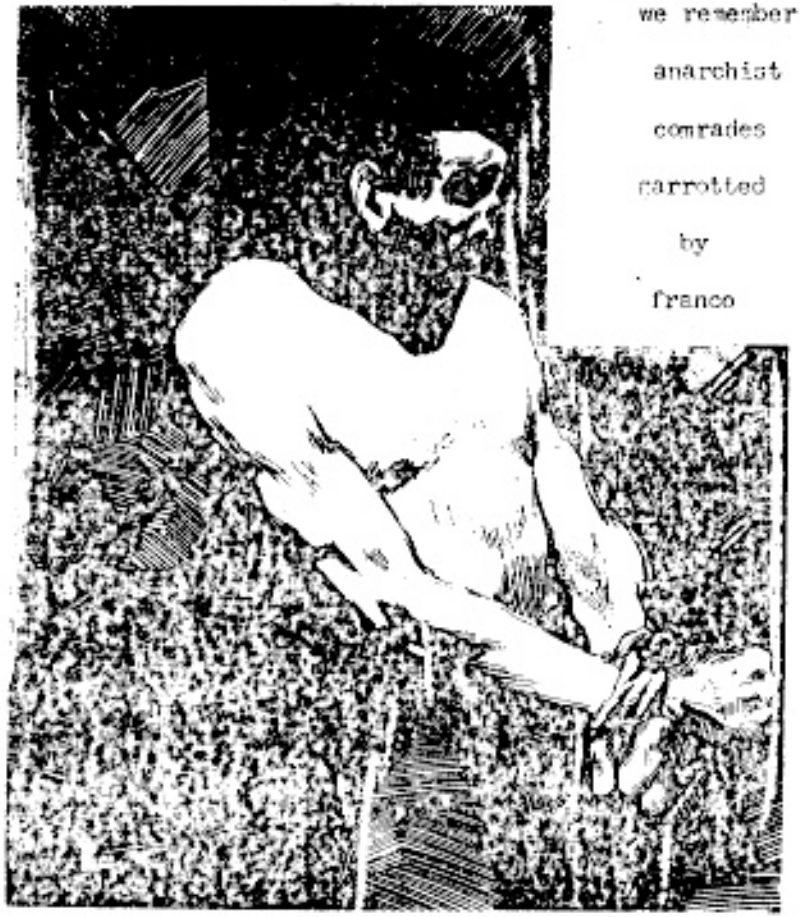

we remember

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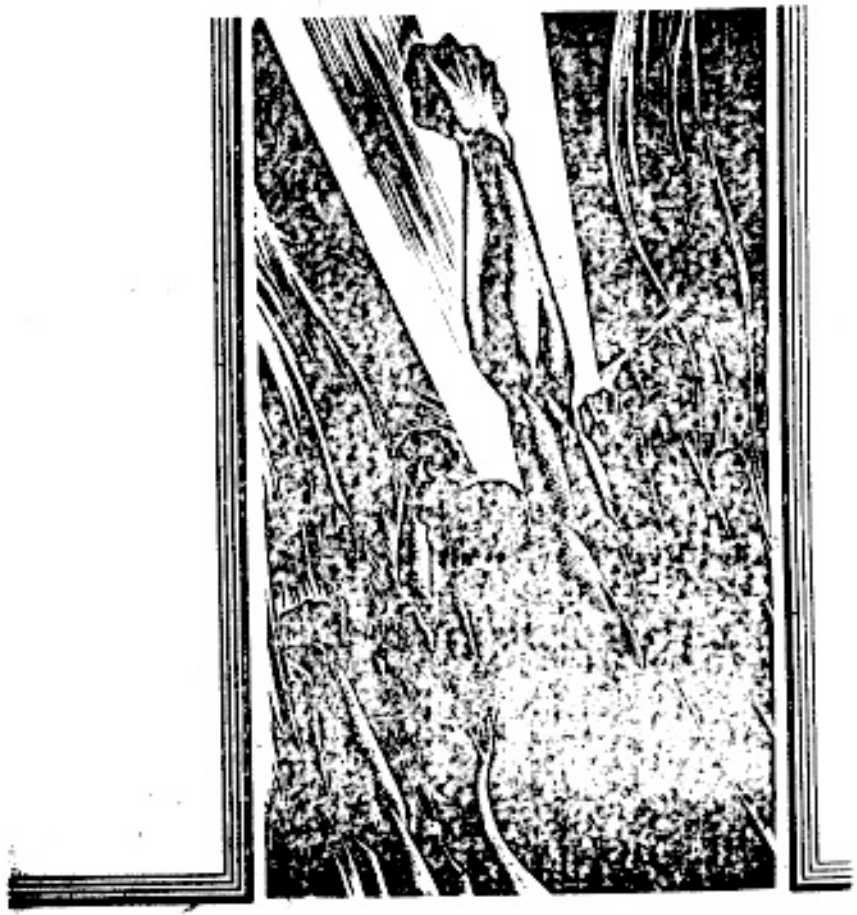
ANARCHIST



NOVEMBER 1970

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Order or Anarchy

If order is repression, regimentation, military indoctrination or barrack culture, then it is a duty of the citizen to subvert it, and if necessary, to destroy it, because under the veil of order such as this lurks the vicious rule of the vested interests, of communist, liberal or democratic commissars, of the forces of death and extermination. Is it order to produce more bombs, atom bombs or any bombs to rape, kill, invade and bomb? This certainly is the order of communism, socialism, democracy and liberalism but not of anarchy, the order of law, of hierarchy of antilibertarian and authoritarian forces; it is the death instinct of humanity.

Anarchism is dionysian in character. It is the life force of humanity and, therefore, negates the death march of society. Anarchism is rebellion against customs, conventions, prisons and chains, symbols of repression, exploitation and enslavement. Anarchists stand for life and love. They are indefatigable fighters for world emancipation, for liberty and freedom. Revolutionary genii or demons of destruction? Anarchists are revolutionaries against all kinds of authority, against all that is sacred, against the conventional, against the heirs of exploitation. Carducci's description of the Satan fits them: "I level thrones and altars and annihilate binding customs. With the gold of a restless aspiration I urge men on until they outgrow faith and fear, until the slave stands erect before the tyrant and defies his curse."

The left and right make of anarchists the apostles of universal destruction. And it could not be otherwise. A revolutionary, a radical thinker, a bearer of ideas is mental dynamite, and can cause a dangerous explosion,

shattering the foundation of any social order.

What Chapman Cohen said for the freethinker is more true of the anarchist; "Often a freethinker is denounced because he is destractive or dangerous. What other is he expected to be? And would he be of much use if he were otherwise? I would go further and say that he is the most destructive of all agencies, because he is so intimately concerned with the handling of the most destructive of all weapons-ideas. It is literally true that in human society the most destructive forces at work are ideas." And the anarchists are bearers of the most destructive idea-anarchism.

Here I have no intention of writing an ode to anarchy but to evoke its spirit which is more relevant to the present day unrest and bewilderment, unrest in society and bewilderment among radicals, who are ready to forge new chains of enslavement in the name of socialism and classless society. There is no need for new states, for a new bourgeoisie or master class. If we fight for masters, we have them now. We need the process of liberation to continue until the last cancroid growth is eliminated. Or to use Carducci's maxim: "When the last capitalist will be hanged with the guts of the last reformist. Humanity will be happy." Anarchy then stands as a warning sign for those revolutionaries whose efforts, sufferings and blood can be used to cement a new tyranny.

But anarchism, will say our wishy-washy liberals or radicals, is an urge to violence, to direct action, to propaganda by deed. And they will go and search in the archives of S.S. of N.K.V.D., C.I.A. or even A.S.I.O., for relevant evidence and facts. But one thing they forget is that an act of terrorism, of individual vengeance committed by some anarchists is an act of conscious personal rebellion directed

against that social cancer, authority, and implications.

It is irrelvent to suggest any comparison between such individual acts and the planned cold- blooded mass murder accomplished by authority. The mandaries of the authoritarian order are dishonest and hypocritical. They shed while devouring their victims. They wail over the fate of Alexander II, Umberto, Kennedy and some other kings or queens killed by enraged anarchists or half-mad murderers, but they never mention their own responsibility for millions of human corpses, for suffering and tears. Oh, they kill but in the name of order, law and prosperity. See, it is a different matter altogether!

For the present day society, anarchists are what the Devil is for the church. It is the church that persecutes heretics, depopulating many countries for God's sake. The devil is only invented for justification.

Let us assume the existence of an omnipotent god, a legislator, the embodiment of authoritarian principles. Then the devil exercises his indubitable right to rebel, to break the chains of mental slavery. Then only is knowledge born and conscience awakened. Without the devil without a spirit of rebellion, there is no progress, no science, no knowledge. Carducci was right when he made his Satan say: "I animate those who fight against servitude and somnolence. I inspire the revolutionary, the scorner, the sceptic, and the satirist. I shall distribute the fruit of the tree of knowledge."

Then what kind of judgement can we expect from the bourgeois scribes and the supporters of conventionalism? They scorn anarchists because Gaetano Bresci killed a man responsible for the

massacre of hundreds. They call anarchists vicious terrorists of senseless slaughter, and in meantime they glorify war and call "sense" the dropping of bombs and the killing of thousands of women and children, innocent populations. They call men like Stalin, Hitler, Mussolini, Franco, Churchill, Brezhnev and Nixon great men of virtue and sense, and never count the souls these have sent to eternity. It is not considered slaughter when millions die; it is slaughter when some "outstanding" individual dies.

Anarchy or order? Anarchy! If you want to tear down the books of law and moral conventions which prevent people from thinking and enquiring Anarchy! if you want to get rid of superstitions, myths and dogmas created for unthinking masses by capitalists, exploiters and various governments to perpetuate their priviledges, status and blood-sucking practices. Anarchy! if you want to stop wars, hates, racialism, and to regenerate society on the basis of decentralisation, direct action, mutual aid and federalism. Anarchy! if you dont want to remain blind to facts and realities, to live in the imaginary world of illusions lulled by the songs of shrewd politicians and their newspaper scribes.

The Work of Daniel Guerin

Daniel Guerin is a French writer who, in recent years, has devoted himself to a rehabilitation of anarchism. He writes with great sympathy on the anarchists, their doctrines and revolutionary achievements, but he does so in an enterprise that is not narrowly conceived. He wishes to see reopened the debate between authoritarian and libertarian conceptions of socialism; indeed, he regards anarchism as that branch of socialism in which predominate concern for

liberty and longing to abolish the State.

It is this view of anarchism that gives character to his book L'anarchisme (Editions Gallimard, Paris, 1965) and his anthology Ni dieu ni maitre (Editions de Delphes, Paris, undated). It has been, as Guerin noted in 1965, a revival of interest in anarchism in recent years. One thinks of such works in English as Woodcock's Anarchism, Joll's The Anarchists, Krimerman and Perry's Patterns of Anarchy and Horowitz's The Anarchists, the two last-named being anthologies. In Guerin, however, we find what is missing in these: there a conviction of the social importance of anarchism and a clear view of what it is that makes anarchism important. It is therefore gratifying that L'anarchisme is to be published in English translation in the United States (Monthly Review Press) with an introduction by Noam Chomsky).

But why is he certain that anarchism is in need of rehabilitation? Here he thinks that anarchism is suffering injustice on three counts. The belittlers maintain that anarchism has failed the great revolutionary tests of our days, notably in Russia and Spain, and has no place in the modern world. Furthermore, they give a tendentious account of its doctrine, representing it as individualism opposed to organization, incapable of unity, centralization or planning, nostalgic for a golden age, tending only to revive archaic forms of society, guilty of infantile optimism. Finally, certain of its commentators (Guerin has probably in mind French writers) draw from oblivion only its most questionable doctrines, namely terrorist individual outrages and propaganda by explosives.

He believes that the documents that he has collected in the more than 600 pages of Ni dieu ni maitre will refute these three propositions, and that they will show that the con-

$$\frac{\partial}{\partial t}\left(\rho \mathbf{u}\right) + \nabla \cdot \left(\rho \mathbf{u} \mathbf{u}\right) = -\nabla p + \nabla \cdot \left(\mu \left(\nabla \mathbf{u} + \nabla \mathbf{u}^{T}\right)\right) + \rho \mathbf{g} + \mathbf{F}$$

$$\frac{\partial}{\partial t}\left(\rho E\right) + \nabla \cdot \left(\mathbf{u}\left(\rho E + p\right)\right) = \nabla \cdot \left(k_{eff} \nabla T - \sum_{j} h_{j} \mathbf{J}_{j} + \left(\bar{\bar{\tau}}_{eff} \cdot \mathbf{u}\right)\right) + S_{h}$$

$$\frac{\partial}{\partial t}\left(\rho Y_{i}\right) + \nabla \cdot \left(\rho \mathbf{u} Y_{i}\right) = -\nabla \cdot \mathbf{J}_{i} + R_{i} + S_{i}$$

structive ideas of anarchy have a contemporary force that can aid socialism in taking a new departure.

These constructive ideas consist especialy in the free, spontaneous, federalist association proceeding upwards from the bottom that anarchism opposes to authority and coercion proceeding downwards from the top. As Guerin sees it, these are not disembodied aspirtions, but assume concrete form in workers' association (promoted by Proudhon), federalism (an idea born during the French Revolution) and revolutionary syndicalism that adds solidarity and interdependence to the federated associations. Moral underpinning is given by the supreme valuation of individuality, society being viewed as a conglomerate of free energies. The individual is free to associate or not to associate, he is free to disengage himself at any time! From the postulate of liberty follows also the rejection of religious authority and of puritanism in conduct. As Guerin notes, the anarchists have pioneered in sexual liberty.

L'anarchisme is a presentation in Guerin's words of these doctrines of the anarchists and of their application during the twentieth century, and is accordingly an excellent companion to the anthology, though either can be read without the other. Because he knows just what it is that interests him in anarchism, Guerin is able to ignore such thinkers as Godwin, Tucker and Tolstoy who have been allotted much space in other treatments. For him, anarchism was founded by Proudhon and developed by Bakunin, with an important contribution being made by Stirner. Kropotkin and Malatesta receive less attention, and both are criticized, Kropotkin for deflecting anarchism "towards a utopianism and optimism whose deficiencies are badly dissimulated by scientism", and Malatesta for purism and "reckless activism".

It is interesting to notice that in England the anarchists have attended more to Kropotkin and Malatesta(both of whom spent time in England) to Proudhon, Bakunin and Stirner, if one is to judge from works kept in print. Interesting fri figures like Wilde, Thoreau and Read are ignor From Guerin's workmanlike point of view, individual protest (Thoreau) and genial visions (Wilde Read) are both irrelevant.

Guerin organizes L'anarchisme around what takes to be the plain distinction between the nineteenth and twentieth century appearances anarchism. In the former, anarchism was essentially doctrinal; in the latter, it was put in revolutionary practice. Consequently, the firs and second parts of the book(pp13-82) discuss elaboration of doctrine, the third part (pp.85- discusses the relations of the anarchists to syndicalism and their role in Russia, Italy an Spain. They are shown struggling against authoritarian policies and attempting to create forms organization which, while leaving individuals free, would be sufficient to ensure the workin of the economy. Naturally, this brought them into bitter conflict with the Communists, heirs the authoritarian conception of socialism, by w the Russian and Spanish anarchists were eventu destroyed. It is part of Guerin's thesis that their social experiments were doomed, not by in herent unworkability, but by military and political repression.

These two sides to the work of the anarchist in the twentieth century correspond to two sides of their doctrinal endeavours during the nineteenth. On the one hand, they elaborated a critique of the State, bourgeois democracy and authoritarian socialism. Their critique was inspired by their positive valuation of individuality and mass spontaneity, two sources of energy distrusted by authoritarians, but on which the anarchists built their hopes. On the other han

Ch

they engaged in speculation and inquiry on forms of society that would not repress these sources of energy, but would allow them the freest expression.

Guerin's view of anarchism gives his exposition a concise and incisive quality, as will readily be appreciated by readers coming to his book after Woodcock or Joll. In particular, Guerin feels justified in ignoring precursors and fringe figures, in repudiating the biographical approach (he notes that Proudhon and Bakunin were anarchists only for part of their politically active lives) and in setting aside subjects that are not specifically libertarian, including the critique of capitalism, atheism, anti-militarism and free love. Some would argue that these causes are central to anarchism, but Guerin's position appears to be that they do not lend distinctiveness to the anarchist position. They are demands that can be accomodated within statist society, whereas anarchism is above all concerned with transforming statist society. Anarchism, then, is treated by Guerin as a conception of society in which the crucial features have to do with forms of organization within which individuality and spontaneity can flourish, and which are themselves the outcome of individuality and spontaneity.

Guerin's deliberate concentration of aim does not preclude him from recognizing certain difficulties and equivocations in the anarchist position. Thus in presenting the anarchist criticism of bourgeois democracy, he brings out the inconsistencies of Proudhon, Bakunin and the Spanish anarchists on the question of whether to vote for political parties. He remarks upon the compromises with government of certain leading Spanish anarchists during the Civil War. He notices the difficulties faced by autogestion (workers' management) in Yugoslavia and Algeria.

The only difficulty whose treatment I find satisfactory is that of individualism.

If anarchism is, as Guerin maintains, a libertarian conception of socialism, then the individualists are a problem, simply because of the a-social and anti-social tone of much of their writing. In dealing with Stirner, Guerin credits him with rehabilitating the individual at an epoch when philosophy was dominated by Hegelian anti-individualism and when the ideology of bourgeois egoism had led the majority of reformers to put the accent on its contrary. Why not the word socialism, he asks, born as the antonym of individualism? Guerin's measure of interest in showing Stirner at his most puritanical conflicts somewhat with his belief that not only the partisans of total liberty and those for social organization are less removed from one another than they had themselves imagined. This is brought thus to underplay the significance of Stirner's anti-sociality by adopting the doubtful critical device of treating certain passages as the outcome of Stirner having been led astray by his own verve (for example, "I do not aspire to common life, but to life above it", "The happiness of the people is my unhappiness"). He suggests also that Stirner, like the majority of isolated and introverted people, had an acute nostalgia for communitarian life.

Guerin is no doubt forced into what seems to me to be special pleading because, like most of the classical anarchists, he tends to reconcile individuality and spontaneity with solutions to major problems of social and economic organization. Here, I think, he has yet to feel Stirner's bite. The main drift of Ego and His Own is that any social pattern encroaches upon my egoistic engoyment, and even when I enter into the most transient "union of egoists", I am in danger of being

subordinated to the spooks and trammels of collective life.

Undoubtedly, the key problem for anarchists is presented by authority and the State. How are these to be prevented from springing up under new or covert forms? Proudhon, Bakunin, the Spanish anarchists and others have looked to mass spontaneity for the creation of new social forms, and they have opposed with unequalled vigour authoritarian attempts to impose solutions upon the masses. But at the same time, they have been forced to recognize that by and large the masses will not act spontaneously in a libertarian direction unless stimulated so to do. Hence the persistent tendency of anarchist revolutionaries to pin their hopes on creative or conscious minorities which will turn the masses in the right direction, but will be sufficiently self-effacing to resist the temptation to constitute themselves as a de facto State. It is as if they were haunted by Ambrose Bierce's definition of Revolution: "an abrupt change in the form of misgovernment". Guerin deals fairly with this crucial problem, showing himself to be aware of the "contradiction" between the mass movement and its overt or covert leaders. His conclusion may indeed impress as a masterpiece of understatement: "The relations between the mass and the conscious minority form a problem whose solution has not yet been fully found, even by the anarchists, and on which the last word seems not to have been said."

A remarkable feature of Guerin's work is the confidence with which he writes on the social relevance of anarchism. He goes so far as to declare that the subject of reflection that his book proposes to its readers is whether the future belongs to the authoritarian or

libertarian conceptions of socialism. A gul- arates him from the philosophical anarchism Woodcock or the supercilious academic detac- of a Joll. Perhaps this has something to do the revolutionary traditions of France. Giv- confidence, it may seem surprising that he to Yugoslavia and Algeria for modern levels of interest'(autogestion); it is as though were tacitly acknowledging anarchism to be peripheral in France as in England.

My explanation is that his book and ap- ogy are intended to make an impression on l- -wing thought by forcing to attention anarch doctrines and achievements that have fallen largely into oblivion. Hence the hope expres- in Ni dieu ni maitre that the collection will lead to a synthesis between two equally fecu schools of thought, one stemming from Marx Engels, the other from Proudhon and Bakunin. Hence his insistence that the debate to rec- is not that between the successors of Lenin (Stalin and Trotsky), but that between the authoritarian and libertarian conceptions of socialism. Here Guerin follows Voline in mai- taining that it was not Stalin who brought the degeneration of the Russian Revolution, the degeneration of the Russian Revolution that brought about Stalin. He does full just to the prophetic force of nineteenth century anarchist criticisms of Marxism, and to the early recognition by twentieth century anarc of the true nature of Bolshevism. It is easy see that Guerin's interpretation of anarchis could make an impact on French radical unea in the aftermath of "de-Stalinization", Marx revisionism, the uprisings in Poland, Hungar East Germany, and the tentatives towards ind pendence of the Italian Communist Party.

That his confidence was not unfounded suggested by events since 1965, most notably by the student and worker revolts in France

in 1968 in which avowedly anarchist ideas had their part to play, and in which authoritarium and libertarian conceptions of socialism were clearly seen to be in conflict.

Kenneth Maddock

State and Revolution.

Soviet Russia celebrates again. This time it is the Great October Revolution. In parades of army, navy, air forces, of officers, soldiers, commissars and workers, will be expressed revolutionary solidarity. There will be greetings from the Presidium of the Soviets, from the Communist party, from the Central Committee. There will be recitations from Lenin and glorification of Marxism-Leninism. The workers will give account of their production and proudly declare the revolutionary fulfilment of the five years plan. In the final analysis everything will be a parody of the revolution.

"State" and "Revolution" are mutually exclusive concepts. Either there is revolution and no state or there is state and no revolution. The Soviet Union is a federation of states and therefore, by definition, is anti-revolutionary; it is a reactionary and dictatorial state. It is reactionary in relation to the workers or, to be more precise to the masses. As a body politic the state is the collection of political, legislative, executive, judicial, military and financial institutions, by means of which the masses are robbed of their independence, their initiative and their interests. The masses, argues the bourgeois political scientist and his counterpart, the socialist political scientist, are unable to govern themselves and therefore they have to accept willy-nilly the benevolent yoke of the bourgeois government, or the enlightened dictatorship of the socialist leadership.

The Soviet Union is a dictatorship of highly oligarchical structure because it is by the elitist clique which considers itself only depository of Marxism-Leninism. It is government of arrogance and despotism. Here tempted to quote my favourite quotation of "But in the peoples state of Marx, there wi we are told, no privileged class at all. Al be equal, not only from the juridicial and tical point of view, but from the economic of view, at least that is what is promised, I doubt very much considering the manner in it is being tackled and the the course it i desired to follow, whether that promise cou ever be kept. There will, therefore, be no any privileged class but there will be a go and note this well, and extremely complex g ment, which will not content itself with go and administering the masses politically as governments today, but which will also admi them economically, concentrating in its own hands the production and the just division wealth. The cultivation of land, the establ ment and development of factories, the orga zation and direction of commerce, finally t application of capital to production b the only bank the State. All that will demand ma man's knowledge and many heads overflowing with brains in this government. It will be reign of scientific intelligence, the most aristocratic, despotic, arrogant and contem of all regimes. There will be a new class."

To celebrate the events of October is easy task, but to have the spirit of the re lutionary October is a different task, and spirit is long dead in Russia. It was kille at its inception by the most glorified left images: Lenin and Trotsky. It was Lenin who created the first concentration camp Kholmo near Arkhanghelsk to get rid of unsirable dissenters while Trotsky was putting the

final touch to the counter-revolution by eliminatin the spirit of the revolution in Makhno, Kronstadt and the Social Revolutionaries.

It is meaningless evoking the spirit of the revolution by long established ritualistic practices such as toasts, orgies, oratory or marches. Exorcism does not change reality. The Soviet Union is monstrous state. It pays lip service to the revolution while it crushes every revolutionary tendency. It hates dissenters. It is afraid of freedom and free thought. Especially, it is afraid of socialism and the classless society.

So the celebration of October is the celebration of the State and its corollary, uniformity and slavery. October, then, should not blur our discrimination, should not find us so gullible as to accept it as an ideology and therefore have a distorted picture of men, ideas and history. The revolution is dead. The death-blow came from the state. It turned October into the sphinx which we should decipher and transcend if we want to march forward to anarchism, the classless society and the Social Revolution.

Jack the Anarchist

Anarchists & the October Revolution

The Attitude of the Anarchists toward the deformation of the Russian Revolution by the Communist Party and the constructive libertarian approach to the problems of the Revolution were broadly summarized by Peter Kropotkin in his prophetic "Letter to the Workers of Western Europe," written in 1919 while in Dimitrov.

"...this effort to build a communist republic on the basis of a strongly centralised state comunism under the iron law of party dictatorship is bound to end in failure. We are learning to know in Russia how not to introduce communism-the idea of soviets, that is to say, of counils of workers and peasants-controllinthe economic and political life

of the country is a great idea, since these these councils should be composed of all wh a real part in the production of national w by their own efforts. But as long as the co is governed by a party dictatorship, the wo and peasants' councils lose their entire significance.

"The methods of overthrowing already enfeebled governments are already well-know ancient and modern history. But when it is n sary to create new forms oflife, especially forms of production and exchange (the new) go ernment becomes a nuisance. It develops a bu reacracy so formidable that the French buree cracy, which requires the help of forty offi to sell a tree broken down by a storm on the national highwey, is a mere bagatelle in comp rison. That is what we are learnining in Russ And that is what you workers of the west shu avoid by every means, since you have at heart success of a real social reconstruction.

"The immense constructive work demanded social revolution cannot be accomplished by a tral government, even if it had to guide it s thing more substantial than a few socinlist a anarchist handbooks. It has need of knowledge of brains and the voluntary collaboration of host of local and specialized forces which al can attack the diversity of economic problems their local aspects. Foreject this collaborati and to turn everything over to the genius of dictators is to destroy the independent center our life, the trade unions and the local coop ative organizations, by changing them into bure cratic organs of the party as is the case at t time. This is the way not to accomplish the re lution, to make its realization impossible. And this is why I consider it my duty to put you on guard against borrowing such methods..."

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$$\xrightarrow{+H_2O}$$

$$\xrightarrow{+H_2O}$$

Before and after the October Revolution of 1917, Lenin echoed such anarchist slogans as, "Down with the Kerensky Government,"Down with the war," "Abolition of the Standing Army," Arming the [illegible] the Workers and Peasants," Workers Control of Industry" and "The Land to the Peasants." It would be a mistake, however, to assume that the workers and peasants of Russia knew nothing about these demands until the Anarchists or the Bolsheviks came around and persuaded them to accept these slogans. The fact is, that all these demands were raised by the people and carried into effect before the radical groups were even known to them. Any movement wishing to gain popular support had to accept these slogans. It so happened that these slogans coincided with the Anarchist conceptions. The Anarchists rightfully viewed the spontaneous raising of these slogans as a vindication of their theories.

The slogans of the Revolution did not, however, coincide with the authoritarian Marxist theories of either the Bolsheviks or the Mensheviks. Lenin understood that his party could not come to power if he did not endorse the slogans raised by the Revolution. Lenin deliberately repeated the Anarchist slogans of the Revolution to gain popular support for his party. Subsequent events showed that once in power, Lenin and Company immediately instituted a dictatorship over the organizations of the workers and peasants and forgot all about his promises.

The "Marxists" in criticizing Lenin's ideas inadvertantly acknowledge the Libertarian tendencies of the Revolution. When Lenin tried to square his endorsement of the Anarchistic slogans of the revolution with Marxism, the various Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists tried to dissociate

Marx from Lenin and associated Lenin with B and Anarchism. Thus, R. Abramovitch, a lead Menshevik, could still write in his book,"S Revolution,"(1962):

"(Lenin's) concepts shocked the Russia Marxists of April 1917. They considered(the betrayal of scientific Socialism, a reversi the old utopian Bakuninist, Maximalist, Ans idea"(page30). Lenin was mistaken for an An not only by the Mensheviks, but even by som Anarchists.

While the political parties were engag bitter struggle for power, the Anarchists d themselves to spreading revolutionary ideas the peasants and workers in the Czarist arm furthering the libertarian tendencies of th lution. The Anarchists freed from Siberian onment and those who returned from abroad d oped and intensified Anarchist propaganda a mass action in the largest cities of Russia Moscow, Petrograd, Kronstadt, Yaroslav, Niz -Novgorod, Saratov, Samar, Krasnoyarsk, Vla tok, Rostov-on-Don, Odessa, Kiev, Kharkov, Ekaterinburg, Kursk, Ekaterinoslav, and Vla

In the short-lived period in which the chists enjoyed freedom in Russia, publishin houses were formed in Moscow, Petrograd and centres, publishing papers, pamphlets and b So successful were the Anarchist publicatio that weeklies turned into popular dailies, s the syndicalist Golos Truda of Petrograd, An of Moscow and others. In addition to these t there were also Burevestnick, Rabochaya Mysl Sibyrsky Anarchist, Rabochaya Zhizn, Trud i Volnaya Zhizn and the famous Nabat of the Ukraine.

Even at this early stage of the Revo-
ution, the Russian Anarcho-Syndicalists already
ressed the dangers of centralized bureaucratic
unionism. They successfully organized shop and
factory committees, where workers directly con-
trolled production. This decentralized form of
direct action workers organizations took on na-
tional proportions. The Anarcho-Syndicalists
rganized the River Transport Workers Union of
the Volga. They were especially successful in
the Bakers' Union in Moscow, Kharkov, Kiev and
other cities, and also in the then Russian Poland.
The Petrograd Postal and Telegraph Employees
official publication was edited by Anarchists.
Workers from the Nobel Oil Refinery joined the
Anarcho-Syndicalist Labor movement. In the
Moscow section of the Railwaymen's Union, the
Anarchist, Kazimir Kovalevitz, was very influen-
tial. In the Big Putilov Plants Anarchist
influence was tremendous.

The Anarcho-Syndicalists organized
between 25 and 30 thousand miners of the Donetz-
sov district of the Don Basin. This daring orga-
nizing drive, provoked the bitter enmity of the
reactionary Don Cossacks, who murdered a number
of Anarchist organizers. At the All Russian Trade
Union convention the Anarchist faction represented
100,000 unionists. The delegates were instructed
to present the Anarchist position. To combat
the Anarchist influence, the Social-Democrats
issued a special publication attacking the
Anarcho-Syndicalists.

The Anarchists were very successful
with their propaganda for workers control of pro-
duction. The publication Novy Put, organ of the
Conference of Factory Committees, was edited by
the Anarchists. The Bolshevik, I. Stepanov,
after a study of these factory committees
that spread like

wildfire, concluded that: "We are witnessi
thing which partakes somewhat of the Anarc
visionary dreams about autonomous industri
communes."

The Anarchists enthusiastical
engaged in the socialization of housing, f
house committees that grew into city-wide
and street committees. It is interesting t
in this connection that in Kronstadt, the
shevik faction left the soviet in protest
the socialization of dwellings, because it
not controlled by them.

In Petrograd, according to
the Anarchists had their territorial base
Vyborg district, where the working class m
were densely settled. The Anarchist socie
the secluded villa of the Czarist minister
nove. The beautiful, spacious grounds and
were not usurped by the Anarchists for thei
use, but rather were used for kindergarten
playgrounds for children and a place of re
workers. Kerensky threatened to "burn the An
chists out of the villa with red hot irons.
After long hesitation, Kerensky's Minister
Justice, gave the Anarchists 24 hours' notic
leave the Durnovo Villa.

Immediately, 28 factories wen
strike. Armed worker detachments and crowds
workers joined the Anarchists in defending
villa. To dislodge the Anarchists, Kerensky
mobilized a reliable military unit of Czari
officers. In the fighting, the Anarchist fo
suffered many wounded and some fatalities.
workers held out as long as they could, but
forced to give up the villa in the face of
overwhelming military power. The whole affa

increased the growing dissatisfaction of the Petrograd workers with the Kerensky government.

These are but a few examples of the widespread Anarchist activities during this period. If the Anarchist message was favorably received, as we have indicated, because the spontaneous action and the demands of the people coincided with the Anarchist ideas, why did Anarchism fail to shape the Russian Revolution? On this question there has been a good deal of speculation. The best explanation we think has been given by the Russian Anarchist, Voline. There are spontaneous libertarian tendencies in every revolution, but spontaneity is not enough. The fact that people unconsciously, accidentally, act in a libertarian manner does not mean that they understand the ideas and principles of Anarchism. They may even be reactionaries who do not have even the faintest notion of the implications of their acts. This explains why promising popular movements are taken over by clever politicians. Voline sums up the situation in these admirable paragraphs:

"...despite the unfavorable circumstances /which Voline discusses in a separate chapter/ the Anarchist idea could have blazed a trail, or even won, if the mass of Russian workers had had at their disposal at the very beginning of the revolution organizations that were old, experienced, proven, ready to act on their own and to put their ideas into practice. But the reality was wholly otherwise. The organizations arose only in the course of the Revolution."

"To be sure they immediately made a prodigious start numerically. Rapidly the whole country was covered with a vast network of unions, factory committees, Soviets. But these organizations came into being with neither

preparation nor preliminary activity, without experience, without a clear ideology, without independent initiative. They had no historical tradition, no competence, no notion of their rol their task, their true mission. The libertarian idea was unknown to them. Under these conditions they were condemned to be taken intow from the beginning by the political parties. And later th Bolsheviks say to it that the weak Anarchist forces would be unable to enlighten them to the necessary degree.

"Under these conditions, in order that the Anarchist idea might blaze a trail and win, it would have been necessary either that Bolshevism didn't exist, or that the Bolsheviks acted as Anarchists - or that the Revolution had left sufficient time to the libertarians and working masses to permit the workers' organizations to receive that idea and become capable of achieving it before being swallowed up and subjugated by the Bolshevik State. This latter possibility did not occur, the Bolsheviki having swallowed up the workers' organizations and blocked the way for the Anarchists before the former could familiarize themselves with Anarchist concepts, expose this seizure, and orient the Revolution in a libertarian direction?

Voline's remark should not be taken to mean that the Anarchists and other revolutionists faced with Bolshevik "victory" surrendered with a fight. The Makhno movement, the Kronstadt uprising, the strikes and revolts that took place all over Russia, were heroic attempts to save the Revolution from its usurpers. These relatively "unknown" fighters have written a glorious page in the history of man's struggle for freedom.

S.N.J.