and the conversations between the characters, the underlying reasons for why things are as they are.

Some other anarchist work which may be suitable for this kind of exercise may be found partly reproduced in Part Seven of George Woodcock's *The Anarchist Reader* (1977), entitled 'Glimpses of a New World', while Dennis Hardy's *Alternative Communities in Nineteenth-*

Century Britain (1979) describes in some detail actual anarchist and utopian socialist communities a century ago.

Both Morris's and Kropotkin's works are imbued with socialist — or, more accurately, anarcho-communist — principles. And, although Kropotkin argued that his vision was already becoming reality for Britain, both he and Morris seem clearly to be painting utopian scenes. This, despite the anarchist's traditional distaste for utopianism — see Andrew Rigby's *Alternative Realities* (1974). The idea of utopia, says George Woodcock in *Anarchism* (1962), suggests a 'rigid mental construction which, successfully imposed, would prove as stultifying as any existing state to the free development of those subjected to it'. Nevertheless, this 'has not prevented the anarchists from adopting some ideas contained within utopias', and 'the only complete utopian vision that has ever appealed generally to anarchists is *News from Nowhere*, in which William Morris, who came remarkably near to Kropotkin in his ideas, presented a vision — charmingly devoid of any suspicion or compulsion — of the kind of world that might appear if all the anarchist dreams of building harmony on the ruins of authority had the chance to come true'.

A significant difference between Kropotkin and Morris, which to an extent affects their visions of Britain, lies in their attitudes to technology. Morris's picture of Britain's future draws heavily on a predilection for an imagined fourteenth-century feudal Golden Age. So, in his classless, police-less and poverty-less society, where communities are organically bound to the earth, there is a general dearth of machines. In voicing the view that machines are the tools of slavery rather than liberation, and therefore inappropriate in a society of true equals, Morris aligns himself with romantics like Thomas More, William Blake and John Ruskin, rather than utopian socialists like Robert Owen, Charles Fourier and Henri de Saint-Simon, who saw technology as vital to wealth-creation and the liberation of the masses. Kropotkin, by contrast, placed considerable faith in technological progress — not least in agriculture, where he imagined that such progress would render Malthus's principles null and void.

Morris is regarded as a socialist — albeit a romantic one — considerably informed by Marxist analysis: and although his vision is widely acceptable to anarchists, his *News from Nowhere* was written while in dispute with the anarchists who had pushed him out of the editorship of *The Commonwealth*, the Socialist League newspaper. But the dispute was about tactics and means rather than ends. The vision of communal Britain in the 21st century, where the state had withered away after a revolution, is one which anarchists and Marxists would not dispute as part of the goal of true commune-ism. Though it is doubtful

whether either would, on principle, want to deal in rigid blueprints for the future, it is fun to dream, and geography pupils ought to be encouraged to join in the fun.

Principles

The principles of anarchism which particularly underlie *Fields, Factories and Workshops* stem, says Colin Ward, from Kropotkin's concern to *rehumanise* work, from its present dehumanised state under capitalism: with division of labour (manual/intellectual and consumer/producer), no realisation by the worker of the end-product of his/her labour, little element of craftsmanship — the labourer being the servant of the machine — and no intercourse with nature. The economic-geographical consequences of rehumanisation were already becoming apparent, he thought, as society evolved and natural anarchistic trends asserted themselves. (To argue in this way — that 'natural' trends were inevitably reasserting themselves with the demise of capitalism — obviated the need to invoke centralised planning, and avoided the charge of utopianism.)

Due to technological advancement, manufacturing industry was (and is today) decentralising as it spread throughout the world, so that production for a local market was becoming more rational and desirable. As this happened, then each nation would increasingly have to feed itself, being less able to buy food from outside with the profits of manufacturing specialisation. The same trends were apparent within nations, and small-scale localised industry would spread (as is perhaps happening in the 1980s). Regional self-sufficiency in agriculture was desirable and could be met by intensification of farming (labour-intensive rather than capital-intensive, however, in opposition to the actual trend since the 1960s). The best means of combining industry with agriculture within regions would be in small-scale decentralised communities; and the smallness of scale would allow work to become more creative and geared to local needs.

Morris was even more concerned to see work made satisfying and fulfilling, and his utopia strongly featured crafts and artisanship. In it, the redistribution of wealth had abolished poverty, there was no unnecessary production (as in profit-orientated capitalism) and what was made was made with great skill. So human dignity came from work, which meant that payment was unnecessary. Fruitful leisure, conversation and physical activity also made for fulfilled lives — bodies were healthy, strong, and beautiful, through a combination of happiness, simple food and exercise. This classless society was based

not on the fruits of industrialisation but on feudal life-styles combined with distinctly un-feudal relations of production. Both Britains have escaped from nineteenth-century industrialism. Morris is vaguer than Kropotkin about some of the details of how his society would obtain its material existence: perhaps because in romantic fashion he believed that the human soul needed beauty more than bread, and equated technological advance merely with spiritual decline.

Work, industry and the distribution of settlement

When Morris's hero wakes up in the twenty-first century (having gone to sleep in the nineteenth), his first impressions of the banks of the Thames at Chiswick register an absence of the familiar soapworks with their smoke-vomiting chimneys. There are no engineering shops or lead works, and no sounds of riveting and hammering. We learn that such factories which do exist are called banded workshops, where those who still want to work together in large-scale production (for example, making pottery and glass in big ovens) can do so. But on the whole, production is small-scale and for local use rather than for distant and 'artificial' markets.

Colin Ward notes that Kropotkin's view of work and production was very close to that advocated by E. F. Schumacher (especially for the Third World) in the 1970s. Small workplaces should be created where people already live (in rural areas in the Third World): they must be inexpensive enough for there to be many of them: production methods would be simple, minimising the demand for high skills (and, therefore, into the bargain, the organisation of production could be more democratic — not revolving around 'expert' elites): and, once again, production would be locally based for local use. Rather like Schumacher, Kropotkin did not eschew the use of machines to save labour. They were welcome, if small and uncomplex. But handwork would extend its domain, particularly in applying artistic finishes to products. Morris, too, wrote of machinery replacing irksome work, but not the creative work so needed for fulfilling mind and body. In *Nowhere*, the machines have been 'quietly' done away with and handicrafts rediscovered to a far greater extent, one imagines, than in Kropotkin's Britain. For there is much mention of the craftsman — weaver, thatcher, printer, boatman — as well as the administrator and organiser, whose job it is to eliminate waste. Morris's characters do not do just one job, but, in accordance with eliminating over-specialism, they will leave their boat duties to go haymaking, or their weaving to have a break by rowing the ferry. Kropotkin's workers, similarly, spent

part of each day in the factories and workshops, and part in the fields, in 'integrated labour'.

To combine work in this way, and also avoid the social and moral excesses of centralised urban-based capitalism — 'masses in misery' in Dickensian squalor — agriculture and industry must be reintegrated. Kropotkin and Morris are very close on this. Capitalist industrialisation drew people from the land, and in the resultant cities people forgot the bonds attaching them to the soil; these bonds must be re-established.

Given all this, and their principle of local production, both writers envisage the 'scattering' of industry over the world, and over the territory of each nation. Kropotkin demands a transformation in the relations between labour and capital: 'a thorough remodelling of the whole of our industrial organisation has become unavoidable. The industrial nations are bound to revert to agriculture, they are compelled to find the best way of combining it with industry, and they must do so without loss of time'. He tried to show that in the 1890s, already, most of British industry was in small factories of between 20 and 50 workers, or workshops (defined as without electric or steam power) of less than 20, and that petty trades and rural industries and crafts abounded. This kind of organisation was natural and desirable — and concentration into large-scale enterprise was not an economic necessity. However, to compete with what large-sale industry did exist smaller enterprises would need to federate and cooperate.

Hence, Kropotkin's landscapes featured the small factory amidst the fields, where industry had come to the village — not in capitalist form but as socially-organised production. This way, the workers would regain possession of the soil around them (there would be a multitude of small landowners — implying a multitude of field boundaries?) and they would cultivate it.

This scattering gives a very dispersed settlement pattern, as is evident in *Nowhere*. City suburbs 'have melted into the general country', although small towns have not been cleared. (They have, however, been substantially rebuilt, and most have become nearly as beautiful as Oxford.) People have 'flung themselves' on freed land, and the villages have become more populated than they were in the fourteenth century (reversing the rural depopulation of Morris's day). After the predicted revolution, the town had invaded the country — 'the difference between town and country grew less' — but the invaders 'yielded to the influence of their surroundings and became country people', while the world of the country was vivified by the 'thought and briskness of town-bred folk'.

In *Nowhere's* Britain, it is therefore virtually impossible to be out of sight of scattered country houses. The houses are generally small.

Large 'cockney villas' of the type that once lined the banks of the Upper Thames, and were lived in by the rich, are gone. Houses might be occupied by separate families, but the door is not shut to the 'good-tempered person content to live as other housemates do'. And there is some multi-occupancy, symbolically of Windsor Castle! But Fourierist-style 'phalangsteries' are ruled out, for these large units of communal living are seen as a response to poverty, and poverty is now extinct. However, the unit of management of an area is the commune, ward or parish, which is run by meetings that reach decisions by a mix of absolute consensus and majority voting. The meeting house, with the theatre and market (where, as in all shops, no such thing as money exchanges hands and people simply take what they need), form prominent buildings in most villages.

The City: greened, decentralised, or gone

Just as capitalism led to the agglomeration of people and production in industrial cities, anarchism would lead to the reverse. Kropotkin envisaged that the city would not last, and Morris's England has duly lost, completely, Manchester and most other cities except London:

As to the big murky places which were once, as we know, the centres of manufacture, they have, like the brick and mortar desert of London, disappeared: only, since they were centres of nothing but 'manufacture', and served no purpose but that of the gambling market, they have left less signs of their existence than London.

The elimination of poverty leads, in Morris's mind, to the elimination of slums, which he appears to regard as synonymous with high-density living. That sense of community which we frequently associate with dense (inner-city) housing in manufacturing areas of Britain is not acknowledged. For Morris it comes only with proximity to the countryside.

Appalling manufacturing places and practices need no longer be tolerated: 'Whatever coal or mineral we need is brought to grass and sent whither it is needed with as little as possible of dirt, confusion and the distressing of quiet people's lives.' Morris gives no details of how this is to be done: the fact that it is done will, however, please readers with a 'green' consciousness, as will the images of London. This city has been thoroughly 'greened' in accordance with the best utopian visions of environmentalists — see the descriptions of San Francisco in Ernst Callenbach's *Ecotopia* (1978).

Twenty-first century outer London is a mix of 'villages' (the suburban sprawl of today) separated by blocks of woodland. From

Chiswick to Putney there is thick forest. Hammersmith features 'sunny meadows and garden-like tillage': the Broadway is a mass of beautiful buildings rising up from the meadows. Hammersmith and Kensington are but two of the component London villages, set in the countryside and separated from each other by bands of woodland that run all over the old city.

And the nineteenth-century sprawl of houses built during Morris's day around Epping Forest, Walthamstow and Woodford, have been cleared in 1955. Beyond Aldgate the houses are dispersed in meadows, and the banks of the River Lea are again beautiful. East of the docks is flat pasture and a few houses set in 'the wide green sea of the Essex marshland . . . there is a place called Canning's Town, and further out, Silvertown, where the pleasant meadows are their pleasantest: doubtless they were once slums, and wretched enough'.

Central London is scarcely less idyllic. In Piccadilly, big houses stand in their own gardens; there are many fruit trees, orchards and tree-lined streets. Trafalgar Square, which has lost Nelson's Column and the rest of its concrete, is a big open orchard. While all the slums have been cleared from the inner city, some areas of dense housing are left in the business quarter; largely because they were so solidly built, and are roomy. The 'disadvantages' of dense living are here offset by splendid architecture — adornments and improvements having been added to the houses. The docklands are still in business, but not as intensively as in the nineteenth century. 'We have long ago dropped the pretension to be the market of the world' and 'we discourage centralisation all we can'.

Where have all the people gone?

This question must nag at the mind of the socialist-inclined reader throughout such descriptions. There is more than a hint, in Morris, of the kind of elitism associated with the traditional romantic who, while professing love of humankind, does not care to be surrounded by too many of them at any one time: denigratory references to the 'cockney' abound. We find some reassurance: the population of Britain in *Nowhere* is at the same level as the nineteenth century. 'We have spread, however', and helped to populate other countries 'where we were wanted and called for'! So, as with all Golden Ages, Morris's Britain is static, and although no birth control is discussed, the Malthusian potential for humans to increase their numbers geometrically — which was apparent in Victorian Britain — is not

confronted. Neither, however, is any concept of a demographic transition, through universal affluence, discussed.

Kropotkin, by contrast, does take on, and repudiate, Malthus. In the tradition of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century philosophers of progress through science and technology, he thinks that no limits to population growth are foreseeable, and densities of 600 people per square mile are quite possible. Through agricultural intensification, via a combination of technological advancement, labour-intensive cultivation and collectivisation, he believed that 200 families could be supported on 1,000 acres. Britain could grow food for 90 million people, he argued (with an optimism which later on he came to moderate).

Agriculture, nature and beauty

The kind of collective farms which Kropotkin envisaged were mixed enterprises. His 1,000-acre example was one-third in cereals and a little more in green crops and fodder, supporting 30-40 milch cows and 300 cattle for meat. There were 20 acres for vegetables and fruit (including two acres of glass) and half-an-acre of flowers, with 140 acres set aside for public gardens, squares and 'manufactures'. The contrast with today's specialised farms could hardly be greater. Norfolk's 1,000-acre ranches are often run by two or three people each. Their fields are empty except for huge machines. When you look at English farmland today, you see few livestock and fewer people, but both of these elements abound in Kropotkin's and Morris's rural landscapes.

Because of increased rotations, and the full use of farmyard (and human) manure, the contemporary problem of artificial nitrates, with its corollary of eutrophication of the waterways, would not apply. Perhaps this, and the loss of large-scale industry, is why the waters of Morris's Thames are clear, and abundant in salmon.

The mental picture of Kropotkin's fields is less romantic than Morris's. It is one of intensive horticulture and market-gardening, of the type which surrounded the nineteenth-century cities. The small fields yield highly, through high labour and sewage inputs, liberal irrigation, cheap glasshouses (today's polytunnels?) and heated soil. There are plenty of trees and hedges to protect plants and the soil, and many fruit trees and vines. Selectively bred plants are sown widely spaced to maximise yields. Kropotkin gives lengthy descriptions, drawing on extant French communes which used labour cooperatively and were surrounded by areas of densely cultivated fruit and vegetable plots.

By contrast, Morris's farmscapes appear more relaxed and Constable-like. There are numerous references to haymaking, using people rather than machines, but beyond this what happens in the country is rather vague. It is looked after with great care to enhance its beauty and variety, and it is tidy. But this is not the tidiness of uniformity — so although, for example, willows are pollarded, it is not done to a uniform height in order to create that diversity which anarchists so value. In Morris's pollution-less world, there is, predictably, much wildlife — an increase in bird species, for example, including birds of prey. The banks of the Upper Thames are forested, wild and beautiful, having lost their 'gamekeeperish trimness'. People have a 'passionate love of the earth', and do not see nature as separate from themselves.

This enhanced sense of beauty is reinforced in man-made things. Human craftsmanship is seen in most objects — from tobacco-pipes to bridges and buildings. Gothic cast-iron bridges have been replaced by oak and stone ones. Big buildings are quaint and fanciful, with painted and gilded vanes and spirelets. Houses are low, and frequently of red brick and tiles, or of timber and plaster. And tumble-down ruins are not appreciated: 'We like everything trim and clean . . . like the medievals. . . . it shows we have architectural power and won't stand any nonsense from nature in our dealings with her.'

Energy and transport

Neither author tells us much about the motive power for these quietly industrious societies. Morris simply informs us that power is available where people live, and it does not cause smoke. Windmills feature in Kropotkin's fields, to pump irrigation water. Morris's barges ply up and down the Thames with no visible means of propulsion. They are known as 'force vehicles'. For the rest, water transport is by rowing boat and sail, roads are still traversed by horse and carriage, and there are no railways.

The reader's sense of disbelief should here be partly offset by reference back to the principle of local production for local needs. For the corollary of this is clearly that there will be less need for transport, apart from leisure and socially motivated travel (where walking is à la mode for health reasons). The exchange of goods (frequently identical) from one region and country to another, which is such a prominent part of our own economy, should largely wither away.

Trade and international relations

Morris and Kropotkin agree on the vital anarchist principle that the nation state is an artificial device, whereby people are coerced into patriotism. Along with Marx, they see that the spread of capitalist commercialism undermines national and regional cultural variety, and want such variety to be re-established. In Morris's world, the system of rival and contending nations has simply disappeared, with the concomitant removal of inequality between people.

To Kropotkin, such a system, superficially attractive, is really a nightmare, leading to war through battles for economic supremacy in a world market, and through the establishment of monopolies over trade, production and resources. But as each nation diversifies due to the spread of technology, and loses the advantages of commercial and manufacturing specialism, so self-sufficiency becomes essential and therefore large-scale international trade atrophies. Kropotkin accurately foresaw the 'de-industrialised' Britain which young people seem all too ready to accept today as a fact of life and indeed which liberal environmentalists welcome — see Jonathan Porritt's *Seeing Green* (1984) and Paul Ekins's *The Living Economy* (1986). However, Kropotkin does not follow exactly the Marxist line of analysis as to why de-industrialisation has happened. To him, it results from the 'inevitable' spread of technological knowledge, aided by modern communications: to the Marxist it specifically relates to the capitalist firm's search for cheap non-unionised labour (in Taiwan, Korea or Hong Kong, for example) and new markets, and is facilitated (rather than determined) by communications developments, particularly Information Technology. The Marxist would see increased global exploitation from an ever-powerful centre (Western-based multinationals) as the major result. Kropotkin, however, envisages that 'industries of all kind will decentralise and are scattered all over the globe, and everywhere [is] an integrated variety of trades instead of specialism'. Each nation would therefore manufacture most of what it needs, and would make *itself* its market; this in turn would lead to rising general levels of affluence, and greater material uniformity. It may be deduced from this that regional and national differences in landscape, consequent on core-periphery economic contrasts, will be a thing of the past. The kind of polarisation that we witness today, between Britain's or Italy's north and south, or North America and 'black' Africa, would disappear, along with the concept of landscapes of affluence and landscapes of material want and spiritual despair. Certainly, no such regional differences are apparent in the visions of Kropotkin or Morris.

Conclusion

This last consideration suggests that if pupils are to contrast the economically and socially homogeneous (but culturally diverse) landscapes of anarchist Britain with today's economically and socially divided (but culturally homogeneous, Britain, they must become aware of *precisely* what landscape elements constitute the visible expression of our current differences, and why they are there. So this suggested exercise does not function solely to develop powers of imagination, speculation and pipe-dreaming. It should make for a keener appreciation and understandings of the here and now: it should, in other words, develop what is supposed to be the traditional geographical skill of analytical observation and eye for detail.

In addition, it should wean pupils away from a-historicism: that is, the distressing tendency to see the future as inevitable — i.e., over-conditioned by the present — and only imaginable in terms of extrapolation from present assumptions (of giantism, capitalism, technological determinism, etc.). Usually, today's child's future visions are based on little more than the post-industrial theorising of futurologists like Alvin Tofler or John Martin, which is so intellectually, ideologically and spiritually sterile, deterministic and ultimately transparent. 'Utopian' though they may be, the anarchist scenarios do at least, however, stimulate the senses to accept the possibility of something *radically* different, and better: they also place the concept of 'humans making their own history' squarely before their audience. For this reason, if no other, they should be part of the core element of geography teaching.

A draft version of an article in a forthcoming issue devoted to Geography and Anarchism of the teachers' journal *Contemporary Issues in Geography and Education* (published by the Association for Curriculum Development, c/o 29 Barratt's Grove, London N16).

Nicolas Walter

Rudolf Rucker's *Anarcho-Syndicalism*

Rudolf Rucker (1873-1958) was born in Mainz, in the German Rhineland, into a Catholic family of skilled workers with liberal views. His parents died young, and he was sent to a Catholic orphanage. He was apprenticed as a bookbinder, and followed the trade as a travelling journeyman for several years. He became a socialist in his youth, and joined the Social Democratic Party; but he supported the left-wing opposition group of *Die Jungen* (The Young), was expelled in 1890, and soon moved towards anarchism. He visited several parts of Western Europe, following his trade and his political interests. He observed the second congress of the Second International in Brussels in 1891, began contributing to the anarchist press in 1892, and left Germany to escape police harassment in 1892. He lived for a couple of years in Paris, and then settled permanently in Britain in 1895.

Although Rucker was a Gentile, he became involved in the Jewish anarchist movement. He learnt Yiddish, lived in the Jewish community, and became the lifelong companion of Milly Witcop (1877-1953). He quickly became a prominent speaker and writer, on cultural as well as political topics, and for 20 years he was the most liked and respected person in the movement. In 1898 he edited *Dos Fraye Vort* (The Free Word), a new Yiddish weekly paper in Liverpool, for a couple of months, and then became editor of *Der Arbeter Fraind* (The Workers' Friend), a revived Yiddish weekly paper in London, and in 1900 also of *Germinal*, a new Yiddish monthly.

The Jewish anarchist movement became larger than the native movement in Britain. A federation of Jewish anarchist groups was formed in 1902, the circulation of the papers and other publications increased, and a thriving social club was opened in Jubilee Street in East London in 1906. Rucker was the most influential figure in the movement, representing it at the International Anarchist Congress in Amsterdam in 1907, and becoming a member of the International Anarchist Bureau established there. The Jewish anarchists were very active in the growing trade union movement, and Rucker favoured the development of anarcho-syndicalism as a new form of anarchist theory and practice.

In 1914 Rucker vigorously opposed both sides in the First World

War, and after a few months he was interned as an enemy alien. Soon afterwards the *Arbeter Fruint* was suppressed and the Jubilee Street club was closed. The Jewish anarchist movement in Britain never really recovered, and most of its members were later attracted to Zionism or Communism.

In 1918 Rocker was deported from Britain to the Netherlands, and he soon returned to his native country. He became a leading figure in the German and indeed the international anarcho-syndicalist movement. He was an active member of the Freie Vereinigung Deutscher Gewerkschaften (Free Association of German Trade Unions) and then a main founder of the Freie Arbeiter-Union Deutschlands (Free Workers' Union of Germany) and an editor of its paper, *Der Syndikalist*. He was the moving spirit of the International Congress in Berlin in 1922 which led to the formation of the International Working Men's Association, and was one of its secretaries. He exerted his influence against anarchist support for the Bolshevik Revolution after 1917 or for Peter Arshinov's *Organisational Platform* (which advocated reforming the anarchist movement as a virtual political party) after 1926, and he led the libertarian opposition to the rising Nazi movement.

In 1933 Rocker had to leave Germany again to escape persecution by the new Nazi regime. He settled in the United States, which he had previously visited for lecture tours, and he continued to work as a speaker and writer, directing his efforts against the twin evils of Fascism and Communism. He spent the last 20 years of his life as a leading figure in the Mohegan community at Crompond, New York, and was the best-known anarchist in the country until his death. He supported the Allies in the Second World War, which caused a breach with some old comrades, but he continued to receive more admiration and affection than any veteran of the movement since Kropotkin or Malatesta.

★ ★ ★

Rocker was a very prolific speaker and writer in both Yiddish and German, and he produced a great many articles and pamphlets and several books — especially a libertarian study of the conflict between nationalism and culture, biographies of the anarchist figures Johann Most and Max Nettlau, and a long autobiography. Many of his writings were translated into Spanish and widely circulated in Latin America, but not many appeared in English. Apart from a few pamphlets, three books were published in the United States — the ambitious study of

Nationalism and Culture (1937),¹ an essay in literary criticism called *The Six* (1938), and a popular survey of *Pioneers of American Freedom* (1949). Two more were published in Britain — a popular survey of *Anarcho-Syndicalism* (1938), and the section of his autobiography covering *The London Years* (1956). Some others were translated into English but not published — especially *Behind Barbed Wire and Bars*, an account of his internment during the First World War.

The most accessible of Rocker's books is *Anarcho-Syndicalism*. This arose from the Civil War and Revolution in Spain, which broke out in 1936 and brought anarchism and syndicalism back on to the political stage for the first time since the First World War and the Russian Revolution. It was also in 1936 that Fredric Warburg took over the publishing business of Martin Secker and made the new company of Secker & Warburg one of the main London publishers. He specialised in good fiction, especially by leading foreign writers, and in political books by unorthodox writers, whom he described in the second volume of his memoirs, *All Authors are Equal* (1973), as 'a miscellaneous collection of socialists, anarchists, radicals, independent socialists . . . pacifists and eccentrics', and among whom were several who later contributed to the anarchist press (such as Jomo Kenyatta, Ethel Mannin, George Orwell, Reginald Reynolds, and F. A. Ridley). He took a particular interest in Spain, commenting in the first volume of his memoirs, *An Occupation for Gentlemen* (1959), that 'it was the Spanish Civil War that obsessed me in the first months of the infant firm and dominated its policy for the next three years', and he published several books on the subject (the best-known being *Homage to Catalonia*). A salient feature of the Spanish situation was of course the existence of a mass movement of revolutionary syndicalists led by militant anarchists, and Warburg decided to publish a book on the ideology which inspired them.

In April 1937 — at a time of growing confrontation between the Nationalist rebels and their Falangist allies on one side and the Republican regime and its left-wing allies on the other, and also between the libertarian movement and the Socialist and Communist authorities within the Republic — Warburg approached *Spain and the World*, the new leading anarchist paper in Britain, with a proposal for a quick short book on anarchism. This was passed on to Emma Goldman (1869-1940), the best-known anarchist in Europe, who was then working for the Spanish anarcho-syndicalists in London; but, knowing

1. New editions appeared in the United States in 1947 and 1978, both distributed in Britain by the Freedom Press.

that she had neither the time nor the capacity to produce such a work, she decided to approach someone else instead.

As it happened, there was actually already in existence such a book, or at least the basis for one. This was a long introduction to the subject by Emma Goldman's lifelong friend and colleague Alexander Berkman (1870-1936), which had been written a decade earlier and published in the United States in 1929 in two simultaneous editions as *What is Communist Anarchism?*² and as *Now and After: The ABC of Communist Anarchism*. Emma Goldman herself wrote the introduction for a new posthumous edition which was published in the United States in August 1937, so she was well aware of its existence. Moreover, it hadn't yet appeared in Britain, and could easily have been published in a revised form as a new book — indeed a shortened version did appear as a pamphlet a few years later.² But it was much too long for Warburg's purpose, it concentrated on communism rather than syndicalism, and it contained much material on the Russian rather than the Spanish Revolution. Anyway, for whatever reason, rather than trying to adapt or abridge Berkman's old book, Emma Goldman approached Rudolf Rocker in the United States for a new one.

She wrote telling him about Warburg's proposal and asking him to accept it, and commented:

. . . A work on Syndicalism in the English language is desperately needed now. It would do tremendous good. The very fact that a publisher asks for such a book shows that he too realises the importance of it. . . . Rudolf dear you really should do the book. And you should do it as quickly as possible. After all a short work on Anarcho-Syndicalism is not a work of science or deep philosophy. To reach large masses it must be kept in a light tone. Anyhow you and no one else are the man to do it. And I hope you will undertake it. It will be a real disgrace to refuse such an opportunity to present our ideas before a large public in England and America. Do you not think so? . . . Of course you must write it in English. If need be it can be revised here. . . . I feel certain if you made up your mind you could do it in a month. . . . Please, please dear Rudolf say Yes. . . . (4 May 1937)

Rocker liked the idea but he was very busy. He had only recently managed to get his magnum opus, *Nationalism and Culture*, translated into Spanish and then into English (the latter work being started by Alexander Berkman and completed by Ray E. Chase, a retired academic in Los Angeles), and he was at this time involved in the details of its publication in the United States. He, too, was much concerned with Spain; at the beginning of the Civil War he had written a pamphlet on *The Truth about Spain* (1936), and now he was writing

2. *ABC of Anarchism*, published by the Freedom Press in 1942 and reprinted several times.

another one on *The Tragedy of Spain* (1937). He was also trying to earn his living. He therefore replied after a few days that he would be able to start work on the new book in a few months (23 May 1937).

Meanwhile, since he was still writing in German, he had written to ask Chase whether he would be able to translate it into English. Chase replied favourably: 'Of course I'll be glad to do it for you, if you are sure that I am really the man for the task' (23 May 1937); and he returned to the subject in further letters: 'What of the essay on Anarcho-Syndicalism? Are you going on with it? Am I to translate it?' (15 June 1937); 'I should be very glad to have the job' (30 July 1937).

Emma Goldman replied in characteristic style:

I wish I had you here. Believe me I would spank you. . . . Don't you realise old dear that we never had such a golden opportunity as the offer of a London publisher to get our ideas before a large section of the British workers? And that there never was a more propitious moment than now to make Anarcho-Syndicalism known in this country? . . . It's you my dear and you cannot get away from it. Please please set to work on it as quickly as possible. After all you even need no material on the subject. You have got it at you finger tips. You should therefore be able to do it quickly. Won't you try? . . . (10 June 1937)

Milly Rucker replied a few days later:

. . . Believe me that he realise what it means to publish a book on Syndicalism by a publisher, where we could reach quite a different circle of readers, and important it is, it is just wonderful. He will do it with great pleasure, and will do it well, as soon as he is through with the work in hands, and just have one or two swims. Is that good enough darling? Say yes, and smile, do, please. (24 June 1937)

Emma Goldman passed the news of Rucker's acceptance on to Warburg, and sent his contract on to Rucker, who signed and returned it at once — though he changed the delivery date from August to September. She wrote several more letters during the next few months, suggesting what he should write and urging that he should write quickly (23 July and 11 September 1937), and then discussing the progress of the production and publication of the book (19 November and 30 December 1937, 4 January and 22 February 1938).

He wrote the 45,000-word text in German between July and October 1937, sending successive instalments to Chase, who rapidly translated them and sent them on to London, reporting progress back to Rucker: 'I am working on your *Anarchism* . . .' (13 September 1937); 'It's going to be hard to make the deadline you said you had been set — but I have kept up with you . . .' (14 October 1937). The job was finished in December 1937, the book was set up in proof by January 1937, and published in London in March 1938.

There were some private misgivings about the result. Emma Goldman wrote telling Rucker that she had complained about 'the

numerous mistakes' to Warburg, who had blamed the proof-readers (29 March 1938). And Chase wrote telling Rucker that he had received his copy of the book, and commented sadly: 'I have had time merely to glance into it. I note that there is no mention of a translator. That, of course, is unimportant, but it seems a trifle odd . . .' (5 May 1938).

But the public reception was good, and the reviews were generally favourable. The most authoritative independent one appeared in the *Times Literary Supplement* on 23 April 1938 (unsigned, but written by E. H. Carr):

Anarcho-Syndicalism, as presented in this earnest but somewhat heavily written little book, is on the one hand a restatement of essential Liberal doctrine in modern terms and on the other a reaction against the form which the Socialist movement has assumed. It is anarchist in so far as it aims at freeing mankind from the coercion of the State, which is to be replaced by a federation of communities, and it is syndicalist in so far as it proposes to free the workers in the industry from employers' control and to place economic power in the hands of the trade unions. Mr Rucker, who is the philosopher of the movement, traces back its beginnings to Godwin and Proudhon and finds its modern inspiration in Bakunin and Kropotkin. It is interesting to note how many modern thinkers find in Kropotkin's study of what may be called collective security in the animal world the answer to the cruder political inferences drawn from the doctrine of the survival of the fittest.

Having set out his principles, Mr Rucker fortifies them by an account of England under industrialism in which all the shadows are energetically inked in. The narrative overstates the influence of Socialistic ideas in the England of the 'thirties and 'forties, just as it overstates the influence of the First International on the Continent a few years later. The present phase of the movement, we learn, is represented by the various national branches of the International Workingmen's Association. The most important of them is the Spanish Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo (CNT), to whose work in freeing Catalonia from Fascist reaction Mr Rucker pays a whole-hearted tribute on which recent events have passed their commentary.

All this part of the argument is directed against political socialism which in Russia has led to the reestablishment of the coercive State in a strengthened form. The workman's power, Mr Rucker insists, is economic and its weapon is the strike. In this connexion we are told that 'the great general strike of the English workers in 1926 was the result of a planned attempt by the employers to lower the general standard of living by cutting wages.' The value of the book is much diminished by the exaggerations, of which this sentence is a flagrant example.

The book was naturally welcomed by the anarchist movement. A Spanish translation by Diego Abad de Santillan was published in Barcelona during 1938. In Britain Herbert Read wrote a long joint review of *Anarcho-Syndicalism* and *Nationalism and Culture* in *The Criterion* (July 1938). But the most authoritative review appeared, as

might be expected, in *Spain and the World*, on 18 March 1938, being printed in bold type and written by the editor, 'V. R.' (Vernon Richards). He began by describing the interest in anarchism created by events in Spain and mentioning some of the books already published on various aspects of the subject, and continued:

But what was really needed was a complete work on Anarcho-Syndicalism, in which the subject would be dealt with in all its aspects. In *Anarcho-Syndicalism* by Rudolf Rocker we at last have the book. It has no pretension of being complete in detail; that would need a much longer book. However, it is as well that the book is short, for by its brevity it succeeds more successfully in its aim: to briefly explain Anarcho-Syndicalism to the uninitiated — and the initiated. After a summary of the book, he concluded:

The above is but a brief account of Rudolf Rocker's excellent book. It is impossible, in the space available to bring out all the detail which it contains. *Anarcho-Syndicalism* should be read by all who wish to become acquainted with the subject, for an understanding of Anarcho-Syndicalism. So far the few books which have been written during the past two years have been generous in their distortion of the objectives and the work carried on by the Anarchists for the achievement of true Socialism; this is understandable, for the authors have been communists! *Anarcho-Syndicalism* on the other hand is written by one whose life has been dedicated to the Anarchist ideal and struggle, both in Germany and in America.

However, the book wasn't a commercial success at all (nor was *Homage to Catalonia*). Within a couple of years the Freedom Press acquired the remaindered stock (as of several other Warburg books), and sold it at a reduced price. It wasn't reprinted in Britain or published in the United States at that time; but after the war a new edition did appear in India.

Arya Bhavan, an elderly Bombay journalist who had first contacted Rocker and read the book in 1938, moved from socialism towards anarchism, founded a libertarian publishing house, and produced a series of reprints of anarchist classics. During 1947 he wrote several letters to Rocker. He told him that he wanted to publish *Anarcho-Syndicalism*, and added: 'Can you not send an epilogue to it as that will increase the value of the book in this changed circumstances' (14 April 1947). He wrote again a few weeks later: 'I am printing here your *Anarcho-Syndicalism*. It will be out in a couple of months. Can you not oblige me with an epilogue from you' (9 May 1947). When Rocker agreed, he replied that he was 'indebted to you for writing an epilogue for *Anarcho-Syndicalism*. The book is almost complete. . . . Much water has flowed under the bridge since you wrote *Anarcho-Syndicalism* and your epilogue will bring it to date' (1 June 1947). And when he received the epilogue, dated June 1947, he wrote again: 'I am trying to see if it can be added at the end' (24 July 1947). The book was

published by Modern Publishers in Indore in August, and did include Rocker's epilogue, as well as a publisher's introduction (and many more misprints).

Incidentally, Rocker never made any money from the book. His small advance royalty from Warburg (£25) just covered the translation fee for Chase (\$100), and he received nothing from India.

* * *

In 1946 Rocker wrote an abridged version of the book as an essay with the title *Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism* for Feliks Gross' American symposium *European Ideologies* (1948), consisting of slightly revised passages from different parts of the book and amounting to nearly one-third of the text. It was reprinted in James J. Martin's edition of Paul Eltzbacher's *Anarchism* (1960),³ extracts were included in two American anthologies — Irving Louis Horowitz's *The Anarchists* (1964) and Priscilla Long's *The New Left* [!] (1969) — and it was later published as a pamphlet.⁴ Extracts from the original book were included in another American anthology — Leonard I. Krimerman's and Lewis Perry's *Patterns of Anarchy* (1966) — and various extracts and versions have appeared in various forms from time to time.

During recent years there have been an expensive American reprint of the Indian edition (Gordon Press 1972) and a cheap (slightly abridged) British reprint of the British one (Phoenix Press 1987). What is needed is a full reprint of the text of the original British edition, together with the epilogue to the Indian edition and also some account of developments during the subsequent forty years. Rocker's account of anarchism and especially of its syndicalist variety is inevitably dated in its general emphasis and in some particular points, and it does include several minor errors (such as misattributing quotations to Jefferson and Byron or misspelling the titles of several non-English organisations), but after half a century it remains valuable as a short and clear view of a significant ideology by one of its best-known and best-informed adherents.

A convenient summary of the recent history of the international anarcho-syndicalist movement is given by C. Longmore's pamphlet *The IWA Today: A Short Account of the International Workers Association and Its Sections* (South London Direct Action Movement 1985). This describes the formation and early development of the International

3. The British edition was published by the Freedom Press.

4. Published by the Freedom Press in 1973 and reprinted in 1988.

Working Men's Association, and the crisis of the Second World War, as discussed in more detail by Rucker, and then takes up the story from the first post-war congress in Toulouse in 1951. The International Workers Association — the original English title was amended for anti-sexist reasons — declined to its lowest point during the 1960s, under the double pressure this time of Communism and capitalism. It revived during the early 1980s, following the revival of libertarian rebellion around the world during the late 1960s and especially the revival of the Spanish movement during the late 1970s, and at the congress of Madrid in 1984 it comprised a dozen national or regional sections.

In Britain, there was a vigorous syndicalist movement before the First World War with strong libertarian tendencies (see Bob Holton's book *British Syndicalism 1900-1914*, 1976) — especially among the Jewish workers in East London, where Rucker himself was so influential — and there were several attempts to form a specifically anarcho-syndicalist organisation during the 1930s. The Anarchist Federation of Britain turned towards syndicalism after the Second World War and became the Syndicalist Workers Federation in 1950, but this too declined. However it was later revived as the Anarchist Syndicalist Alliance and then in 1979 as the Direct Action Movement, which has produced many publications and has been involved in several industrial struggles.

However, the basic principles of anarcho-syndicalism — self-management, autonomy, direct action, spontaneity, mutual aid, libertarianism in general — are nowadays represented not so much by the militant working-class movement as by other social and political movements which transcend class loyalties. Obvious examples include peace and green movements, youth and student movements, women's and gay movements, communalist and cooperative movements, and the informal manifestations of the spirit of revolt which have revived the old attitudes of nihilism and bohemianism in the alternative and underground culture. If the traditionalist concept of anarchism expounded by Rucker has been continued in the International Workers Association and by such writers as Daniel Guérin and Noam Chomsky, more revisionist concepts which were pioneered by many libertarians during the nineteenth century, and which have been expounded and developed by several writers down to Murray Bookchin and Colin Ward in our own day, should also be taken into consideration in any attempt at a balanced account of anarchism. Nevertheless Rucker, in seeing anarchism primarily as a product of libertarian tendencies in the labour movement and anarcho-syndicalism as the final result of his process, was giving a true picture of the emergence first of the historical anarchist movement during the late nineteenth century and then of one

of its most important forms during the early twentieth century (though he himself had increasing doubts about the value of syndicalism, especially towards the end of his life). So his exposition of anarcho-syndicalism at the peak of its influence is both a precious document of its time and a valuable reminder in our time of the continuing importance of an essential element in the complex ideology of anarchism.

Acknowledgements

Thanks are due to: Fermin Rucker, the younger son and literary executor of Rudolf Rucker, for giving permission to make use of his father's writings and for helpful comments; the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, for the use of its resources and for giving permission to make use of unpublished material in its possession (the Rudolf Rucker Collection contains manuscripts of several of his books and letters to him, and the Emma Goldman Collection contains letters to and from her); and Heiner Becker, Vernon Richards, and Christine Walter for help of various kinds.

Corrections

We have received some belated but welcome comments on Nicolas Walter's article on Guy A. Aldred (*The Raven* 1).

Judy Greenway, who is working on a study of the *Freewoman* and *New Freewoman*, points out that Harrier Shaw Weaver wasn't really involved until after the *Freewoman* ceased publication in 1912 (see page 83).

Mark Shipway, who has just produced a study of anti-parliamentary communism in Britain, points out that the single issue of the *Red Commune*, published in January 1921, was the organ of the Glasgow Communist Group and not of the Anti-Parliamentary Communist Federation, which wasn't formed until Easter 1921, and that one of the four people imprisoned at the resulting sedition trial was not a member of the group but only the printer (see page 86); and that Aldred also stood as a parliamentary candidate in the Glasgow Bridgetown by-election in 1946 (see page 90).

John Hewetson

**Sexual Freedom for the Young:
Society and the Sexual Life of
Children and Adolescents**

Preface by Colin Ward (1987)

I must have been present, although I had forgotten the occasion, when at a meeting of the *Freedom* editorial group in 1951 (at the time when the paper was changing from fortnightly to weekly publication), the question arose of how an anarchist paper should treat a topic that was dominating the headlines of the popular press: a wave of child murders with, I assume, sexual overtones.

The particular editor who was given the task was John Hewetson, because he was a doctor and was therefore thought qualified to cope with such a topic. John was then in the early stages of his many decades as a general practitioner in poor, working-class districts of South London from which he recently retired. He was also for many years the medical officer for The Spike, a lodging for homeless men in Camberwell, against whose closure he fought a long and unavailing battle. There isn't much about the seamy side of life that he doesn't know.

So John went home and in between surgeries wrote five articles on *Sexual Freedom for the Young* which were published in *Freedom* during August and September 1951 and which Freedom Press gathered together in November 1951 as a pamphlet, reprinted in the following pages.

The most remarkable thing about his pamphlet is its date. It is hard to convey to readers in the late 1980s that in the early 1950s sex in general was a taboo subject still, and that to discuss the sexuality of children was to risk prosecution for obscenity. It is one measure of the distance we have travelled since then that it now seems absurd that this should have been a 'risky' publication.

John Hewetson was arguing a case, familiar to most of us, that behind the adult offender, convicted of terrible crimes, there is a lonely, unloved and sexually repressed child. Since every one of these cases dominates the headlines for a week or two and is then forgotten, I hope that some researcher has been gathering up the background stories of the forty-odd years since he was writing, as every one of the

horror stories that I can recall has been revealed to have just this kind of background.

He drew heavily upon the books that happened to be on his shelves: the works of Bronislaw Malinowski and Wilhelm Reich. The case of Malinowski is simple. He revealed to a Western readership in 1929 the carefree sexual lives of the Trobriand children and felt obliged to provide moralistic comments. But of course there have been published, in the post-Malinowski and post-Hewetson years, a host of anthropological studies of what were once known as primitive societies where everything that is taboo in our own society is normal, whether it is publicly displayed sexual conduct among children, public masturbation or inter-generational sexual relations. The trouble about the evidence that everything is normal somewhere and its consequent revelation of our own culture-based taboos is that a whole lot of things we can't approve, like the automatic assumption of male dominance, are similarly taken for granted in plenty of our chosen 'simpler' societies, too.

Similar problems arise with Reich. I take the ordinary 'common-sense' view of him, which, I fully admit, may be profoundly wrong. Here was a disciple of Freud who, like several others, sought to marry Marxian insights with those of psychoanalysis, and consequently earned the hostility of both factions. Long before he reached a position which I as a layman would describe as paranoid megalomania, he produced several very important books.

Considering the way the best-educated nation in Europe assisted its rulers in eliminating every last Jewish child in the populations it controlled, none of us can ignore or decry Reich's book on *The Mass-Psychology of Fascism*. It was a bold attempt at explaining the inexplicable. For exactly the same reason the arguments of his books on *The Sexual Revolution* and *The Function of the Orgasm* cannot be dismissed.

Interestingly, in giving this journal permission to reprint his pamphlet, John Hewetson remarks that 'I did a lot of work on birth control from my earliest days because anxiety about getting pregnant was tremendously common when I was first in practice. It was an enormous factor in preventing working-class women from enjoying their love-making, and this was especially true in those who most believed that they were more likely to "fall pregnant" if they had an orgasm, and who used to try and inhibit their orgasms. . . .'

Asked about his attitude to the immense changes in the sexual climate since his pamphlet was written, he replies: 'Birth control, especially the pill, must have been an important factor in the sexual revolution of the 1960s. But it is disappointing that sexual attitudes

have changed less than one had hoped. Certainly the Reichian dreams of liberation and mental and emotional health don't seem to have materialised. I wonder if the attitudes to sex enshrined in the words we use (discussed all too briefly in section 4 of the pamphlet) may be a more significant factor in a conservative attitude to sex and the act of love than one realises. I used to be rather depressed by terms like "having sex" rather than "making love" which the young of both sexes tend to use.'

What John is lamenting here is the fact that it is possible to be completely uninhibited sexually, but to remain brutally exploitive in sexual relations. This isn't what the sexual liberators had intended. I think it was a forgotten Scottish doctor, Ian Suttie, who coined the phrase 'the taboo on tenderness' in the inter-war years in a book called *The Origins of Love and Hate*. It is this quality of tenderness that John most misses in the partial and incomplete sexual revolution we have witnessed in the decades since his pamphlet was published.

But of course all revolutions are a disappointment to their harbingers. An American anarchist contemporary of John's, Paul Goodman, wrote a book in 1960, *Growing Up Absurd*, in the course of which he discussed the 'missed revolutions that we have inherited', one of which was the sexual revolution, about which he commented:

This has accomplished a freeing of animal functioning in general, has pierced repression, importantly relaxed inhibition, weakened legal and social sanctions, and diminished the strict animal-training of small children. The movement has not so much failed as that it is still in process, strongly resisted by inherited prejudices, fears, and jealousies. By and large it has not won practical freedom for older children and adolescents. The actual present result is that they are trapped by inconsistent rules, suffer because of excessive stimulation and inadequate discharge, and become preoccupied with sexual thoughts as if these were the whole of life.

Goodman went on to lament another, related, partial revolution, that of permissiveness. He wrote:

Children have more freedom of spontaneous behaviour, and their dignity and spirit are not crushed by humiliating punishments in school and in very many homes. But this permissiveness has not extended to provide also means and conditions: Young folk might be sexually free, but have no privacy; they are free to be angry, but have no asylum to escape from home, and no way to get their own money. Besides, where upbringing is permissive, it is necessary to have strong values and esteemed behaviour at home and in the community, so that the child can have worth-while goals to structure his experience; and of course it is just these that are lacking. So permissiveness often leads to anxiety and weakness instead of confidence and strength.

These comments strike a responsive chord in me, long after they were written, and so does John Hewetson's pioneering pamphlet. But

in introducing it to a different generation of readers, I have to relate it to current preoccupations.

The first of these is AIDS. This disease has arrived on our doorsteps as an absolute gift to the anti-sex brigade: God's retribution on the fornicating multitudes. One of the great benefits it has brought in its trial is the advertising on television and on full pages in the press of the condom as a prophylactic, sternly resisted for generations by the anti-sex lobby. But I was reminded recently, listening to Schubert's *Schwanengesang*, his setting of poems by Heine, that both composer and poet died of syphilis. We have had a daunting series of sexually transmitted diseases, and this has significantly failed to persuade people not to be sexually adventurous. There will come a day when the AIDS virus is laid to rest as a result of the new equivalent of Dr Ehrlich's magic bullet that conquered syphilis. Meanwhile *Take Care* is our best advice for the young.

The second of these contemporary issues concerns the activity known as 'child sexual abuse'. Here we are completely in the hands of our sources of information, usually the mass media. We used to be presented with the stereotype of a lonely man in the park, exposing himself to the girls or fondling the boys. He fitted completely the stereotype of the victim of a repressive childhood. We had a ready answer in the aim of providing a sex-affirmative ambience for our own children. Today we have a quite different stereotype, which is that sexual activity between adults and children is, like child murder, mostly a family affair.

The British are, at the time of writing, enjoying one of their periodic moral panics on this issue, and the rights of children to a sexual life of their own are certainly not on the agenda. Nor, evidently is any suggestion that they have a right to privacy, and a right not to have their genitalia or anuses manipulated and photographed by medical zealots bent on finding evidence of abuse.

In such a climate of hysteria it is useful to be reminded of John Hewetson's lifetime of gentle propaganda for what he, in his quiet way, calls a sexually affirmative outlook.

Introduction by John Hewetson (1951)

This short pamphlet originally appeared as a series of five articles in the anarchist weekly paper, *Freedom*. The articles themselves took origin from the newspaper publicity given to a series of child murders. Despite this somewhat ephemeral form, I have, in preparing its present form, made a few minor corrections but no other adjustments than were necessary to avoid needless repetitiveness. I am fully aware that the treatment is incomplete, that many major questions go unmentioned, and that many statements are made dogmatically without any proper clothing of facts. These are serious blemishes, but for a number of reasons it seemed worthwhile to issue the pamphlet as it stood, even in so incomplete and unsatisfactory a form.

There is, to my knowledge, no readily available discussion of the role of child upbringing — especially in regard to sexual development — in the motivation of sexual crimes. This pamphlet, if it does little more, does at least draw attention to the connection between taboos which society imposes and the behaviour of individuals exposed to such pressures and denials. The point which requires emphasis is that nothing can possibly be gained by moralistic judgements which assess individuals as 'wicked' or, in more modern usage, 'criminal' or 'delinquent'. It is only when we begin to understand how such aberrations come about that we shall see the way to dealing with them on a humane and rational plane. Understanding meets no more formidable opponent than the attitude of moralistic judging and condemnation.

But understanding defeats itself if it remains on a lofty theoretical plane. Not only must one understand that society is responsible for the behaviour patterns of its members; one must also feel responsible for society and play one's part in changing it.

To do this successfully requires something deeper than slogans and a few reforms. I have often used the term 'sex-affirmation' in contrast to the sex-denying, love-hating and life-fearing qualities which so abundantly characterise our society and social conventions. It is no empty expression. The need for healthy sexual functioning is something which everyone feels but — in our society — very few achieve. Indeed, the wonder is that in our sexually sick society anti-social acts are so comparatively exceptional.

Malinowski's account of the sexual upbringing of the Trobriand Islanders serves to throw our own practices into relief. His book is not readily available, and if they do nothing else, these articles provide a summary of his findings, which urgently deserve to be so much more widely known.

The appreciation of the Trobriand lessons to our society is, of course, no simple or easy task. The aim should be to adjust society to the needs of the developing child — and not vice versa. That means first understanding the child's needs, and then affirming them socially. It is not enough to adopt an attitude of 'tolerance' towards the sexual needs and activities of children: one must create the means to *facilitate* them and underwrite them socially.

To do this requires individual parents, nurses, doctors and educators who have themselves a sexually affirmative outlook, and have somehow managed to achieve sexual health in their own lives.

It will also require struggle, just as the early birth control movement had to struggle. And, like the birth control movement, it will find the anti-sexual attitudes of society hardened into legal enactments; for in this country, sexual relations below the age of 16 are regarded by the law as abnormal and a crime, however charming and beautiful they may be in an individual instance. The history of progress, however, is littered with reactionary and cruel laws which had to be broken and swept aside.

The reader will notice that I have made no mention of political parties. Few people, I think, will today expect help from this sterile quarter. The struggle for a recognition of the sexual needs of the young and for a sexually affirmative society rests on the shoulders of individuals and it is they and they alone who will carry it forward.

I have mentioned already my awareness of the sketchy nature of this pamphlet. Perhaps I may make amends in some degree by referring the reader who is interested to writers who discuss these questions more fully. First of all there is Bronislaw Malinowski's own book, *The Sexual Life of Savages* (Routledge, 1929). Then there are the works of A. S. Neill, who has done so much in this country for the recognition of children's needs. More than either of these, there is Wilhelm Reich, whose books *The Sexual Revolution* and *The Mass-Psychology of Fascism* are by far the clearest and most uncompromising discussion of the interrelation of sexual needs and social pressures. Finally, I would like to draw attention to many fascinating and immensely fruitful articles buried in the *International Journal for Sex-Economy and Orgone Research* and its successors, *Annals of the Orgone Institute* and the quarterly *Orgone Energy Bulletin*.

1 Child murders

Cases of murder of children have called forth in recent time an immense amount of newspaper publicity and sensational newspaper articles. In its turn this publicity has made the question of child murder a subject for everyday conversation and, for many parents, of increased anxiety. Not infrequently this anxiety is then passed on to the children themselves. One child recently told the writer that 'strange men strangle little girls', and went on to ask, 'What does "murder" mean?' It transpired that an adult had used this sensational matter as further means of instilling anxiety in order to exact obedience — a process which can be observed every day, and which is productive of most far-reaching harm.

Murder and sexual activities against children must inevitably produce horror and anxiety. But it is clear to an impartial observer that society's reaction to these crimes only consists of these responses in a superficial conventional way. It is easy to see that they sell the newspapers and that the avid way in which they are read tells of other unavowed and less respectable emotions. In brief, the way such murders are read and discussed is not normal. Normal people do not respond to horror and tragedy with half-concealed avidity and superficial comment. The enormous horrors of Belsen and Buchenwald, or Hiroshima and Nagasaki, called forth a similar abnormal response. It is the reaction of people without contact with reality.

If the response of the newspaper readers is superficial and unreal, so also are the remedies put forward. The law, of course, knows only one remedy: the alleged deterrent effect of capital punishment. But the general response to the problem of what to do about child murder is on an even lower level.

An impartial observer — and it needs little knowledge of psychology to recognise that this means one who does not need to project on to the criminal the energy with which he represses his own sadistic impulses — the impartial observer immediately sees that the violation and murder of children is an extraordinary and abnormal act. It is natural to love and cherish children: it is absolutely foreign to normal human impulses to harm them. Hence it could not be more obvious that people who murder children in this way are mentally abnormal: and it follows that there must be causes and that these can be investigated, that we are dealing with a psycho-pathological problem, and that powerful emotional responses and denunciations are quite out of place. And, let it be added, those who are able to take such an adult view of the problems are exactly those people who react in a normal deep way to the

actual tragedy — not those who lasciviously read their newspaper and then fall back into casually lascivious righteousness.

Yet even the reasonable, fairly well-adjusted people who approach the problem in an adult way also show, often enough, an abnormal element in their response. For the problem is of much greater magnitude than that of psychiatric assessment of sadism in individual cases. It does not need a display of statistics to show that child murder is always with us: so many for each five-year period, no doubt with rises and falls due to this or that external influence. And this fact, taken in conjunction with the abnormal response of society generally, indicates clearly enough that there are factors in our society which make abnormal sexual crimes inevitable, if sporadic, events. And it is surely clear enough that the sensational prurient interest these crimes provoke indicates that the impulses which lead on to sadistic crimes exist in virtually everyone.

We cannot today be satisfied with 'explanations' entailing expressions like 'wickedness', unless we extend such abusive condemnation from the emotionally sick criminal to the whole of society, and then move on to the problem of improving our society so that such abnormal impulses shall not be fostered.

Those who are honest with themselves and possess some insight into their own thoughts and actions will not require much argument to convince them that the problems of sexual crime are connected with the sexual repression involved in the frustration of normal sexual impulses in infancy, childhood and youth. The lascivious superficial response, the anxiety, and the quite unsuitable use of such abnormal threats to children all come from the same source. *And everybody with a feeling for life knows that this is true.*

Yet the same newspaper which denounces in over-righteous terms the child murderer may well carry another article denouncing attempts at sexual enlightenment in schools. It is evident that a radical approach to this problem requires a much clearer grasp of the whole problem of the social role of sexual repression. Still more important is the need for insight into the positive values of a natural living out of the sexual impulses in development.

2 The extent of sexual abnormality in society

It is not difficult to see that child murders and violations are a manifestation of sadism. And after half a century of study of sexual abnormalities the proposition that sadism is not simply cruelty but contains a distorted sexual element (to put it no more strongly) is almost

self-evident. That the fascination of such abnormalities for so large a proportion of the newspaper-reading public — even the most apparently respectable — represents a vicarious satisfaction of repressed sadistic impulses in the readers is a reasonable deduction. And if one looks dispassionately at people when they are discussing these matters all doubts will be dispelled. Often they are abnormally bland about it; or they are altogether too avid, and the emotion they show is partly suppressed as though (as is indeed the case) it contained a guilty element. A normal response to tragedy is quite rare.

Perhaps it may be thought that too much is being made of the public response to events which are not only abnormal and extraordinary, but also very infrequent, for all the publicity they receive. But as we have already suggested, the same non-adult response is also seen in regard to the enormous and overwhelming tragedy of war in general, or of its particular enormities as at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. This point of war could be insisted on in detail, and extended to include wars in which the English public were not directly involved, such as the Sino-Japanese War or the Spanish Civil War. The same indifference-fascination was apparent in the case of Nazi Anti-Semitic enormities.

But, coming once again nearer home, the interest in cases of cruelty to children also presents an abnormal face, and once again the reality of vicarious satisfaction of repressed sadistic impulses becomes apparent.

Now sadism is recognised as a deviation from normal sexual development. What we see today, in these instances of abnormal public response to open sadism, is the extent of this deviation in a repressed form. The mass gloating, once it is recognised as such, is an appalling vista of the extent of the diversion of sexual impulses from their normal development. It means, in short, that sexual normality is unusual, and that abnormality is the rule, in our society.

This conclusion is so extraordinary and carries such far-reaching implications that it would require the most sceptical examination but for the fact that a similar conclusion is reached from quite different approaches. For example, it is common knowledge that most marriages are failures and that they do not bring sexual fulfilment. Then there is the fact that Freud's view that the neuroses are due to disturbances of the sexual impulse (in the broader sense in which he used it), though frequently attacked, has never been successfully overturned, and still retains its force. Major neuroses are fairly common, but in recent years the widespread extent of minor neurotic disorder has been increasingly recognised so that doctors estimate that between 50 and 80 per cent of the patients who come to them are suffering in some degree from neurotic illness.

Finally, a specific search for sexual disturbances in individuals quickly reveals the appalling extent of sexual misery.

This, then, provides additional background for the conclusion that the preventing of child murders (to say nothing of the other disasters which provide vicarious sadistic satisfaction to millions of people) involves a reorientation of the sexual attitudes of society. It provides additional grim clothing to the bare observation, so often made for so many years, that whereas men and women come to sexual maturity around puberty, sexual gratification is socially vetoed till many years later. The limitations which are then placed upon it, and the weight of sedulously inculcated guilt feelings which it is then made to bear, make our general conclusion regarding sexual frustration not merely seem no longer extraordinary but actually inevitable.

But social prohibitions on sexual activity do not begin at puberty. The anti-sexual attitude of our society presses heavily on its members from the day of their birth. Infants from their earliest years are taught to be ashamed of their genitals, that it is dirty to touch them, and that to derive pleasure from them is immoral and perverse and may be followed by disasters of a fairy-tale hideousness: A natural, free and innocent delight in sex is regarded with more horror and cruelty than the lubricious smuttiness of the lavatory-joke attitude to sex. Indeed, to most adults, the latter is regarded as normal though perhaps unmentionable.

The problem is stated thus, because to tackle it requires a sex-affirmative attitude to infant sexuality.

3 A sex-affirmative society

In the foregoing, an attempt has been made to indicate the ramifications of the sexually negative attitude of our society. We started from the most sensational of its results, the sex murder of children; but we should not fail to retain a proper sense of proportion. Far more important is the overwhelmingly widespread sexual misery which afflicts all civilised peoples and which stems directly from the sexually negative attitude of our type of society. It is this misery which underlies the apathy, the desire for leaders and the desire for power, which strangles the creative abilities and the capacity for joy of which human beings are potentially capable.

It is also this apathy that makes men and women easily lose themselves in despair and pessimism when they seek remedies for the evils of society. But it is as well to remember that the desire for sexual happiness is probably the most powerful driving force in human life

and that, however much individuals may despair, the search for a solution will never die but will be born anew with every generation.

Furthermore, it should not be forgotten that the sexually negative attitude of society is derived from a sexually negative attitude in the individuals who comprise that society. The defeat of sexual desires has to be accomplished anew in every child that is born. It is accompanied by denial of the breast, often by denial of affection; by discipline with regard to toilet and the establishment of an identification of the excrements with ideas of filth and dirtiness; by punishment and fear of touching the genitals and deriving pleasure therefrom; by frustrating curiosity about the bodies of the parents and their sexual activity; and by inhibiting the free release of energy both in bodily activity and in emotional releases whether in affection or in anger — the whole mystique of self-control and 'not showing one's feelings'. And over and above all this preliminary defeat of infantile sexuality, there comes the rigid prohibition of masturbation, of sexual games, and finally of the sexual act itself. And when the child is able to understand the attitudes of its elders it begins intellectually to absorb the sexually negative orientation of society at its conscious level, and in its turn to pass it on to the next generation also.

We have mentioned these matters thus cursorily in order to show that an understanding of the mechanism of sexual defeat in children provides many points for attack. From a feeling of helplessness in the face of an overwhelming problem we can begin to discern practical ways of tackling it individually and socially.

But we also know that many readers will have ready an armour of scepticism ever ready to deprive understanding of the complementary will to action. Let us therefore try to undermine this scepticism by turning away from our own society to consider one in which the affirmation of sex is the naturally accepted attitude of everyone. Our own society is too close to us, and perhaps by examining the problem at a distance and in a simplified form we may overcome our own pessimism and derive hope for the ultimate success of our endeavours.

Our example will be familiar by repute to many readers. It is based on Malinowski's account of the sexual lives of the Trobriand Islanders (*The Sexual Life of Savages*, 1929). Familiar, perhaps, but how often fully understood or pondered over?

Children in the Trobriand Islands enjoy considerable freedom and independence. They soon become emancipated from a parental tutelage which has never been very strict. Some of them obey their parents willingly, but this is entirely a matter of the personal character of both parties: there is no idea of a regular discipline, no system of domestic coercion. Often as I sat among them, observing some family incident or listening to a quarrel between parent and

child, I would hear a youngster told to do this or that, and generally the thing, whatever it was, would be asked as a favour, though sometimes the request would be backed up by a threat of violence. The parents would either coax or scold or ask as from one equal to another. A simple command, implying the expectation of natural obedience, is never heard from parent to child in the Trobriands. . . . The idea of retribution, or of coercive punishment, is not only foreign, but distinctly repugnant to the natives. Several times, when I suggested, after some flagrant infantile misdeed, that it would mend matters for the future if the child were beaten or otherwise punished in cold blood, the idea appeared unnatural and immoral to my friends, and was rejected with some resentment.

These remarks of Malinowski serve to show how different is the naturally accepted relationship between children and adults from that which seems natural in our society and prompted his suggestion regarding punishment. He goes on to point out that 'such freedom gives scope for the formation of the children's own little community, an independent group, into which they drop naturally from the age of four or five and continue till puberty. . . . If the children make up their minds to do a certain thing, to go for a day's expedition, for instance, the grown-ups, and even the chief himself, as I observed, will not be able to stop them.'

This freedom extends also to sexual matters:

To begin with, children hear of and witness much in the sexual life of their elders. Within the house . . . a child has opportunities of acquiring practical information concerning the sexual act. I was told that no special precautions are taken to prevent children from witnessing their parents' sexual enjoyment.

The older children also allow the younger ones to witness their own sexual acts:

There are plenty of opportunities for both boys and girls to receive instruction in erotic matters from their companions. The children initiate each other into the mysteries of sexual life in a directly practical manner at a very early age. A premature amorous existence begins among them long before they are able really to carry out the act of sex. They indulge in plays and pastimes in which they satisfy their curiosity concerning the appearance and function of the organs of generation, and incidentally receive, it would seem, a certain amount of positive pleasure. Genital manipulation and such minor perversions as oral stimulation of the organs are typical forms of this amusement.

In quoting Malinowski, the same Western attitude as appeared in his remarks about punishment emerges in the use of words which cast moralistic shadows like 'perversion', and the implied surprise at the achievement of positive pleasure. Of course, babies and children do experience orgasm, unless the moralistic taboos succeed in obliterating the capacity for it.

There is, unfortunately, no space to indicate further the charm and liveliness of these children, which Malinowski brings out in abundance.

Even so, the contrast between the life described in these bare quotations and the solitary and anxious and furtive and inhibited sexual explorations of civilised children — when they have not been wholly suppressed by their elders — is only too plain. 'Small girls', writes Malinowski, 'follow their fathers on fishing expeditions, during which the men remove their pubic leaf. Nakedness under these conditions is regarded as natural, since it is necessary. There is no lubricity or ribaldry associated with it.' Again, the contrast with the salacious modesty of our own society is marked.

Malinowski, despite his cautious language, makes it quite clear that these sexual activities of the children are not merely tolerated by the adults, they are regarded as natural and proper behaviour. Following his description of their erotic pastimes described above, he makes this plain:

As they are untrammelled by the authority of their elders and unrestrained by any moral code, except that of specific tribal taboo, there is nothing but their degree of curiosity, of ripeness, and of 'temperament' or sensuality, to determine how much or how little they shall indulge in sexual pastimes.

In brief, their sexual development is allowed to follow a perfectly natural course.

The attitude of the grown-ups and even of the parents towards such infantile indulgence is either that of complete indifference or complacency — they find it natural, and do not see why they should scold or interfere. Usually they show a kind of tolerant and amused interest, and discuss the love affairs of their children with easy jocularly. I often heard some such benevolent gossip as this: 'So-and-so (a little girl) has already had intercourse with So-and-so (a little boy).' And if such were the case, it would be added that it was her first experience. An exchange of lovers, or some small love drama in the little world would be half-seriously, half-jokingly discussed. The infantile sexual act, or its substitute, is regarded as an innocent amusement. It is their play to *kayta* (to have intercourse). They give each other a coconut, a small piece of betel-nut, a few beads or some fruits from the bush, and they go and hide and *kayta*.

Even in our society, children sometimes have love affairs whose depth and seriousness is entirely overlooked by adults. Almost always, however, and inevitably, they end in misery and disappointment and so add their quota not to joy but to the mechanisms of repression. Is it necessary to point out, furthermore, that overt sexual activity in civilised children means often enough the juvenile courts and approved school, or even the misery of Borstal training till the age of 18.

Limitation of space precludes further illustration of the sexual life of the Trobriand children. But it will be in place to draw attention to an accompanying aspect of family life which is also in contrast, though less glaringly, with civilised life. This is the role of the father. We will use Malinowski's description:

The husband fully shares in the care of the children. He will fondle and carry a baby, clean and wash it, and give it the mashed vegetable food which it receives in addition to the mother's milk almost from birth. In fact, nursing the baby in the arms or holding it on the knees . . . is the special role and duty of the father. . . . Again, if anyone enquires why children should have duties towards their father . . . the answer is invariably: 'because of the nursing', 'because his hands have been soiled with the child's excrement and urine'.

The father performs his duties with genuine natural fondness; he will carry an infant about for hours, looking at it with eyes full of such love and pride as are seldom seen in those of a European father. Any praise of the baby goes directly to his heart, and he will never tire of talking about and exhibiting the virtues and achievements of his wife's offspring. Indeed, watching a native family at home or meeting them on the road, one receives a strong impression of close union and intimacy between its members. Nor . . . does this mutual affection abate in later years.

Such a situation can only come about where affections in childhood have not been brutally frustrated, so that the father treats the children with the same love which he himself received.

4 Society and the adolescent

Thus the Trobriand Islanders place no obstacles in the way of their children in respect of their sexual games and sexual activities. Neither do they surround their children with an atmosphere of 'morality', in the sense in which it is generally understood in our society, nor exact a compulsive obedience from them. The adults are able to do this because they themselves were brought up in freedom and love. Love for children exists, to be sure, in our society; but because it is combined with the idea that children must learn to obey *at any cost*, it becomes tempered on the children's side with resentment and on the parents' with irritation. In the upshot it becomes mixed with a good deal of hatred, often enough disguised as excessive affection, and becomes the motive for much undesirable behaviour. (It is not possible here to illustrate and develop these bare statements any further. To anyone who is accustomed to look beneath the surface and to understanding family situations they will, however, seem self-evident.) We shall see that a like atmosphere of freedom and approval is extended to the sexual activities of adolescents. With his customary brevity of expression, Malinowski describes this period thus:

As the boy or girl enters upon adolescence, the nature of his or her sexual activity becomes more serious. It ceases to be mere child's play and assumes a prominent place among life's interests. What was before an unstable relationship culminating in an exchange of erotic manipulation or an immature

sexual act becomes now an absorbing passion, and a matter of serious endeavour. An adolescent gets definitely attached to a given person, wishes to possess her, works purposefully towards this goal, plans to reach the fulfilment of his desire by magical and other means, and finally rejoices in achievement. I have seen young people of this age grow positively miserable through ill-success in love. This stage, in fact, differs from the one before in that personal preference has now come into play and with it a tendency towards a greater permanence in intrigue. The boy develops a desire to retain the fidelity and exclusive affection of the loved one, at least for a time. But this tendency is not associated so far with any idea of settling down to one exclusive relationship, nor do adolescents yet begin to think of marriage. A boy or girl wishes to pass through many more experiences; he or she still enjoys the prospect of complete freedom and has no desire to accept obligations. Though pleased to imagine that his partner is faithful, the youthful lover does not feel obliged to reciprocate this fidelity. . . .

Young people of this age, besides conducting their love affairs more seriously and intensely, widen and give greater variety to the setting of their amours. Both sexes arrange picnics and excursions and thus their indulgence in intercourse becomes associated with an enjoyment of novel experiences and fine scenery. They also form sexual connections outside the village community to which they belong. . . .

As time goes on, and the boys and girls grow older, their intrigues last longer, and their mutual ties tend to become stronger and more permanent. A personal preference as a rule develops and begins definitely to over-shadow all other love affairs. It may be based on true sexual passion or else on an affinity of character. Practical considerations become involved in it, and, sooner or later, the man thinks of stabilising one of his liaisons by marriage. In the ordinary course of events, every marriage is preceded by a more or less protracted period of sexual life in common. . . .

The pre-matrimonial, lasting intrigue is based upon and maintained by personal elements only. There is no legal obligation on either party. They may enter into it and dissolve it as they like. . . .

I have quoted Malinowski thus at length because he gives in these paragraphs an account of the development of sexual life which comes as near to a natural unfolding as one could imagine. Moralistic complaints are obviously quite out of place. If put forward they would show themselves openly to be motivated by the unspoken belief that sexual activity is, in itself, wrong.

As with child sexuality, Trobriand society finds the sexual activity of adolescents natural and desirable. But it does more than that — and this is especially important for our society — its social structure is modified to *facilitate* the needs of the young.

At puberty 'a partial break-up of the family takes place. . . . The elder children, especially the males, have to leave the house, so as not to hamper by their embarrassing presence the sexual life of their parents.

This partial disintegration of the family group is effected by the boy moving to a house tenanted by bachelors or by elderly widowed male relatives or friends. Such a house is called *bukumatula*. The girl sometimes goes to the house of an elderly widowed maternal aunt or other relative.'

Such an arrangement makes for much greater freedom for the growing children and serves to liberate the parents also. The contrast with our society is even more marked when one considers the difficulties which beset young people in large cities in finding a place of privacy in which to be merely alone, let alone to make love. The use of so inconvenient a place as the cinema whose only advantage is the darkness, but which allows only of a more or less furtive petting, vividly illustrates the difficulties in our society. Anyone who reads the *News of the World*, and many must be adolescents, knows that it is a criminal offence to make love with a girl under 16 years. Such girls are regarded as being 'in need of protection' — an elegant way of saying the remand home and reform school. It is a relief to return to Malinowski and the Trobriand Islanders whom he so unreasonably calls 'savages'. It is necessary to add that the places used for love-making differ at this stage from those of the previous one. The small children carry on their sexual practices in bush or grove as a part of their games, using all sorts of makeshift arrangements to attain privacy, but the adolescent has either a couch of his own in the bachelors' house, or the use of a hut belonging to one of his unmarried relatives. In a certain type of yam-house [a house for storing food — J.H.] too, there is an empty closed-in space in which boys sometimes arrange little 'cosy-corners', affording room for two. In these, they make a bed of dry leaves and mats, and thus obtain a comfortable *garçonnière*, where they can meet and spend a happy hour or two with their loves. Such arrangements are, of course, necessary now that amorous intercourse has become a passion instead of a game.

It is obvious that the lasting liaisons of youth and adult girls require some special institution, more definitely established, more physically comfortable, and at the same time having the approval of custom. To meet this need, tribal custom and etiquette offer accommodation and privacy in the form of the *bukumatula*, the bachelors' and unmarried girls' house. . . . In this a limited number of couples, some two, three, or four, live for longer or shorter periods together in a temporary community. It also and incidentally offers shelter for younger couples if they want amorous privacy for an hour or two.

By now, the reader will be glad to excuse me from making the comparison or rather, the contrast, with our own, supposedly civilised, society. Instead, I will point to an aspect which might otherwise go unregarded, but which is also illuminating in regard to ourselves. This is the obvious difficulty which besets Malinowski in his search for words to describe the sexual lives of the islanders. He is at pains to

stress their freedom and naturalness, yet he has to use words like 'amours' and, still more frequently, 'intrigues'; both words carry the implication for our ears of *illicit* love. The fact is that we do not have words to describe an innocent and natural love relationship, so long has a natural attitude been repressed.

An instance of the same revealing kind arises when Malinowski comes to describe the act of sex itself, for in describing the difficulty he unconsciously reveals the European's attitude. 'When the natives wish to indicate the *crude, physiological fact*' (without, that is, any moral overtones — the italics are mine — J.H., he writes, 'they use the word *kayta*, translatable, though pedantically, by the verb "copulate with".' Now there is another briefer word which would also do; but, once again, the associations of this word, in our society, are unpleasant and reflect the smut and repression with which we surround sex. The context in which the word *kayta* is used by the natives shows quite clearly that for them it has no such overtones, nor would they regard intercourse as a 'crude, physiological fact'. In this respect the Trobrianders are considerably more delicate than European society, and even so valuable an ethnographer as Malinowski cannot escape the vulgarity of language which centuries of sex-negation impose.

5 Liberation of sexual aspirations

I have sought to describe the life of a primitive people who, in contrast to our society, adopt a natural and sex-affirmative attitude towards their children from infancy to adult life. Necessarily, such a presentation has been sketchy, but those who would like to fill in the details are referred to Malinowski's book.

The sex-negative attitude is so widespread that it is necessary to stress the *significance* of Malinowski's study. It shows that free development and satisfaction of sexual needs from the earliest years of life reveal no inherent biological complications. Our starting-point was the existence of child murder and the pathological response of our society to them. The following brief summary of Malinowski's findings by Wilhelm Reich (*The Function of the Orgasm*, 1942) indicates their relevancy to contemporary social problems:

Children in the Trobriand Islands know no sex repression and no sexual secrecy. Their sex life is allowed to develop naturally, freely and unhampered *through every stage of life, with full satisfaction*. The children engage freely in the sexual activities which correspond to their age. Nonetheless, or rather, just for this reason, the society of the Trobrianders knew, in the third decade of our century, no sexual perversions, no functional psychosis, no sex murder; they

have no word for theft; homosexuality, and masturbation, to them, mean nothing but an unnatural and imperfect means of sexual gratification, a sign of a disturbed capacity to reach normal satisfaction. To the children of the Trobrianders, the strict, obsessional training for excremental control, which undermines the civilisation of the white race, is unknown. The Trobrianders, therefore are *spontaneously* clean, orderly, social without compulsion, intelligent and industrious. The socially accepted form of sexual life is spontaneous monogamy without compulsion, a relationship which can be dissolved without difficulties; thus there is no promiscuity.

The same writer then goes on to stress a point of great social importance:

At the time when Malinowski made his studies of the Trobriand Islanders, there was living a few miles away on the Amphlett Islands, a tribe of patriarchal authoritarian family organisation. The people inhabiting these islands were already showing all the traits of the European neurotic, such as distrust, anxiety, neuroses, perversion, suicide, etc. . . . The difference just mentioned, between the matriarchal, free organisation of the Trobriand Islanders and the patriarchal, authoritarian one on the Amphlett Islands, has more weight from a mental hygiene point of view than the most intricate and seemingly exact graphs of our academic world. This difference signifies: *The determining factor of the mental health of a population is the condition of its natural love life.*

If we are honest, it is impossible to escape the conclusion from Malinowski's work on the one hand and the misery and sexual abnormalities of our own society on the other. It is easy, no doubt, to point out that the society of the Trobrianders is a simple one based on agriculture and fishing, whereas ours is a highly complex economy. And there are those (for example, Freud, in his later years, and J. D. Unwin) who contended that the repression of sexuality was necessary for culture to develop. These arguments cannot here be explored further — except perhaps to point out that if the development of civilisation be taken to include the development of modern weapons and the manifestation of child murder, then it is time to wonder whether 'civilisation' is a reward worth the repression of natural sexual impulses.

Actually, however, such objections do not in fact brush away the importance of Malinowski's study. Nor do they side-step the conclusions regarding sexual misery which a direct study of our own society compels. The simple fact is that every natural feeling urges that our society radically alter its attitudes to sex in general and to the sexual needs and activities of children and adolescents in particular. There can be no real doubt that the capacity for love and the capacity for fullness in life and work go hand in hand. (The credit for the full working out of this relationship goes to Wilhelm Reich, and the reader who wishes to pursue further studies is referred to his work, especially *The Function of the Orgasm* and *The Sexual Revolution*.) From a revolutionary and social

point of view, the recognition of these facts is of the greatest possible importance.

It was suggested earlier that the ability, which we now possess, to understand something of the mechanism whereby the sex-negative attitude of society leads to the development of individual unhappiness, the brutal suppression of natural impulses in children and the consequent destruction of natural family affection; the mass misery and apathy, the general incapacity for creative activity and productive work — the ability to comprehend these processes enables us to see the ways to combat problems of our time which before seemed overwhelming and unapproachable.

The problem itself — that of replacing a socially sex-negative attitude by sex-affirmation — is, of course, enormous. But the social work of tackling it is not impossible. It requires work in all activities regarding the upbringing of children, in antenatal clinics and postnatal clinics, in schools and universities, and in establishing facilities for contraception and the removal of other barriers to sexual fulfilment. Not least, it requires that continuous pressure by individuals which gradually alters the outlook of society in general.

An enormous task, undoubtedly. But whereas authoritarian concepts demand all the time that men and women should disregard and suppress natural desires and aspirations, the task we envisage is in line with natural desires, natural strivings. Whereas a structure founded on the continuous denial of human function — as our society is — must for ever be unstable, the establishment of a social environment for free development has the consent and the wholehearted, undivided energy of human functioning.



Gone with the Wind-up — Back with Full Sail

Black Flag began as a booster for Black Cross work which was hoped to be a ginger group in what was hoped to be a revived anarchist movement which turned out to be a chimera; faced with genuine activism the pacific and liberal element were soon 'gone with the wind-up'; we carried the main burden of anarchist activism with a few friends here and abroad. In the intervening years the movement has been revived, and the recent General Election in particular turned attention on the potential of the Anarchist movement. Many are turning to class struggle and direct action not necessarily because they are convinced anarchists but certainly because they are convinced of nothing else. It becomes vitally necessary to get the message across. At this juncture we find those who went with the wind-up are back in full sail.

The pacific and liberal element have crept back to form a phoney folksy 'anarchism'. The tiny London group that has taken over the Freedom Press and now consider they own it and have done so since 1886 and have for years been pleading poverty mysteriously have come into money. For years they have brought out one book a year — if that. Suddenly, with the publication of the 'Centennial' they are in huge funds — not reflected by the pathetic list of contributions in 'Freedom' or the abysmally low support and sales nor even by their traditional way of conning Italo-American workers into thinking it's still anarchist. The liberal-'anarchs' have numerous books appearing — all re-writing the past; an expensive quarterly *The Raven* — beautifully printed — appears (significantly with contributions by Herr Doktor Heiner Becker and Prof. George Woodcock) merely to boost the London Freedom group, 'out of respect and gratitude' to dead comrades but who are nevertheless slagged off viciously

if they did not toe a party line or happened to work for their living. Frank Kitz, possibly the pioneer of British anarchism, is rubbished; George Cores is treated as viciously by the worthy Herr Doktor Heiner Becker as Richards treated Sam Dolgoff in a review for disagreeing with him; unfortunately for the worthy doctor, Cores may be dead forty years but left an unpublished autobiographical snippet that exposes his lies. George Frost, a notable working class struggle figure, is reduced to being only 'Freedom's main contact in Leeds'. The Craven is we fear part of the blitz by the Amsterdam Institute, perhaps working with certain German institutions, to take over the anarchist movement. It cannot be a coincidence that at the same time the entire works of Kropotkin — as edited and interpreted by (guess who?) the renegade Woodcock — are to be published in Canada. The Craven reminds us in style and production of *Encounter* with a similar format, design, and a lesser- but would-be known type of intellectual gent writing.

Our warning to Anarchists everywhere is to be cautious of this type of smoothie approach to 'civilise' anarchism which emanates from the various continental Institutes funded by their respective governments. We have shown in *Black Flag* how the Amsterdam Institute has furthered the schism in the Spanish movement to the benefit of the State. For years we supplied it with free copies for its archives. Now we will not. We advise everyone to cut it off from supplies; these archives will be used against genuine anarchist movements — not just because the reading of them is confined to government and academic students but as a means of making bourgeois factions seem to be the true possessors of historic continuity.

from *Black Flag*

A reply to Black Flag

In the box is an unsigned article by Albert Meltzer which first appeared in *Black Flag* 174 (11 August 1987), following the first issue of *The Raven*. Albert Meltzer contributed many articles to Freedom Press periodicals over a period of 30 years, but has been campaigning against Freedom and the Freedom Press for the past 20 years. The longest of a long series of items in this campaign was Supplement 3 of *Black Flag* 166 (25 January 1987), consisting largely of an unsigned 7,000-word article by Albert Meltzer called 'Liars and Liberals'. We reprint the present shorter article as part of our work of establishing the truth about anarchism in all its variety, and also of entertaining our readers.

Seriously, though, we have the following comments. The financing of Freedom Press publications is openly mentioned in them, and that of *The Raven* was described in our first Editorial. Heiner Becker is indeed German, but we are surprised that this should be considered ridiculous or even relevant in an anarchist paper. His references to various individuals in his article on *Freedom* were strictly factual. George Cores' autobiography was published soon after his death, in *Direct Action* (November 1952 — July 1953). The International Institute of Social History can look after itself, but its archives are open to anyone who makes the journey to Amsterdam (as several present or former members of the *Black Flag* collective know from personal experience). *Encounter* has a quite different form and content from *The Raven*. And *The Raven* is of course editorially independent of any individual, institution, or interest.



Donald Rooum

The Catachresis of Ecology

'Catachresis' is a word with one meaning. If you are unfamiliar with it, you need only look it up.

'Ecology', by contrast, is a word which requires explanation whenever it is used, because it has two entirely different meanings, one scientific and the other political. In the scientific sense, ecology is a branch of biology, the study of interrelations between organisms and their environments. In the political sense, ecology means calling attention to, and proposing action against, human activities which damage the human environment.

The scientific usage was well established before 1900. The political usage began in the 1960s, developing out of the scientific usage by the accident of careless reading. Many young people in the 1960s were interested in saving the world, so ecologists advertised their calling, to potential students and others, as a science which could help to save the world.* I quote as an example Max Nicholson, who said ecology was 'the main intellectual discipline and tool which enables us to hope that man will cease to knock hell out of the environment on which his own future depends'. Sixties radicals, too busy to read carefully, overlooked the words 'intellectual discipline and tool', and mentally inserted 'emotional commitment and rhetoric'.

The 'E' volume of the *Supplement to the Oxford English Dictionary*, published in 1972, discusses 'ecology' in the scientific sense but makes no mention of the political usage, presumably because it was thought catachrestic. It is allowed in some recent dictionaries; usages which began as errors have often become conventions. But it remains inconvenient to have one word with two disparate meanings.

I demonstrate the inconvenience with an assertion in expanded, then concise form. *To be effective, any call for action to protect the environment must be informed by knowledge of how the organisms within the environment*

* There was no hypocrisy in this. Ecology is the quantitative science nearest to natural history, and has always attracted nature lovers. Ecologists were concerned about habitat destruction and pollution, long before such concerns became fashionable.

interract with each other, and with their non-living surroundings. More concisely: ecology needs ecology.

The latter sentence means nothing, unless we interpolate 'in the political sense' and 'in the scientific sense'. When 'ecology' only had a scientific sense, it was possible to say 'Environmental protection needs ecology' without being misunderstood.

In its political sense, 'ecology' is a buzz word. That is to say, if it is used on a public platform, a buzz of approval is heard in the audience. Everyone disapproves of avoidable damage to the environment, and likes the idea of preventing it. Actual *programmes* for defending the environment do not command such universal approval, so rhetoricians tend to disguise their proposals with frequent repetitions of 'ecology' and other buzz words (such as 'freedom'), to keep the approving atmosphere for as long as possible.

Two very different programmes for the environment are discussed by Murray Bookchin in 'Social Ecology versus "Deep Ecology", a Challenge for the Ecology Movement' (*Green Perspectives* 4/5, reproduced in *The Raven* 3).

'Deep ecology' means, apparently, being deeply concerned for the environment as distinct from being just concerned; a distinction which is either just silly, or deeply silly. The book by Sessions and Devall, *Deep Ecology*, is not easily obtainable in this country (I cannot find it even in the British Library catalogue), but in view of its daft title I see no reason to doubt Bookchin's word that 'deep ecology' is a mish-mash of proposals, authoritarian, liberal, practical, ludicrous, provocative, and vapid; a little for everybody adding up to an authoritarian tendency.

To this 'eco-la-la', Bookchin opposes 'social ecology'. Under the sub-heading 'What is social ecology?' we are informed, first of all, that social ecology is *social* (fancy that!). Philosophically, it is in agreement with a near-evolutionary dialectic and a critique of logical positivism. Socially, it is rooted in a diverse collection of political and economic theories. Politically, it is *Green*, and not any old green but *radically* Green (the colour of a green root). Morally, it is humanistic, not in a degraded sense but in the High Renaissance sense of the term (the humanists of the High Renaissance were students of Greek and Roman literature).

I have not summarised Bookchin's catalogue of social ecology's attributes, but stated the first item in each category. No item could fail to provoke a buzz of approval, or even a round of applause, from any audience of revolutionaries who stayed awake.

Somewhere in Bookchin's extensive writings, no doubt, is an explicit statement of the programme of action proposed under the name of

social ecology. In this article there are only pointers. 'To separate human beings and society from nature is to dualise and truncate nature itself'; 'Social ecology . . . calls "technological/industrial" society *capitalism* — a word which places the onus for our ecological problems on the *living* sources and *social* relationships that produce them'; 'The primary question ecology faces today is whether an ecologically oriented society can be created out of the present anti-ecological one'; '. . . a crude biologism that deflects us from the social problems that underpin the ecological ones and the project of social reconstruction that alone can spare the biosphere from virtual destruction.'

The opinion behind all the words appears to be that environmental problems are caused by capitalism. The programme proposed to the 'ecology movement' (if I discern it correctly) is not to waste energy tackling environmental damage as such, but to concentrate on the destruction of capitalist society.

In Britain, where catachresis is under persistent attack from pedantry, the political usage of 'ecology' seems to be going out of fashion. The Ecology Party has changed its name to the Green Party. Dillons University Bookshop keeps its 'Ecology' shelf for scientific works in the biology department, and has put the label 'Environment' on a different shelf in the geography department. There are books on the 'Environment' shelf with 'ecology' in their titles, but all of these are published in America.

What we have to say about the world being wrecked could be said with less ambiguity and less waffle, if the word 'ecology' returned to its original, single meaning. If this is happening in Britain, but not yet in America, then we in Britain should not hesitate to lead.

Acknowledgement

The quotation from Max Nicholson is lifted from *Beyond Ecology* by George Walford (1979).

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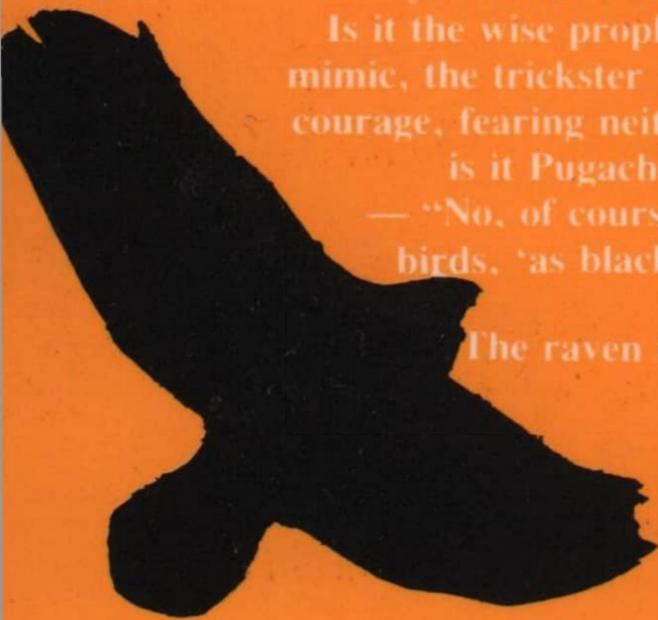
I'm sure it's not Poe's raven, 'Nevermore' . . .

Is it a symbol of disobedience, referring to Noah's raven who left the job to the obedient doves? Or is it the bird of Odin, flying around the world and whispering all the news right into his ear? Do you refer to the flag of the Danish vikings, typifying their warlike power?

Is it the wise prophetic bird of the Greeks, the bringer of light to the Indians? The mimic, the trickster who learns readily to imitate and even in captivity is known for its courage, fearing neither cats nor dogs nor children and often living to a great age? Or is it Pugachev's soaring bird that symbolizes the coming revolution?"

— "No, of course not! How could we be so pretentious? Ravens are just black birds, 'as black as they might be', plumage, beak, mouth and tongue, legs; even the feet are black.

The raven is the bird that 'wyl not gyue her black pennes for the pecockes paynted fethers'."



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