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# Anarchism in Hungary:
## Theory, History, Legacies

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# INTRODUCTION

> [Anarchism is] not a fixed, self-enclosed social system, but rather a definite trend in the historic development of mankind, which, in contrast with the intellectual guardianship of all clerical and governmental institutions, strives for the free unhindered unfolding of all the individual and social forces in life. Even freedom is only a relative, not an absolute concept, since it tends constantly to become broader and to affect wider circles in more manifold ways. For the Anarchist, freedom is not an abstract philosophical concept, but the vital concrete possibility for every human being to bring to full development all the powers, capacities, and talents with which nature has endowed him, and turn them to social account. The less this natural development of man is influenced by ecclesiastical or political guardianship, the more efficient and harmonious will human personality become, the more will it become the measure of the intellectual culture of the society in which it has grown.[1]

According to Rudolf Rocker, anarchism is a *possibility*. It is a route to a richer, more interesting and freer future, an opportunity for spiritual and political development: an unclosed ideal, an open choice, an untried and attractive possibility. The anarchist steps into the future and creates a new future without rule.

The role of the social scientist who examines anarchism is much more prosaic. First, he or she can seek to outline the theoretical system and the various types of anarchism—the approaches of the political philosopher and the political scientist.

Second, he or she can study when, in what form, how and why anarchism emerges in particular historical situations, which social strata present anarchist demands, and how the anarchist movement is orga-

nized internally. These are the questions typically asked by the sociologist, particularly the political and historical sociologist.

The third approach involves more complete description and documentation of actual anarchist movements and their location within the societies of their time. This is the task of the historian of anarchism. Naturally, these three approaches do not exclude each other, but rather in part overlap, and they leave space for psychological and economic inquiry into the nature both of the anarchist and of anarchism.

Our approach in this book is avowedly interdisciplinary. This choice of approach is motivated by the need to offer a unified account of the chain of our ideas: it allows us to differentiate logical analytical units and to identify the most fruitful analytical means of viewing them. The book is divided into three major parts, in which—in varying proportions, but always consciously—we utilize the viewpoints of political philosophy, historical sociology and the history of ideas.

The approach of part one is essentially that of political philosophy. We examine the components of anarchist social theory and seek to develop a systematic analytical framework. On the basis of this, we differentiate the varying types and manifestations of anarchist theory. We then outline various possible criticisms of anarchism and seek to locate anarchism among the other major political ideologies.

In part two we track the history of anarchism in Hungary up to the present day. Generally, this subject is treated only fleetingly in the historical literature; occasionally it is covered in detail; often it is not dealt with at all. Our approach here, as befits the subject matter, is primarily that of historical sociology and the history of ideas. After an introduction outlining the social basis of the international anarchist movement, we consider in separate subchapters the following waves of anarchist or anarchist-influenced activity in Hungary:

1. The activities of the radical, "actionist" workers' party of 1883–84;

2. The millenarian, agrarian-socialist movements of the Hungarian Great Plain in 1897–98 and the influence of Jenő Henrik Schmitt;

3. The Kropotkin-style communist anarchism of the 1900s (Count Ervin Batthyány) and the French-influenced anarcho-syndicalism of the same period (Ervin Szabó);

4. The relationship between political and artistic avant-gardism (Lajos Kassák, Emil Szittya); the "moralist revolutionaries" movement

and its theoretical dilemmas, and questions relating to "ethical social-ism," and finally,

5. The ideology and organizational efforts of the Budapest Anar-chist Group, led by Károly Krausz, during the period of the 1919 Hun-garian Soviet Republic.

To ease the reader's comprehension and allow the separation of different analytical points of view, we divide these parts into chapters and sub-chapters addressing particular time periods or particular ques-tions relating to the movements and to social theory. We discuss the Hungarian movements and theories in international perspective, draw-ing on the examples of West, South and East European anarchist move-ments.

According to our thesis there were three types of anarchist direc-tions developing on the European continent at the end of the nineteenth century and during the first decades of the twentieth century. In west-ern Europe, where democracy and similar constitutional states based on a rule of law first came into being, anarchism evolved in opposition to democracy. Anarchism was an expression of disappointment with the unsatisfactory, petty and obscure developments of democracy that seemed to favor a small elite group. This resulted in the appearance of syndicalism and anarcho-syndicalism that wished to implement radical social changes with extra-parliamentary methods, such as the econom-ic battles of the labor unions through strikes. In the more northern European countries where the collective structures of the workers and the Social Democratic parties were strong, anarchism remained weak. In contrast, in the southern European capitalisms where the work force was still divided into smaller units, where manufacturing still had strong guild-like features and where the individual workers still enjoyed greater independence, anarchism made greater inroads than did social democracy.

The situation was quite different in eastern Europe, including the Ukraine and the European parts of Russia and the Balkans. Here the achievement of democracy was not a realistic possibility. There was lit-tle or no socialist labor movement, there was a preponderance of peas-ants and agrarians and there was very little modernization and urban-ization. In these countries anarchism appeared as a messianic message of salvation and the illusive hope of the oppressed masses for an ideal,

redeeming and just society. In these societies the state was either identical with tsarist dictatorship or was tightly associated with the unrestrained activities of a powerful group that took control, not for the common good but strictly for their selfish, mafia-like aggrandizement. Here the revolt was against power and against the state and, because the introduction of democracy was not a realistic consideration, it seemed that excessive confidence in the possibility of achieving an ideal anarchist society was not unreasonable.

Between these two European regions, in central Europe, most of the area was taken up by the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy with its dualistic system that was constitutional and liberal but definitely not a democracy. In central Europe the ideal democracy was always just a few steps away. The majority of the politically aware people believed that, with a successful outcome of the present political and franchise battles, democracy would become a reality. The liberal thinkers in central Europe, sympathizing with anarchy were characteristically vacillating between the ideals of democracy and anarchy and finally arrived at a hybrid solution between the two. They considered a "true democracy" a situation where several principles of anarchy, like the anarchist interpretation of autonomy, could be accommodated. They also melded anarchism with democratic and liberal socialist elements. In the examination of the historical turning point of Hungarian anarchism we repeatedly came to the conclusion that we were dealing with a recurrent, multifaceted appearance of a peculiarly central European dilemma. We will revert to this problem in several chapters of our book.

Finally, in part three we analyze the present state of anarchism. We examine first the ideology of Hungarian liberal socialism from the viewpoint of the anarchist problematique. By way of conclusion, we consider in turn a range of contemporary international social movements as the heirs to various currents and outlooks within anarchism. This chapter thus returns to the territory of political philosophy and social theory, though this is supplemented by the macrosociological analysis of the new social movements.

Secondly, we examine the ideology of Hungarian liberal socialism of the twentieth century from the viewpoint of the anarchist problematique. The ideas of two outstanding political thinkers, Oszkár Jászi and István Bibó, are analyzed here. Given their interest toward the realization

of an anti-authoritarian democracy which is based on the voluntary coop-
eration of free associations, we label them, and their "anti-political" fol-
lowers, as "anarcho-democrats." The distinctive feature of their theoretical
approach lies in its paradoxical, sometimes controversial, understanding of
democracy and freedom. They wished for a democratic society but they
shared a deep suspicion concerning any political power. They might have
preferred a "democracy without power," that is, a free society which could
have equally represented political freedom and freedom from politics.

Third, we examine the "anarchist mentality" and consider a range
of contemporary international social initiatives and movements as the
heirs to various currents and outlooks within anarchism. These include,
among others currents, postmodernism, feminism, environmentalism,
and municipalism. This chapter thus returns to the territory of political
philosophy and social theory, though this is supplemented by the
macro-sociological analysis of the new social movements.

By way of conclusion, we outline our view on the the future per-
spectives of anarchism in the international arena and summarize the
lessons of Hungarian anarchism, and the paradigmatic, "anarcho-
democrat" position of its exponents existed in the past hundred-and-
thirty years.

The authors of these lines are not anarchists. We do not believe that
anarchism gives the best available answers to the questions of our time
—whether in the East or in the West. We do think, however, that,
beyond their theoretical and historical interest, the critical viewpoints
of the anarchists invite a productive debate and demand new answers,
both in today's Western post-industrial societies and in the postcom-
munist societies of the East.

The thoughts and conclusions gathered in this volume are the
result of many years' deliberations. We wish to take this opportunity to
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Budapest, 1 February 2005

PART ONE

# ANARCHIST SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY

## 1. Types of Anarchism: an Analytical Framework

Anarchism has taken many forms and overlapped with and partly merged into many other movements during its almost two-hundred-year history. In Rudolf Rocker's words, modern anarchism is the "confluence of the two great currents which during and since the French Revolution have found such characteristic expression in the intellectual life of Europe: Socialism and Liberalism."[1]

From the viewpoint of the history of ideas, three basic categories can be differentiated among the various forms of anarchism: (1) *collectivist anarchism*, (2) *individualist anarchism*, (both among non-religious anarchisms), and (3) *religious anarchism*. These three basic types relate in a variety of ways to the traditions of socialism and liberalism.

The currents of thought contained within the *collectivist* category *collectivist anarchism*,[2] *communist anarchism*[3] and *anarcho-syndicalism*[4]—lie closer to socialism: they all rebel against the institutions of exploitation and rule. According to Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, Mikhail Bakunin, Peter Kropotkin, Johann Most, Emma Goldman and others, capitalism has expropriated the heritage of liberalism—the essence of which is the concept of freedom—and restricted it to the economy. The concept of freedom can be fulfilled and a free society created only by destroying the institutions of rule. Since exploitation too is a type of rule economic rule a free society can be achieved only by crushing state-political rule and abolishing private ownership. In conformity with the rest of the anarchist system of ideas, however, the collectivist orientations reject violent means of creating the new society and

strongly oppose the authority-based, centralizing political revolution urged by socialism and communism.

Collectivist forms of anarchism are close to liberal and alternative models of socialism which emphasize values of decentralization, voluntary cooperation, human dignity, incremental cognitive transformation, and free education.

Within the second basic form of anarchism *individualist anarchism* the legacy of the liberal tradition is stronger. The early individualist anarchist Max Stirner's "egoist" conception emphasizes self-interest, self-fulfilment and the importance of freedom from all constraints against the illegitimate demands of the state and the political system.[5] Individualist liberalism became particularly strong in the United States reflecting, and closely tying to, that country's liberal political tradition.[6] Josiah Warren, Lysander Spooner, Benjamin R. Tucker, Stephen Pearl Andrews, William B. Greene, and others attacked not only the state but also the legal system and everyday rules that were central to the Anglo-Saxon tradition.[7]

In addition, the representatives of *libertarianism* who are closest to individualist anarchism view any limitation upon the capitalist economy as an infringement of liberty, and thus urge the creation of "anarcho-capitalism."[8] In the political sphere, individualist anarchism—in harmony with the whole anarchist thought system exceeds the traditional liberal anti-statism. While liberalism argues for a minimal state, anarchism advocates the state's complete abolition. The anarchists would amend Thomas Jefferson's contention that the best state is the one that governs least to claim that the best state is the one that does not govern at all or that does not exist.

The third basic type of anarchism refers back not to socialism or liberalism, but to *religious* roots, generally to the traditions of the major world religions. This orientation emphasizes the equal fallibility of human beings and the importance and force of a spiritual life, and on the basis of religious or mystical tradition shows the illegitimacy of political power and all forms of oppression. Among the representatives of religious anarchism, Leo Tolstoy developed the ideas of early, evangelical Christianity[9] and the Hungarian Jenő Henrik Schmitt those of Gnosticism,[10] while Martin Buber,[11] and Mahatmá Gandhi,[12] they themselves not anarchists, renewed the traditions of Judaism and Hin-

duism respectively through social philosophies that were linked to anarchist thinking. The common feature of these endeavours is their emphasis upon complete nonviolence—contrary to other anarchist orientations that do not unconditionally reject the use of revolutionary violence against the state. The nonviolence of religious anarchism has been espoused and perpetuated by pacifist and peace movements appearing during different periods.[13]

The differentiation of the above three basic types is not, however, sufficient for understanding the diversity of orientations within anarchism—it can only be the first attempt. Though anarchism can be interpreted as the radical extension of the triad of values at the heart of the French Revolution—liberty, equality, fraternity—that system of ideas cannot be placed mechanically within the triangular model of liberalism-socialism-conservatism: it cannot be described simply by differentiating the concepts of individualism, collectivism, and religiosity.

For a more precise analysis of the phenomenon of anarchism, we thus require an analytical framework that incorporates a variety of viewpoints and clarifies the differences within each basic type, and that illuminates the cases lying between those types. Thus, from a methodological point of view, the typology and the analytical framework are not the same. The typology consists of types displaying mutually exclusive properties. The analytical framework only helps to separate out certain characteristic signs and properties, taking into account the fact that some basic elements of these properties coincide and thus in part overlap.

In what follows we go beyond the above tripartite division and seek to develop an analytical framework comprising five dimensions.[14] The model uses five pairs of values to symbolize the dilemmas facing anarchists, and thus offers five viewpoints for the analysis of anarchist theories.

## 1.1. *Individualism versus Collectivism*

The first value pair is *individualism* and *collectivism*. As already stated, these values signify two fundamentally differing types, movements and traditions within anarchism. Individualist anarchism in the-

oretical terms lies close to classical liberalism, while in its actions it is linked to movements of civil disobedience.[15] But while civil disobedience "seeks change in some state law or policy" and "its followers voluntarily and without opposition bear their punishment" from the state,[16] the individualist anarchists strive for the abolition of the state and of politics. Since they do not recognize any legitimate power above themselves, they may use the publicity of a trial for anti-régime and anti-state agitation. While disobedience movements recognize the existence of state norms even when violating them, anarchism questions the whole system of norms based upon rule.[17] We can find the philosophy of individuality in radical form in the cases of Max Stirner and Friedrich Nietzsche, in the images of the "egoist" or "superhuman person" (Übermensch). According to Stirner, the state is based upon collectivism, which hinders individual action. In Nietzsche's words, "Only where the state ends, there begins the human being who is not superfluous."[18] But Stirner and Nietzsche do not have identical ideas. Stirner's egocentric system is valid for every person, and the various self-interests coincide in an association of egoists—in anarchy. By contrast, Nietzsche's exalted individual is chosen and conscious of his superiority to others; this image is thus not anarchist. In the characteristic formulation of the American anarchist Benjamin R. Tucker, meanwhile, "...individuality and its right of assertion are indestructible except by death."[19]

While individulist anarchism became a powerful force, under the name of libertarianism, above all in the United States, the collectivist interpretation of anarchist thought can be found primarily among Russian thinkers, and this tradition became dominant also in western and southern Europe. According to Bakunin, the new society will emerge through the struggle of the subjugated and often marginalized strata, which will revolutionize the whole people. Its fundamental unit is the land collective based on communal ownership (the historical model for which is the Russian village commune, the *obshchina*), and the federal forms propounded by Proudhon are based upon this. Kropotkin—in sharp contrast to Stirner—charges the state with promoting the development of unbridled, spiritually limited individualism. In place of the social-Darwinist principle of mutual struggle (Herbert Spencer),[20] he advocates the natural law of mutual help, and thus prefers Proudhon's

legacy of mutualism over individual liberalism.[21] He contends that the cooperation and integration that he considers desirable can best be achieved in the alliance of village and town communities. In Tolstoy too, "sacred communities" appear as the bearers of the new morality and as the antithesis of the "Machiavellian state" and the existing, pseudo-Christian society.[22]

## 1.2. *Moral versus Political Ways to Social Revolution*

The second dimension of our analytical framework relates to anarchist *conceptions of revolution*. Anarchists agree that social rather than political revolution is needed, but they differ on whether this social revolution can be initiated and executed through *moral* or *political* means.

According to one conception, because the inner nature of the human individual is predisposed to good, the anarchist goal must be achieved through *moral* revolution. The primary instruments in this are culture, upbringing, and the setting of a personal example. Besides Elisée Reclus,[23] Tolstoy and Jenő Henrik Schmitt, many believe that social change remains superficial so long as the people themselves do not, through the "revolution of the soul," consciously demand the fundamental transformation of society. For example, the founders of the artists' colony in the Hungarian town of Gödöllő at the turn of the twentieth century (Sándor Nagy, Aladár Körösfői-Kriesch) were convinced that the new art, new way of life and new aesthetic that they represented could directly influence the worldviews of the people.[24] For the Spanish anarchist pedagogue Francisco Ferrer, meanwhile, revolutionary education was inconceivable in the existing institutional system; new schools were required before the new ideas would take root.[25] These thinkers saw the actionist slogan of the "propaganda by the deed" too as relating to moral action, with the help of which, in Schmitt's words, "they could deliver a crushing judgement upon the sordidness of this world."[26]

According to the second approach, a social revolution initiated through *political* means is necessary. In theory, these thinkers (Bakunin, Johann Most, Kropotkin) reject the politics-led society, but they recognize that the call for the overthrow of the existing govern-

ment and régime and the organization of action, however moral its motivation, is markedly political activity.[27] In Bakunin's version, revolution can come about through the spontaneous action of groups and masses, and anarchist organization should act as a catalyst hastening this process. The influence of this idea was strong among the "primitive rebels" of messianic peasant anarchism,[28] in certain urban petty-bourgeois movements, and in the spontaneous activism of the new-left movements that preserve the anarchist tradition (such as the Louise Michel group, the March 22nd Movement and the Vive la Révolution group, all active in 1968 France).[29]

### 1.3. *Religion versus Antireligion*

The third element of our analytical framework is the question of the movement's *relationship to religion*. Accepting the strong anticlerical legacy of the French Revolution, Proudhon, Stirner, Bakunin and Kropotkin regard religion as an absolute concept that limits the freedom of the person; they are thus militant atheists.[30] For Bakunin, an indispensable part of freedom is "the rebellion of the human individual against every form of authority, divine or human, collective or individual."[31] In his view, a person must be free, because he or she is born free—and thus God cannot exist. The Hungarian Ervin Batthyány directly contrasts "theocratism" with anarchism, and considers that while theocratism seeks the origin of social harmony in a higher being, a central force, an abstract law—that is, outside the phenomenal world —anarchism sees the source of harmony in individuals themselves.[32]

The alternative strain of anarchism, by contrast, makes reference to the basic precepts of Christ's teaching, to primitive Christianity and to fundamental concepts of other beliefs, and it sets as its goal the *renewal of religion*. It contends, for example, that Christ's teachings are best represented not by church norms and institutions that have hardened into malformed conventions but by the ideas of anarchist social organization. Its representatives thus have an anticlerical orientation based upon religion. Georg Simmel analyses the motivations behind these movements of religious renewal in the following terms:

It is true that the difficulty of reconciling equality before God with the immeasurable diversity of individuals has led to that uniformity of religious achievement which has turned much of Christian life into mere schematism. Christians have failed to take into account all the individualism inherent in the Christian concept of salvation, the idea that each person should make the most of *his own talent*; they have been demanding of everyone a single, uniform goal and identical behavior instead of asking every person simply to give of himself. Anything that is globally uniform must remain superficial to an individual's personality. That oneness which united the faithful, the equality of perfect souls, consists only in the permeation of each individual's outward actions with the idea that is peculiar to himself; yet the actual context of each idea may be worlds apart. Jesus indicates in several instances how much he values the diversity of indiviual potential within human beings, but at the same time how little this affects the equality of the final outcome of life.[33]

Each of the religion-renewing anarchists is the prophet of a new religion proclaiming nondenominationalism. Tolstoy's Christianity returned to early Christianity;[34] Schmitt's "*Religion des Geistes*" is the doctrine of mind, love and divine self-knowledge.[35] Mahatmá Gandhi, who is close to anarchism on many points, argues that religion ties us indissolubly to eternal truth.[36] Similarly, Martin Buber's view is that the society to be created on the basis of reinterpreted human relations could be the "new Jerusalem" in the history of humanity.[37]

## 1.4. *Violence versus Nonviolence*

Our fourth dimension concerns anarchism's relationship to *violence*: can a harmonious society be created through violence or not? Does the end justify the means or not? The anarchists already had to deal with this basic problem in the nineteenth century—when they could not learn from the sobering experiences of the history of the communist movement—and they offered differing responses to it.[38]

The "spontaneist-actionist" wing of anarchism considers violent opposition to a state and legal order that institutionalizes and monopo-

lizes violence to be justified. It sees the "propaganda by the deed" as implying violent attacks and revolutionary direct action. Stirner observes sceptically that "a handful of power is worth more than a sackful of truth,"[39] and thus argues that this power can be countered only if everyone takes responsibility for his or her own interests without moral constraint. In Stirner's view, freely expressed egoism and an open system of self-interest can present a barrier to political power. According to Bakunin, the creation of a new society must be preceded by total destruction developing out of spontaneous action—and this in itself is already a founding act. The French writer Jean Grave formulates the point pragmatically when he states "what we expect from violence is that it will clear away every obstacle from our path."[40] The anarchist assassins of the last twenty years of the nineteenth century, the resolute representatives of the "propaganda by the deed"[41]—some of them Hungarian—argued that "against tyranny, every means is legitimate," that "violence can be fought only with violence," and that individual actions are the harbingers of social revolution.[42] But they were quickly to be disappointed in this belief.

In contrast to this, principled nonviolence is avowed by those anarchists who advocate internal moral liberation—by the apostles of the principle of non-cooperative collective disobedience.[43] We find this principle among the religious messianic movements and in the American libertarian tradition.[44] In their view, "the gentlest power is the supreme power" (Schmitt). Terrorists, they contend, are criminals not because they differ from believers in the state, but precisely because of their similarity to those believers—for the fact is that they, like the state, depend upon violence.[45]

Believers in nonviolence regard the state as no more than the legalized form of violence, but they argue that, where the goal is the cessation of violence, violent means are impermissible. Tolstoy's words give the essence of their claim—"do not resist evil with violence." The basic value of nonviolence relates for William Godwin[46] to human dignity, for Elisée Reclus to humanism, and for Tolstoy to early Christian fraternity. This orientation has often been combined—particularly since the start of the twentieth century—with open pacifism and antimilitarism.

When considering the question of violence we must mention the problem of terrorism—particularly since popular perceptions often,

mistakenly, identify terrorism with anarchism. While anarchism offers a conception of society, a theory of an ideal life, terrorism is a method that can be used in the name of many different ideologies. There are forms of terrorism associated with religious, national, ethnic, racial and class goals, and these may define themselves as right-wing or as left-wing. But the history of terrorism comprises a number of phases. We can distinguish the anarchist terrorism of the so-called "purehearted murderers" at the end of the nineteenth century, the surviving extreme-left terrorism that is a remnant of the new-left orientation of the 1960s, and, since the 1970s, the ever more noticeable separatist terrorism of, for example, the Irish, Basques, and Palestinians. State terrorism presents a distinct set of problems (in the communist countries, or, for example, in the former military dictatorships of Latin America).[47] Anarchism has nothing in common with the often mutually connected waves of extreme-left, separatist and state terrorism. It is by definition unconnected with state terrorism, and it is tied to the new-left terrorism that emerged in the 1970s neither in its ideas, nor in its representatives. (Neither Andreas Baader, nor Ulrike Meinhof, nor Carlos, nor Ali Agca was an anarchist.) The members of the West German terrorist group, the Rote Armee Fraktion (Red Army Faction), just like the Italian Brigate Rosse (Red Brigades), defined themselves as belonging to Marxist-Leninist-Maoist cells and as urban guerrillas.[48] They strove to foment revolution based on class war, first in the developed "consumer" societies, later in the less developed countries of the Third World.

Anarchists were, however, the principal actors behind the terrorist activity of the latter part of the nineteenth century, particularly between 1880 and 1900. That anarchism and terrorism could for a period be identified with each other can be attributed to the "propaganda by the deed" that these anarchists practiced. Anarchist assassins murdered Tsar Alexander II, French President Sadi Carnot, the Austro-Hungarian Empress Elizabeth,[49] and American President McKinley—to mention only the most famous cases. Gautier, Ravachol, Duval, Bonnot, Henry, Caserio and others were infamous figures of the time.[50] But even then, this approach was used only by one type of anarchism, and it quickly ran out of steam. In the final analysis, the terrorist anarchist movement was rooted in the European tradition of injecting power with moral content,[51] and it strove for the radical realization of that tradition. But

the final consequence of the moral conception of the problem of power is to question power itself. The motivation of the anarchist assassins was not just that the dictators they killed *abused* power, but that they *used* their power, and thus became tyrants.

This is expressed by the French anarchist Louise Michel in her statement, identical with Lord Acton's famous view, that "all power corrupts." According to the anarchists, the representatives of power must be removed not so that a new elite, a new vanguard may step into their places, but so that *power may be abolished*. They are thus not content with placing power under democratic control, for they take it as axiomatic that where there is power there is no freedom.

For anarchists, violence, if it is necessary, can have the value only of an instrument, and it can permissibly be employed only against the representatives of the ruling institutions. Contemporary terrorism, however, sees in violence an opportunity for freedom, and thus comes to regard it as valuable in itself. Terrorism breaks with moral motivation, and, in declaring that violence can be used against the innocent, sets itself up deliberately and provocatively against the ethical judgement of the people.

The mistake made by terrorist anarchism—and later, on large scale, by Bolshevism—was its failure to recognize that not even moral motivation can justify immoral actions. But in historical terms, the interpretation of the "propaganda by the deed" as implying violence retreated very rapidly to the margins of international anarchism. Later anarchists used these experiences in turning against Bolshevism.[52]

## 1.5. *Rationalism versus Romanticism*

The fifth and final dimension of our analytical framework examines the relationship of anarchism to the conceptual pair of *rationalism* and *romanticism*. Modern political ideologies are the product of the Enlightenment, of the age when informal feudal and community relations retreated into the background in a formalized society based on commodified and monetized relations. During this period, economy and society, feudal estate and class, state and church, all separated from one another. Rationalism was oriented to the future; its vision was of a

rational society in which the individual would be not merely a subject, but a conscious being able to recognize the basic laws of society and the fact that the groups to which he or she belonged had value in and for themselves.[53] Its aim was the liberty of equals, where reason was the only route to perfection. Of course, rationalism represents a unified tradition neither in political philosophy nor in political history. Most of its strands stayed within the framework of liberalism, but its extreme sideshoot translated the Rousseauian notion of "totalitarian democracy"[54] into the Jacobin and Bolshevik totalitarian dictatorships.

On the other side, romanticism is a reaction to the emergence of the Enlightenment, to the objectification of the human subject as a bearer of consciousness, to the disregard for feelings and instincts, to the disintegration of communities. The romantic worldview refers to the past, places the role of human wishes at center stage, and in its cult of heroes seeks to demonstrate the possibilities for the fulfilment of the human individual.

Freedom means different things for the rationalist and the romantic. In the Enlightenment, necessity that is recognized as such leads to emancipation from the tyranny of contingency. For the romantic, conversely, participation in contingency rather than in a rule-bound world creates the possibility of freedom. According to rationalism, a person who is at the mercy of circumstance cannot be free: social recognition allows the person to be conscious of the room for movement available to him or her; adapting to this, he or she can then become free. But for the romantic, precisely the loss of the feeling of unboundedness leads to the narrowing of freedom. Thus, contingency is no tyranny, no state of defenselessness, but is the moment of freedom—for it restores the possibility of unboundedness for the individual. But both conceptions conceive the existing society as disintegrated, and their worldviews are both defined by a belief in the value of unity in itself. The rationalism of the Enlightenment projects this unity into the future; romanticism projects it into the past.

The theory of anarchism was conceived—in the first half of the nineteenth century—at a time when thinking about society was determined by these two principal conceptions, and even today this heritage causes internal contradictions within the theory. According to the rationalist understanding of anarchism, the anarchist system of thought is

none other than the most radical, most complete expression of the great emancipatory and modernizing ideals of the French Revolution—of the triad of liberty, equality, and fraternity. On this view, anarchism offers a new picture of society; it believes that humans are grownups and that the course history has taken to date can be changed. Anarchism believes that the question of "liberty or equality" can be answered only by the fulfilment together of liberty *and* equality. It argues that only equal people can be free, for inequality renders freedom impossible. Similarly, equality has meaning only in conditions of freedom, for without freedom the people can be "equal" only in a state of subjection—and thus the basic system of inequality of the oppressed remains.[55] From this derives the paradoxical, contradictory appearance of anarchism: from the liberal side it appears to be a socialist conception; from the socialist side it seems liberal.

In contrast to anarchism's radical vision of the future stands its simplified view of society, which at times gives anarchism the appearance of a fundamentally romantic ideology harking back to a pre-industrial past. Anarchism emerged at the time of the industrial revolution, but it formulated its critique precisely in opposition to the industrial society created by that revolution. And since—in consequence of its own premises—it has always abstained from conceiving a forced utopia of the future, the solutions it could offer to the problems of the industrial society were often based on the communities of traditional societies. To the problems of modernity it gave solutions that looked back to the past and recalled a pre-industrial age. Also contributing to this was the fact that it could not develop an alternative theory for the problem of increasing economic efficiency. Fundamental changes are occurring today in this field with the information-technology revolution and the arrival of the post-industrial age, and we would certainly not exclude a renaissance of the anarchist picture of society in the age of the explosion of computer technology and the relative disintegration of information monopolies.[56]

It remains a historical fact, however, that, whether based on an ideal society of the future or on the mythologized communities of the past, anarchism offers a critique of industrial society.[57] It thus mixes the distinguishing features of rationalism and romanticism (though its various forms do so to differing degrees). To initiate rebellion under the "propa-

ganda by the deed," to turn accused into accuser at a legal trial—these can be regarded at once as the romantic actions of a solitary hero and as Enlightenment propaganda among the oppressed. The romantic elements stand out in Bakunin's "cleansing destruction," in Stirner's egoism, in the anarcho-syndicalists' conception of the general strike, in Tolstoy's anticapitalism and antiurbanism, and in the notion of nonviolent opposition. The legacy of the Enlightenment and of rationalism, meanwhile, appears in the works of those who proclaimed a natural-law-based "scientific" anarchism, which referred to the human intellect, to the possibility of knowing the truth and to the legitimacy of a new society based on it.

These five pairs of values—individualism and collectivism, moral and political ways to a social revolution, religion and atheism, violence and nonviolence, rationalism and romanticism—offer a conceptual framework, a system of analytical viewpoints for the differentiation of the various orientations and nuances within anarchism. The following subchapter follows a different logic, and identifies the features that anarchist theories hold in common.

## 2. The Essential Features of Anarchism

We do not seek in this volume to analyse one by one the classical theorists of anarchism, all of whom have given their own definitions of the anarchist concept. Nor is it our goal to recount their various approaches.[58] Rather, we briefly summarize the general, ideal-typical features of anarchist theory and the most important lines of criticism thereof.

### 2.1. *Power: Social versus Political Order*

Anarchism is the social theory that places the individual sense of responsibility at center stage, ahead of every type of authority—whether it be legal, dictatorial or parliamentary. Anarchism is, in the most comprehensive sense, a *demand for the absence of rule*. By this "we must understand a social order that, without external power or vio-

lence, is based purely upon the free, fraternal cooperation of the people. In place of the system of rule based upon violence—which gains expression in such coercive institutions as property, law and the state— the anarchic society comes into being through the solidarity that is concealed within human nature and the liberty, equality and voluntary cooperation that flow from it."[59]

For anarchism, the difference between *social order* and *political order* is of fundamental importance. Anarchism states that social order can be achieved without political interference—and, further, only in this way can it become an order based on liberty. Political order in every case legalizes power, and therefore violence. The order it creates is always an intervention in the life of society; it is thus never liberty, a social order, but rather a state of oppression. Political order violates the moral autonomy of the individual and natural human rights; to speak of legitimate power is thus a contradiction in terms. If we accept the starting point in the natural rights of man, the radical consequence of the argument is that *no power can be legitimate*. Even the weakest forms of power create situations in which some must accede to the wishes of others only because those wishes constitute for them a command.

The violation of moral autonomy cannot on this argument be justified by the majority principle:[60] aggression is no better for being committed by the masses. Neither majority rule nor minority rule exercised in the name of the majority can put an end to oppression. Thus, on this view, democracy is but one of a long list of "cracies" (aristocracy, bureaucracy, etc.)—it involves rule and oppression, even if the majority like it.

For anarchists, the social order of anarchy is a *spontaneous* order. In their view, the creation of this order requires no ruling institutions. On the contrary, ruling institutions impede the development of the spontaneous order and consolidate a hierarchical, politically led society representing the wishes of particular interest groups.[61]

Thus, in contrast to the popular conception, anarchy is not chaos, but is rather a self-regulating spontaneous order. In philosophical terms, it is a denial of everything with which Thomas Hobbes justified the necessity of absolute power in *Leviathan*. According to Hobbes, the absence of central authority would return society to a natural condition in which the chaos "of every man against every man" would ensue.[62] Anarchists argue, however, that authority based upon rule, and particu-

larly the existence of the state, *causes* social violence, for the institution called the state—which is in reality a group of people—vindicates the right to a monopoly of legitimate violence. They regard this as none other than a provocation of society.

Anarchists regard people as mature enough to decide questions relating to their lives according to their own judgement on the basis of voluntariness, equality and cooperation. Anarchists are not against institutions *a priori*: they reject only institutions of rule (the institutions of the state, the church, the patriarchal family, etc.). They accept that there may be a need for many institutions in anarchist society, but these must not be hierarchical or centralized, and they may violate neither the sovereignty of the individual, nor the social order based upon a system of voluntary communities. In Proudhon's words—well known to Hungarians through the formulation of the poet Attila József—"liberty gives birth to order"; order does not create liberty.

On an imaginary scale from absence of power to total power, anarchism represents the endpoint on the side of the absence of power—the maximal diffusion of power. Against the power of the few or of the many, it proclaims the equal power (the sovereign individuality) of all; and to say that each has equal power amounts, in societal terms, to saying that no one has any. Anarchism is thus a total rejection and the direct opposite of every form of totalitarianism, and a rejection of every form of political order.

## 2.2. *From Anthropological Optimism to Revolution*

Behind this rejection is concealed anarchism's *anthropological optimism*. Human nature on this view is not essentially bad—as Hobbes and other theorists of power assumed—but fundamentally good, and the task is thus to build the system of peaceful, balanced social consensus that suits this nature. According to the anarchists, every person must live free from external compulsion and from external rule, for then the common interest and the individual interest cannot contradict each other. But this can be realized only through *revolution*: the complete destruction of the existing ruling institutional system. This revolution cannot be simply a political revolution, the aim of which is the replace-

ment of one ruling institutional system and power elite with another. It must be a *social* revolution, which starts with the crushing of the state and acts as the prelude to a new era without rule. "Outside of Anarchy there is no such thing as revolution," writes Kropotkin, for an anarchist cannot regard mere transfer of power from one government or one régime to another as revolution.[63] A government cannnot be genuinely revolutionary, for if it were it would dissolve itself. Anarchism denies that there is any need for a transitional period of dictatorship following successful revolution. "We know whither every dictatorship leads, even the best intentioned," noted Kropotkin at the turn of the twentieth century, remembering the experiences of the paradigmatic French Revolution—"namely, to the death of all revolutionary movements."[64] The history of the Bolshevik revolution and of communism later repeatedly justified those prophetic words.

As we have already argued, there is no unified viewpoint among anarchists and anarchistic thinkers regarding revolution. It can emerge through politics, through revolutionary uprising (Bakunin), through internal moral transformation (Tolstoy, Schmitt), through individual rebellion (Stirner), and perhaps through a series of reforms (Proudhon).[65] According to Gandhi, revolution is not the most important question: the transformation will take place peacefully and naturally, just as "a ripe fruit falls from a healthy tree."[66]

## 2.3. *Anarchy*

The new society created through social revolution—*anarchy*—is built from the bottom up. Through the free organization of the people, autonomous alliances, associations and federations form. Proudhon speaks of an alliance of small property owners, Stirner of the association of egoists, Kropotkin of an alliance of village communes, Landauer of society of societies,[67] and Bakunin of ever widening federal communities (agricultural commune, province, nation, international federation, united European federation).[68] From these conceptions, it is evident that the popular claim identifying anarchism with anti-institutionalism and anti-organizationalism is erroneous. As we have already pointed out, anarchism rejects only the institutions of rule; it regards all

other associations and autonomous communities as *natural* human integrative processes. Since compulsion ceases to play a part in the life of society, the new structures are not so much vertical as horizontal. The basic principle of the construction of society—alongside the principle of building "from the bottom up," which is only democratic and does not in itself imply an end to rule—is thus the primacy of decentralization and a horizontal system of linkages.

Anarchist thinkers regard the ideal society as a united society. Contrary to the charges often directed at them, they have never regarded diffusion and apparent dispersion as entailing a disintegrating social condition; rather, they see the parts of society—like the atoms of the universe—as united at a higher level. This spontaneous order is thus characterized not by equality in scarcity or the uniformity of a single principle, but by the natural convergence of the great variety that develops out of the anthropological identity of humanity.

The people living within a society are the cells of the organism that the society constitutes. Anarchism regards the internal development of the person as important just as much as does Christianity, though it relates this not to an external deity but to the absolute value of human dignity. Its followers must tread the path to the recognition of truth just as religious believers follow the path to salvation. This path, however, leads not "outwards," to the celestial world of God, but "inwards"; for the truth resides in everyone—as Schmitt writes, "in the human inner sanctum of self-knowledge."[69] Consequently, effort is directed not at preparation for the next world but at changing the present world. Since, according to religious anarchism, God resides in everyone, the Kingdom of God, the world of Utopia, can be realized in this world. Anarchism can be described also as the demand for independence from the state, the church, dogmas, authority and institutions of rule. But in place of these external absolutes steps an internal one—the ideal person, with his or her particular susceptibilities and needs, from which the desired harmonious society may be directly derived.

The precondition for internal development and the recognition of truth is *freedom*, which cannot be reconciled with existing power relations. This freedom is individual but not arbitrary. Georg Simmel's words describe it clearly: "The meaning of freedom is absolute self-responsibility, which we desire, but possess only when our actions are

the pure expression of our own personality, when our self, uninfluenced by any other authority, speaks through our actions. We wish the peripheral sphere of our existence to be determined by its center, not by the external forces with which it is inextricably bound up."[70]

The basic principle of interaction between individuals in anarchist society is, as Proudhon describes it, *mutualism*, in which individuals do not fulfil commands, but rather, through "mutual assistance" (Kropotkin), contribute out of self-interest to the common good.[71] According to anarchists, the quality of the links between people in this situation changes fundamentally. At the societal level, mutualism leads to reciprocity—mutual exchange—between the communities within the society; the basic principle of reciprocity permeates through the whole life of the free society. From the micro- or community-level principles of mutualism and reciprocity is derived directly the principle of *federalism* at the macro-level. The anarchist concept of federation differs fundamentally from the notion of confederation to be found both in political theory and in historical practice: while the former implies the voluntary "cooperation" of the above communities, the latter refers to the alliance of states.[72] On this point the anarchist conception of society—like liberalism and socialism—confronts head on the isolationism and provincialism of the concept of the nation-state.

To summarize, anarchism rejects the popular viewpoint that the state is a universal feature of human culture and thus functionally indispensable. It contends that a society without rule and thus without a state can be created, and that the existing institutional system of rule can be functionally replaced and a better system substituted for it. The positive claim of anarchist social theory is that a social order based upon voluntary cooperation is possible; the negative side of this is the consequent rejection of all forms of rule and all states.

## 2.4. *Anarchist Mentality*

Before turning to the critical analysis of anarchism, we must make a brief detour at this point. In a wider sense than that of the interpretation above, anarchism gives warning that every existing system—conceptual, linguistic and social—can be transcended critically, that human

scepticism cannot be eliminated, and that any ruling worldview can be rejected. Going beyond the summary above, we must therefore refer to the possibility of interpreting anarchism within the theory of knowledge and on a *cultural-psychic* level. We are not concerned here with the concrete takeover and strict demands of anarchist doctrine. Rather, we discuss nonpolitical levels of anarchism and the more broadly conceived anarchist mentality—the conscious or unconscious acceptance of certain basic anarchist values, their reconceptualization and their representation in various fields. As we have already briefly mentioned, the anarchist mentality can be defined as the opposite counterpart to totalitarianism and the imperial mentality. While the former can be described in terms of ruler- or leaderlessness, a pluralist character, acceptance based on free choice, written profanation, humanism, independence, autonomy and changability, we can conceive the imperial mentality in terms of the founding human demigod and leader, the comprehensive, unbounded, all-embracing church, acceptance based upon belief, the founding document, holy scripture, the magical quality of slogans, uniformity, eternal existence and endlessness.[73]

The concept of the anarchist mentality can be applied to rebellion against the structure of knowledge used in society and to the development of an *anarchist theory of knowledge*. The concept of the anarchist theory of knowledge is used in this sense by Paul Feyerabend. According to Feyerabend's theory, science is itself an anarchistic enterprise in which it is necessary to overstep the existing borders and to overturn the prevailing ideas again and again. The existing rules must be invalidated, the status quo rejected, to allow usable new hypotheses to emerge from the ocean of alternatives. The traditions that are left behind may at the same time live on and be perfected, living alongside the scientific methods that momentarily prevail and are considered rational. This is the essence of Feyerabend's democratic relativism.[74] Partly because of its emphasis on the act of overturning the scientific status quo, partly because it emphasizes the parallel development of traditions without prevailing scientific authority, this theory of knowledge, with its radical social and political consequences, deserves—and consciously adopts—the label "anarchist."

In considering the cultural and psychological anarchism, we may relate it first to Mikhail Bakhtin's analysis of the carnival structure that destroys and playfully reverses every hierarchy, and his notion of the

temporary realization of "the utopian realm of community, freedom, equality, and abundance."[75] Communities on this understanding are "anti-structures": they express "the spontaneous, the unplanned and the ecstatic, as a kind of reaction to the usual, predictable and structured."[76]

The Dionysian principle of celebratory ecstasy can be interpreted on this cultural-psychological level as an ideal-typical manifestation of anarchism. Hermann Nitsch writes,

> If we look at the outbursts of ecstatic instinct, of suppressed ener-gies, we do not merely see the outburst of some repressed, narrowed empire; rather, our glance falls into the chaotic depths, into the inex-haustible, into the inexhaustible Dionysian. An elementary force touches us before which we shiver. Behind every order and rule of language, of the state and of civilization, there is a seemingly irra-tional and chaotic force structure that always stands ready for the invitation to break through and scatter our systems. The Dionysian offers itself. A rational and politically weak order confronts itself with a strong "divine," Promethean activity. Permanence is not identical with the natural laws; it is created by an average seeking the appearance of security, the genuine wrath of tepidness and indo-lence. The reality-forming metaphysical principle based upon nat-ural laws is change, the dynamic, Dionysian principle, alteration.[77]

The second path of anarchism at the cultural and psychological level leads inwards. In place of the carnival, this relates to the "carni-valization" of consciousness, intoxication, meditation, the turn inwards, and mysticism. Gnosis, yoga and prayer are forms of individual with-drawal and meditation that are centred around the independent individ-ual. Not only is the individual independent of political and ideological powers: she or he also transcends the space-time dimensions of every-day life. "To see in one light both universe and spirit, both nature and history: this is the grandiose method of the Gnostic, the view of the spirit harmonious in itself," writes Schmitt.[78]

It is perhaps unusual in a work discussing anarchist social theory to refer to anarchist philosophy of science and to the Dionysian and med-itative traditions. But an important fact (besides the stubborn tendency of the word "anarchism" to crop up in unusual contexts again and

again) points to the possibility of postulating a common analytical framework. These examples of anarchism in the wider sense often coincide empirically with—or are identical empirically with—examples of anarchist movements par excellence: the levels of anarchism that are theoretically separable as ideal-types are in practice often mutually attractive to one another.[79] Summing up the issue of the possibility of a symbolic interpretation of anarchism, we can say that the overthrow of the structure of power suits the infringement of the space-time dimensions of everyday life; or, in other words, the anarchist orientation rejects not (just) the political hierarchy and not (just) the worldview hierarchy, but rather, more broadly, transcends everyday life in its entirety.

### 3. Critiques of Anarchism

Ever since anarchism's emergence as a social theory and social movement in the nineteenth century, it has had to face criticism from a number of angles—including liberal, democratic and socialist. In what follows we examine what we consider to be the six most important points of criticism. These concern (1) the contradiction between the idealistic image of humanity and the reality of the institutions of rule; (2) the problem of the relationship between anarchism and coercion; (3) the ambiguity of the anarchist picture of the economy; (4) the question of antisocial behavior; (5) the problem of the relationship between state and nation; and (6) the aspects of democratic theory that can be related to anarchism.

### 3.1. *How Could Institutions of Just Rule Exist?*

The first point of criticism is based on the contradiction between anarchism's idealized view of human potentialities and the existing institutions of rule. If the assumption of anthropological optimism holds up and the various interests were integrated in primitive societies in a harmonious order, how were the institutions of rule able to emerge at all? How was it possible for the institutions of coercion, for legalized violence and for the state itself to appear?

Perhaps aggression and the desire for power lurk within human psychology and instincts? In this case the idealized anarchist view of humanity collapses, and the question demands a new theoretical answer. Or did external (geographical, historical, etc.) factors compel people to live in a society that contravened their nature? Here a precise, historical, empirical answer is required, but this is lacking from anarchist works. The anarchists' conception of the ideal society is linked directly to and can be derived from natural laws. But this impedes the theory from exploring in sufficient depth movements within society that are independent of these and the motive forces behind them. Pierre Clastres can be interpreteted as offering a critique of this theoretical weakness of anarchism: "In no case is political power an immanent necessity of human nature. But it is an immanent necessity of social life. We can imagine politics without violence, but we cannot imagine society without politics. In other words, there is no society without power."[80] Though anarchism—by virtue of its anthropology—is undoubtedly more sensitive than any other theory to the alienated mode of existence of society and the manifestations thereof, it is lacking merely societal explanations. It does not seek a complete understanding of existing society, which cannot be derived from natural rights—it rejects that society in its entirety. We can speak here of a kind of "sociological blindness."

### 3.2. *The Problem of Coercion*

A second possible criticism of anarchism is the following: at the abstract level, the movement would ultimately like *everyone* to accept the principles of anarchy. If just one person does not accept them, it is not possible to use the instruments of the state, the law or violence against them, for this would contradict anarchism's antistatist and antirulership principles. The emphasis is on the word "everyone"—the *anarchism of all* and thus the *condition of anarchy*. In anarchist society, antianarchist deviance cannot be effectively sanctioned. But if everyone were an anarchist there would be no need for anarchism. The utopian character of anarchism can be clearly apprehended at this point, for a precondition for its realization coincides with its goal. Anarchy can-

not be a utopia described and worked out in advance, for this would imply coercion of those who do not believe in it. Anarchy is rather built from abstract, stylized concepts that are condensed from the rejection of social reality and from timeless oppositional values.

Stemming in essence from this is anarchism's *inability to act*—a charge raised against anarchism in particular by Marxists. Indeed, anarchism does not believe it possible to attain large-scale social goals by indirect means. Following Hegel, it accepts that "the aim is none other than the result of the means used to achieve it," which in the present case means that a social goal cannot be attained through the instruments of political power. This theoretical consistency has more than once rendered anarchists incapable of action, and has ensnared them in the trap of "political activity without politics." As a result of this paradox, they have either restricted themselves to pure theory, in which case they have lost the opportunity to form events, or they have been forced to enter politics, in which case they have had to bend their principles somewhat. Such a compromise was made by Bakunin, when his group attempted to change the First International from within,[81] by Schmitt, when he joined the peasant agrarian-socialist movement as an ideologist,[82] by Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, when they briefly tried to cooperate with the Bolsheviks,[83] and by the anarcho-syndicalists, who, at the cost of giving up certain of their principles, aligned with the class-based goals of the workers.

The dilemma between action according to goal-based rationality, emphasizing usefulness, and that according to value-based rationality, emphasizing ideals, is thus resolved for those anarchists who remain loyal to their principles by the idealization of human properties. This causes the abstraction of anarchist theory and its practical inoperability. We may be assisted in understanding this connection by Rosa Mayreder's theory of the periods of development of social movements. This differentiates three sequential periods in the development of critical social movements: (1) the "purely intellectual stage"; (2) the "organizational stage"; and (3) the "power stage." In the first period theoretical coherence, in the third the demands of power dictate the activities of the movement.[84]

Anarchism has often remained theoretically and morally "pure" because it has not left—and not been able to leave—the purely intellectual

stage. It has been incapable of leaving this stage not because it has lacked the intention of radical social change but because it has held to the principle of antistatism. However, when just as any ideology, it is tempted by the "organizational weapon," the attraction of the ability to act politically, anarchism is forced into interaction with the existing political system. Thus stumbling into the battlefield of power it begins to engage in politics—and thereby betrays itself. It is not by chance that anarchism—though it has played a part in almost every modern revolutionary change—has been a concomitant of, but not a dominant mass movement in, the various social revolutions. It has generally been active in the destruction of the old order, and has played a part in beginning the construction of the new, but following this it has gradually been squeezed out of public life, and other movements organized in the name of more militant ideas have taken the initiative. This occurred in the Italian and French revolutionary attempts and following the Russian Revolution; not even the most glorious period in the history of the anarchist movement—the Spanish revolution[85] of 1936—counts as an exception. It is likely that the tendency for many anarchists to adopt "pure" anarchism for part of their lives and then withdraw from the movement or join other movements is connected with this fact.

### 3.3. *An Anarchist Economy?*

The next line of criticism is directed at the anarchist *view of the economy*, in which, as already mentioned, pre-industrial memories play a large part. The anarchist conception of the economy is similar to pre-Marxist socialism in that its starting point is the principle of the *rejection of property*. "Its ideals, contrary to property, were the free goods of nature: air, water—goods that do not constitute property and that are available for people in unlimited quantities."[86] They aimed to turn manufactured goods into such free goods, thus ending their property status. It is well known that Proudhon regarded property as theft, as the appropriation of goods rightly belonging to all (though he did not deny the necessity of small-scale ownership. Meanwhile, Bakunin and his anarchist followers rejected the institution of inheritance.[87]

The anarchist's ideas regarding the economy of the new society are not well delineated. This is partly because material values implicitly

come second to intellectual values in their system of reasoning. In part, they argue also that in a free society the modes and relations of economic production form of their own accord. It is clear, however, that the anarchist society is one in which all needs can be satisfied, where production is tied not so much to heavy industry and large conurbations as to small, self-governing production units in small communities. The working day shortens, and, in the absence of a redistributor, redistribution ceases. The economy is embedded in social reproduction, where small-scale commodity production takes place in small, craft-based communities and agriculture is pursued on peasant collectives living in symbiotic unity with nature. With the abolition of property and the interaction of horizontal units, the principles of reciprocity come to define socioeconomic relations.

Alongside Proudhon, it was above all the nineteenth-century American individualist anarchists who had a clearly worked out economic theory. They distinguished rights of property, possession and usage, and accepted only the latter two. In essence, they supported the possibility of free access to capital, credit and raw materials, and they imagined an ideal society characterized by independent, monied individuals, free banks and contractual relations. Following Adam Smith, they accepted the existence of competition and the law of value, but through various cooperative techniques they wanted to avert the emergence and strengthening of economic inequalities of opportunity. Just as in politics they attacked the state and in religion they attacked the church, in the economic sphere they attacked the emerging monopolies, and their theories drew a direct link between the state and the existence of economic monopolies. Their alternative solutions rested on the views of both Proudhon and Adam Smith, and their own positions were an amalgam of these. Josiah Warren established a "Time Store," in which the price of the goods was determined by the hours of work spent in their production. He distinguished value (which depended on the scale of need) and costs (which showed quantity of work). According to Warren, the purchaser should pay only the cost, and this would guarantee the equivalent value of the work done.[88] William B. Greene, in his *Mutual Banking*, recommended the creation of a free banking system in which anyone would be able to pledge property to the bank, thus becoming a member of the system. They would then be able freely to

obtain cheap credit, for the interest charged would not exceed the cost of the transaction.[89] Joshua King Ingalls, in his work *Social Wealth*, saw the land monopoly as the essence of capitalism, and hoped that its abolition would lead to the collapse of the capitalist ruling system.[90] But the solutions offered by these writers proved partial and illusory, and the economic boom that followed the Civil War quickly rendered their ideas outdated.

The anarchist vision of anarchy and of the society without rule paints a picture of a world without oppression or exploitation in which the capitalist division of labour does not operate. In this world, the "community" is transfigured vis-à-vis society (Tönnies)[91] and "mechanical solidarity" vis-à-vis "organic solidarity"(Durkheim).[92] It could thus bring economic simplification, though actual attempts at implementation—such as Proudhon's mutual bank and the communes and cooperatives of Nestor Makhno and the Spanish anarchists— proved rather weak and impractical in the real, growth-centred world of industrial society. Though one trend within anarchist theory is "the historically observable effort gradually to accept the development of heavy industry,"[93] this generally marks a distancing from the original theory and a shift towards syndicalism. The problem of public goods and the contradiction between public goods and private ownership presented the individualist anarchists—who eventually accepted the notion of obtaining property—with an insoluble difficulty. Meanwhile, the collectivist anarchists—who rejected property and the market, but also the centralized, redistributive state—could not, through their experiments with a system of soviets based on self-government, give a satisfactory answer to the demand for economic efficiency.

The anarchists' abstract antistatism and their belief in the possibility of abolishing the state prevented them from perceiving a functional role for the state—for example, in investigating crime, in education or in social policy. Often they did not recognize the concealed methods used by groups with an interest in maintaining the state and the political system to uphold those interests, or the organic adaptation of those groups to the system of economic and social reproduction. In short, they did not recognize the deep socioeconomic embeddedness of the state; they saw the state as independent of society, and thus believed not only that it was possible to oust it, but also that it was an organization

that could easily be swept away. Lying behind the losses suffered by anarchism in day-to-day political battle and the failure of the entire anarchist movement were thus (a) the trend of capitalist-materialist development in industrial society; (b) the totalitarian political practice of the state socialism that was formulated against that trend; and (c) not least, the development of the modern nation-states. Each of these processes proved stronger than the attraction of the anarchist idyll.

Some contemporary anarchist theorists recognize the arguments of Friedrich Hayek and other classical or neoliberals[94] according to whom, as Robert Paul Wolff reformulated, "the natural operation of the market is an extremely efficient way of coordinating human behavior on a large scale without coercion or appeal to authority."[95] At the same time, Wolff maintains that it is irrational to entrust everything to the market "once men know how to control it in order to avoid its undesired consequences."[96] In the most sophisticated contemporary expression of anarchist political philosophy, Wolff openly accepts greater economic inefficiency if this is accompanied by the growth of personal autonomy:

> Only extreme economic decentralization could permit the sort of voluntary economic coordination consistent with the ideals of anarchism and affluence. At the present time, of course, such decentralization would produce economic chaos, but if we possessed a cheap, local source of power and an advanced technology of small-scale production, and if we were in addition willing to accept a high level of economic waste, we might be able to break the American economy down into regional and subregional units of manageable size. The exchanges between the units would be inefficient and costly—very large inventory levels, inelasticities of supply and demand, considerable waste, and so forth. But in return for this price, men would have increasing freedom to act autonomously. In effect, such a society would enable all men to be autonomous agents, whereas in our present society, the relatively few autonomous men are—as it were—parasitic upon the obedient, authority-respecting masses.[97]

We may see it as a criticism of anarchism also that in practice a large majority of people have preferred efficiency and wealth—even at the cost of market distribution and state interference—over complete moral autonomy.

### 3.4. *How to Deal with Antisocial Behavior?*

It is difficult for anarchism to solve the problem of *antisocial behavior*. It assumes that social life is self-regulating and that this self-regulation can solve the problem of deviance without the need for state instruments. Individualist anarchists believe this can be achieved through protection agencies that offer compensation, while collectivist anarchists argue it is attainable through the conventions of community life. The latter argue that since the people voluntarily join these communities they subject themselves to the consensual order of *moral self-regulation*.

But, as David Miller asks, how can people be expected to subject themselves to this constraint?[98] On this point, the principle of moral self-regulation is at odds with the principle of freedom—perhaps nothing more happens in anarchy than the replacement of the old freedom-constraining conventions with new conventions? The principle of moral self-regulation could operate only in relatively closed, small and stable communities. But then society would disintegrate into small, isolated communities. It may well be that precisely the acceptance of legal regulation is the price we must pay for living in an open society.

### 3.5. *State and Nation*

When analyzing the social nature of the state, anarchist theory can be criticized for misunderstanding not only the relationship between economy and state, but also that between *state and nation*. For anarchists, the state is an arbitrary group of people, which demands for itself a legalized monopoly of violence over a given territory. This definition undoubtedly contains a grain of truth. It tacitly assumes, however, that the people's only motivations for submitting to the state are fear and

servility. Anarchism disregards the fact that the majority of modern states are nation-states the activities of which in no small part express national wishes and national identity—and, further, that one source of national identity may be the creation of the state. Thus, while anarchism justly criticizes the narrowness and often oppressive character of the nation-state, in truth it does not know how to deal with the phenomenon of national (ethnic, linguistic) identity, and it does not recognize that one of the most important factors in the socialization process (which strongly influences human nature) is the creation of a sense of national identity.[99]

## 3.6. *All States Are Bad: Democracy Equals Dictatorship?*

Democrats often charge that anarchists, because of their undifferentiated condemnation of the role of state power, do not distinguish between *democratic and dictatorial systems*, rejecting both in one stroke. Bakunin formulates the anarchist viewpoint in the following terms: "All states, even the most republican and most democratic ones…basically do not mean anything else than top-down control of the people by an educated and therefore privileged minority, which, so to say, better understand the real needs of the people than the people itself."[100] One hundred years later, in the language of political philosophy, Wolff explained the dilemma of anarchism:

> If autonomy and authority are genuinely incompatible, only two courses are open to us. Either we must embrace philosophical anarchism and treat *all* governments as non-legitimate bodies...; or else, we must give up as quixotic the pursuit of autonomy in the political realm and submit ourselves (by an implicit promise) to whatever form of government appears most just and beneficent at the moment....If we take this course, *there is no universal or* a priori *reason for binding ourselves to a democratic government rather than to any other sort*.[101] (Italics in original.)

But since the anarchist cannot give up his or her commitment to moral autonomy, he or she has no choice but "categorically [to] deny *any*

claim to legitimate authority of one man over another."[102] (Italics in original.)

In Karl Mannheim's view, "the anarchist may be accused of blindness to the existing order." All anarchists are characterized by "the antithesis between the 'authoritarian' and the 'libertarian'—a contrast which simplifies everything and blurs all partial differences, which lumps together as authoritarian everything ranging from the police-state through the democratic-republican to the socialistic state, while only anarchism is regarded as libertarian. The same tendency towards simplification is also operative in the way history is pictured."[103] The anarchist view of history resembles a two-stage static theory, the key move of which is the social revolution—the moment of switch from the state of rule to the state of rulelessness. In this respect anarchism to a degree resembles the Marxist view of history as the history of class wars. "From this point of view every historical event is an ever-renewed deliverance from a topia (existing order) by a utopia, which arises out of it. Only in utopia and revolution is there true life, the institutional order is always only the evil residue which remains from ebbing utopias and revolutions. Hence, the road of history leads from one topia over a utopia to the next topia, etc."[104]

The anarchist conception of the state rests on the following reasoning: since every state is built upon coercion, no one can without self-surrender accept an obligation to support it or submit to it.[105] Since a society without a state is a viable alternative, the state must be abolished. Even the democratic state based on the majority principle is a coercive institution: it is the state as such that is bad. Coercion ceases only if decisionmaking is unanimous, in which case there is no one against whom coercion may be exercised. Decisionmaking organs that operate on this principle thus avoid the trap of statehood.

The logic is consistent, but from the viewpoint of the defenders of the democratic state it may still be drawn into doubt. Robert A. Dahl, for example, puts the following questions: "Even if coercion is intrinsically bad, can the use of coercion be reasonably justified in some circumstances? Even if so, is it reasonable to establish a state? Even if so, are we always obliged to support the existence of a state? And even assuming we live in a good or satisfatory state, should we always obey its laws?"[106] Dahl argues that by considering these questions we may

reach the following conclusions: "(1) In the absence of a state, highly undesirable forms of coercion would probably persist. (2) In a stateless society, some associates might in any case acquire sufficient resources to create a highly oppressive state. (3) A degree of social control sufficient to avoid the creation of a state appears to require that an association be highly autonomous, very small, and united by multiple bonds. (4) Creating such associations on a significant scale in the world today appears to be either impossible or highly undesirable."[107] Dahl's conclusion is that that "it would be better to try to create a satisfactory state than try to exist in a society without a state."[108] His argumentation is thus based on the "least bad" principle: taking the existing (rather than the ideal) society as his starting point, he concludes in favor of democracy.

Towards the end of the 1930s—with the failure of the Spanish revolution, the survival of the Franco régime and the stabilization of the totalitarian states in Germany, the Soviet Union and Italy—anarchism was exhausted. It ceased to exist as a mass movement and disappeared from the map of important social and political movements. Since then it has lived on as an underground stream, bursting out from time to time when the spirit of rebellion has grown. The 1960s were marked by a major outburst.[109] Interest in classical anarchist theories grew, and the anarchist movement left its mark on the student rebellions and revolutions of 1968.[110] But we must stress again that anarchism, as an ideological movement capable of founding a new social system and as an organized mass body, continues to lie on the periphery of political life.

This fact, combined with the sidelining of the idea of the welfare state, explains the emergence and considerable influence from the 1970s onwards of *classical liberal (libertarian) or neoliberal* theories seeking to reconceptualize the relationship between the state and the individual. Anarchism stated that even a liberal state violates basic individual rights and thus cannot sustain society's moral balance. The libertarian philosopher Robert Nozick countered this when he sought to show that the creation of a *minimal state* that did not violate these rights could be justified on moral grounds: it could simultaneously maintain its legitimacy and honor the rights of the people. In his argument, he disregards the utilitarian viewpoint and undertakes to demonstrate that the minimal (liberal) state developing from private agencies through the ultra-minimal state can be *morally* legitimated.[111]

Loren Lomasky too argues for the liberal state, pointing out the possible sources of tension between basic human rights and the development of spontaneous order. The emergence of spontaneous order does not conflict with basic rights and those rights can be guaranteed only if a legal system exists to promote their observance. Lomasky argues that just as it is absurd to assume that atomized individuals will independently of each other create moral rights acceptable to all, so it is absurd to assume that the state—acting wholly independently of society—can annul these rights. Moral rights—like language or economic structure—originate in and are maintained by human interaction and shared experiences.[112]

While upholding these criticisms, we can see that anarchist social philosophy has contributed valid observations to the critique of democratic theory. Its arguments have not only become the starting point for the civil disobedience movements, but have also helped all those who have sought to extend the boundaries of existing democracy, and it has stirred up heated political and philosophical debates that continue even today.[113]

Unlike socialists, conservatives and some liberals in authoritarian systems, anarchists never became the servants or fellow travellers of oppressive régimes, for they saw more clearly than anyone else the inadequacy of pure power relations in the creation of a new system of social integration. Anarchism was unsuccessful in translating its ideals into the language of a program of practical action, and its political influence—for the reasons detailed above—remained slight. But it has had undeniable influence in political philosophy: it has pointed out the limits of liberalism, showing the difficulties posed by the incompatibility of individualism and the political order.[114] From this point of view, anarchism can in a theoretical sense be regarded as the living conscience of both liberalism and antistatist socialism.

Despite not offering a realizable alternative, anarchism was correct in its century-long debate with the party-statist, authoritarian socialist tradition. It was right when, speaking in the mid-nineteenth century of the revolutions of the future, it warned that the political revolution of the centralized, authoritarian social democratic and communist movements would not give life to a new, free society.[115] And it was right when, before anyone else, it exposed the bureaucratism and dictatorialism of the existing—Soviet-type Bolshevik—socialist systems.[116]

4. LOCATING ANARCHISM AMONG POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES

4.1. *Challenges to Anarchism*

Anarchism—like contemporary alternative political movements—is very difficult to locate on the traditional left-right scale of politics. The reason for this is precisely anarchism's diverse nature. Just as in the green movement we may meet with supporters of new-leftist grassroots democracy and with groups advocating the protection of individual autonomy or conservative values, so anarchism spans a range of orientations that in part deviate from and conflict with one another. From the viewpoint of democracy, anarchism is an extreme liberal ideology, for it questions all forms of rule; in its emphasis upon individual freedom it differs too from socialism. But from the liberal point of view it is socialistic, for it stresses the value of social solidarity. Though as a critical standpoint and a movement it most often appears on the political left, the theory itself lies in certain cases at the meeting point of left and right.

We use the concepts of left and right in a non-value-laiden sense. The left could be best characterized by the idea of social equality, belief in progress and the demand for intervention in social relations to change them, while the right takes respect for organic change, tradition and authority as its starting point. The left generally rests on a conception of society characterized by natural law and by rationalism, while the right's conception of society builds more upon historical or religious bases. The left is guided by the notion of the compatibility of freedom and equality, while the right regards this as illusory and abstains from any such claims. In democracy, the left seeks the maintenance or extension of state intervention, while the right seeks its minimization. In democratic systems, the program of the left is traditionally that of the welfare state, guaranteeing to those left behind by economic competition the conditions required for human dignity; the program of the right, by contrast, is that of the free market and free economic competition, and accepts greater disparities within society, while tends to intervene in private matters by propagating family values and the like. In antidemocratic systems, the extreme left can degenerate into discrimination based upon its ideological commitments, while the far

right discriminates on the basis of race, religion, nationality or ethnicity. In right-wing dictatorships, privileges may derive from birth, rank or membership of the nation, race or state party, while in left-wing dictatorships privileges are guaranteed above all by membership of and unconditional loyalty to the leading communist party.

Narrowing down anarchist theory to its two key components, the left-right distinction can be drawn in terms, respectively, of collectivist and individualist values. *Collectivist* (communist, syndicalist) anarchists assume that, because of the defining nature of natural human solidarity, individuals freely choose the path of collective organization of production, such that the communist system has no need for violence or other external strengthening based on rule. Contrary to this, *individualist* (libertarian, pro-market) anarchists assume that people are naturally inclined to trading and the free exchange of goods, and that the communist system of production and distribution limits these inclinations. In consequence, that system can be maintained only through violence and coercion.

In both orientations, some deviation from essentialist, ideal-typical anarchist doctrine is visible. The collectivists accept *politics*, but continue to reject property; the individualists accept *property*, but reject politics.

The collectivist anarchists are able to accept politics and political participation above all because, while maintaining their antistatism, they judge the instruments of *direct democracy* to be useful. While the core of anarchism rejects politics itself as the representative system of rule, direct democracy questions only the modern institutional system of politics—state, parties, and representative parliament. Supporters of direct democracy contend that liberal democracy is in fact party democracy, for it represents not individuals but parties and the interest communities behind them.[117] Its limitations start with the individual, for the individual cannot be represented, and thus not everyone can take part in decisionmaking. Direct democracy promises that, through direct participation, everyone can define his or her own identity—both as an individual and as part of a community.

From the anarchist point of view, the problem with direct democracy is that it does not eliminate the phenomenon of rule. The disappearance of representation does not imply an end to coercion. Self-direction is still a form of direction, in which the patterns of policy,

decision, execution and command, and the tension of minority and majority are all present. Self-direction can be retrograde and traditionalist; as experience suggests, it does not exclude the development of local elites. All the same, *politically* this is the model that comes closest to extending existing pluralist democracy in a manner compatible with anarchist principles.

The principle of direct participation raises several problems:

a) the acceptance of direct democracy is a practical, political step forward, but it entails compromise for anarchist theory;

b) experience suggests that direct democracy and a system based on local councils cannot replace the representative system, without which it cannot operate on a societal scale;

c) without political democracy (that is, in dictatorship), democratic collectivization and economic democracy are in principle *impossible*[118]; but in practice it has been possible to extend democracy as a political organizing principle to the economic sphere only partially; the economy has been dominated in modern times by various combinations of the market and (central and local) planning.

The rejection of the existing political system but acceptance of the politicization of the workplace and production units (above all, factories) characterizes *syndicalism* and *anarcho-syndicalism* (or revolutionary syndicalism).[119] Following the failure of the anarchist assassination campaign, more and more anarchists drew the conclusion towards the end of the nineteenth century that they could promote their fight for social revolution by joining the trade unions. Towards the turn of the century, syndicalism grew into a leading orientation within the labor movement in France and the Latin countries of southern Europe.[120] Syndicalist theory viewed the *general strike* as the most important instrument of the struggle, and as, in itself, the fulfilment of that struggle. This strike was not conducted for reforms or work or bread, or for economic or political concessions; it was in itself the *revolution*—the most efficient means to crush the system and free the workers and their revolutionary potential.[121]

Anarcho-syndicalism can be differentiated from syndicalism primarily by its stronger rejection of the state and its revolutionary practice. In common with syndicalism, it differs from anarchism in thinking in class terms and in striving to fulfil the goals of the working class

rather than those of humanity as a whole. Contrary to the theories of intellectuals—which, regarding ruling instruments, it rejected—its ideology emphasized the primacy of practice, in which the general strike conducted by the trade unions (not acting as political organizations) took on a mythical character. (We return later to a more detailed and historically grounded examination of the relationship between syndicalism and anarchism.)

The second branch of anarchism is the *individualist* (libertarian) anarchism particularly found in North America, the alpha and omega of which is *individual* freedom. Max Stirner's egoist theory was highly influential among individualist anarchists, and the theory found ideal terrain for development in American culture, where "individualism" is never conceived pejoratively.[122] According to Josiah Warren, a society built upon individual sovereignty must adhere to the following principles:

I. The proper, legitimate, and just reward of labor.

II. Security of person and property.

III. The greatest practicable amount of freedom of each individual.

IV. Economy in the production and uses of wealth.

V. To open the way for each individual to the possession of land, and all other natural wealth.

VI. To make the interests of all to cooperate with and assist each other, instead of clashing with and counteracting each other.

VII. To withdraw the elements of discord, of war, of distrust and repulsion, and to establish a prevailing spirit of peace, order, and social sympathy.[123]

Though Warren wanted to replace conventional money with work-units, his later followers gave this up and, in the liberal American environment, sought to base anarchism upon the acceptance of property. Benjamin Tucker, for example, contended that genuine anarchism was none other than consistent Manchesterism.[124] At the turn of the twentieth century, this statement had a paradoxically anti-capitalist edge. It was a protest against the newly formed monopolies that were stifling free competition and free trade, and (as with American populism) a turn away from the new system created by liberalism back to Jeffersonian ideals.

Warren, Heywood, Greene, Ingalls,[125] Andrews, Spooner, Tucker, Thoreau, DeCleyre[126] and others were convinced that every state action—from taxation, through compulsory vaccination, to majoritarian decisionmaking—signified interference in the private sphere of the individual. They assumed that everyone recognized and accepted what was for them the fundamental axiom of the free society: the inviolability of the individual and of property.[127]

The individualist anarchists viewed social revolution—the path from a state-supervised capitalist society to a society without a state— practically. Their political strategy centred around three alternatives. In part, they tried to support liberal candidates, which from the anarchist point of view was of course a contradictory position, for it seemed to recognize the legitimacy of elections and majoritarian interest representation. Second, they refused to pay taxes, engaged in passive resistence and fomented of civil disobedience against the state. Finally, they gave material support to alternative, extra-state institutions that they believed could operate without state intervention and with greater efficiency than the state institutions—such as lending banks, postal services and voluntary, elected courts.[128]

But while libertarian theory had anticapitalist overtones in the nineteenth century, towards the second half of the twentieth century these were lost, and the libertarians—accepting ever more the teachings of classical liberalism—became *anarcho-capitalists*. Contributing to this were capitalism's success in rejuvenating itself, the information-technology revolution that started in the 1970s, the weakening of welfare-state theory and the politically emerging new right.[129] In reflection of these processes, the many old and new advocates of classical liberalism gained an ever wider audience.[130]

In view of the oppressive nature of state-socialist systems, many accepted Hayek's view that while equal rights and individual freedom were possible alongside a highly limited state, any attempt to satisfy the demand for material equality would lead inevitably to totalitarianism.[131] As we have seen, Nozick too argued for the opposing path of development, postulating that the minimal state could develop spontaneously out of anarchic social order. Similarly, the anarcho-capitalist Murray Rothbard defined the concepts of exploitation and coercion such that they could emerge not through the operation of the market but
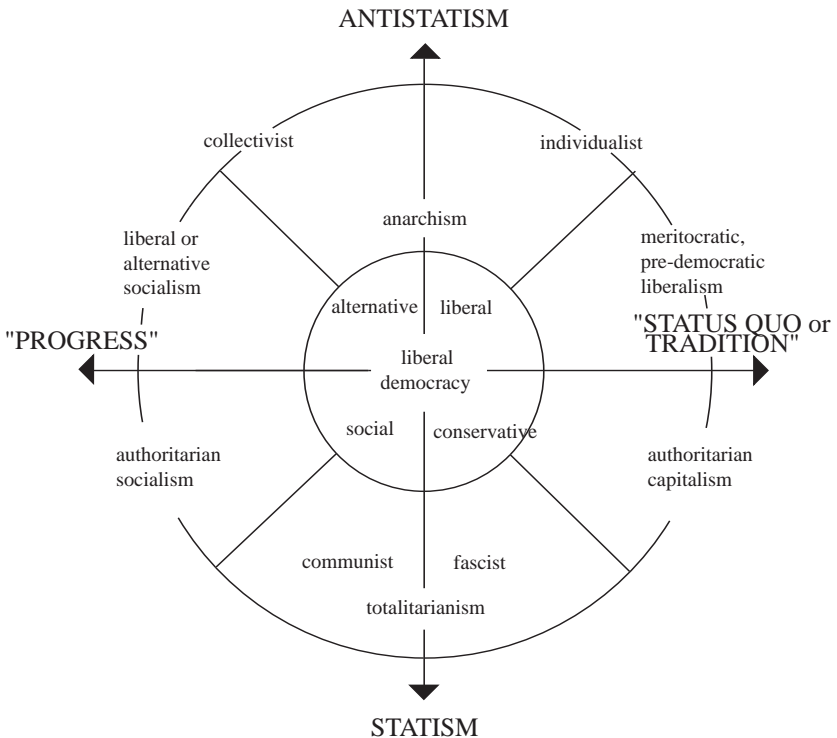
only as a result of political interference. Without developing an explicit theory of human nature, he postulated that most people manifest goal-rational, self-interested behavior within the bounds of natural rights.[132]

Contemporary American anarcho-capitalist libertarianism[133] was thus closely connected with the renaissance of classical liberalism and the neo-conservative "revolution" of the 1980s, and it therefore lies on the right-wing pole of anarchist theories. Somewhat more crisply, we can say that, on the one hand, the traditional anarchist left—its collectivist-communist strand—has merged into the alternative movements that have followed the decline of the new left, while, on the other hand, the values of right-wing, pro-property, individualist anarchy have been absorbed by the strengthening ideology of classical liberalism or neoliberalism. But this bifurcation of the anarchist tradition causes insoluble contradiction only at the abstract, ideological level. At the movement level, contemporary representatives of anarchism are generally united in opposing the excessive power of the state and in supporting the protection of the environment and of alternative life forms such as those of sexual and racial minorities.

To sum up the differences between collectivist-communist and individualist-libertarian anarchism, we may state that while the collectivist tradition emphasizes social solidarity, absence of property, mutual aid, direct participation and redistribution according to need (the elements of *positive freedom*), the individualist tradition stresses individual sovereignty and freedom, private property, free trade and the complete absence of all forms of coercion (the institutions of *negative freedom*).[134] The two strands are united by opposition to rule, the demand for change, and the desire for a free, stateless society.

### 4.2. *Anarchism versus Other Ideologies*

The differentiation of these two branches of anarchism is eased if we can locate anarchism among other major ideologies. Anarchism has never existed as an actual social system, and we must therefore recognize that our model below displays the ideal types of anarchism and liberal socialism (or their realtypes based only on certain limtied societal communities) together with the real types of actual systems.

TABLE 1. *The Place of Anarchism among Other Ideologies*



ANTISTATISM

collectivist

individualist

anarchism

liberal or
alternative
socialism

meritocratic,
pre-democratic
liberalism

alternative | liberal

"PROGRESS"

liberal
democracy

"STATUS QUO or
TRADITION"

social | conservative

authoritarian
socialism

authoritarian
capitalism

communist        fascist

totalitarianism

STATISM

One axis of the figure represents the statism-antistatism dimension, while the other shows the opposition of cultural left and right ("progress" versus "tradition"). We thus assume that left and right cannot be reduced to the content of statism and antistatism. It is important to differentiate these two dimensions because in Western democracies, in consequence of the high level of social consensus, the differing historical and ideological roots of the various political orientations are often obscured or marginalized, and the left is frequently identified simply with increased state intervention in the economy, the right by state non-intervention. In our model, however, we examine also nondemocratic systems and ideologies in which left and right often have entirely different content (for example in respect of ideological relations towards development, nation, religion, the church, and historical traditions).

In the center of the diagram (the inner circle) lie the various forms of *liberal democracy*, characterized by varying degrees of acceptance of the welfare state and by dominance of market distribution. Political decisionmaking is majoritarian, but also to differing extents recognizes the rights of those left in the minority. Political life at the macro-level is defined by the principle of representation, supplemented by widely varying forms of direct democracy and local government. The philosophy of government in such a system may be social democratic, liberal, conservative or in principle alternative, though none of this implies any fundamental deviation in the basic political and economic system. Democracy based upon the liberal minimum is the historically variable optimal balance of personal freedom, local community rights and controlled state intervention. It is

> a system of government that meets three essential conditions: meaningful and extensive *competition* among individuals and organized groups (especially political parties) for all effective positions of government power, at regular intervals and excluding the use of force; a highly inclusive level of *political participation* in the selection of leaders and policies, at least through regular and fair elections, such that no major (adult) social group is excluded; and a level of *civil and political liberties*—freedom of expression, freedom of the press, freedom to form and join organizations—sufficient to ensure the integrity of political competition and participation.[135] (Italics in the original.)

The systems and theories located outside the center of the diagram (in the outer circle) all oppose liberal democracy in some way or other. The two endpoints of the statism-antistatism axis are represented by totalitarianism and anarchism. We have already seen the anarchist critique of democracy; in essence, it states that it is not enough to minimize the role of the state and of majoritarian decisionmaking: the state must be abolished, for it limits the moral autonomy of the individual and the solidarity of the community.

*Totalitarianism* and the totalitarian régimes of the opposite pole, by contrast, are characterized by a highly centralized, monist power structure in which the ruling group has no responsibility to any elected body

and cannot be ejected from power using institutionalized, peaceful means. The exclusive and highly detailed (total) ideology pervades social life, and the mobilization of the population is secured by monopolistic, ideocratic institutions, including the single, mobilizing mass party. Together, these in practice stifle any autonomous social or political initiative.[136] Society is repoliticized from above, as a result of which politics as a process of free interest articulation and preference fulfilment for individuals and groups ceases. The state and the monopolistic party merge together into the state party, and the state's administrative functions are subordinated to the political and ideological goals of the elite. The party-state abolishes or controls the elements of the private sphere and everyday communication, and it colonizes civil society. The "legitimacy" of the state is guaranteed by the complete ideological identification demanded of citizens and the use of terror against those who refuse to yield.[137]

Carl Friedrich and Zbigniew Brzezinski, in their classic analysis, define totalitarian systems in terms of six linked features: "an ideology, a single party typically led by one man, a terroristic police, a communications monopoly, a weapons monopoly, and a centrally directed economy."[138] The function of these institutions is to break the ties of unity and thus to corrupt society into a mass of atomized, submissive individuals.

In the economic sphere, left-wing (communist) totalitarianism abolishes private enterprise and replaces market relations with the centralized, planned economy, while right-wing (fascist) totalitarianism nominally retains private enterprise, but in fact subordinates the operation of the market completely to the demands of the party-state bureaucracy.

Having discussed the statism-antistatism axis and the opposite poles of totalitarianism and anarchism, we turn now to analyze the relationship between *Marxist-communist* and anarchist ideology. Both communist and looser authoritarian-paternalist socialist systems are governed to a greater or lesser degree by Marxist-Leninist ideology treated as dogma. This ideology is similar to anarchism in so far as it opposes the capitalist economy and nominally seeks as its final goal the realization of a stateless society based on the principles of equality and freedom. (Because of these attractive goals, it captivated many intel-

lectuals, who saw themselves—in virtue of their consciousness of their messianic mission—as the vanguard of society.) The two ideologies agree also in their orientation to the future, their internationalism, their affirmation of social revolution and their support for the claim that the world should be not only interpreted, but also changed. In their views of history, their postulates of qualitative change in society—as emphatically worldly salvation—are also similar. Their differences may be summarized in terms of the following contrasting pairs:

TABLE 2. *Differences between the Conceptual Elements of Marxism and Anarchism*

|  | MARXISM | ANARCHISM |
| --- | --- | --- |
| *Actors* | Class categories | Individuals and groups |
| *History* | History of class struggles | History to date as simple narrative, history of régime changes |
| *Politics* | Acceptance of political means | Contempt for political means (acceptance of some of them) |
| *Philosophy* | Materialism | Idealism |
| *Freedom/ Equality* | The creation of equality is mostimportant, even at the cost of transitional restriction of freedom | Freedom and equality can be created only together |
| *Change* | Economic development, the dialectic of productive forces and the productive relations, is the motor of history | The key to change lies in the abolition of rule and the internal transformation of the people |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Agenda* | The abolition of capitalist property relations is the immediate goal, the elimination of statehood the longer-term goal | The abolition of statehood is paramount, the abolition of property stems from this |
| *Leader-ship* | The revolution is led by a vanguard (party): acceptance of the duality of elite and masses (Lenin) | Rejection of the vanguard (party): the revolution is a spontaneous mass movement and does not need leadership |
| *Ends/ Means* | Contradiction of ends and means | Demand that ends and means should be compat-ible |
| *After the Victory* | Acceptance of a transitional after revolution | Rejection of the transition-al period[139] |

*Source*: compiled by the authors.[140]

Marxists charged the anarchists with not distinguishing different modes of production, and argued that anarchism, as the ideology of the radical petty bourgeoisie, served the whole of the bourgeoisie in its political influence.[141] The anarchists, meanwhile, viewed Marxism as the ideology of the new, professional intelligentsia the goal of which was to promote the formation of a new ruling class.[142] They argued that anarchist revolution must be a mass revolution that cuts across traditional class boundaries.

The ideology of *liberal socialism* emerged in opposition to state-socialist authoritarianism and totalitarianism, and it sought also to offer an alternative to the isolated anarchism. It appeared at the turn of the twentieth century at a time when the breakthrough of socialism and the decline of liberalism seemed unstoppable, though the first signs of the degeneration of socialism into dictatorship had already emerged. The theorists of liberal socialism—Eugene Dühring,[143] George Bernard Shaw,[144] Franz Oppenheimer,[145] Henry George,[146] and others—in Hungary, Oszkár Jászi[147] and (in his later writings) István Bibó—contend-

ed that liberalism was not just a passing moment in the history of humanity, but that it contained enduring, universal values. They tried to salvage certain of liberalism's original values against monopolistic capitalism, and they sought to reconcile them with socialism. They believed that British (Fabian) socialism could offer a workable alternative both to the Western liberalism that was creating economic monopolies and to the Eastern socialism that created political monopolies.[148] Liberal socialism rejects the idea of revolution and trusts instead in intellectual and cultural transformation, in the "revolution of quality" and in a new reformation. This humanist creed was strengthened by the breakthrough of fascist mass ideology in the 1920s. "While continental socialism pushes the questions of bread and power into the foreground, English socialism regards the problems of law and ethics as the real foundations of socialism."[149] This "third way" offered a route out of liberalism's deepening crisis and statist socialism's incipient crisis.

We may find numerous commonalities between liberal socialist and anarchist thinking, a fact that is no surprise, since liberal socialist theory can be traced all the way back to Proudhon.[150] It is important to note the simultaneous emphasis upon freedom and equality; as Bibó puts it, socialist adaptation of Western liberal rights is not inconsistent with pressure for a society free from exploitation.[151] Both theories reject dictatorship, question economic determination, and, referring to the notion of solidarity, advocate antimilitarism. They agree over the importance of cultural education and the necessity of moral renewal. Their visions of the future are also similar: they postulate that the path of humanity leads through decentralization to a state of harmony. In Jászi's words, "The highest political goal is not omnipotent community power, but the free cooperation of free individuals."[152] He writes that liberal socialism "does not just flirt with democracy, but extends it to its final consequences: it wants to fulfil the rights of autonomy and self-government of every viable group. *Decentralization, self-government and alliance*: these are the bases of the political program of the new socialism."[153] Liberal socialist theorists agree that "the true mentality is really anarchist" (Jászi) and that "the task at hand is not simply to change the rulers, but to eliminate the phenomenon of ruling" (Bibó).[154] The path to this goal for Bibó involves the establishment of self-government based on extensive rights of liberty, the complete separation of

powers, the balancing of ruling functions, and the transformation of the institutions of rule into institutions of service. Bibó, in his political testament, written in 1971, draws attention to the fact that the organization of a techologically advanced, "an-archical" society is the only politically effective realization of the Christian ethical maxim of nonviolence. Since "by pronouncing wholly moral sentence we will not be able to raise the moral standards of the state"—writes Bibó,[155] as if debating directly with the anarchists—the organizational guarantee of achieving an-archy is the disintegration of rule, mutual supervision by the various ruling forms, and the building of the system of self-government.[156]

Alongside these points of agreement, anarchism and liberal socialism also deviate in numerous respects. These are the following:

TABLE 3. *Differences between the Conceptual Elements of Liberal Socialism and Anarchism*

|  | *LIBERAL SOCIALISM* | *ANARCHISM* |
| --- | --- | --- |
| *Actors* | Class categories | Individuals and groups |
| *Rule* | Complete separation and mutual balancing of the institutions of rule | Elimination of ruling institutions |
| *State* | Society supervises the state on are both the basis of the democratic legal order | Statehood and democracy forms of rule and must therefore be abolished |
| *Property*/ *Politics* | Recognition of property and politics | Rejection of property and/or politics |
| *Change* | Necessity of a "new reformation" | Necessity of social revolution |
| *Work* | In the new society, mental work gains primacy | In the new society, an organic unity of mental work and practice emerges |

| *Demo-cracy* | Democracy means self-government and association and is thus compatible with moral autonomy (Jászi) | Democracy rests upon the majoritarian and representative principles and is thus incompatible with moral autonomy (Wolff) |
|---|---|---|

*Source*: Bozóki.[157]

We must also make reference here, alongside the model of liberal socialism, to various *alternative socialist* ideologies and endeavors.[158] We discuss the contemporary versions of these in greater detail in the third chapter; here we raise the relationship between the new left and anarchism. This relationship is not readily defined in terms of unambiguous categories: the new left is not a single orientation, but rather a collection of numerous strands. Within the new left (besides anarchism), Marxism, Trotskyism, Maoism, situationism, Spartacism, Blanquism, syndicalism, Christianism, Zen Buddhism, neo-Freudism, psychedelism and many other currents have all appeared.[159] Its social base is formed by part of the middle class, students, intellectuals, downward movers in society, the marginalized, and those who have moved unexpectedly from one class to another and thus remain in a transitional situation.

The basic experience of those on the new left is that the developed industrial society "integrates the manipulated individual into itself to such an extent" that the individual affirms his or her alienation—and they protest against this. *Alienation* was the key word in which they based their critique of the consumer society. The essence of this was formulated by Herbert Marcuse, following the theory of alienation of the young Marx: "the reality constitutes a more progressive stage of alienation. The latter has become entirely objective; the subject which is alienated is swallowed up by its alienated existence. There is only one dimension, and it is everywhere and in all forms."[160]

The new left was new above all because of the changed social environment in which it emerged. The period from the Second World War to the end of the 1970s was the golden age for the welfare state; these were decades of "economic miracle" in many western countries. It

became difficult to organize a revolutionary movement alluding to the immiseration of the working class, since in reality precisely the opposite process was occurring. The rising living standards that accompanied economic growth led to the spread of the middle-class lifestyle, the old working class communities disintegrated, and it was ever less plausible to view the working class as a potential revolutionary force. This contributed to the changed social bases of the critical movements, and to their changed demands. For many, material questions were increasingly replaced by cultural or psychological questions—lifestyle, quality of life, interpersonal relations, expression, people's mental or emotional state—and the direction of social critique transferred from the sphere of production to other aspects of everyday life (consumption, leisure time, etc.).[161] The revolutionary goal of the new left was to find a third alternative that would avoid the wrong turns of both industrial capitalism and bureaucratic socialism. From this point of view it presaged the post-industrial transition, though in its revolutionary ideas it often sympathized with extremist, dictatorial movements that attacked state socialism from the left.[162]

Anarchist groups and ideas were always present in this cavalcade of movements, but they often lost their distinct identity, and they eventually softened into one of the strands of cultural criticism of modern capitalist society. The elimination of the state and the toppling of capitalism played an ever smaller part in their practical aims; they satisfied themselves with demanding the expansion of the sphere of social life, in which alternative lifestyles and life models could develop.[163]

Traditional liberal (laissez-faire) capitalism is located politically to the right of anarchism. *Liberalism*, merging with democracy later on, became the ideology of modernity,[164] the philosophical roots of which extend back to the Renaissance. Its original, pre-democratic principles were worked out by a number of well-known thinkers.[165] Its basic principles are *individual freedom*, *private ownership and market economy*. Individual freedom is based upon equal rights, in other words, *equality before the law*. Some of these rights are natural rights and are thus independent of society; others—the rights of the citizen—stem from free agreement among the people and from social contract. Some are inalienable (such as the rights to life and to freedom); others are trans-

ferable (such as property rights). Rights to liberty extend so far as they do not violate the similarly inalienable rights of others. Individuals have the right to oppose unjust laws passed by the state, but resistance cannot become antistatist revolution against the sovereign power of the contract-based—and thus legitimate—state, for the contract can be annulled. In liberal theory, rights are moral claims that require strengthening, and the state must guarantee them. Nevertheless, the state constitutes a threat to freedom, and its influence in politics and the economy must be reduced to the minimum possible level.

Classic liberalism agrees with anarchism in regarding society as a self-regulating system. It derives this, however, not from an idealized vision of humanity promising worldly redemption, but from the invisibly regulating social nature of the idealized market. According to liberalism, no one in society can possess the privilege of absolute knowledge; society operates on the basis that every person living in it has his or her own personal knowledge, and that, within its own sphere, this is the best knowledge available. The rules and procedures of the spontaneous, self-regulating order do not emerge from one day to the next, but are rather perfected gradually in the economic and political markets through a process of trial and error. According to this sort of liberalism, state distribution is not only inefficient, but also unjust, for it violates both contractual freedom and the freedom to abstain from contract. The classic liberal conception of freedom is one of negative freedom[166]—freedom is guaranteed by the *Rechtsstaat* and the rule of law. But liberalism seeks to place limits not only on statehood, but also on the extension of rights, for every extension of rights increases the amount of violence in society by allowing legitimate sanction of those rights. This explains the abstention of liberals vis-à-vis the democratic state. The old liberal ideal is thus not democracy (which conceals within itself the danger of legitimized majority interference), but *constitutionalism*.[167]

Liberalism—like anarchism—originally conceived society not as class-based but as relatively homogeneous, and the basic actor in that society was the independent entrepreneur, the individual. Liberalism is likewise an ideology the core principles of which relate to society, not the state. The "tacit image" offered by classical theory "was that, in the pure market, incomes equalize out and do not accumulate," and this causes the homogenization of society.[168]

One strand of anarchist criticism of liberalism holds that liberalism gives the lie to itself, and that, with the development of market inequalities, it violates the idea of equal freedom. Anarchists emphasize that the emergence of economic monopolies and the concentration of capital contradicts sharply with liberalism's original ideal of freedom. This critique is close to the original aims of the liberal idea, but it reveals liberalism's utopian nature by showing that these ideals cannot be realized through the practice of liberalism. The second strand of anarchism's critique of liberalism questions the validity of liberalism's starting point, contrasting individual competition with the principle of social solidarity.[169] In a way, liberalism creates a tradition of meritocracy, or an aristocracy of merit (and honor), which can lead to elitism rather than democracy. Nevertheless, as already discussed, contemporary libertarian "anarcho-capitalism" has come very close to the principles of the revived classical liberalism.[170]

On the basis of our figure showing the place of anarchism among other political ideologies, we must finally note the relationship between anarchism and the *right-wing, authoritarian* ideas and systems. Anarchism, of course, strongly opposes right-wing authoritarian beliefs and state-capitalist systems—along with their statist, populist or conservative ideologies—both in its antistatism and in its opposition to economic exploitation.[171] These systems lack precisely those elements—respect for individual freedom, focus upon society, the assumption of self-regulating order—that connect anarchism and liberalism.

To conclude: anarchism cannot be located among other political ideologies simply on the basis of one left-right dimension. To do so would be misleading, for it would show anarchism to be simultaneously on the extreme left (because of its opposition to property) and on the ultra-liberal right (because of its antistatism). We thus contend that the true character of liberalism can be depicted only if the left-right ("progress" versus "tradition") axis is supplemented with the statist-antistatist dimension, and thus if the various ideologies are located in a coordinate system with four poles. The figure thereby produced shows both anarchism's closest relations (liberal and alternative socialism on the left, laissez-faire liberalism on the right) and the bodies of thought most distant from it (the ideologies of totalitarianism).

PART TWO

# THE HISTORY OF
# ANARCHISM IN HUNGARY

The history of anarchism in Hungary is—with a few small exceptions—a blank spot in the literatures of history and historical sociology. In this part of the book we begin the work of exposing that history and seek to integrate the results of existing research within a unified framework. In describing the history of Hungarian anarchism, we use both press materials—anarchist newspapers and other publications, and articles about anarchists- and archival sources—leaflets, personal papers, police reports and other documents. Extending the viewpoints utilized in the first chapter—those of social theory and the history of ideas—we explore the history of anarchist organizational effort.

Though the history of Hungarian anarchism has not yet become the focus of detailed research, we have in certain areas been able to make use of valuable studies and secondary literature. This literature rarely relates directly to anarchists themselves and is more often concerned with the actions of anarchists as they influenced other significant movements, orientations and personalities. We thus refer to studies of labor and agrarian movement history and to literary and art history. Common to all of these, however, is that anarchists are discussed only passingly. Here, we take the opposite direction: we consider these areas only in so far as they are influenced by anarchism. Our approach is thus interdisciplinary: we seek to combine the viewpoints of the history of ideas, social and political theory, political science and historical sociology. Before starting to analyze the story of Hungarian anarchism, however, we need to briefly discuss the social basis of anarchism in more general and comparative terms.

1. The Social Basis of Anarchism

Who becomes an anarchist? What social environment offers a favorable opportunity for the development of anarchism and the spread of anarchist ideas?

1.1. *Workers*

Looking at the international history of anarchism, it is striking that the social basis of anarchist movements *among workers* is tied not to large-scale organized labor but to *skilled workers* in *small production units*. The basic unit for the organization of work in capitalism—the *factory*, combined with the associated working time, differentiated division of labor, and complete separation of the conditions of work from place of residence—favored the association of workers in trade unions. In the factory, individual protest was much less effective than united, collective action such as strikes and wage demands. Anarchist ideology aiming at general human goals was both politically and economically much less successful in the factory than was the pursuit of class interests.

Thus, among workers and the artisanal petty bourgoisie, it was primarily those occupational groups whose work conditions changed little (in comparison with conditions of work in large-scale industry) in consequence of the advent of industrial capitalism who were represented among the anarchists. Among anarchist activists we may find, for example, shoemakers (Jean Grave, William Wess, Nicola Sacco), weavers (Emile Florian), gardeners (Louis Chavés), dyers (Ravachol), carpenters (Joseph Tortelier, Meunier), tailors (Henri Bourdin, Charles W. Mowbray, Henry B. Samuels, Stefano Caporosso), upholsterers (Joseph Déjacque), printers (Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, Rafael Farga-Pellicer), bookbinders (Johann Most, Rudolf Rocker), locksmiths (Otto Rinke), carriers (Joseph Lane), basketweavers (Thomas Edward Cantwell), building workers (Tom Pearson), shopkeepers (John Turner), barbers (Vito Solieri), cooks (Giovanni Passanante), mechanics (Errico Malatesta, Carmelo Palladino), coopers (Juan Oliva Moncasi), plasterers (Largo Caballero) and the representatives of other similar

crafts. Watchmakers formed the core of the anarchists of the Swiss Jura Federation; in Paris, tailors (among others) formed their own anarchist circle, as did the Jewish tailors who migrated to the East End of London. Anarchist influence was particularly strong at certain times among marble workers in Carrara in Italy, and among weavers in Barcelona. In France, the recriminations following the Paris Commune pushed many working-class commune members into the anarchist camp. All of these were characterized by their high level of training and, in comparison with other strata of workers, their substantial self-taught erudition.

Anarchist theoreticians such as Proudhon and Grave gained their knowledge not through traditional university education but through self-education, an aspiration that was characteristic also of the other social basis of the anarchist movement—the lower-middle class and petty bourgeoisie.[1] By contrast, among the followers of syndicalism we find many factory workers, iron workers, railway workers and engineers.[2]

## 1.2. *Peasants*

The *rural* or *peasant anarchism* found in industrially less developed countries and in the periphery and semi-periphery of the world economy had a different social base. This anarchism was the particular sub-political existence of the peasantry, for whom the existing formal organizations appeared not as organizations growing out of real social practice but as institutions of compulsion overlying that practice.[3]

The historical archetype of peasant anarchism was provided by the anarchist movement of Andalusian agricultural workers that flared up repeatedly for seventy years between the 1860s and the 1930s.[4] Both in its millenarian-religious messianism and in the social composition of its participants, this movement differed significantly from the anarchism of the urban artisans. Similar movements emerged in Ukraine under the leadership of "the anarchist Robin Hood," Nestor Makhno (1917–21),[5] and in Mexico under the agricultural leader Emiliano Zapata.[6] They all believed that through guerrilla warfare the industrial transformation could be reversed and a natural peasant order based on egalitarian principles could be restored. As we will see, this form of anarchist organization appeared around the turn of the century in Hungary too—in the

agrarian-socialist movements of the Great Plain and in István Várkonyi's related Independent Socialist Party.

A similar initiative can be found in southern Italy, where the educated children of landowners (Carlo Cafiero, Errico Malatesta, Carmelo Palladino), like the Russian populist "To the People" movement, sought to incite revolution among the peasantry. But Italian peasant anarchism could never approach the dimensions of the Andalusian movements, and thus anarchism in Italy remained essentially an organization of activists in small and medium-sized towns.[7]

### 1.3. *Intelligentsia*

Anarchist ideas also touched a significant part of the *"free-floating" intelligentsia*.[8] Alongside the fervent student sympathizers, we may find philosophers (Sebastian Faure, Max Stirner, Mikhail Bakunin, Edward Carpenter, Gustav Landauer, and the Hungarian Jenő Henrik Schmitt), librarians (Elisée Reclus, and the Hungarian Ervin Szabó), publishers (M. P. Le Compte, Johann Neve), doctors (Ernest Coeurderoy, Marc Pierrot, Saverio Friscia, Alexander Atabekian), lawyers (Emile Gautier, Carlo Gambuzzi, Alberto Tucci), geographers (Piotr Kropotkin, Elisée Reclus), journalists (Charles Malato, Arturo Labriola, David John Nicoll), engineers (Paul Reclus, Sam Mainwaring, Victor Cails, Vernon Richards), teachers (Francisco Ferrer, Luigi Fabbri, Agnes Henry, Albarracin), clergymen (Ferdinand Domela Niewenhuis), insurance agents (Joseph Pressburg), bank clerks (Pi y Margall) and historians (Max Nettlau).

### 1.4. *Aristocrats*

It must be noted that among the most famous anarchist ideologists and movement leaders we find numerous *aristocrats* (Kropotkin, Tolstoy, Malatesta, and, as we will see, the Hungarian Ervin Batthyány).[9] This fact seems to support our earlier observation that anarchism influenced those strata that were relatively unaffected by the development of heavy industry. The activism of these young aristocrats made consider-

able use of the cultural capital of their elite upbringing, as well as the guaranteed income and technical conditions needed for organization that were offered by their ownership of large estates (as in the cases of the reform schools of Tolstoy and Batthyány).

It was a feature of anarchism in the United States that while first-generation anarchist immigrants—such as Johann Most, Emma Goldman and their German, Italian and Jewish followers—were primarily skilled workers, the representatives of original American anarchism came from the ranks of the intellectuals. Lysander Spooner, Stephen Pearl Andrews, William B. Greene, Benjamin R. Tucker and Burnette G. Haskell were all lawyers; Josiah Warren was a musician and later an inventor; and Henry David Thoreau was a writer. It is perhaps not by accident that these two social backgrounds simultaneously brought to the surface the two strands of anarchism: the immigrants became the advocates of collectivist anarchism; those born in America the advocates of individualist anarchism—and on more than one occasion this led to conflict between them.[10]


## 1.5. *Artists*

In fin-de-siècle Europe, anarchism found some committed supporters among *artists*. They saw in anarchism a social conception that aided the free development of their individuality and the justification of their non-conformism. Supporters of anarchism among writers included in France Paul Adam, Zo D'Axa, Lucien Descaves, Octave Mirbeau, Jean Richepin, Laurent Tailhade, Bernard Lazare, Paul Valéry, Henri de Régnier, Stéphane Mallarmé, Remy de Gourmont and the Communard and poet Louise Michel;[11] in Germany Eric Muehsam, in Russia Lev Tolstoy and the poet Voline; in Spain (for example) Pio Baroja; and in the Czech lands Franz Kafka and Jaroslav Hašek. Among painters, it is worth noting the names of Camille Pissarro, Pablo Picasso,[12] Lucien Pissarro, Paul Signac, Felix Vallotton, Cavan D'Ache, Vlaminck and Gustave Courbet as anarchist sympathizers or anarchists.[13] Nor may we forget the founders of the Gödöllő artists' colony in Hungary (among them Sándor Nagy and Aladár Körösfői-Kriesch).[14] These artists often not only represented anarchism's social message in their writings and

pictures, but also often consciously sought to popularize it. The social base of anarchism (particularly in France) thus cannot be tied solely to the labor movement: its followers include socially peripheral and déclassé elements, Bohemian artists, traders, intellectuals, petits bourgeois and artisans. (We return later to the detailed analysis of the link between anarchism and art in Hungary.)

Besides anarchism's social roots, we must make reference to the geographical patterns in its emergence. These patterns can, however, be reduced essentially to place in the world economic system and differences in social bases. The anarchism of the developed countries of the center that possessed an artisanal, craft-based industrial structure differed fundamentally from the peasant anarchist movements of the less developed areas on the semi-periphery or periphery of the world economy. The first category traditionally includes such territories as France, Switzerland, northern Italy and Catalonia, while the latter includes Andalusia, southern Italy, Serbia, the Hungarian Great Plain, Russia and South America. In comparison with these areas, anarchism had no significant base in England. London, despite the bustling life of its anarchist clubs, mattered only as a refuge for emigrants[15] from the Netherlands, Germany or Scandinavia. Hungary lay outside the main center of anarchist influence; though anarchist groups were present in the social life of Budapest and the other major towns at the end of the nineteenth—and beginning of the twentieth century, the concepts of anarchism gained genuine mass impact (associated with the agrarian movements) only briefly. We return to the reasons for this later. In what follows, we develop a narrative account the history of anarchism in Hungary.

## 2. RADICAL SOCIALISM AND ANARCHISM (1881–84)

According to police documents and Interior Ministry files, socialism and anarchism were feared movements in turn-of-the-century Hungary. To surpass liberalism's promise of freedom, to create a society of free individuals through the abolition of the privileges of birth and property and the awakening of the oppressed to self-knowledge—the program was present everywhere in the various revolutionary efforts of the time. A common feature of these movements and ide-

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ologies was that in them developed radicalizing, utopian conceptions and movements, which judged the prevailing situation solely from the viewpoint of the goal they sought to attain. Anarchism constituted such a radicalized companion to—and specter of socialism, for its radical critique referred not only to the feudal capitalist state, but to any type of state, not just to bourgeois rule, but to any form of rule, not just to the exploitative character of bourgeois society, but to any social order built on hierarchy and the principle of authority.

But neither the socialism originating in France, nor Bakunin-type anarchism, nor English Chartism or trade unionism left much impression on the emerging Hungarian labor movement of the nineteenth century. A decisive influence was played in the labor movement within the Austro-Hungarian Empire—including Hungary—by the German socialism that emerged in the 1860s.[16] The General Workers' Society [Általános Munkásegylet] founded in 1868 represented simultaneously the professional, self-educating and solidarity-promoting program of the "self-help" societies, and (primarily) the ideas of Ferdinand Lassalle regarding political struggle, the attainment of the franchise and the creation of a "free people's state."[17] The repression of the Paris Commune in 1871 was followed by a reactionary wave in numerous countries; in Hungary too, arrests and the consequences of the 1872 so called Disloyalty Trial reduced the freedom of action of the internationalist Workers' Society.[18]

Under the influence of Károly Farkas and Leó Frankel (the latter of whom returned from France in 1876), however, Marxism—the main goal of which was already the question of founding a party—gained ground in Hungary. By 1880, agreement emerged between the Frankel group, which cooperated with the left wing of the Independence Party [Függetlenségi Párt], and the grouping led by Viktor Külföldi, who emphasized the importance of the economic battle. Out of this agreement was born the social-democratic General Worker's Party of Hungary [Magyarországi Általános Munkáspárt]. In its program may be found socialist economic goals (the transfer of the land and the means of production into social ownership), democratic political demands (universal franchise, secret ballot, freedom of association, assembly and the press, the separation of church and state, etc.) and the goals of worker protection (a ten-hour working day, protection of women and children in the workplace, workers' insurance, help for the disabled, etc.).

2.1. *Radicalism in the Austro-Hungarian Labor Movement*

Despite this program, not long after the foundation of the party, at the start of 1881, the unity of the movement broke down. A left-wing oppositional group appeared within the party, accusing the leadership of opportunism. This opposition described itself as *radical socialist*. "The radicals believed that capitalism could be overturned in the near future through a massive popular uprising and that the working class could be freed in one stroke. They gathered their forces for this great uprising and considered the tactic of moderation to be damaging and futile—even though they did not reject all class-war reformist action."[19] They operated mainly within the shoemakers' society, but their members included numerous tailors and carpenters too.[20]

The appearance of the radicals had not only domestic, but also direct and indirect international aspects. Their activities were influenced above all by the views of Johann Most, who operated in the German and Austrian labor movement and, in the 1880s, lived in London. Most moved from social democracy to anarchism. From 1879, he published in London his famous German-language weekly *Freiheit*, in which he sought to popularize individual terror, direct action and anti-parliamentarism.[21] Both *Freiheit* and the radical journal *Die Zukunft* (published in Vienna) were available in Hungary. Both Bismarck's "exceptional legislation" introduced in Germany in 1878 and the increasingly severe measures brought against the anarchists in Austria drove the labor movements towards polarization and forced ever more workers with revolutionary views to seek work in Hungary. This, of course, had political consequences.

The year 1881, in any case, marked a turning point in the international labor movement. The Anarchist International formed in 1873 by Bakunin failed to fulfil the hopes vested in it: precisely because of its federal principles, it became a loose conglomeration of its member organizations, and its influence declined. The world congress held in Ghent (Belgium) in 1877 was unable to bring unity between the socialists and anarchists, and furthermore led to a split within anarchism. "The labor-movementist" and actionist groups clashed with each other, and at the 1881 London Congress of the "Black International" only the latter—the social-revolutionary radicals—were present. Several months after the assassination of Tsar Alexander II, the congress—on the recommenda-

tion of Kropotkin and with the agreement of Louise Michel, Errico Malatesta, Johann Most and Wilhelm Hasselmann—"proclaimed alongside the spoken and written word the permanent revolution of the dagger, dynamite and the gun."[22]

The period between 1881 and 1894 was for anarchism the period of assassination attempts under the "propaganda by the deed."[23] The switch to personal terror and the acceptance of assassination as a legitimate weapon[24] signalled the movement's decline and the narrowing of its social base. The principles accepted at the London congress were strengthened at the congresses of the Jura Federation in 1882 in Lausanne and in 1883 in Chaux de Fonds. From this time, Johann Most's newspapers began to offer their readers practical advice on how successfully to use such explosives as dynamite and nitroglycerine. "The revolution has no respect for things or people who are connected with the existing system of robbery and murder," wrote Most.[25] They thus argued that any means is just that leads to the outbreak of social revolution. Besides *Freiheit*, another German anarchist newspaper, *Der Rebell*, also actively promoted the "propaganda by the deed," and the Austrian *Die Zukunft* too moved in this direction under the editorship of the radical Josef Peukert. During this period, Austrian anarchists often drew a parallel between political relations in the Austro-Hungarian Empire and those in Russia, and they took the terrorist actions of the Russian radicals as an example for themselves.

In 1882, the robbery and murder of a shoe factory owner by two radicals, Josef Engel and Franz Pfeger, was followed by police reprisals, forceful state control of the radical press and a wave of arrests. Because of the firm police intervention, workers' protests seemed fruitless. Influenced by this, the German-language anarchist groups agreed at their secret meeting held in St. Gallen in August 1883 that the state was an opponent and that they could win victory against it only if they were not too selective in the methods they used against it.[26]

Shortly after this, terrorist actions took place in Strasbourg, Stuttgart and several Swiss towns. On 15 December 1883, the chief constable of the Viennese police was shot, and on 10 January 1884, Heinrich Eisert, a Viennese banker was murdered. In February, Herman Stellmacher murdered a policeman in the same city, and later that month another infamous anarchist long wanted by the police, Anton

Kammerer, was arrested. The police were able to identify and capture both Stellmacher and Kammerer because of their connections with Budapest. Thus, the specter of anarchism had, it seemed, raised its head throughout the territory of the Dual Monarchy.

## 2.2. *Sympathy with Anarchism: The Radical Worker's Party*

In March 1881, the radicals who were organized as an internal opposition within the General Worker's Party of Hungary sent a letter to *Freiheit* in which they attacked the party's parliamentary tactics and opportunistic leaders. From the time of this letter—or, more precisely, from the time of the expulsion of its eleven signatories from the party— the group became independent. Seeking to develop the shoemakers' society and their agitation activities more freely, the group's leaders— the tailor's assistant Ármin Práger and the shoemakers István Heckmann, Lipót Braun and Ágoston Nagy—established an operating committee (referred to in police reports as an executive committee). Following Frankel's arrest in 1881 and his departure from Hungary in 1883, the hostility between the opportunistically inclined Worker's Party leadership (Zsigmond Csillag, Jakab Kürschner, Antal Ihrlinger) and the opposition became still more intense.

In autumn 1881, the opposition founded an illegal party organization, which the police described as a social revolutionary and social anarchist party, and which the specialist literature refers to as a radical party.[27] We will describe them in the terms they used themselves—as a *radical worker's party*.[28] From January 1882, the radicals experimented with publishing German-language party journals (*Der Sozialist*; later *Der Kommunist* and *Volkswille*). The significance of the movement is shown by the fact that *Der Sozialist* had a circulation of five thousand copies, though it is true that some of these were sent to the radicals in Vienna, with whom the group had close links. The operation of these papers was quickly paralyzed by house searches, trials and imprisonments. The police thus sought to bar the extension of the group, which by this stage had already spread to several large towns.

In place of the paralyzed papers, in March 1883, the radicals began what proved to be their most significant initiative—the party newspa-

per entitled *Népakarat* [People's Will]. The character of this paper was determined by its editor, András Szalay, and the editorial committee included, among others, István Heckmann, Árpád Poór, Albin Scheffler and Endre Tóth. *Népakarat* and its German-language sister paper *Radikal* regarded the activities of the anarchist assassins sympathetically and wrote about the Russian nihilists, the terrorist group *Narodnaia Volia* (People's Will) and the peasant movements. They did much to maintain the memory of the Paris Commune of 1871, and they supported strikes and wage disputes.[29]

The radical socialists expressed themselves in terms of class categories, and their rhetoric was shrill and heated. It was their primary goal to fight a social revolution. They rejected the tactics of social democracy, the parliamentary fight of the working class and the reform of capitalism. Their revolutionary tone is clear in the following excerpt from a leader in *Népakarat*: "Our program in short: the toppling of the existing class system at any cost and its replacement with a system of popular rule reflecting the demands of the people."[30]
The radicals organized combative demonstrations, and they propagated their revolutionary principles at heated gatherings—where on more than one occasion fighting broke out between the radicals and the moderate party members present. They were antimilitarist and antiwar, and, on materialist grounds, fiercely anticlerical; they attacked above all the "demagogic" character of church education. As internationalists (at this time the phrases "proletarian internationalism" and "friendly assistance" signified the personal help given to the radicals expelled from Vienna under the exceptional legislation of 1884) they expected and organized international revolution. In the execution of revolution, they considered the use of arms—and in advance of revolution the perpetration of smaller armed actions—to be permissible.

We can clearly see on the pages of *Népakarat* a steady multiplication of anarchist expressions and theoretical analyses. Within the radical movement, several visions of postrevolutionary society emerged, including one seeking a socialist ruling system and another advocating anarchist statelessness. An example of the latter is provided by the following quotation: "the welfare and complete happiness of the people can never be achieved so long as the people are constrained within the limits of a state system, even if that state is named a 'people's state.'"[31]

Some of the radical socialists turned decidedly in the anarchist direction, while others rejected the principle of a self-directing society without state or rule. But all agreed upon the legitimacy of the use of arms. They argued that, after the fruitless experimentation with parliamentarism, justice for the dispossessed could be won not by legal means but only through armed struggle. Their determination is evident from the following: "the people have confronted the tyrant and fight tirelessly with astonishing steadfastness; they fight equally with the pen, the dagger, dynamite, the bomb—we see this throughout the world."[32] *Népakarat* also reported on new developments in chemistry—in order to help the production of homemade bombs.

## 2.3. *The Fall of the Radical Opposition*

The Hungarian government followed the radicals' activities with continuous observation, tracking, house searches, confiscation of newspapers, and press and political trials. The anarchists' answer: if those who exercise their freedom of speech and assembly are illegally taken away, and "if the state does not adhere to the law, why should the people?"[33] Revenge—the answering of state terror with terror—was an important component of their ideology: the means employed were thus sanctioned by the oppression of the other side, by the violence of the state. If the government placed its representatives outside the law, and thereby subjected the people "to the drunken whimsy of the first mangy night-watchman,...how could it be a crime for someone to answer by doing away with a criminal political dog-catcher."[34]

Anarchism thus first appeared in Hungary in the radical socialist movement. Their ideology may be summed up thus: "against tyranny all means are legitimate"; "only violence can fight violence"; armed actions are the harbingers of social revolution.

The leadership of the General Worker's Party, which chose the path of legality, refused to consider reconciliation with this internal opposition. In their newspaper *Népszava* [Voice of the People] they openly named the radicals anarchists and braggarts. From January 1884, police monitoring gradually intensified. Following several assassinations committed on Austrian soil, exceptional legislation was introduced in Aus-

tria on 30 January. This law banned all radical gatherings and declared illegal all radical organizations. The publication of anarchist newspapers was stopped, around five hundred radicals were expelled from Vienna, and several hundred of their comrades were taken into custody.

Those who were lucky enough to be able to leave escaped to Hungary, Switzerland, the Czech lands, France, England or the United States. A ministerial decree ruled that anarchist crimes should be judged in special courts. It was not long before reprisals began in Hungary. On 27 February, the Hungarian minister of internal affairs issued a decree giving the chief of police in Budapest the power to expel from the city the foreign workers forced out of Austria and the Hungarian workers who participated in "anarchist and socialist machinations." Following waves of arrests on the night of 13 to 14, and 31 March, almost one hundred resident workers in Hungary were expelled from Budapest. András Szalay, who was arrested while seriously ill, died in the prison hospital on 2 May. His funeral became a radical demonstation and his grave in the Kerepesi Cemetery in Budapest was for years a place of pilgrimage for radical socialists.

A renewed wave of house searches and arrests finally swept away those who remained free in April 1884. The arrests of the movement leaders and the newspaper editors and distributors were followed by months or years of imprisonment. Because of infringements of the press law, the funds of the party newspapers too were seized, and so these papers had to cease publication in the summer of 1884. In Austria, Stellmacher and Kammerer were executed and the remains of the radical movement were infiltrated with numerous police agents. In Hungary, the government of Kálmán Tisza had through several hundred arrests completed the radical destruction of the radical movement. We know of only one Hungarian shoemaker, Károly Halbedl, who, after leaving Hungary, settled in Switzerland and established a bomb-making laboratory.[35]

"The radicals lost the battle; it was not the mother party that defeated them, but the class state."[36] From this time, the bourgeois press equated anarchism with terrorism and crime and regarded every anarchist as a maniac and a criminal. We may note here too that from 1901, following the assassination of the American president by an anarchist, anarchists were forbidden by law from entering the United States.

Thus, in its final consequences, the "propaganda by the deed" did much harm to the international anarchist movement—it ruined rising movements in several countries and it sent many leaders into the arms of the police. The radicals who remained in Hungary withdrew to the shoemakers' society, and at the end of the 1880s, many joined the internal party opposition centered around Pál Engelmann.

Though the preventive intervention of the Dual Monarchy police ensured that the Hungarian radicals could not be remembered for violent actions, anarchism became a decidely pejorative concept even in Hungary. But the fact that the Hungarian radicals proclaimed the "propaganda by the deed" only in words does not imply that their movement was insignificant. One historian of anarchism, George Woodcock, states that "for a brief period from 1880 to 1884 the Austro-Hungarian labor movement was probably more strongly impregnated with anarchist influences than any other in Europe outside Spain and Italy."[37]

### 3. AGRARIAN SOCIALISM AND IDEAL ANARCHISM (1894–1916)

#### 3.1. *The Agrarian Movement: Socialism and Messianism*

> Dear Comrades! We cannot break this system, we cannot end the misery and destitution in which we have been kept through the cruel administration of justice, except through the idea of Christ our saviour. Christ said in his gospel: be one, love one another, for thus may you end your bondage. Thus, like children around their father, we should organize with one heart and one soul beneath Christ's idea: beneath the flag of socialism. For this is the most necessary road to the kingdom of equality and fraternity.[38]

The social movements of the 1890s were decisively influenced by changes that occurred at the start of that decade. In 1890, the Social Democratic Party of Hungary [Magyarországi Szociáldemokrata Párt, MSZDP] was formed as a successor to the General Worker's Party of Hungary, signalling a further breakthrough for socialist ideas. At the

same time, an independent agrarian movement began to emerge on a European scale.

Socialist ideology carried an exceptionally clear image of its opponent—the mythologized concept of capital—and an image of the future that it presented as rigid certainty. It was characteristic of it that, in an impulsive world, it alone should emerge as a scientific discipline; but it was characteristic too that, under the influence of the social environment, it should be fetishized, becoming a system of quasi-religious dogmas and symbols.

From the viewpoint of the history of ideas, socialism adopted the timeless final goal of liberal utopia, to be achieved only through the endless process of human development, and tied it to a foreseeable time and event: the overthrow of capitalism. It thus took the unattainable goal that glistened beyond the measurable boundaries of human action and placed it just a generation away. At the same time, it made the fulfilment of the idea a function of the intensity of the effort taken to fulfil it, thus conceiving it as the product of human action. It thus harnessed the experience of results and the expectation fostered by the utopian doctrines and the intuitive revolutionary people's movements for redemption "here and now," and built them into the long but finite struggle for the final goal, for a just society, for the perfect man.[39] In utopian consciousness, the experience of history as a strategic plan (socialism) and the absolute contemporaneity of the experience of expecting redemption (messianism) coincided and mixed with one another.[40]

The strengthening of the agrarian socialist movement signified both the subpolitical existence of the mass of the peasant population and the awakening of the peasantry's political consciousness. The first wave of organization emerged in the early 1890s on the Great Plain, above all in the southestern corner of it, the Viharsarok. The Reformation tradition, the practice of popular biblical exegesis and the rapid spread of communist sects and later workers' circles made this region fertile ground for socialist and anarchist ideas. In the words of one contemporary analyst, "in the mass phenomenon of agrarian socialism,…the large majority is imbued with religious elements."[41] Because of the centuries-old tie to the land, the ignorance and the apathetic negligence that Lajos Leopold described, mistakes could continue in the

judgement of political events, and the religious attitude of the "collective soul" and the ancient rituals could survive as if they were forms of socialization that derived from nature. In egalitarian-chiliastic consciousness, the boundaries between the possible and the impossible blur; realization and utopia, symbolic and real action can become identical. "In such circumstances, superhuman people, prophets, miracles and visions can easily appear."[42] The decline in the conditions of life can appear as a "natural curse" against which protest is fatalistic and irrationally exploded. Among the decorations at meetings could be found both red drapery and the crucifix — alongside Marx and Lassalle, the image of Christ. Among the old forms, the accustomed, ingrained exteriors, new thinking exerted a powerful influence. A good example is the "modernized" supplication, the so-called "Socialist Lord's Prayer," used by Várkonyi's party as the credo of the secularized religion:

Our Father, who should be president,
Hallowed be thy person by thy honour and devotion to the people;
Socialism, thy kingdom come, to us, as to all the world;
People, may your search for bread be eased by the lessening of the burden of taxation;
Oh, people, deliver yourselves from the collective repression of human rights,
But forgive not the tresspasses of the tyrants,
For they justly deserve the punishment they have brought upon themselves by their suppression of rights and equality;
Money, lead none of us into temptation,
As for you many have denied their principles and served as bondslaves alongside the oppressors of the people;
May the world of science enlighten our minds for the accomplishment of this sacred task.
Amen.[43]

The radical egalitarian movements can be compared to ancient messianistic sects and to the popular heretics of the Middle Ages, but they were tied most directly to the chiliastic movements that believed in the coming of Christ's thousand-year empire. "The chiliastic or millenarian movements, referring originally to the prophecies of St. John,

believed and preached that, following the defeat and exclusion of Satan, Christ would personally rule on Earth, together with his saints, professed believers and martyrs, for one thousand years. Today, the term is used more broadly, referring to those messianic popular movements that *proclaim immediate*, *complete and collective redemption*."[44] (Italics added.)

At the same time as sketching the features of popular religion, we must note several hard facts about the economic situation of the peasantry. In consequence of Hungary's unequal land distribution,

> around half a million peasant families occupied only half the land, and six hundred thousand dwarf-holders occupied just six per cent. Further, one third of the wage-earning population—some three million people, were landless agrarian proletarians, who, lacking work, lived for half the year in penury and in practice found work only in summer at harvest time. The peasantry's lack of land and the agricultural workers' latent unemployment brought particular pressure at the end of the century, when Hungarian agriculture was hit by the European agricultural crisis, pushing down prices and wages and devaluing the conditions of land tenure and harvest.[45]

The combination of the flagrant inequalities of ownership, the new problems of survival and the chiliastic belief system offered fertile ground for the founding of the agrarian socialist movement.

The peasant movement began in southern Hungary, in the counties of Békés, Csongrád and Csanád, but by the second half of the 1890s, its center of gravity had shifted north to the Upper Tisza region and the counties of Szabolcs, Zemplén and Ung. The initial centers of organization were in Orosháza, Békéscsaba and Hódmezõvásárhely, and the demands concerned the improvement of working conditions, wage increases, an increase in the share of revenues going to the harvester, the ending of the corvée and the tithe, and the reduction of the defenselessness of the workers. The communist goal of establishing land communes and the egalitarian goal of enforcing land distribution that were represented by János Szántó Kovács, peasant leader, and his colleagues both appeared in the agrarian program. Besides opposition to the gentry and to the church, in places, mainly in Szabolcs, anti-Semitism also appeared.[46]

But the agrarian-socialist ideology influenced by chiliastic elements could not have crystalized into a new movement and later an agrarian party on the basis solely of the existence and growth of problems of survival. For this, a third factor was also required: the redrafting of the party-political landscape.

In the mid-1890s, the MSZDP offered no institutional alternative and no means of expression for the dissatisfaction of the agricultural workers. The party did not address and could not integrate the wishes of the peasant community—which, precisely through the influence of the spreading labor movement, were already expressed using socialist concepts. It could give rhetoric and class-war symbols to the articulation of the peasants' dissatisfaction, but it could not offer them effective institutional interest representation. This part of the political map remained devoid of institutions—and it was into this space that the agrarian movement, with its chiliastic imagery, burst forth.

The formation of the radical agrarian movement can thus be attributed to the combination of three factors. The *cultural* influence of the socialist ideology imbued with chiliastic popular religiosity coincided with two *structural* factors: with the pressure generated by the huge inequalities of wealth and land ownership and the growing difficulties of survival; and with the character of the Hungarian party system and the lack of representation in that system for the agrarian Great Plain. In what follows we analyze the last of these factors in greater detail.

From the time of the party's foundation, the MSZDP's agricultural policy was ambivalent, and it remained thus throughout the 1890s. The agrarian question was a dividing line that created opposing factions within the party. It further intensified the basic split that already existed in the party between *radical, class-war-oriented* and *moderate*, *reformist* elements.

Pál Engelman, who led the party from 1890, pressed for cooperation with the peasants. By contrast, the opposition wing within the party argued that the time for concentrated village agitation had not yet come and that the MSZDP's policies had to reflect what was possible. The party's opposition wing, which chose the moderate path, suceeded in 1892 in removing Engelman from the leadership, but lasting contradictions remained.

In 1894, the party held its third congress. Barely a month before the congress, the government suppressed the Hódmezővásárhely agrarian

movement led by János Szántó Kovács, and in April 1894 Szántó
Kovács and his comrades were arrested.

"The discord between the two groups appeared to be smoothed
over at the party's third, unifying congress in 1894, but in reality it con-
tinued in the following years too."[47] Even though both radicals and
moderates were elected to the party's leadership, the public mood
favored the former, and Ignác Silberberg, representing the radical class-
war strand, became the head of the party. Silberberg returned home at
this time from Austria and, underestimating the significance of the
countryside, wanted to rely primarily upon the workers of Budapest.

The resolution on agriculture that was adopted at the congress did
not mention land distribution, and instead advocated large-scale produc-
tion and public ownership of the land and the means of production. The
social democrats considered both small and medium land holders, as
well as agricultural workers, to be the agrarian proletariat of the near
future, and they thus did nothing against their impoverishment. The
MSZDP leadership's indifference to the possible solution of the agrari-
an question strengthened markedly the distrust of the peasantry towards
social democracy. A significant portion of the peasantry sought new
political channels for the expression and realization of their interests.

### 3.2. *István Várkonyi and the Independent Social Democratic Movement*

Because of this program, the labor movement reached another
crossroads in the second half of 1895. The earlier moderate opposition
and the reformists (among them Kürschner, Csillag, Adolf Kiss, Jenő
Matos and Samu Jászai) strengthened vis-à-vis Silberberg's doctrinaire
class-war faction. The former lay great stress upon winning over the
rural workers' societies, and this brought them indisputable success in
the Great Plain. It was here that István Várkonyi (1852–1918), who had
been a party member since 1889, first emerged as a leading figure.
Through the journal *Népakarat* (which the faction revived) and through
his agitation activities in the town of Cegléd, he gained ever greater
recognition and influence within the agricultural workers' movement.
Várkonyi was born into the family of an agricultural worker, but
through his successful business activities he rapidly gained in wealth

and he began to engage in self-study. By his own means, he passed the comprehensive exams, and later studied law and languages (German and French).

His views formed a particular blend of anarchism, Russian populism (narodnikism)[48] and socialism. His knowledge of the social sciences extended to the work, among others, of Marx, Lassalle, Rousseau and Proudhon. Proudhon's principles of social organization particularly captivated him, and from this point of view he regarded the building of the Paris Commune as particularly worthy of attention. He also studied carefully the Swiss Republic, which he considered to have the most democratic system of any country. "The socialist social order can be beneficial for mankind only if each town or each district forms a little republic, and each produces collectively and attends to its destiny independently, but in alliance with other towns or districts, in order that internationalism may be maintained."[49] He argued that, in place of state socialism resting on central power, the construction of a *self-directing society* was required, based on an alliance of productive associations. The lowest level would comprise unionized groups of agricultural workers; these would then form workers' alliances at the town or district level and federal councils at the national level. A people's alliance would stand at the head of the federation, replacing the state.

Várkonyi's Proudhonist federalism brought him into conflict with the state-based socialism of the MSZDP leadership, but their real conflict arose not out of this theoretical question, but from practical differences of opinion over agricultural policy. Várkonyi initially offered a moderate program, proclaiming the importance of up-bringing, the solution of the wages question, and the primacy of the economic struggle. His personal bearing and charismatic personality made him instantly popular on the Great Plain. But at the MSZDP's fourth congress in 1896 it became apparent that in this he had gone too far—for the moderates in the party leadership, his victory was merely a tactical question, allowing them to utilize his nimbus for the success of their own policies. They supported him only for so long as they felt that he strengthened their platform—though as the factions again moved closer to one another this was in fact unnecessary.

What were Várkonyi's "heretical" views? The proclamation of a movement of specialist associations, the encouragement of wider rural

organization, the idea of creating trade unions for independent agricul-
tural workers, the concept of the radically progressive tax system that
made enrichment impossible, and the program of "land distribution."
By land distribution, he understood a transitional solution of dividing
up and leasing out the land; he thus did not mean ownership of the land
by the peasants, for he too maintained the socialist demand for com-
munal ownership as the final goal. These views gained publicity in the
journal *Földmívelő* [Agricultural Worker], which Várkonyi published
from August 1896. They were supplemented by the more moderate
viewpoints of the editor, Sándor Csizmadia, who emphasized the
improvement of the position of agricultural workers, the fight for civil
democratic rights, and the necessity of peaceful, steady progress.

The Social Democratic Party distanced itself from *Földmívelő* and,
to counteract its influence, founded the *Földmívelők Szaklapja* [Agri-
cultural Workers' Trade Journal], which represented the party's official
point of view. The party's goal was to isolate Várkonyi and regain the
agrarian masses that he had won over. They did succeed in winning
over Sándor Csizmadia, but the lower peasantry of the Great Plain con-
tinued to support Várkonyi, whose agrarian radicalism and principles
(listed above) were attractive not only to the landless but also to those
agricultural workers who possessed a small amount of property. In
December 1896, at an agricultural workers' meeting held in Óbecse,
they decided to create an independent trade union movement and to call
a congress of agricultural workers. The trade-union movement, based
upon associations, trade unions and land workers' alliances offered the
agricultural workers with an alternative to the Social Democratic Party.
The central organ became the secretariat, based in Budapest and head-
ed by Ferenc Csuzdi, who also took over the editorship of *Földmívelő*
from the "traitor" Csizmadia.

At the start of the following year, two agricultural workers' con-
gresses took place almost simultaneously, effectively sealing the split
of the agrarian socialist movement (and later of the Social Democratic
Party). In January 1897, the party leadership held an agricultural work-
ers' congress in Budapest, which did not want to hear of the restoration
of party unity and which denounced the activities of Várkonyi, but
which hardly any agricultural workers attended. In February,
Várkonyi's group called a second congress in Cegléd, where, with a

much greater peasant presence, the delegates withdrew their confidence from the party leadership and determined that the movement would henceforth operate under the name "Independent Social Democracy." The congress expressed its support for the protection of the interests of the smallholder peasants, demanded that the large estates be leased out, and accepted a harvest program that was to become a condition for the success of the harvesters' strike the following summer.[50] At this time, the movement's journal, *Földmívelő*, had around four thousand subscribers, which, considering that each copy was passed from person to person and the newspaper was read out also in reading circles, meant that the paper had around thirty to forty thousand regular readers.[51]

In June 1897, the fifth congress of the MSZDP formally expelled Várkonyi from the party. Only one answer remained for the "independent social democrats": to found a new party.

The founding congress gathered in Cegléd in September. The movement was at its peak: it inflamed whole counties, thrilled agrarian masses and led a harvest strike that shook the entire country. It had "apostles," it had a "prophet" (Várkonyi); all it lacked was an ideologist. But not for long, for at the 1897 congress, an "ideal anarchist" philosopher—a reserved man, but a man who had always in his soul expected the coming of the true movement—took the stage and gave an influential speech. This was Jenő Henrik Schmitt.

### 3.3. *Jenő Henrik Schmitt: A Path to Ideal Anarchism*

For a time, Jenő Henrik Schmitt was the standard-bearer of anarchism in Hungary. He was an original and important thinker, whose Hungarian- and German-language philosophical works were linked to efforts to establish a movement of religious character.

Schmitt was born on 5 November 1851 in the Moravian town of Znaim (Znojmo, in today's Czech Republic). He attended primary and secondary school in Zombor (Sombor, today in Serbia), and he completed his schooling in Budapest. Following the early death of his father, his family encountered financial difficulties, and so, having passed the school leaving exam privately in Szabadka (Subotica, now

in Serbia) in 1870, he was unable to continue his formal studies. He became a clerk at the County Court in Zombor.

Pursuing his studies individually, he read the works of Büchner, Feuerbach, Kant, and Hegel, and his interest later turned to social questions. He became acquainted with the works of, among others, Marx, Engels, Bakunin, Kropotkin, Stirner, Comte, and Dühring, he published articles in the Zurich-based *Die Neue Gesellschaft* and the London-based *Freiheit*, and he joined the work of the *Magyar Philosophiai Szemle* [Hungarian Philosophical Review], which was founded in 1882.

In 1887, after several smaller endeavors concerning aesthetic and philosophical topics, his study of Hegel[52] won the international Hegel competition of the Berlin Philosophy Society. This success, besides securing for him the attention of leading authorities and the Minister of Education Ágost Trefort, won him a state scholarship. He continued his studies in 1888 in the humanities faculty in Budapest and from 1889—as a doctor of philosophy—in Berlin, publishing writings on Fichte, Schopenhauer and Hegel. His work in this early period was *sensualist*: he saw the source of knowledge as sensation and the senses, and (like the later Mach) he examined the operation of the mind as the composite phenomenon of the sensory functions. But from this point of view the problem of thought capable of comprehending infinity proved insoluble. Because he did not see the universal character of thought as merely a biological function of the brain, he changed his viewpoint fundamentally.

The second defining period of his work, based on Gnosticism, began after a two-year break with the publication of a book about Christ, *Christ's Divinity in the Mind of Modern Man*.[53] In this book, Schmitt proclaimed the common essence and universal truth of the religions and philosophies. The differentiating mark and the essence of man was his *Geist*, which originated in God and which was eternal, infinite and knowable. God was the unifying love: "you must not regard your person as a distinct being; each person should regard himself in the same way, as a ray of God's love."[54] God was not an extraordinary being, a superhuman commanding power, but the knowable possibility concealed within everyone.

It is Christ who recognizes this universal being of man. To believe in him is none other than to be one with him and to recognize the divine character of man. Religion is thus not a belief in an external absolute;

rather, it must be an internal consciousness of this person. Its task is not to be trapped in scholarly learning, but to provide the bases for self-knowledge and for living life. Schmitt's philosophy thus becomes a religion of knowledge, and he himself describes it as a religion.

This religion initiates a war on two fronts against those who make the deepening of man's self-knowledge harder: against the historical churches and against materialism. Church theology accepts literally the symbolic gospel stories referring to the inner path and transforms them into dogmas. This "pictorial view" results in an external belief and obscures the divine form within everyone. The Satanic Catholic church frightens its believers with eternal damnation, depicts a punitive, omnipotent God, and postulates a subservient relationship between God and man. The profits of this lie are pocketed by the priests and tyrants who act in the name of God and who realize the basic relationship of subordination within this unequal structure of thought.

In his book and his articles, Schmitt also attacked the materialists. They identified the mortal organism with the immortal divine spirit who could cross the boundaries of time and space, the person with the material being, and they treated the New Testament as an issue of history alone. For Schmitt, however, Jesus Christ was not just a historical individual, but was the first person who conceived the totality of God and who beheld him in person. Christ was an eternal spiritual figure, the symbol of the path of self-recognition.

In his biblical exegesis, Schmitt renewed the spirit of the millennium-old Gnostic tradition.[55] Following the simultaneous publication of *Christ's Divinity in the Mind of Modern Man* in both Hungarian and German, he received numerous letters from philosophers, priests, rabbis, writers and artists from all parts of the world. In the course of his correspondence with them, the demand emerged for the formation of an organization under the name of the "International Alliance of the Religion des Geistes."

This book gave its author wide recognition among intellectual circles in Hungary, and made him the bête noire of the church. In 1894, he published a book by his late friend, the titular canon István Rónay, entitled *A természetes kereszténység* [Natural Christianity], and he later published many writings in the high quality journal of the early progressives, *Az Élet* [Life]—among them "The Catechism of the Religion des Geistes."[56]

All of this is linked closely to the prehistory of Schmitt's anarchism. While his book on Christ drew the outline of his Gnostic philosophy, "The Catechism of the Religion des Geistes" gave—in fifty-seven questions and answers—the foundation of the worldly ideology of anarchism that he derived from this. According to this, the Religion des Geistes fights against the world of selfishness and rule; its goal was to make the worldly picture of society correspond to the divine spirit and to extend fraternal relations universally. The "Catechism" attacked external authorities and dogmas both in religious and in social life.

Meanwhile, Schmitt's international activities saw no decline: in 1894 in Jena, he founded a periodical entitled *Die Religion des Geistes*. Among those working on the paper was Leo Tolstoy, who published numerous writings in it.

Tolstoy's connection with Schmitt was—as can be seen from their lengthy correspondence—productive, and their personal relations were characterized by mutual respect. They recognized each other as equals, and they had a mutual influence upon one another. According to Schmitt's biographer, József Migray, Schmitt's influence was a turning point in Tolstoy's career;[57] today, we would postulate an influence that was mutual but on neither side fundamental.[58] They shared their turn towards Christ, they shared their emphasis upon nonviolence, and they shared the final goal of a terrestrial society without rule. Finally, they held it in common that they both found the feeding ground for their ideas in the peasantry. Schmitt formulated the theoretical difference between Tolstoy's primitive Christianity and his own Gnosticism most precisely in a letter to Ervin Szabó: "In practical terms I stand very close to Leo Tolstoy, except that L. T.'s worldview is primitive Christian and he regards the individual only as a part of the divine or the universe, while I proclaim the doctrine of the divine majesty and universality of the individual, and I see salvation not in humility and penitence but in the awakening of self-knowledge."[59]

According to Schmitt's article in *Die Religion des Geistes*, the Geist was a cosmic function, while the society that fitted to the divine sovereignty of man was an organization without rule. The adequate contemporary form of the tradition of Christ was opposition to brutish violence and to the exploitative state that repressed the essence of man. The elements of anarchist thought slowly emerge in Schmitt's writings

in harmony with biblical rhetoric. The desire to hold the ruling class to account also emerges: he draws before his court the politicians and the bourgeois, exposing the cruel and dehumanizing character of their hobbies (hunting) and their fashions (exotic fashion items that can be obtained only by risking human life).

During all of this, Schmitt worked as a civil servant—as the librarian of the Ministry of Justice—in Budapest, where he had moved in the early 1890s after completing his studies. The German authorities did not, however, look favorably upon his expanding activities in Germany, and when the Berlin-based journal *Der Sozialist* carried his article "The Religion of Anarchism,"[60] the attorney's office initiated a libel case against the publishers. Though the charges were later dropped, the case was pursued at the diplomatic level. The German government informed its Hungarian counterpart that a ministerial employee was engaged in activities unfavorable to it. The minister of justice then warned Schmitt: if he continued with his activities, he would be dismissed from his post. Schmitt answered this blackmail with a masterly stroke: he published an open letter in the press in which he resigned from his job. The case became an internationally famous example of disregard for the freedom of conscience. Tolstoy wrote a favorable analysis of the case and of Schmitt's answer in *Die Religion des Geistes*.[61]

Following the libel trials and his dismissal, Schmitt turned all his energies to the organization of the movement. He began to popularize his principles widely. On 1 January 1897 he established a bilingual twin weekly journal in Budapest, the Hungarian edition called *Állam Nélkül* [Without a State], the German *Ohne Staat*. In this paper, the emphasis shifted from the theory of the Religion des Geistes towards its practical realization: *ideal anarchism*.

### 3.4. *Ideal Anarchism*

Schmitt—just as Saint Augustine—saw the difference between the state and a criminal gang only as a matter of scale. Every state is defined as state terror based on armed violence. The essence of the state is legally organized theft and the concealment thereof. The state is the source of all social injustices, an alliance of the powerful that subju-

gates and exploits the masses. Its basis, the law, publicly sanctions state violence. The existence of the state and the legal system that underpins it is a crime, for it is based upon armed violence, and every act of violence committed by man against his fellow man is a criminal act. The state, this mass criminal act, falls under moral judgement. This judgement applies to every power organization based on the principle of authority. In Schmitt's view, these organizations could offer only false pretexts—the pretext of collective order or the common good—in justification of their operation.

It is the task of the ideal anarchist to expose and morally to crush this massive criminal act. The basis of power is organized violence, and so the anarchist must fight against every power and the way of thinking that makes it possible. The social order appropriate to man—anarchy—is a society of free association without violence. Ideal anarchism fights not only against governments, not only against systems, but against a whole era—the era of the worldview that accepts legal violence as a basic concept. This battle sees the clash of two worlds: the old world, the world of *animal-man*, based upon violence, rule, subjection, crime and mendacity, and the new world free of violence, the world of *God-man* (a concept Schmitt borrows from Nietzsche). The anarchists want to create a new culture that, following the closure of the era of the barbarian "Animal State," expresses the essence of man: moral self-knowledge. Since the worldview forms its world, the revolution of thinking and the introduction of new concepts offers the possibility of creating a new world in social life. Thus, according to Schmitt's culture-critical theory, worldview change is the motive force for historical development.

What must be done to transfer the concept of anarchy from the scholarly realm to history? Of what does anarchism's world-forming worldview consist? Schmitt presupposed that the social and economic revolution must be preceded by a *worldview revolution*. This could not, however, be organized on a materialist basis, for materialism conditions people to be concerned only for their own material welfare, to be the puppets of the struggle for survival, to be capable at most of gathering for their own selfish ends in combat-ready, violent interest groups. The worldview must therefore be transformed on a religious basis—on the basis of the ideas of Christ liberated from theology, dogma and the prin-

ciple of authority. "Only free religion can create a free society."[62] The organizations of the free religion, the Religion des Geistes, are *non-denominational fraternal communities*. The members of these embryos of the anarchist society collect unemployment benefit and organize collective land rental and consumption cooperatives. The basis of their economic union is the religious, fraternal community, which "sees in a brother a life coming from its own life."

In Schmitt's view, all previous revolutions had been demagogic, for they demanded law, and law is always a cover for violence. The revolutionaries always accepted the state and rule in some form, and "thus did not awaken to their own human dignity"; they remained subjects of these forms of authority. Even when revolution succeeded, the revolutionary masses remained subjugated; at most, they exchanged their masters and their chains for new ones. In place of this, ideal anarchism prepares for the final battle; its revolution—like its basic concept, the divine sovereignty of all—promises to be unparalleled. The non-denominational fraternal communities were the first cells of the revolution that would fundamentally change the relationship between servitude and freedom.

What were the instruments of this revolution? According to the ideal anarchists, they held "an incomparably more fearful weapon… against the state-beast" than the iron weapons of the barricade. Schmitt knew of the revolutionary activities of the anarchists in the 1880s, but he regarded their final goal (a society without rule or violence) to be incompatible with the instruments of violence. He saw the appropriate means as complete nonviolence, and moral opposition to and condemnation of the wishes of kings, priests, soldiers, party bosses and officials. The authorities would be powerless over the long term against mass moral self-liberation. "In no way will we serve their goals further," declared Schmitt. An important instrument of nonviolent opposition was the refusal to take the state or military oath and the refusal to serve in the state or the army. Ideal anarchism was also antimilitarist and antiwar.

It follows directly from Schmitt's conception of law quoted above, that the goal of every power structure and every legal order is exploitation and that its instrument is violence—that he should have criticized social democracy—for it too wanted to create a new legal order. Schmitt

called the social democrats the "braggarts of people's law" who lured the people with the promise of another system but who would ultimately create new masters, new chains and new state forms. He saw the source of political careerism and of material covetousness in the basis of the social democratic worldview, in "the morally simply lamentable character" of materialism. A worldview, he argued, creates its own world as a self-fulfilling prophecy; if materialist agitators who emphasize selfishness, class war and the struggle for existence disseminate a materialism that demoralizes individuals, society, including the agitators, will become a herd of selfish individuals, and "they will use this herd as a herd." Their instrument is the external precept of the revolution: the new state.

Ideal anarchists—like all anarchists—feared in advance the creation of the socialist state. They expected from it both mediocrity and spiritual depravation. They predicted "Egyptian slavery": unparalleled state centralization, police terror, the ending of free elections and economic dictatorship. They deduced all of this from the authority-based, centralized construction of the party.

Against this, Schmitt proposed fundamental revolution, a new founding principle and a new organizational form for the agrarian movement of the Great Plain. Before describing this in detail, however, we should mention the language in which he presented his ideas. Ideal anarchism is closely linked with the tradition of Christian messianism. The goal is anarchy, a society of institutions without rule, a society of free cooperation; in Schmitt's formulation this is "the Kingdom of Heaven, which awakes deep in the soul of the people and which will recast the world, transforming it into a Garden of Eden, the home of love and freedom; this is the heavenly Jerusalem told of in the Revelation of St John."[63] Schmitt and his colleagues often referred to John and Mark and quoted from the Bible, deriving the principles of ideal anarchism from Christ's teachings. The final source for their opposition to violence and the state was the New Testament, and their intention was to realize the principles of the first anarchist, Christ. Their moral verdict on the state framed their system of thinking, and referring alone to their conscience, they placed themselves outside the law. Experiencing the denigration of Christ in their own persecution, they rejected the validity of the judgement passed on them by the organs of power. They

replied to the series of charges laid against them by the state by laying their own moral charges against the state.

All of this was a logical continuation of the philosophical path that Schmitt had set foot on with the publication of his Gnostic book on Christ in 1892 and that had led on to "The Catechism of the Religion des Geistes" and to his first attempt at building a movement, the journal *Die Religion des Geistes*. Thus was the vehemently antisocial-democratic, anticlerical Gnostic philosopher, who publicly resigned from his state position, who had a messianic calling and a charismatic force, who used the rhetoric of the Bible, who established the newspaper *Állam Nélkül* in Budapest and who pressed for broad, nonviolent organization; an ideologist, who awaited the birth of a movement.

### 3.5. *Schmitt and the Independent Socialist Party*

Várkonyi's independent social democratic movement would have become a significant mass force even without Schmitt. Nor would it have detracted from the value of Schmitt's philosophy had his theses not been popularized in the form of newspaper articles. From his faith, from his belief in the divine character of *all*, however, stemmed the mass demand for new forms of social life. In the atmosphere of messianistic socialism, certain strata—mainly from the lower peasantry—accepted his views; as a result of their meetings, wide social groups made his antistate principles their own. Anarchist demands made their way into the program of the Várkonyi movement, and there emerged the so-called peasant-Gnostic religious orientation, which retained followers in Hungary as late as the 1960s.[64]

Thus, in 1897, Schmitt travelled to Cegléd to the party-founding congress of the Várkonyi movement. In his speech, he sketched the framework of a new type of socialist movement opposed to social democracy. In place of the centralized party, this would take the form of an alliance of independent party organizations. The word "independent" in "independent social democracy" had until then signified only independence from the MSZDP. But Schmitt reinterpreted it: he saw it as signifying *organizational freedom*, for the base-level organizations would not have to accept any binding program. This structure "does not

tolerate a central leadership whose commands the local groups would have to bow to blindly. No decision should prevail but that which is accepted by the groups collectively through free decision on the basis of their own judgement. The party organization should not develop a new nursery of servility under the name of party discipline."[65]

He recommended further that the word "democratic" be left out of the new party's name—for democracy too is a form of popular deception and signifies statehood, a legal system and, as a consequence, the tyranny of the majority (or a hidden minority). Following his arguments, the party was founded as the Independent Socialist Party [Független Szocialista Párt]. The word "socialist" signified rejection of private ownership—though the party's reasons for rejecting private ownership differed from those of the social democrats. In Schmitt's view, the independent socialists rejected directly the system of law and violence, which, in the case of the private ownership of land and agricultural wage labor, allowed one person to own more land than he could himself tend. In this system of ideas, the rejection of the legal system and the system of violence underpinning it came first, and from it derived the opposition to private ownership. Socialism thus emerged as a consequence of anarchy.

Under Schmitt's influence, the *Elvi Nyilatkozat* [Statement of Principles] accepted at the Cegléd conference included numerous anarchist principles. Article 7 of the "Statement" referred explicitly, among the party's aims, to the abolition of the state. It asserted that the party "regards the state as the wellspring of all that is bad and thus aims that as soon as possible the people shall reject taxation and the supply of manpower and that violence cast in legal form and exercised in the name of order shall cease."[66] The views of Schmitt and Várkonyi clashed over the question of nonviolence—while Várkonyi agreed with the anarchist methods of social organization in other respects, he could not accept this. Regarding the land question, the party adopted the Várkonyi's proposals described above, according to which, in place of the extremes of collectivization and land distribution, the land would have to be rented out in smallholdings.

From late of 1897 onwards, the Bánffy government never shrank from using terroristic means to push back the ever expanding movement. In November it banned an agricultural workers' congress that

was to take place in Szeged, and in January and March 1898 it banned congresses in Szentes and Törökszentmiklós. In early 1898 it deployed the army in the Upper Tisza region, and in June—fearing renewed harvest strikes—it violently broke up a gathering of workers in Szentes. In February, the journal *Földmívelő* was banned and a libel case was brought against István Várkonyi. For a period, Várkonyi went into hiding, but he was arrested in May in Vienna and taken to prison in Vác. On 1 May, a law "on the regulation of the legal relationship between employers and agricultural workers" came into force, which the affected workers and progressive public opinion renamed, with noble simplicity, "the slave law." The aim of the law—as openly expressed in its justification—was that in the future "the workers shall be prevented from engaging in such opposition to the landowners as has been witnessed."

Though numerous local demonstrations took place in the Great Plain and Vojvodina in spring 1898, the strict measures taken by the government debilitated the movement, and by the end of the year it appeared likely they would break it. For a brief period, the influence of ideal anarchism had grown: it had offered a way out, had transformed belief and kept hopes alive. At the same time, however, it had led its participants towards a religious sect. "The religious sect is suited not only to the popularization of the cultural critique, but also to transplanting into small communities the ideas of rejection of the state and of property,"[67] and it can thus sustain the embryo of social revolution. The various Nazarene, Baptist, Adventist, and Unitarian denominations constituted the underground social base in the Great Plain of the politically excluded agrarian socialist movement.

Among these we mention here only one: the Nazarenes. Of Christ's teachings, the Chistian-anarchist Nazarenes accepted only the Sermon on the Mount as law. They rejected all forms of terrestrial power, whether the state, the church or the judiciary, and they rejected military service and oath taking. The content of ideal anarchism also changed: from the original romantic liberalism, in the small communities of the sects, only primitive Christian religiosity remained.

Sectarianism and anarchism, at first glance it seems we could hardly find a more polarized contrast. In the one, obligatory solidarity, constraints that cannot be removed; in the other, solidarity as the natural opportunity to become free. Further, since anarchism little touched the

issue of forming a society in practice, it was for a long time pushed back to a circle of small social groups. But this could happen only if it partially changed its functions. Here we must note that in the less developed countries the concept of socialism, broadly understood, often appeared in conjunction with conservative ideas. Its judgement of religious and village communities, for example, could be ambivalent. The socialists qualified as both the potential bearers of revolution and the traditional base for the protection of authority in society. The ideal anarchist conception of revolution came to justify a transcendent religious content.

Following this, the independent socialist movement fell back for many years. Many moved towards the reform wing of the MSZDP; others accepted the ideas of the 1848 Independence Party [48-as Függetlenségi Párt]; still others oriented themselves towards the Reorganized Social Democratic Party [Újjászervezett Szociáldemokrata Párt] founded by Vilmos Mezőfi in 1900. (In October 1900, Várkonyi's party briefly united with Mezőfi and his associates.) Others emigrated: János Malaschitz, for example, settled in Zurich, where for several years he published the anarchist paper *Weckruf*.[68] A few remained believers of independent socialism (Péter Szatmári, Lajos Mucsi, and others).

Revivial did not occur until the spring of 1905, when several groups (such as the Budapest workers' opposition led by Árpád Poór) left Mezőfi's ever more nationalist, right-wing party and again joined the independent socialists. Influenced by this shift, Várkonyi too revived his activities: "Unbroken by the terrible persecution, I have stepped once more into the field of action, and, grasping in my hand again the flag that at times we have been forced to lower, I enter the battlefield and stand among the ranks of fighters."[69] At the congress held in October 1905, the party adopted the name Independent Socialist Alliance [Független Szocialista Szövetség, FSZSZ] and elected a federal council, the president of which would be Várkonyi. From December, publication of *Földmívelő* was restarted under the editorship of Jenő Májer.

In January 1906, a national agricultural workers' trade union was founded, and in April the FSZSZ merged with L. András Áchim's Socialist Peasant Party [Szocialista Parasztpárt], forming the Independent Socialist Peasants' Alliance [Független Szocialista Parasztszövetség]. The president of the new party was Várkonyi, the vice president,

Áchim. More important, however, was that the party was built on the basis of the *Statement of Principles* accepted in 1897 in Cegléd; though the ominous Article 7 was left out, this was, according to the reports of the local authorities, only because a participating captain-general named Aradi refused to discuss it.[70] The demand for the end of rule did appear in the program. Aims that appeared for the first time included an independent customs area, national independence, universal franchise, and equal rights for all the nationalities. Almost the entire peasantry was represented in the party: the agricultural workers and lower peasantry allied to Várkonyi and the landowning peasantry lined up behind Áchim. But this highly promising union did not survive long: Áchim was the only one of the party's candidates to enter Parliament in the 1906 elections; the government banned one party rally after another; and in the summer of 1906, Várkonyi was sentenced to eight months in prison. None of this prevented a successful harvest strike, but by the end of the year the alliance had collapsed, and in 1907 the leadership transferred entirely into the hands of András Áchim.

It is instructive to compare the Várkonyi-type agrarian socialist movement in Hungary with the partly millenarian, partly political movements in certain less developed parts of the countries of southern Europe. Besides their striking coincidence in time, the south Tuscan Lazzarettists (from 1875), the village anarchists of Andalusia (from 1870) and the Sicilian peasant movements (from 1893) all bear numerous similarities to Várkonyi's movement.

The south-Tuscan movement of the Monte Amiata messiah, Davide Lazzaretti, was millenarian in the sense that its members were not active revolutionaries following a political strategy, but rather people—such as smallholder peasants, tenants and handworkers—who felt that something *must* happen and who awaited the coming of the revolution. Eric Hobsbawm writes of the millenarian movement that "They expect it [revolution] to make itself, by divine revelation, by an announcement from on high, by a miracle—they expect it to happen somehow. The part of the people before the change is to gather together, to prepare itself, to watch the signs of the coming doom, to listen to the prophets who predict the coming of the great day."[71]

By contrast, the anarchist movements of the Andalusian latifundia (in the provinces of Seville, Cadiz, Huelva, Cordoba and Malaga)

became mass social movements that burst out explosively "every seven years" between 1870 and 1936. The millenarianism of the Andalusian anarchists was "wholly divorced from traditional religious forms, and indeed in a militant and anti-Christian shape."[72]

Though the movement of peasants and handworkers rejected the formation of any form of organization, we can come very close to describing it in terms of the characteristics of political revolutionism—harmonized action, spontaneously organized activities, etc. But the disadvantages of the lack of strategy and tactics and of the geographically limited organization—that is, the disadvantages of pure spontaneity and messianism—quickly became clear. It is thus no surprise that Spain saw "the substitution of anarcho-syndicalism, which allowed for a shadowy trade union direction and trade union policy, for pure anarchism."[73]

The Sicilian peasant movements—though strongly tied to their traditional ideology—went beyond not only millenarianism but also semipolitical anarchism. Yet they never formed a peasants' party: rather, they dissolved into a tightly organized revolutionary organization—the Communist Party.

The Várkonyi-type lower peasants' movement in Hungary was located in an intermediate position between the extremes of "pure" millenarianism and "pure" political revolutionism. The Hungarian movement had most in common with the Andalusian anarchists. During two periods it went beyond them in its political consciousness in that it linked to a *party*, to a more-or-less organized political force. At the same time, it recalled the millenarianism of the Lazzarettists in that it did not reach the point of rejecting religion, but rather retained its belief in religious renewal and its messianic content while approaching the political stage. Having twice lost its revolutionary impetus, the movement in large part retreated back to the world of the closed, subpolitical sect, from where—unlike the periodically reappearing Andalusian anarchists—it was never again able to reach the level of a movement. It never became a Stamboliski-type revolutionary mass movement,[74] with its one-off appearance, it could not break through the opposition of the political institutional system, and without the opportunity for political articulation it was forced back into the subsociety world of the Hungarian village. With this, the path of the Hungarian peasantry for a long period split in two: the day-laborer have-nots remained without

political representation, while the landowning peasantry found a path forward in Áchim's reformist party.

It is generally striking that the agrarian movements are closely tied to their *leaders* and those leaders' charismatic qualities. The mingling of the volkish-religious tradition and anarcho-socialist ideas offered favorable ground for the belief in the "chosenness" of the leaders. For example, the primitive belief that Várkonyi had been a minister for many years and thus had access to the king contributed to his aura.[75] His arrests were experienced in the movement as strokes of fate, and renewed hopes and legends were sparked by his period in hiding. After 1907, Várkonyi played no part in the agrarian movement. In the summer of 1914, he was arrested for his antiwar propaganda but then quickly released. Having spent all his wealth on the movement, he died poor in Szolnok in 1918, "chasing the ghosts of yesterday."

We can regard it as symbolic too that Jenő Henrik Schmitt did not take part in the movements of the twentieth century. The main reason for this was that, compared with the expectations vested in it, ideal anarchism was a failure. The movement's journal, *Állam Nélkül* did not fulfill Schmitt's hopes; no penetrating, world-creating mass movement crystalized around it. For this reason, not long after the paper began, in May 1897, its frequency was reduced from weekly to monthly. Together with Schmitt's articles in *Földmívelő*, it gained a wide readership only in the Great Plain, in the circumstances that have been analyzed.

Schmitt was, however, influential in another way too. A small group of Budapest intellectuals and workers joined with him, among whom were Ferenc Kepes and József Migray (1882–1938), Schmitt's pupils and later his biographers. Kepes later became the leading figure in the Hungarian Gnostic movement, while Migray took a much more circuitous path. He began as a stoneworker, and then worked as a teacher and later a journalist in Budapest, Arad and Brassó [Braşov].[76] Around the turn of the century Migray became close to the ideas Schmitt's anarchism, and in 1903 he published a volume of poetry, *Forrongás* [Upheaval] dedicated to Schmitt.[77] Together with his master, Schmitt, he spoke at the debate of the Social Science Society in 1904, and he wrote an introduction to Schmitt's volume, *Tolstoy, Nietzsche, Ibsen*.[78] In 1912, he wrote a poem for Schmitt entitled "A tölgy" [The Oak], which was published in his 1918 volume.[79] In 1919, however,

during Béla Kun's short-lived Hungarian Soviet Republic, Migray appeared as the leader of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture, and in the following period of "white terror" he was briefly jailed. He then worked on the newspaper *Népszava* until 1928, when he left the paper and, because of personal differences, was expelled from the MSZDP. In 1932 he wrote his book *A marxizmus csődje* [The Bankruptcy of Marxism],[80] and he then tried unsuccessfully to found a centrist party. In the final years of his life he joined the Arrow Cross movement, and he died a believer in national socialism.

Through Schmitt, the restaurateur and later office clerk Károly Krausz became acquainted with the principles of anarchism. We discuss him at length later, for he remained a central figure in the Hungarian anarchist movement until 1919.

Schmitt's ideas thus began to have an effect by transfer—but the philosopher himself expected more direct influence. Lacking an effective political character or tactical instruments built upon social analysis, however, his journal remained a repetitive theoretical gazette, and he remained the main writer. Yet, he could still record successes—besides his undoubted two-way influence. When the state brought him to court over his article "The Feasibility of Anarchism,"[81] he gave a lengthy speech at the trial in which he expounded his principles and launched a counterattack, drawing the state before his own court of moral judgement. The situation reminded his believers of the fate of Socrates and Jesus[82]; and his action proved productive: the jurors—together with the large audience—applauded, cheered, and acquitted him. The trial material was then published in a separate pamphlet, giving Schmitt's moral victory wider publicity, and his defence speech too was published, as a supplement to the journal *Ügyvédek Lapja* [Lawyers' Journal].[83]

During the three-year existence of *Állam Nélkül* (for the last year of which, by way of protection from continuous attacks, it was named *Erőszaknélküliség* [Nonviolence]), Schmitt continued his academic work. He published his first work on Nietzsche, interpreting the Übermensch—Nietzsche's superhuman person—from the Gnostic standpoint.[84] Through his translations and publications he played a large part in Tolstoy's popularization in Germany, and in 1901 he published a lengthier study analyzing Tolstoy's significance for the culture of the time.[85]

The relative failure of ideal anarchism led in December 1899 to the closure of *Erőszaknélküliség*. The assassination of the Habsburg Empress-Queen Consort Elizabeth[86] contributed to this, for it compromised the views even of Schmitt, who was known for his opposition to violence and who openly condemned the murder. For the remainder of his life Schmitt worked on a series of general theoretical studies, publishing them almost yearly. In the first, he examined the nature, origins and functions of Christian dogmas.[87] He then published the first volume of his massive world history of Gnosticism, in which he summarized ancient Gnostic thought from Simon Magus to Basilides.[88] In 1904, he compiled a critical history of societal utopia under the title *Der Idealstaat*.[89] He spoke in support of anarchism in the series of yearly debates of the Social Science Society—something we shall return to later. After several years' work he published the second volume of *Die Gnosis*, in which, having described the mysticism of the Middle Ages and modern period, he summarized his own theory of dimension.[90] In 1907 another book concerning Christ was published,[91] and a year later he again defended himself in a libel trial, initiated over his article "Lázítás" [Sedition], which appeared in *Földmívelő*. Meanwhile, he translated several more of Tolstoy's works, also elaborating upon them to Tolstoy's considerable satisfaction.[92]

In the summer of 1908, Schmitt, who was ever more isolated in Hungary but who remained a recognized philosopher among his German readers, moved to Berlin at the invitation of the German Gnostics. That year he published an intuitivist critical world history of philosophy, and a large volume on Ibsen, written with the intention of founding a new aesthetic. The latter of these was reviewed in *Nyugat* [West], the most important literary and critical journal in Hungary at the time, by the prominent Marxist philosopher of later years György Lukács.[93] He then wrote his final book on Christ, a Gnostic history of the life of Jesus, which relied on extensive biblical quotation and which was intended primarily for children and those of a "young disposition."[94] At the invitation of the Hungarian Gnostics, he visited Hungary in 1910 and gave three lectures in Budapest: on Tolstoy, Nietzsche and Ibsen.[95]

Towards the end of his life, recognizing the intellectual significance of the modern natural sciences, he sought to attune his theory of dimension to the new results of theoretical physics.[96] He continued sys-

tematically to publish the works of Tolstoy, including his own debate with Tolstoy over the value of modern science. He died on 14 September 1916 in Schmargendorf, near Berlin.

## 3.6. *Schmitt and the Gödöllő Artists' Colony*

The largest part played in Schmitt's posthumous existence in Hungary was that of his pupils—besides Kepes and Migray, also Károly Madary. They translated and published the works that their master had written in German and kept alive his memory. (They published Schmitt's work as late as 1927, even though censorship had where it could prevented the publication of Schmitt's interpretations of Christ, which contradicted the official Christian-national ideology.)[97]

The channels of Schmitt's influence extended far beyond Gnostic society. Anarchistic goals survived for years in the agrarian socialist movement. For a long period the peasants who had absorbed the bases of Gnosticism upheld Schmitt's memory; according to the chronicle of Schmitt's life in Germany, he for years received moving letters from peasants, written in scribbled handwriting, fulminating over the difficulties of survival but still supporting nonviolence.

Schmitt had a strong influence upon the Gödöllő artists' colony, which was created as one of the many artists' colonies founded across Europe under the influence of the English Pre-Raphaelites.[98] In their art, these artists reached back to the Middle Ages, and they wished to recreate the former unity of work, life and art. The most widely known among them were Sándor Nagy (1869–1950), Aladár Körösfői-Kriesch (1863–1920) and Endre Toroczkai Wigand (1870–1945), while István Zichy, Endre Frecskay, Laura Kriesch, Viktor Erdei, Ferenc Sidló, Ödön Moiret, Rezső Mihály, Charles de Fonteney, Ervin Raáb, Jenő Remsey, Dezső Rózsaffy, István Medgyaszay and others also joined them. By 1907, the colony had broadened its focus from applied art to art more generally. The group associated the reformed lifestyle of natural, healthy living with the effort to attain the realization of social equality. "No one had any privileges…; not only did social boundaries lose their power: the hierarchy of the work group also ended."[99] In aesthetic terms, the Gödöllő group did not form a unified style: the imprints of secessionism, symbolism and impressionism can all be found in their work. In so far as they

were united, this was not in their style, but in their conceptions of life and art: in their search for the transcendental, their emphasis upon subjectivity, their mystical attitude towards life—and their claim to a social mission. Here, the worldview of Gnostic, nonviolent anarchism met with other orientations: the founders of the Gödöllő artists' colony associated with ever more orientations besides (but partly related to) nonviolent anarchism.

The founders were strongly influenced not only by Schmitt, but also by other thinkers of a similar orientation. Foremost among these were the Englishmen John Ruskin[100] and William Morris,[101] the latter of whom formulated the concept of "democratic art,"[102] followed by Leo Tolstoy, the Berlin commune leader (in whose commune Jenő Henrik Schmitt lived for a short period) Julius Hart, the Pre-Raphaelite Percival Tudor-Hart and others. Körösfői remembered Ruskin thus: "We are all his pupils, whether we have read just one line by him or not. He is the originator of the entire modern movement in art."[103] Ruskin initially held conservative principles and believed in the enlightening, liberating force of aesthetics; through the cult of beauty, he wanted to reform society and lead man back to God. It is well known that in the history of ideas the appearance and conquest of the concept of socialism in the nineteenth century met with greater sympathy among conservative than liberal circles. This was a concept that once again placed the emphasis upon collectivism and community solidarity, that turned against the logic of the "raw" market and the "alienated" interpersonal relations that it spawned, and that sought to restore the personal character of precapitalist society without taking on its hierarchism. This concept led Ruskin's social philosophy to *Christian socialism*. Among his practical initiatives, he founded a museum in the industrial city of Sheffield, organized agricultural workers' cooperatives (which later ended in failure), built healthier workers' houses, and proclaimed the beauty of handiwork in place of large-scale factory production. According to his famous basic principle, "The maximum of life can only be reached by the maximum of virtue."[104]

The Transylvanian village community, more rustic than the Gödöllő colony, replaced Ruskin's ideal town of the Middle Ages,[105] but despite this, their theoretical starting point was shared. Art thus cannot be the bearer merely of aesthetic values; it is more than that: it

is a form of life that can be founded only by an organic worldview seeing life in unity.

The relationship between Schmitt and the Gödöllő artists was preceded by an older personal acquaintance. Árpád Juhász, Kriesch's college associate and later a member of the Gödöllő artists' colony, had earlier become friendly with Schmitt, when both worked as officials in Zombor [Sombor]. In 1891, Kriesch and Sándor Nagy won scholarships to Rome and there met and formed life-long friendships with Ferenc Szoldatits, a Hungarian Nazarene painter who had settled in the city.[106] From 1901, Sándor Nagy, who, among the members of the Gödöllő colony, was most interested in theoretical questions, was on friendly terms with Ervin Szabó and his circle, and he took great interest in the activities of the Social Science Society.[107] At the same time, he regarded himself both as a pupil of Schmitt and Tolstoy and as a Christian, and he regarded socialism as realizable through Schmitt's ideal anarchism rather than through the approach of the MSZDP or Ervin Szabó. Sándor Nagy spent almost two years in Paris, where he immersed himself in the gospels and the works of Tolstoy and Schmitt and concerned himself with the ideas of theology and Buddhism. Quoting Schmitt, he wrote characteristically in 1900 "I conceive myself only as a spiritual light, which radiates like a ray from God, the sun shared by us all."[108]

The influence of Tolstoy in Hungary is hinted at by the fact that from 1895 until 1899 Aladár Körösfői-Kriesch spent every summer at the country house of the Boér family in Diósd (near Budapest), where a small community professing Tolstoyan principles was forming. The group's leading figure was Jenő Boér, who was an early follower of Tolstoy's ideas (and who, after the turn of the century, shifted towards the philosophy of Nietzsche).[109] Sándor Nagy, meanwhile, expressed his respect for Tolstoy by visiting the aged writer on his estate at Yasnaya Polyana.

Schmitt's influence related primarily to his ideal worldview and to his Gnostic teaching emphasizing self-knowledge. He wanted a revolution that would not be unleashed using weapons, but which would rather be carried through by education and worldview formation; he regarded internal spiritual revolution as the precondition for social revolution. Sándor Nagy's art, characterized by light forms and rays that spread universally "were probably influenced by Schmitt's writings, regarded as the theoretical focal point of Hungarian pre-symbolic activity"; and as Gel-

lér and Keserű state, Schmitt's works were also the sources for Jenő Komjáthy's "poetry of light" and the painter Tivadar Csontváry-Koszt-ka's sun-based symbolism.[110]

Sándor Nagy and Aladár Körösfői-Kriesch illustrated a collection of lectures by Batthyány, Migray and Schmitt published in 1904,[111] the volume of Schmitt's lectures entitled *Tolstoy*, *Nietzsche*, *Ibsen*,[112] and József Migray's poetry collection *On High*.[113] Körösfői-Kriesch also painted Schmitt's portrait, though, if it survives, its present location is unknown.

New life was given to the spirit of the Gödöllő school by a parable written by Sándor Nagy in 1911,[114] and the same was reflected in a philosophical essay on art written by Schmitt.[115] In his view, art was today nothing but a drug, an opium, alcohol, for it served the goal that "the person somehow free himself from the knowledge of his internal contradictions, his internal poverty."[116] The infinity of man must not be sought in the external natural world, for it can never be reached through outward human expansion, and the person will thus always experience the frustrating knowledge of his own finitude. Then the individual realizes that "infinity is not outside him, is not the reality extending beyond the stars, but is rather the reality of his own inner self."[117] Art must be conceived as a sacrament, as something helping the individual to find the religion (the inner bond) that leads to internal infinity. "The individual must thus see in art not an illusory fantasy, but a sacred reality."[118]

The golden age of the artists' colony extended from 1907 until the outbreak of World War I. Following this time, the desire for change and the strength of morally based social criticism faded, softening into cultural revolution and lifestyle reform. As such, it came to resemble the "ethical-social-vegetarian-communist" society in Ascona (Switzerland).[119] But the colony broke up only after Körösfői-Kriesch's death in the early 1920s.

For a brief period, Schmitt was strongly influential upon the young Ervin Szabó (who became an influential socialist, then anarcho-syndicalist theoretician later on), who initiated a correspondence with him, who gained his important experience of Nietzsche through him, and who professed himself in a letter in 1899 to be "an anarchist at heart."[120] According to Gábor Kemény, who systematized Szabó's views on society, Szabó "knew and had a spiritual affinity with Jenő Henrik Schmitt—with the highly original Hungarian philosopher who proclaimed the principle of ideal anarchy in a milieu where the most real

anarchy prevailed; both lived in an age that thirsted all the more for justice the greater was the backwardness. Like Schmitt, Szabó too was prepared to view matters from the viewpoint of internal transformation, though his realist sense saved him from the error of believing that social relations could be transformed without external institutions and battles."[121] Schmitt's influence probably contributed also to the fact that Szabó—as a model figure of the intelligentsia—saw the future of the labor movement not in social democracy but in the opposing anarcho-syndicalism.[122]

In the intellectual atmosphere of the early twentieth century, Schmitt and his system of ideas were well known. Among poets, Jenő Komjáthy's worldview was very close to Schmitt's Gnosticism, and Schmitt also influenced Gyula Juhász.[123] He was followed by many in the Social Science Society: it is typical that in 1903, in a letter to Ervin Szabó, Lajos Leopold, accompanied by Ervin Szabó, Gusztáv Gratz, Oszkár Jászi, Ignotus, Ervin Batthyány, Bódog Somló, Sándor Nagy, Ödön Wildner and Ernő Garami, recommended that Schmitt should be the author of a series of books entitled *Huszadik Század* [Twentieth Century].[124] In 1908, the young philosopher, György Lukács reviewed Schmitt's book on Ibsen in the journal *Nyugat*, thus allowing his influence to extend through hidden channels.[125] Finally, it appears clear that the writer Ervin Sinkó, who, as an idealist communist, actively supported Kun's 1919 Soviet Republic, but who in the 1920s became a Tolstoyan Christian, knew Schmitt's arguments and relied on them.[126]

Thus, ideal anarchism was part of the age; it was in the air around the turn of the century, and counts among the early forms of "Hungarian progressivism." But when that progressivism reached its height with the second Hungarian reform generation, the name of Jenő Henrik Schmitt did not denote modern anarchism: by this time, the main actors had already changed.

## 4. Anarchism and Syndicalism (1904–1914)

### 4.1. *Syndicalism in the International Labor Movement*

From the turn of the twentieth century, the ideologies of the international labor movement became more divergent. Ever more groups

claimed the theoretical heritage of Marxism—which was already far from united—as their own. Economic and social development, the transformation of capitalism into a world system, changes in the relationships between certain classes and the strategies of action associated with them all demanded answers on a theoretical level.

We of course cannot cover all of these elements here, and we simply refer to the differences of principle between the orthodox Marxists (Bebel, Kautsky, Guesde, Lafargue, Plekhanov, Adler), possibilists (Jaurès, Millerand, Briand), Austro-Marxists (Bauer, Adler), Bolsheviks (Lenin, Trotsky), German left-wing socialists (Luxemburg, Zetkin, Mehring), Fabians, who maintained a certain distance from Marxism (the Webbs, Shaw) and later the English "guild socialists" (G. D. H. Cole).[127] We also mention here the conceptual world of the liberal socialists (Oppenheimer, George, Dühring, Wallace, Loria), which was systematized in Hungary by Oszkár Jászi.[128]

For anarchism, the spread of the ideology of syndicalism was most significant.[129] Among its most notable exponents were the French Pelloutier, Lagardelle, Monatte, Sorel, Griffuelhes, Pouget, Berth, Delesalle, Merrheim and Yvetot, the Italian Labriola, Leone and Orano, the German-born Robert Michels, the Spanish Lorenzo, the English Tom Mann and the American Foster. The conversion to syndicalism of such mammoth trade unions as the French Confédération général du travail (CGT) and the American Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) marked a turning point for the international labor movement and also provided a way out for anarchism from the deadend of terrorism into which it had slipped.

Syndicalism's theoretical roots may be uncovered in the ideology of the Socialist Revolutionary Workers' Party, founded by the Frenchman Jean Allemane in 1890. Allemane and his followers split from the possibilists because they tired of the latter's policy of solely parliamentary struggle. In their plans for organizational decentralization, they revived the anarchist tradition of Proudhonism. Their activities marked a transition towards syndicalism.[130] They considered that the working class could be freed through direct action, and that the most appropriate instrument for this was the general strike. They agreed that the means of production had to be transferred to the ownership of workers' cooperatives, but considered political action to be an inappropriate means of achieving this.[131]

The syndicalists were disappointed by the narrow reformism of the workers' parties and of English trade unionism; the anarchists were disappointed by the limited possibilities of individual terror. The trade union form of organization was, for the syndicalists, ideally suited to the direct expression of the workers' wishes. They rejected bureaucratizing party organization, parliamentarism and institutionalized forms of political struggle. (It is no accident that it was a syndicalist, Robert Michels, who noted the "iron law of oligarchy" characteristic of organizations, an analysis that remains of central importance to political sociology today.)[132] But syndicalism rejected also the economic fatalism of the Marxists, which proclaimed "laws" rather than action. Against this, the famous slogan "The liberation of the working class can be the work only of the workers themselves" was reborn. Syndicalists argued that the corrupted political sphere led by intellectuals distanced itself ever more from genuine representation of workers' interests, and for this reason they emphasized the primacy of direct economic over political struggle.

As we have already mentioned, the concept of the general mass strike had significance beyond the workers' day-to-day wage demands and was none other than the starting point of *social revolution*. Precisely this moment distinguished solidarity strikes from merely economic or reformist political mass strikes.[133] Practice, however, did not fulfil these revolutionary hopes: the attempts that were made—such as in Barcelona in 1909 and in Bilbao and Zaragoza in 1911—ended in failure. Nevertheless, that the trade union form was imbued with revolutionary content and the goal of transforming the world was a new development.

The concept of syndicalism was formulated clearly and unambiguously by Hubert Lagardelle: "Syndicalism is the theory that ascribes to workers' trade unions that are inspired by the revolutionary spirit the value of transforming society. This is a *workers' socialism*. Its theory of class war conflicts with *corporatism*, the typical form of which is English trade unionism; in its stress upon proletarian institutions, it deviates from *parliamentary socialism*; with the attention it pays to positive formations and its detestation of ideology, if differs from traditional *anarchism*."[134] (Italics added.)

The flag of anarcho-syndicalism (or revolutionary syndicalism) was unfurled in 1895 in Paris, when Fernand Pelloutier (earlier a pos-

sibilist, then an anarchist) recommended to the anarchists that they join the trade unions. Following this, it rapidly developed into the leading strand within the labor movement in France and the other Latin countries. Its success was due in part to its ability to lean on the already deep-rooted conceptual world of "direct action" and on the living traditions of Bakunin and Blanqui.[135] In 1906, the Amiens congress of France's strongest trade union, the CGT, pronounced in favor of the revolutionary interpretation of the general strike.

Anarcho-syndicalism contained the basic principles common to anarchism and syndicalism: federalism, decentralization, self-government and direct action. It may be differentiated from syndicalism primarily by its *rejection of the state*: if syndicalism was *free of* politics, anarcho-syndicalism was *against* politics. It differed from anarchism in that it was conceived in class terms: in place of the general goals of humanity, it sought the fulfilment of the goals of the *workers*, and it saw the improvement of the workers' position as possible even within capitalism; it also favored a particular organizational form (the trade union) and a particular revolutionary method (the general strike).[136] Alien to anarchism, there appeared within anarcho-syndicalism an opposition to theory and the intelligentsia (which was an instinctive reaction to the development of a "political class" consisting in large part of intellectuals) and an *ouvrièriste* class consciousness, in which the will, the action and unity—in other words, practice itself—won out over ideology, which was understood entirely pejoratively. The trade union was presented as the "school of will," which was rendered effective by the gathering of the workers and by direct action. The anarcho-syndicalists proclaimed that "after the victory, the direction of the life of society will be taken over by the economic organizations of labor, by the trade unions that form the basic cells of economic life. On the second day of the revolution, cooperation among the trade unions will take the place of the central state organization."[137]

It is of value to consider in more detail the various meanings of one basic concept: *direct action*. In the different theories of anarchism, this term signified at once both spontaneous revolution (where no political leader intervenes between the intentions and the actions of the masses), and carefully planned assassinations, violent, conspiratorial actions and the moral propaganda by the deed—that is, moral enlightenment and

the fostering of self-knowledge. By contrast, in the political dictionary of syndicalism and anarcho-syndicalism, direct action means the general strike, conceived as an alternative to parliamentary political activity. In 1886, the French terrorist-anarchist François-Claudius Ravachol threw an explosive device from the gallery of the French parliament; twenty years later, in a CGT decision, direct action meant something else: the achivement of social revolution through the means of the general strike.

Despite the considerable overlaps, anarchism and syndicalism differed in regard to certain fundamental questions and characteristics. The following table lists the differences that we consider the most important ones.

Table 4. *Differences between Key Elements of Syndicalism and Anarchism*

|  | SYNDICALISM | ANARCHISM |
|---|---|---|
| *Politics* | Labor movement | Linked to the labor movement, but a social movement distinct from it |
| *Ideology* | Anti-intellectualism | Intellectualism |
| *Subjects* | Workers (the person appears as a producer) | General actors (the person appears as, by nature, a socialized individual) |
| *Rights* | "The right of workers to organize themselves" (H. Lagardelle) | "There is only one right: the right of rebellion" (E. Henry) |
| *Priorities and preferences* | Starts with the economy. The syndicalist economic orientation places action above thought | Starts with individuals and the society. The anarchist orientation placed free will above action |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Conflict* | Class war | Freedom vs. domination: rejection of the concept of class war |
| *Enemy* | The members of the other (capitalist) class are enemies | All "persons of authority" are enemies, regardless of class position |
| *Pre-paration* | Through the development of class consciousness | Through the development of the individual's self-knowledge |
| *Organiz-ation* | *Extra*-parliamentary (in factories and other work units) | *Anti*-parliamentary (against the state the state and rule which has no favored territory) |
| *Strategy* | The movement is emphasized | The final goal is emphasized |
| *Revolution* | Social | Social |
| *Action* | General strike | Spontaneous revolt |
| *Future* | In the society of the future, trade unions run society | The society of the future is run not by organized bodies but by certain groups of people |

*Source*: compiled by the authors, partly based on P. Ágoston.[138]

From this table, syndicalism appears rather to be a political myth, while anarchism more like an antipolitical utopia. *Myths* influence the feelings and emotions; *utopias* affect rather our imaginative power. The myth of the syndicalist movement could always mobilize larger masses.

For this, anarchism needed other ideologies: religion, or the teachings and institutions of agrarian socialism, communism or syndicalism. The attraction of anarchism was that it did not close off revolutionary thinking, but rather initiated it in certain time periods and social settings. It was utopian not because it sketched out the organizational order of the perfect society (as did the classical nineteenth century forced utopias), but because it began by asking what people *could be* like, not what they were like in reality. In this sense, anarchism is the perennial dream of humanity: "to find the order of freedom"; to prove that there is no barrier to the abolition of rule hidden in human nature. In the anarchists' view, with the destruction of the institutions of compulsion society becomes free and workable; people are corrigible, for their original essence is Goodness. Anarchy cannot be introduced through force. Anarchism is a form of scepticism, critique and behavior: the anarchist confronts every existing system with that which is "eternally human." The essence of the anarchist utopia is that the social ideal follows directly and inseparably from the human ideal and can be born only in the free will of every individual person. To be anarchist is none other than to be on the path to eternity. Anarchism is the *only non-dogmatic utopia*.

Precisely this was perceived in Hungary by the sociologist and *Huszadik Század* [Twentieth Century] group member Lajos Leopold (1897–1948). Though he was not regarded as an anarchist, he characterized his relationship to anarchism in a letter written to Ervin Szabó in March 1903 in the following terms: "In my final goal, I am an anarchist. (I do not regard the most moderate means as incompatible with the most extreme goal.) The anarchist does not stand under the rule of dogmas and thus calls himself free from rule; he judges people by their value, not their party standing. Our truths are ephemeral and faint, and there is only one thing that we can admire above all others in Buddhists, in the Jewish martyr, in primitive Christianity, in the Galileos and Caserios: their bold insistence upon their own ideals."[139]

Despite his attraction towards anarchism, Leopold became one of the most eminent figures of the early years of the twentieth century in Hungary not as an anarchist ideologist but as a sociologist. Before moving to the analysis of the third wave of anarchism in Hungary, we briefly discuss a work by József Naszády, which seeks to depict anar-

chist society, but which instead regrettably documents the imprecise understanding of anarchism in part of Hungarian intellectual life.

In contrast to Leopold, József Naszády, in his essay novel *Anarchy* published in 1903, showed complete misunderstanding of the principles of anarchism when he tried to dogmatize them. Naszády's starting point is that selfishness must finally be replaced with the principles of love and equality. The first chapter of the book sketches the path taken by man to the present day, while the second signals where we may reach through the principles of equality and love. In the final section, the most classical (and, we might add, the most awful) forced utopia unfolds before our eyes under the name of anarchism. In this society, "everything is everyone's," there is no money, and everyone strives for the public good. "There is no social ranking; the person who today oils a machine the next day directs a billion people from the center."[140] For there is a center: the people live grouped together in twenty thousand large settlements, and "the central office keeps a clear view of events in every settlement."[141] There is no above ground transport: the people travel by underground railways and underwater boats. The center has a full knowledge of everything produced in the settlements every year. The center then divides what is produced proportionately among the settlements. Every half year, everyone is divided into different forms of service, and after forty years of service all responsibilities end.

Morals form the foundation of society, and the source of good morals is a perfect upbringing. That upbringing is practical: the arts—occupations that are of no use—must disappear. In the settlements, anything that could cause excitement is avoided: there are no stimulants, no alcohol, no pleasures. The concept of idleness is unknown; there are no theaters, concerts, circuses, cards or pubs. The entertainment is work and study. There is no curiosity, no boredom to draw people towards selfishness. Nor is there any marriage or love, for these, so to speak, limit personal freedom. The nudity of the human body excites no one; otherwise, nature takes care of everything. The imperative of upbringing and social cooperation sounds thus: "What we do not know about we do not yearn for. What we have reason to believe is harmful we avoid. What at any time is unattainable, the use thereof must not become customary. What we do not use we must not abuse."[142]

Naszády's nightmare vision, with all its connotations of the totalitarian state, is precisely what anarchists have always fought. Bakunin, in his polemic against Marx[143] (and long before Bolshevism and Stalin), regarded his opponent as the representative of centralized rule by violence, as did Jenő Henrik Schmitt, Jean Grave,[144] Kropotkin[145] and Alexander Berkman[146] in their lively debates with the—first social democratic, then communist—representatives of state socialism. Anarchists were generally the first to realize (to their own cost) if a revolution had betrayed its original goals and entered the service of new rulers. While among the believers of anarchism understood narrowly there were hardly any turncoats who defected to the camp of "state worshippers," among syndicalists they were more common—including Sorel, Michels, Mussolini, and others.[147]

In neither Germany nor the Dual Monarchy was either syndicalism or anarchism a serious force. "In these countries the trade union movement was for the most part linked organically to the Social Democratic Party, and its activities conformed with Social Democratic Party policies."[148] Parliamentarism too was weak in Hungary; it had not consolidated sufficiently for anyone to be disappointed in the manner of its operation. Of the seventeen million people living in the country, eight hundred thousand males were enfranchised. It is thus no surprise that the salient political struggles of the period concerned the extension of parliamentarism and the attainment of the universal, equal franchise and the secret ballot.

But the concepts of syndicalism and anarcho-syndicalism were present—if not as a mass movement breaking out from below, then among the intellectuals who were sensitive to the political tendencies of the time. For such people, the conception of socialism held by the Social Democratic Party of Hungary (which followed Adler and Kautsky) signified intellectual narrowness, servile loyalty and stagnation. They saw it as their duty to strive for the realization of "classical" anarchism, for the reform ideal of cultural education in the terrain of social and political practice in Hungary.

We turn now to consider two of the most prominent figures in Hungarian syndicalism and anarcho-syndicalism during this period: Ervin Szabó and Count Ervin Batthyány. Szabó and Batthyány were friends who exchanged letters for years and maintained lasting intellectual ties.

Szabó moved from social democracy to syndicalism, while Batthyány stepped from anarchism towards anarcho-syndicalism.

Szabó's belief in syndicalism was principled, but it was built on a strict Marxist-socialist base. For Batthyány, anarcho-syndicalism was a compromise of anarchism necessary to make action possible.

From our point of view, the theoretical and practical work of Ervin Batthyány is more important. Given also that Ervin Szabó has been analyzed more extensively elsewhere,[149] we touch upon him here only briefly.

## 4.2. *Ervin Batthyány: From Communist Anarchism to Anarcho-Syndicalism*

Count Ervin Batthyány (1877–1945) was the son of Ferenc Batthyány and Edit Trefort, both well-known and respected in the upper circles of Hungarian society. Following his school years at a Budapest high school [gimnázium], which he spent with Farkas Heller (later a theoretical economist), and Géza Voinovich (who became a literary historian), he studied at London and Cambridge Universities, and "moving among London's Anglican circles, he absorbed the free spirit of the theater boxes."[150] His interests were so diverse and disjointed that university meant for him not specialization in a particular field, but the maintainance of an open way of looking at the world. He became acquainted with the ideas of social progress at a young age and, estranging himself from his high birth, had already adopted communist views by the age of nineteen. He was influenced in this direction by reading such authors as Edward Carpenter, William Morris, Leo Tolstoy and Count Peter Kropotkin.

He used Tolstoy's teachings when he later founded a school, and in 1903 he wrote an article on Carpenter's views for *Huszadik Század*.[151] In 1902, he described Morris's influence on him in a letter to Ervin Szabó: "*News from Nowhere*[152] is one of the books that first contributed significantly to the development of my present conception of life."[153] But he was even more sensitive to Kropotkin's communist anarchism than to Morris's "ideal free communism." He recommended Kropotkin's *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*[154] to Farkas Heller as early as 1900, and of

his second experience of Kropotkin—his work, *Fields, Factories and Workshops Tomorrow*[155]—he wrote to a friend: "I read through Kropotkin's whole book and found in it my own half-conscious thoughts clearly expressed and strengthened. This awakened me to the real source of my problem and to the unavoidable consequences of the change in my thoughts."[156]

From this time on, he strove to put his principles into practice as soon as possible—that is, to act in the interests of social transformation. Writing from Cambridge to Farkas Heller, he said "It would ease our consciences to introduce reforms, but for so long as the current system survives we shall achieve no good. There is no other hope but *Revolution*." [Italics in original.] And since Kropotkin, who was living at the time in England, was for him a paragon and a fatherly authority, Batthyány turned to him directly for advice: how could he as a single person start a genuine movement in Hungary? The reply was as follows: "Select an organization that lies close to your ideas; even if there are differences on certain points, this is better than to stand alone. Help to bring the people together, help them to work out what they want, familiarize them with the truth. If you try, you will always find work that serves their interests: you can write, you can translate a few lines, and you can do much else. I began my revolutionary career sealing envelopes in the office of the Jura Federation."[157]

A person who wants social revolution may sacrifice his possessions to this goal—at least, so thought Batthyány's aristocratic family, when, in 1901, before the young Ervin reached maturity, they sent him to a neurological sanitorium and placed him under guardianship. The family's intention was to have their scion declared irresponsible—which was rather difficult in the case of a plainly sane and indeed highly perceptive person. This tragicomical situation endured for two years, and Batthyány was "freed" from the Holländer Institute in Vienna only in the summer of 1903. His good friend Ervin Szabó contributed to his "liberation" by preparing the outline of an examination essay on Marx that was intended to prove the count's sanity.[158] By autumn, Batthyány was already on his estate at Bögöte in Vas county recovering from his ordeal and making new plans.

His first and most memorable step into Hungarian intellectual life took place in 1904 at the age of twenty-seven, when, at Ervin Szabó's

request, he set out the anarchist viewpoint at one of the debates of the Social Science Society concerning the direction of social development. In a series of debates lasting almost half a year, four intellectual and ideological currents clashed with one another: besides anarchism, liberalism (Gusztáv Gratz), conservatism (Sarolta Geöcze) and socialism (Ervin Szabó). The debate occurred at a fortunate time: these four ideas were then still (already) of equal rank in European thinking and movements; further, during these years in Hungary (but not later) these ideologies could cross swords without actual political conflict and its consequences. The elite of intellectual life at the time took part in the debates, in which it appeared that the age of liberalism was over and new ideas and ideologies were required. The spectacular growth of the socialist movement seemed to bolster Ervin Szabó's words; socialism broadly understood—stretching from anarcho-syndicalism to Christian socialism—was certainly on the rise. One of the basic tendencies of the period was the strengthening of state intervention, and the differing evaluations of this was the main dividing line between social democracy and anarchism.

Ervin Batthyány's lecture was a comprehensive overview of the theory of anarchism. According to his definition, "By anarchism—freedom from rule—we must understand a social order based purely upon the free, fraternal cooperation of the people, with no external power or violence. In place of the system of rule based upon violence, which wins expression in the coercive institutions of property, law and the state, the forms of anarchist society come into existence through the solidarity concealed in human nature and through the freedom, equality and voluntary cooperation that flow from it."[159]

Jenő Henrik Schmitt and József Migray also took part in the debate, representing and speaking for anarchism. Their contributions were not, however, linked to the count's lecture—rather, they expressed their own approaches. It was clear that they spoke a different language. Schmitt's biblical-prophetic rhetoric appeared alien in the intellectual environment of the Social Science Society; Batthyány, by contrast, sought to give anarchism a scholarly foundation. Their views were linked above all to the principles of Kropotkin, who had by this time moved beyond the "propaganda by the deed"—the propagation of terrorist methods—and had turned his attention to the "creative side" of anarchism. As a natural scientist he reached the conclusion that—con-

trary to the viewpoint of the social Darwinists—the fundamental pillar of social theory must be not the law of the "struggle for survival," but rather solidarity. Batthyány read Kropotkin's famous book *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution*[160] when it was first published in English in 1902; he wrote a review of it for *Huszadik Század*;[161] and he collaborated on the Hungarian edition in 1908.

His lecture was essentially no more than a Hungarian interpretation of Kropotkin's scholarly anarchism spiced with personal flavoring—but this in no way diminishes its significance in the history of ideas. Against Schmitt's religious system, Batthyány outlined a rationalist-organicist model of anarchism. What for Schmitt was Christ's spirit was for Batthyány natural human instinct. For Schmitt the "cult of the mind" was a part of divinity; for Batthyány it was a utilizable given of humanity. In Schmitt's anarchism, a characteristic transcendental mission-consciousness stands out, whereas in Batthyány it is rather a social sensitivity combined with a natural demand for happiness that is striking. Batthyány's key concepts are equality, fraternity, solidarity and natural needs. He confronts *anarchism*, which sees the source of social harmony in individuals, with *theocratism*, which seeks that source outside the phenomenal world—in a higher being, a central force, or an abstract law. According to the new moral worldview, Batthyány explained, social harmony cannot arise through regulation by higher authorities, but "only from the nature of the people themselves, from the people's unboundedly free manifestations of life, from their ever changing adaptations to their needs."

Batthyány's goal was the development of the individual, for he saw the genuine nature of man as being concealed in *solidarity*—which is limited by power systems based on violence and by theocratic prejudices. As his starting point dictated—for it referred to the natural universality of the individual—anarchism became not a historical, but a universal phenomenon, and ruling forms were transitional. He categorized the many currents within social theory into two main, mutually opposing orientations. One strand strove, according to Batthyány, for the maintenance of the consolidated system of society, and included liberalism, conservatism and Christian socialism. Opposed to these stood socialism and anarchism, which advocated the construction of society on wholly new foundations.

Batthyány considered anarchism's most effective weapon to be the withdrawal en masse of solidarity-based communities from the influence of the state and capitalism. Consciousness of solidarity and the role of the new moral worldview were crucial, for any movement not based on changing the consciousness of the people would only recreate the theocratic relations of the old society. On the basis of the ethos of solidarity, Batthyány rejected the "efforts of authoritarian socialism," seeing a contradiction between its community aims and statist means. Without the socialist worldview, he stressed, the collectivist production system can be used by the ruling stratum, just as the capitalist and feudal systems. At the same time, he could not, and did not want to draw an accurate picture of the world of anarchy. The anarchist utopia cannot be prescribed in advance or hardened into dogma, for this goes against the essence of anarchism. To fix the details would increase the danger of their realization through violence; in a society without rule, associations based upon common inclinations, interests or occupation, or upon territory come into being by their own means, without a prior plan. Batthyány argued that anyone who doubts this doubts human nature itself.

The contributors to the Social Science Society's series of debates generally recognized the nobility and rightfulness in principle of the anarchist idea, but they doubted its practicability. The most forceful critique was formulated by István Czóbel, who argued that anarchism contradicted the laws of cultural development when it talked of replacing love of race and country with the abstractions of solidarity and universal love of humankind. "The stateless society, voluntary collaboration and personal success are unrealizable in the form and by the means contemplated by the anarchists, for change without violence or transition is incompatible with the basic conditions of communism and internationalism, freedom and development, and because they offer no animating or organizing guiding principles."[162] In Czóbel's view, these extreme means would result in precisely the opposite of the prescribed goals, though the goals are valid and could gradually be realized on the basis of patriotism, the promotion of a public spirit and mutual goodwill. Development leads everywhere indispensably to class differences, and complete social levelling creates a static society that cannot develop and may even fall apart.

Ervin Szabó discussed anarchism in his closing speech—but the form advocated by Schmitt and Migray rather than that of Batthyány—and he criticized it not only from external viewpoints but also internally, from the viewpoint of anarchism itself.

> We have heard two forms [of anarchism] here. Or, more accurately, we have heard just one, for what Dr. Jenő Schmitt and József Migray have said here to my mind has nothing in common with anarchism. According to Jenő Schmitt, the whole question is one of worldviews: "only one thing is required, namely, the divine self-knowledge of the person." I think the eminent theoreticians of anarchism will be surprised to hear described as anarchist a doctrine that regards the external form of society as of no consequence. For if only a change of consciousness is required, and this can occur independently of external relations, why would we change the prevailing social order? We should go straight to the millions who live in intellectual and material poverty, to the masses who live in the most impossible physical and spiritual circumstances, and we should proclaim to them the awakening of divine self-knowledge; and we should concern ourselves with nothing else—not with their economic or social or legal slavery. It is enough to change self-knowledge.
>
> But I believe that this is none other than the revival of the views of the young Hegel, who likewise saw the only source of the problems in mistaken consciousness, paying no attention to the indubitable teachings of positive science regarding the connection between our spiritual life and our external social relations. This is a manifestation of fin-de-siècle decadence, a reaction of new spiritualism, an unhealthy cult of passivity—I know not what. Instead of saying "moral contempt for every form of *violence* is the only tactic of anarchism," Migray should rather have said "moral contempt for every form of *action* is our religion."[163] (Italics added.)

Ervin Szabó's critique is both simplistic and inaccurate. Schmitt's anarchism was "ideal" anarchism precisely because he believed that the outward forms of society could be changed through the inner transformation of human self-knowledge. There was thus never any truth in the claim that Schmitt "regards the external form of society as of no conse-

quence," for his goal was precisely to place the operation of society upon an entirely new footing. The key to this is given in Schmitt's thinking by the concepts of the "Religion des Geistes" and worldview idealism, for he believed that external changes without internal enlightenment necessarily remain superficial and extrinsic. Reforms only paper over the cracks; revolutions, meanwhile, get stuck at the level of "slave rebellions" in which one political elite is replaced by another but the institution of rule survives untouched. Schmitt, Tolstoy and their followers stressed that anarchism can have not only a material base but also a religious or spiritual base—indeed, that in truth it can only have such a base. And even if religious anarchism did not represent the main current of anarchism, its influence was significant in the less developed countries.

Ervin Szabó narrows anarchism down to actionism, and here too he disregards the fact that Schmitt's ideal anarchism was capable of attaching itself to a genuine mass movement and thus serve as a guide to action. As we have said, it was able to mobilize the masses that were excluded from politics, for whom this was the only chance to express their interests at the national level. As early as January 1899, Schmitt had written in a letter to Szabó that he blamed the "materialist basic dogma" for "the moral decay." He wrote "I shall always mercilessly expose the dishonor of the party's modes of thinking, in order, if possible, to warn the individuals of the sorry path they are on."[164]

It is worth noting, by contrast, that Ervin Szabó did not attack "scholarly" anarchism; and, in respect of what he did criticize, he questioned its action and its goal of social transformation. He thus finally ensured that Ervin Batthyány's position was accepted not only as a legitimate view, but as one worthy of serious consideration.

The count himself, in a letter to Ervin Szabó, openly welcomed the fact that "our viewpoints are much closer to one another than I thought. We envisage just the same final result; it is merely that you consider social democracy to be necessary as a transitional state, whereas I believe that this would lead human development in a direction opposed to the one we want."[165] In the following years they certainly did move nearer to each other on certain questions, but their thinking never became identical or parallel.

After his lecture to the Social Science Society and the debates that followed it, Batthyány tried to implement his ideas in social practice. In

the autumn of 1905, one and a half years after the debates where he had come to prominence, he succeeded in founding a reformist school on his estate at Bögöte (in Vas county) based upon English and Russian examples.[166] His goal was the arousal of susceptibility towards enlightened social ideas, "for it has always been my view that we can prepare for revolution only by raising intellectual and worldview standards."[167] A reformist school—for revolution. Batthyány had in mind the popular enlightenment movement of the Russian university students during the 1870s—the idea of "going to the people": he wanted to establish clubrooms, people's libraries and schools "from which the focal points of class war and revolution can develop."[168]

The local conservative and clerical forces sought to prevent the school's opening by every means available. *Szombathelyi Újság* [Szombathely News], the weekly newspaper of the local clergy, attacked the school's woldview, and no doubt the landowners of the area also looked upon it unfavorably. The sound of protest was heard in Budapest too: the Ministry of Education allowed the school to open only on condition that it introduce compulsory religious education. In this threatening atmosphere, the school's opening, planned for 22 October 1905, had to be postponed. "Led by the chaplain from Hosszúpereszteg, youths armed with sticks and hoes attacked the 'Godless school,' breaking windows and hitting the poet Sándor Csizmadia with a stone thrown through a window."[169] But the other side swung into action too, for the experiment at Bögöte aroused the interest of the Budapest intelligentsia. The renowned symbolist poet and progressive writer Endre Ady, the radical sociologist Oszkár Jászi, and the circle around the social democratic newspaper *Népszava* [Voice of the People] regarded the case as particularly important. To achieve intellectual liberation, to break the cultural monopoly of the Catholic church—such goals resonated strongly in these circles.[170] Ady supported Batthyány in several articles and followed the case closely through *Népszava*'s detailed reports, while Jászi sought to intercede with the government. They did everything they could to resolve the situation, which Batthyány's lawyer described in a telegram requesting help dated 27 October: "Dear Chief Constable, Batthyány's school opens on Sunday; the school and its staff seek unconditional protection from criminal insults and constant threats to their lives, and the most extensive precautionary mea-

sures for the opening. I have presented a request also to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. [Signed] Balog, attorney-at-law."[171] A day after arriving in Bögöte, Ervin Szabó received the following information from Oszkár Jászi in Budapest: "The Social Science Society cannot quarrel with some town clerk. Naturally, however, should this provocation continue, we shall find the means to express a view. We have already informed the government, who will protect Bögöte with 'comradely goodwill.'"[172]

The school finally opened a week after the intended date, on 29 October 1905. The director was Lajos Tarczai, later a left-wing social democrat, and the secretary was Batthyány's farm manager, Herbert Nádler. On the opening day, following Nádler's introductory remarks, Ervin Szabó gave the opening speech in the name of the Social Science Society, and the teaching could finally begin. In Batthyány's school, not only the education, but also the textbooks and the clothes were provided free of charge. The teaching sought to develop independent thinking, practical knowledge and moral sense, and alongside the theoretical topics field trips were introduced with a view to deepening the pupils' knowledge of nature. József Biczó, a pupil at the time, recalled those months decades later in his old age:

> The chaplain from Pereszteg was strongly against the social school and forbade us from going there, for we would hear there only ungodliness. But such prohibitions were in vain, for we gladly went to Tarczai, and we regretted it when he was taken from Bögöte. They considered Count Ervin to be insane—because, of course, he took care of the peasants. He usually went on horseback, but he could often be seen on the estate on foot too. He was friendly not with the gentry from this area but rather with people who visited from Budapest. Many people came from Budapest to see him. He loved the children very much and he was often among them in the school.[173]

During the first school year, the authorities continued to harass the school and the number of libel cases multiplied. Batthyány labored on expanding the school, on developing a system for giving medical, legal, and economic advice, and on establishing a press, while Tarczai, besides teaching, devoted ever more space to agitation and frequently

went to the neighboring villages. By the end of the school year, a personal dispute had broken out between Nádler and Tarczai in which the count, regarding continuity of education as more important than agitation, sided with the secretary. In addition, Tarczai had to go to prison in Vác to serve an earlier two-month sentence, and the school's local opponents used this fact in their propaganda. Tarczai left following the end-of-year examinations, after which Blanka Ludwig, Rezső Koncz, Lajos Steindl and Mrs. Károly Néber taught at the school. Batthyány wrote to Ervin Szabó in June 1906: "I must confess that Tarczai's departure has been calming; the school's affairs and its teaching suffered a great deal from his agitation activities."[174]

Following this, the count became the target of the attacks. In the summer of 1906, for example, the chaplain of Pereszteg, Pál Gyuk, wrote in *Szombathelyi Újság*: When comrade Ervin Batthyány lived in London, in an atmosphere thick with smoke, the odor of make-up and perfume, there was peace here in Bögöte, in this little corner of Hungary; but since he threw the firecrackers of his principles of societal transformation into the world market we have had many struggles and problems, even with the elements….Within two weeks there were three devastating fires on Count Ervin's 'private property.'"[175] The article does not say whether the fires were caused by drought or by arson, but we cannot rule out the latter. The school continued to work for years after this episode. Batthyány was satisfied with it, and later described it as his only successful undertaking,[176] but it quickly lost its revolutionary impetus.

Batthyány did not, however, stop at this point. He wanted to mobilize: he tried to make anarchism a labor-movement theory. Initially, for tactical reasons, he did not position himself openly against social democracy. In his essay "Socialism and Anarchism,"[177] he emphasized the similarities and points of contact between the two approaches. According to this, the goals of socialism were the socialization of the means of production, equal distribution, the cessation of exploitation, and a happy life for all. Anarchism was the demand for the cessation of rule. More accurately, it was the demand "that everyone arrange his life according to his own wishes, his own individual needs and judgement; and that harmony and balance arising from the solidarity, voluntary agreement and association of free individuals replace the rule of law

and violence." Since their final goals were the same, "the happiness of *every* person," Batthyány argued that the two concepts were the two sides of the liberation of humanity: the one from an economic, the other from a political point of view. Their paths must be united: socialism without anarchism meant "hopeless slavery, the divine right of official-dom to rule"; anarchy without socialism was also inconceivable. The count concluded that there was but one possibility for the development of humankind: the society of "*free communism*," embracing at once both socialism and anarchism. He saw the embryonic form of this in independent interest organizations based on free agreement among the workers. Though the final goal is served indirectly by the economic strengthening, the education and the political struggle of the working class, "this is all just a means, a way of preparing for *social revolution*." (Italics added). In this conception, oriented as it was towards the final goal, "socialism is not just a precondition of anarchism; rather, anar-chism actually embraces socialism within itself."[178]

From this time on, we can regard Batthyány—alongside Ervin Szabó—as the most significant theoretician of anarcho-syndicalism in Hungary. In this spirit, he also expressed views on the questions of *par-liamentarism* and *democracy*. In the first decade of the twentieth centu-ry, the universal, equal franchise and the secret ballot were everyday political problems in Hungary. The Liberal Party [Szabadelvű Párt] was defeated after three decades in government, and, in spectacular fashion, the so-called "henchman's government" [darabont-kormány] that came to power in the political crisis of 1905 made the solution of the question part of its official program. At this time, every political or ideological current was obliged to take a stand in respect of the franchise. Batthyány's position was the following: "Though as an anarchist I despise parliamentarism, I wish it from my heart that the universal fran-chise be introduced at the earliest moment. For so long as it is not intro-duced, the fight for it pushes all else into the shadows: now the workers see it as a kind of panacea that will cure all their problems; until they get it, they will not see how much it can achieve in truth."[179] At this time, Batthyány still considered franchise extension to be acceptable as a transitional program. He even promoted it in his pamphlet, *The Rights of the People*,[180] but he regarded it as only the first step in the struggle for liberation, alongside which "direct action…is always necessary."[181]

He conceived democracy as popular rule, and he put the emphasis on the second element of this concept. The majority can oppress the minority just as the minority can oppress the majority—*rule* itself does not disappear. There was no place in his conception of democracy for the basic demand that can be expected in modern democracies: minority protection.

In later years, his belief in the transitional value of democracy also wavered. He wrote to Ervin Szabó in 1910: "In my view, democracy is the last, the best disguised, and thus the strongest bastion of the present ruling system. Regarding the view, which has become widespread in countries like Hungary, according to which where democracy has not yet developed fully it must be established and built up urgently, for this is an unavoidable step towards socialism (or, more precisely, anarchist communism), I consider it to be deeply mistaken and dangerous."[182]

Batthyány shifted towards anarcho-syndicalism because, as an anarchist, he could believe in it, and because he regarded it as compatible with the system of principles behind Kropotkin's communist anarchism: he hoped that anarchist ideology would thus be workable among the mass of the workers. Because of considerable differences of view, however, his "cooperation" with social democracy was wholly tactical, and thus transitional.

### 4.3. *"Comrade Count Batthyány"*

The count's activities peaked around the middle of the first decade of the twentieth century: on his Bögöte estate he planned to establish a press and a book publishing house, to start a daily or weekly paper, and to publish an academic journal and a people's encyclopedia;[183] he wrote articles for the paper *Világszabadság* [World Freedom], with a circulation of nine thousand copies, and for the journal *A Jövő* [The Future], published in Nagyvárad [Oradea]; he also supported both of these publications financially. (He broke his ties with the former in 1907, while the latter appeared for only two years.)

Batthyány's next initiative—the founding, with his money and under his direction, of *Testvériség* [Fraternity], the paper of the Social Democratic Party in Szombathely in March 1906—proved more seri-

ous but equally short-lived. The paper's editorial office was at Bögöte, while its publishing office was in Szombathely. In the first months, Batthyány wrote the lead articles, and these formed their own amalgam of the anarchist-communism of Kropotkin, Willliam Morris, Jean Grave, and the ever strengthening anarcho-syndicalist strand. Though he expected the creation of anarchy to come from the workers, we must not forget the motto, repeated as a refrain: "The liberation of the working class can be the work only of the workers themselves." He never urged only trade-based organization of the workers, but rather spoke in the name of natural law and human justice.[184] All of this quickly attracted the attention of the social democrats. As early as April 1906, Richárd Lóránt, who belonged to the social democratic opposition, wrote that "Batthyány writes anarchist-utopian-confused-naïve things in *Világgazdaság*, *A Jövő* and *Testvériség*, for which reason I disagree with Csizma [Sándor Csizmadia], who condones it. *Testvériség* is a decidedly disreputable enterprise, for under the banner of the 'social democratic paper' it silences the party and fights against its teachings. But it was recognized free of charge as a party paper, and now it sells 150 copies a week in the bookshop."[185] But the influence of *Testvériség* was much greater than the 150 copies sold in the *Népszava* bookshop indicated. One thousand copies were printed, there were five hundred subscribers, and single copies were also sold outside the bookshop. In this too, the editor in chief, Herbert Nádler, followed Batthyány's conception loyally.

In July 1906, *Népszava* attacked the paper's ideological deviation. The Social Democratic Party leader, Jakab Weltner, travelled to Szombathely and demanded that the editorial office be moved from Bögöte to Szombathely. He also called for the supervision of the paper by a workers' committee. His goal was to ensure that views differing from the party's should appear in the paper only as personal opinions. But local opposition prevented him from achieving this, and he could record only that his pressure led to the appointment of a new editor, Gyula Mérő (1881–1961). At this time, however, Mérő himself shifted from an opposition social democratic position towards anarcho-syndicalism, and so the paper's orientation remained in essence unchanged. In the months that followed, the paper was sustained primarily by Mérő's articles and Batthyány's translations.

Following the publication of another antiparliamentarist article in *Testvériség* in October, however, the party took tougher action: in early November, in a forceful resolution, the editorial office was placed "under the direct supervision of the conscious working class," that is, it was transferred to the party secretariat in Szombathely. The aim of this was that the paper should follow the program of the MSZDP "without any intra-party dispute."[186] Following the resolution, Batthyány and Nádler left the editorship of the paper, and Gyula Andrássy, the party secretary in Szombathely, edited the paper alone.

In 1906 and 1907, the tendencies that had emerged in the preceding years in the international labor movement strengthened. At the 1906 congress of the French CGT in Amiens, the syndicates committed themselves to anarcho-syndicalism. Alongside the existing founding principles, the spirit of antipatriotism and antimilitarism emerged increasingly forcefully. In Italy, for example, antimilitarism was so strong that by 1906 forty thousand people refused conscription in a single year. In France it was the CGT that provided the greatest support and mass for the antiwar movement, but it is worth noting that the Association Internationale des Antimilitaristes was headed by the Dutch anarchist leader Ferdinand D. Niewenhuis. In Hungary, Gyula Wojticzky published the first antimilitarist pamphlet, which at the time (1906) caused a sensation.[187]

This antimilitarism may be explained by the fact that the government repeatedly deployed the army to break up strikes. Regarding the question of war, there was widespread acceptance of the views of the movement's most influential agitators, Gustave Hervé from France and Ferdinand Niewenhius from the Netherlands, that all forms of national war were unacceptable, and that only civil war could be "worthy of man." (At the start of the twentieth century, civic pacifism emerged in parallel with socialist antimilitarism.)[188]

These questions were raised at the international anarchist conference held in Amsterdam in August 1907, where, besides discussion regarding the need for organization, there were heated debates over how far purity of principles was compatible with absorption into a broader mass movement (including also antimilitarism and revolutionary syndicalism). A large majority of the participants accepted the proposal that the goal of liquidating the existing society had to be tied to

the working class and its forms of practical struggle. Errico Malatesta and his followers argued that though anarchists had to participate in the trade-union movement, they had constantly to stimulate it to revolutionary activity. While the anarcho-syndicalists accepted the Marxist concept of class war, Malatesta, an anarchist, contended that social division was so complex there was no sense in distinguishing people solely on the basis of class.[189] These questions were the main points of conflict in the debates. Through a delegate, Ervin Batthyány presented a report to the congress on the situation of anarchism in Hungary.

Batthyány established his second paper, *Társadalmi Forradalom* [Social Revolution] in Szombathely in February 1907, with a circulation of two to three thousand. It carried a lengthy report on the meeting in Amsterdam.[190] This paper—which the count intended should follow simultaneously the views of Kropotkin, Grave and the CGT—became the longest lasting and, alongside *Állam Nélkül*, the most significant organ of anarchism in Hungary. The paper's goal, among others, was "to proclaim the need for direct economic and social action, for strikes and boycotts, for the general strike and for *anti-militarist propaganda*."[191] (Italics added.) The importance of the last of these is shown by the fact that in both March and September—prior to the times of conscription— the editors published special issues on antimilitarism with print runs of over five thousand. Their motto was "Neither a farthing [fillér] nor a person for the army!" *Társadalmi Forradalom* accommodated the tendencies of the time in Europe rather more sensitively than did the other papers of the labor movement; it represented more the French spirit within the movement than the German. Even if Hungary's political culture meant that the circle around the paper and anarcho-syndicalism more generally did not present a serious danger to the Social Democratic Party, it is worth while to contrast its openness and its search for a solution with the spirit of the MSZDP at the time, of which the socialist Arnold Dániel wrote in 1907: "In party life all is quiet. The journal *Szocializmus* is boring. These people, if they remain in charge much longer, will make the whole concept of socialism seem boring to the workers."[192]

But Batthyány's attempts to build a mass base ended in failure. He did not succeed in forming a common platform with the representatives of the social democratic opposition. He split with Gyula Mérő over dif-

ferences concerning both principle and the editorship of the paper: the differences between Batthyány's anarchism and Mérő's essentially revolutionary, oppositional socialism led to deepening conflict; further, Mérő was prepared to accept the editorship of the paper only if he could edit Batthyány's articles, which the count, as the paper's founder, of course refused to consent to. After the first year at Bögöte, Batthyány and Tarczai too parted ways. A short time later the former teacher wrote to Ervin Szabó: "Though I did incline towards anarcho-syndicalism, I now consider it to be none other than an activity of the petit bourgeoisie.…Do not think, however, that because I am opposed to anarcho-syndicalism I can be enthusiastic about the tactics of the party. Though I am a social democrat, I cannot submit myself to the authoritarianism that prevails within the party."[193] In 1911, a few years after penning these words, Tarczai emigrated to America and broke with the socialist movement.

In the spring of 1907, Batthyány still believed that, together with Sándor Csizmadia and Ervin Szabó, he could create a "lively revolutionary syndicalist movement."[194] But even in this he was disappointed: in May and June, his chosen ally, Sándor Csizmadia, attacked his strand of anarcho-syndicalism in a series of articles in *Világszabadság* (financed by the count himself) and in *Népszava*. In response to this, Batthyány had no option but to withdrew his financial support from the former paper. Although Csizmadia still emphasized his previously good personal relations with the count, he did everything to discredit anarcho-syndicalist ideas and to isolate the circle around *Társadalmi Forradalom*.

Batthyány had no such conflicts with Ervin Szabó, but from their correspondence in the autumn of 1907 the contours of their theoretical debate can be clearly discerned. There was no practical cooperation between them in the movement, but their friendship continued. "What do you think of the chances of revolutionary propaganda in Hungary?…My ignorance of circumstances in Hungary often hinders me and makes me uncertain in my writing," confessed Batthyány in a letter written from London in the spring of 1907.[195] It became ever more apparent to him that he was tilting at windmills, and that he was being squeezed out of the domestic political movement. Though the peasants at Bögöte, the workers in Szombathely and some radical intelligentsia groups in Budapest had a high regard for the activities of "Comrade

Count Batthyány," he was unable to win wider social influence. "One person cannot create a movement. In such circumstances, academic, or, I should rather say, *educational*, work is the only path available."[196] (Italics in the original.)

In the spring of 1907, Batthyány travelled to London for a lengthy period, and later he passed the editorship of *Társadalmi Forradalom* to the Budapest Group of Revolutionary Socialists [Forradalmi Szocialisták Budapesti Csoportja], which was formed for the purpose. From the end of June, starting with the eleventh issue, the paper was published in Budapest. With this, Count Ervin Batthyány essentially backed out of the movement in Hungary. His debate with Ervin Szabó, carried out through their correspondence, forced him to systematize his principles, as a result of which, after his years as a publicist for anarcho-syndicalism, he moved again towards the viewpoint of "pure" anarchism. But at bottom he was disillusioned. He was not satisfied with the line taken by *Társadalmi Forradalom*, which at the time reflected the views of the more moderate Károly Krausz. He, however, maintained his financial support for the paper until the end of 1908, thus guaranteeing its fortnightly publication. He wrote to Ervin Szabó, "Even though I do not trust much in the people at Társ. Forr. [*sic*]; except for Migray, I know none of them personally. But what should we do? We couldn't have left the paper in a provincial town as a private enterprise."[197] From 1910 onwards, he settled finally in England, his "second home." In 1913, at his request, the Ministry of Internal Affairs relieved him of his Hungarian citizenship, and a year later, in 1914, he sold his estate at Bögöte.[198] Batthyány gave the famous reform school—*horribile dictu!*—to the state.[199] During World War I he was a pacifist and maintained links with the anarchists in London, but until 1931—when he visited Hungary—he withdrew from politics.[200] During the final years of his life he lived in Lyme Regis, enjoying the sea view and the nearby oak forests, and in Stroud, where he found solitude and seclusion. He died from heart failure in Stroud on 9 June 1945. Since his death certificate states that he was "of independent means," we cannot rule out his having engaged in writing, translation and theoretical work. [201]

He ranked with Kropotkin, Tolstoy and Mihály Károlyi: he belonged among those who did not regret sacrificing even their property for social justice. He lagged behind them in their human qualities;

perhaps he was their epigone. Even his enlightened family placed him under forced medical attention because of his activities, and those who thought differently from him thought him simply insane. Those who recognized the value of his ideas were a narrow but elite intellectual circle; they could not form the basis of the movement he hoped for. Finally, all of them—no matter how world famous they had become—had to escape. Tolstoy reached only as far as Astapovo, where he died at the railway station. Kropotkin worked in France and later in England; after the Russian Revolution he returned home, but he was forced to live his old age in internal emigration.[202] Count Mihály Károlyi, the aristocrat and radical democratic politician who became prime minister through the liberal-democratic revolution of October 1918, was first forced into exile by the Kun- and then by Horthy régime that came to power in autumn 1919. He briefly returned to Hungary following World War II, but finally broke with his home country following the 1949 Stalinist show trial and execution of the communist László Rajk. He died in exile in the southern French town of Vence.[203] Lajos Leopold's prediction proved accurate: the same words can be read on Ervin Batthyány's gravestone as on that of John Keats: "Here lies one whose name was writ in water."[204]

### 4.4. *The Budapest Group of Revolutionary Socialists*

The illegal Budapest Group of Revolutionary Socialists did not appear without precedent. We can regard the workers' groups formed in a number of trades and several earlier periodicals and assemblies as its indirect precursors. We may mention the strikes in Fiume (Rijeka) in 1902 and the association formed there called the Confederatione Operaia, which was connected with the Budapest radicals through Péter Rainer and Vencel Barta. The groups there announced a general strike, thereby beginning a strike movement among the carpenters, cabinet-makers, lamplighters, harbor carriers and shipyard workers.[205] They were linked to the various Italian papers of anarchist orientation such as *Il Libertario* in La Spezia, *L'Aurora* in Ravenna, *Il Grido della Folla* in Milan, and *La Plebe* in Trieste. The Hungarian Ministry of Internal Affairs immediately banned these papers, and the Swiss anarchist paper

*Le Reveil*, from Hungarian territory.[206] In the following years, the growing euphoria over the franchise temporarily pushed the anarcho-syndicalists' organizational efforts to the sidelines and significantly increased the political weight of the MSZDP.

Only after this did groups disillusioned with the MSZDP reappear. The Budapest Group of Revolutionary Socialists [Forradalmi Szocialisták Budapesti Csoportja] was formed out of the old circle of anarchists and "scattered dissatisfied [elements] in certain socialist groups."[207] A weak but real link with Várkonyi's independent socialist movement is seen in the fact that *Földmívelő* regarded *Társadalmi Forradalom* as a sister paper and recommended that its readers subscribe to it. When *Földmívelő* ceased publication in 1907, they continued to send out *Társadalmi Forradalom* at the request of some subscribers.

The group was founded by Károly Krausz (1855–1930), an anarchist and former pupil of Schmitt. He was already under police observation, and it is thus no surprise that the authorities knew of the journal's move to Budapest almost immediately. In July 1907, the chief of police in Budapest reported to the minister of internal affairs that

> *Társadalmi Forradalom*, the revolutionary socialist journal maintained by the anarchist landowner from Bögöte, Count Ervin Batthyány, whose editorial office was in Bögöte and publishing office in Szombathely, has been published since 28 June of the present year in Budapest. The editorial and publishing offices are at the home of Károly Krausz, a fifty-two-year-old Isrealite, married, known theoretical anarchist born and domiciled in Budapest (8th district, Üllői út 12, 2nd floor, flat 10)."[208]

The name of István Kaszás appeared on the paper as the responsible editor, but this was a pseudonym. The paper was edited first by Miksa Glücksman, "twenty-nine-year-old, Israelite, married tailors' assistant," then from early 1908 by Ernő Kornfeld, "twenty-three-year-old, Israelite, unmarried bookbinder's assistant," and then by Ferenc Csényi, "twenty-seven-year-old, Roman Catholic, unmarried stoneworker's assistant."[209]

The Budapest Group took the resolutions of the international anarchist congress held in Amsterdam in August 1907 as its guiding princi-

ples. It had not more than forty or fifty members, who met weekly, giving readings and theoretical lectures. The moderates (József Migray, József Liebenberger and others) grouped around Károly Krausz, while the younger members who joined later (such as Sándor Hanesz, a twenty-five-year-old joiner, Jenő Weisz, journalist, Pál Bartos, worker, Pál Feldmann, joiner, and Ignác Bellér, machine worker) were of a more actionist disposition. Krausz adopted his moderate course in order to protect the group from police harassment and arrests, but he remained in the minority. Even Ervin Batthyány sided with the wing urging practical action. The group issued antiparlamentarist and antimilitarist propaganda. At a franchise demonstration organized by the social democrats on 10 October 1907, they distributed one thousand leaflets arguing against parliamentarism. They put up signed protest posters on the walls of buildings—for example, in December 1908, after the Austria annexed Bosnia Hercegovina. Because of lack of money, their propaganda outside Budapest consisted only of letter writing, but in this way they gained sympathizers in Nagyvárad [Oradea], Kecskemét, Kiskunhalas, Kunszentmiklós, Mezőtúr, Zenta [Senta], Szabadka (Subotica), Szentes and Zombor [Sombor]. In Nagyvárad, for example, Gusztáv Horváth published in 1908 a periodical called *Munkás* [Worker], which described itself as syndicalist, but which was in fact more opposition socialist in orientation.

Various dining circles were tied, to differing degrees, to the group, including Giordano Bruno (a circle of theoretical anarchists), Hervé (antimilitarists), Testvériség, Reclus, and later Ferrer (waiters), Sokrates (tailors), Galilei (bookbinders) and Plátó (iron and metal workers). In general, ten to fifteen people attended the gatherings of these groups, and thus the organizational base of sympathizers of the revolutionary socialist group in Budapest extended at most to 150 to 200 people. In Fiume [Rijeka]—the transit town for the illegal import of banned anarchist literature—an anarchist dining circle was formed in 1909 under the name Aurora. The revolutionary socialists initially cooperated with Russian emigrants living in Budapest, but this link was later cut. The Russian refugees became increasingly interested in terrorist-anarchist methods, and several were for this reason expelled from Hungary (David Chaskin, Anna Troyanska, Abraham Weinberg, Samuel Garfinkel).[210]

It is worth while to quote at length from one of the reports written by the chief of police to the minister of internal affairs to gain an impression of how the group seemed in the eyes of the authorities:

> In reference to decree no. 619/res of the present year (1907), dated 3 Aug., concerning the operation, formation and antecedents of the revolutionary socialist group, I report the following with deep respect to Your Excellency.…
>
> By the Budapest Group of Revolutionary Socialists, we understand the aggregate of all those who avow the same principles as the French syndicalists and the German anarcho-syndicalists. Their aspirations and tactics are best illuminated by the following slogans:
>
> anti-parliamentarism, antimilitarism, direct action, general strike.
>
> The group does not constitute an organic whole, it has no organizational statutes, and it does not collect membership dues; besides their journal, there is absolutely no outward sign that they form a group. Only among those group members who have worked at times in the editorial office of the journal or who are in the habit of participating in the evenings of debate advertised in the journal are there closer ties. They also have a meeting place at the restaurant of József Asztner in the 7th district, Nagydiófa u. 3. The number of people meeting in these places is not more than 25–30.…
>
> The journal has a print run of 3000 copies. Its income does not cover its expenditure, and so the journal can be published only with funds provided by Count Ervin Batthyány—amounting to around 180 koronas per month.…
>
> While reporting with deep respect that I have placed the operation of the group under constant surveillance, I regrettably cannot proceed against them on the basis of Ministry of Internal Affairs decree no. 1136/98. eln. I therefore venture to request Your Excellency's further esteemed instructions in respect of the actions to be taken against them.[211]

After Batthyány withdrew his support from *Társadalmi Forradalom* in 1908, the group faced constant financial difficulties, and its agitation activities also faltered during the brief imprisonment of

Hanesz and Feldmann. They called a national anarchist congress for August 1909, but only twenty-six attended, of whom five were from outside Budapest and one from abroad. These latter were forced by the police to leave Budapest, and the Serb Sava Popović was expelled from the country. Nevertheless, those in Budapest went ahead with the "congress," where they debated questions concerning organization, agitation and the press. On the suggestion of Ignác Bellér, the basic principles accepted at the meeting were published, in September 1909, under the title *Kiáltvány Magyarország munkásaihoz*! [Appeal to the Workers of Hungary]. In this, they stated unequivocally that the struggle of the proletariat is a fight against rule, authority, dogmas and centralization, for the realization of *anarchy*. They contended that anarchy signifies simultaneously a worldview, a societal form and an economic system. As a worldview, it was related to natural science: it was tied both to the thesis of "the struggle for survival" (Darwin) and to that of "mutual aid" (Kropotkin). Human struggle is conducted not against one another but for one another, for knowledge of nature and utilization of its goods. The appeal took the position that the equality of the people is a *natural law*. "But equality can be supposed only where there is no rule," they wrote. Thus, they argued that the goal of liberty derives inevitably from the demand for economic equality. In place of the servile, "we want a demigod who is the personification of nature." The society of free and equal people is built up through associations of those people. This, however, requires a sense of and ability for mutual aid, solidarity and fraternity. "From this stems our basic demand: Equality, Liberty, Fraternity!"

Though the appeal was essentially anarchist, it contained a mixture of anarchist and syndicalist elements. It called for the preparation of the masses through education, enlightenment and the promotion of science, "until the revolutionary general strike ends the life of the demented system entirely and the flag of anarchy is hoisted in victory." The text also contained such poetically broad interpretations of the anarchist ideal as that "anarchy is blessing and peace," the only system that guarantees "the continuity of cultural development."[212] According to the appeal, the organization would be based upon brotherhoods and district- and county-level groups, which would hold a national conference every year in Budapest. Regarding the concrete form of the organization, it stated that,

after the formation of the community, three brothers are entrusted to the following tasks: one deals with written work, another handles property, and the third organizes readings and debates and works to ensure that the fraternity strike roots in the community. Each brother contributes to the handling of the community's expenses to the extent that he wants and is able. These donations are noted in the community books by the donor himself. It is the right—indeed, the duty—of every member to check this. Every brotherhood reports its formation to the brotherhood in the administrative center of the district. This second brotherhood gathers together the addresses of all the communities in the district and reports them to the community at the administrative center of the county. This then gives the addresses of all the communities in the county and gives them to the group in Budapest. The groups thus have contact with each other, but none are subjugated to any others.[213]

Despite extensive leafleting, however, these principles never became reality. The movement did not flourish after the congress and the appeal. The situation changed only in 1910. At this time, the movement was joined by a Serbian teacher, Dr. Krsta Isskruljev (1881–1914)—who was an anarchist by disposition but who, as a fanatical believer in action, chose syndicalism—and by Ervin Szabó, scientist, librarian and one of the most erudite socialist-syndicalist theorists of international repute, who had previously kept a distance from the movement.

### 4.5. *Ervin Szabó and the Attempt to Establish a Syndicalist Movement*

Ervin Szabó (1877–1918) became gradually estranged from the Social Democratic Party. He left the office of *Népszava* in 1903 and joined the group around *Huszadik Század*; meanwhile, having joined the periodical *Világosság* [Brightness], he was active in an oppositional faction within the party. Because he believed that the future of the Hungarian labor movement could be discovered in the movements of the most developed western countries, he played close attention to French syndicalism and to the grouping around the periodical *Le Mouvement Socialiste*. He later met Lagardelle, Berth, and Sorel personally.

From 1904, he could be regarded as a believer in syndicalism. He wrote extensively concerning the role of the individual in social development, and became convinced that "all social progress is the work of critically thinking individuals."[214] The dynamic of society is always initiated and maintained by minorities. The mechanistic application of the majority principle thus shackles social development. Szabó expected social democracy to bring up more "integral" and at the same time more "critical" people. Following their brief association, Szabó came to regard Schmitt's ideal anarchism as an ideology of inaction, and he distanced himself from the direct antistatism of the anarchists too. He saw his syndicalism as the continuation of true Marxism, against the distortions of orthodoxy and reformism. In an article published in *Le Mouvement Socialist*, we wrote, "We do not need to tolerate the fact that the enemies of workers' socialism use a falsified Marx as a weapon in the fight for state socialism."[215]

In 1905 and 1906, Szabó was the ideologist of the intellegentsia opposition within the MSZDP. He then split with social democracy—in 1907 conceptually and in 1909 organizationally. After many years of theoretical work, he committed himself in 1910 to attempting to create a movement, a step he had previously seen as untimely.

With the arrival of Ervin Szabó, Krsta Isskruljev and others, the Budapest Group of Revolutionary Socialists split in two. Ignác Bellér (a member of the ironworkers' trade union) and Sándor Hanesz joined with Szabó and his followers, founding a syndicalist propaganda group, while the "orthodox" anarchists stayed with Károly Krausz. The syndicalist group published a manifesto in April 1910 (*Syndicalism: Appeal to the Working Class of Hungary*), which was written by Szabó in the spirit of modern syndicalism. According to this manifesto, "a society's political form germinates always in its economic structure," political strength is a function of the economic class war, and thus the road to socialism involves first the continuation of the economic struggle. Even if a workers' majority in parliament could be obtained through political struggle, this could guarantee the workers' interests only if backed by mass economic pressure.

The syndicalists argued that the trade unions had a revolutionary vocation, and thus considered it highly damaging for them to be no more than "branches of the Social Democratic Party—a political party."

The manifesto's demand was that the trade-union movement be separated from the political party. "They should be their own masters! No one should act as guardian over them! Not even the workers' own party! Political interests should not influence the freedom of their economic decisions!"[216]

The syndicalists also wanted to start a journal contrasting with *Társadalmi Forradalom*, but they did not have sufficient financial resources. By the end of the year, however, it became clear that the interdependence of the two groups stemmed not only from lack of money: syndicalism, like anarchism proved unable to generate a mass movement. In a lyrical article written for the journal's Christmas 1910 issue, Szabó put the question: why have these revolutionary efforts been unsuccessful? "Do we need revolutionaries? Answer: Hungary is both economically and intellectually an underdeveloped, poor country, where it is still too early to expect revolution, and where modernization of the social and economic structure awaits reformers, radicals, democrats and social democrats."[217] Yet he still judged the heroic fight of revolutionaries who were unreconciled with realities and filled their minds with "unrealizable matters" to be important, because such revolutionaries measure the practice of day-to-day compromises on the scale of history, of tomorrow and the day after, and they remind us of the final goals.

*Társadalmi Forradalom* appeared in its final year only seven times, and it closed in November 1911. As Károly Krausz summed up the situation bitterly, the reason for the closure "is very simple: there are no anarchists in Hungary."[218] In the years that followed, the tiny core of syndicalists and anarchists grouped around Krsta Isskruljev and Károly Krausz respectively. Krausz at this time also worked for the American anarchist newspaper *Liberty*, founded by Johann Most, and for *Neues Leben*, an anarchist newspaper in Berlin.

The organization was crippled further by the death in 1914 of Krsta Isskruljev. He was barely thirty-three years old, and died from one of the devastating illnesses of the time, tuberculosis. "Krsta Isskruljev was the healthiest, liveliest, most active person I ever knew; his temperament always drew him to the most distant hopes and farthest solutions," recalled Ervin Szabó. "Circumstances in Hungary were sadly just as ill-prepared for syndicalism as for anarchism, and thus Krsta Isskruljev's theoretical and practical efforts could never achieve such a state of har-

monious accord as could have brought him lasting results or given him satisfaction."[219] The same points appear again and again: the contradiction between Hungary's underdevelopment, theoretical attractions and the possibilities of practical action restricted the room for maneuver available to the Hungarian radical left.

Krsta Isskruljev's legacy was taken over by Ignác Bellér. But after 1912, besides the weekly meetings and endless criticism of MSZDP policy, the groups could not afford even to publish leaflets. According to one contemporary witness, "practically no more than the threads of a sense of Platonic solidarity hold together the couple of people who still call themselves anarchists." During the period of growing war euphoria "no more than twelve devout pupils sat around the master, the long-bearded Krausz, once a week, on Thursday evenings, in the *Mátyás pince* [a restaurant in Budapest]."[220] Following the emigration of several members (Ágoston Liebenberg and István Bacsó left to organize an anarchist colony in South America), in 1913–14 the attempt to form a revolutionary socialist—anarchist and syndicalist—organization came to an end. Meanwhile, however, new groups had emerged on the left of Hungarian politics.

A marked weakening of the momentum behind European anarcho-syndicalism was evident in the 1910s. The vociferous voice of antimilitarism also grew quieter. Some leaders, such as Hervé and Sorel, turned towards nationalism. Some notable anarchists, including the French Jean Grave and Malato, the Serbian Tsasuga and Winitz, the Italian Labriola and the Russian Kropotkin, were able to identify with the war for a longer or shorter time, and several even became soldiers.[221] In Italy, from the end of the decade, syndicalists joined the early fascist movement in large numbers. Communism too presented a great challenge to those who placed revolutionary action above all else: after 1917, many came to accept Bolshevism.

All of this shows that "anti-ideological" and antipolitical ideologies are better able to grow strong in circumstances of relative social peace; war conditions demanded more violent, more mobilizing, more "Machiavellian" ideologies that could form the basis of concrete political action—ideologies that could build upon more closed organizational units with real political strength, such as the party, the apparatus and the militia.

## 5. Artistic and Political Avant-Gardism
### (1908–1919)

### 5.1. *Lajos Kassák and Anarchism*

The influence of anarchism and Ervin Szabó was perceptible not only in the Budapest Group of Revolutionary Socialists, but also in the literary, artistic and political group that gathered around the modernist poet and painter, Lajos Kassák. The contemporary press offers vivid descriptions of the vicissitudes of Kassák's youth and political socialization. We offer here some fragments from his biography.

At the age of twelve, his agitation was already such that under the influence of his speeches the workforce of an entire electric power station went on strike....He was a machine-factory worker when he was expelled as an anarchist from the socialist association of iron-workers, and since then he has belonged to no party....He was twenty-one years old when, together with a fellow worker, he set off to walk to Paris. He had eighty krajcárs [the smallest unit of currency] in his pocket and a pair of worn-out shoes on his feet. He wandered round the whole of Switzerland, Germany and Belgium. He lived among beggars and vagrants, he slept at shelters, and he often literally ate pigs' will. He knew every horror, every monstrosity of life. In Brussels, he was captured at an anarchist gathering and sent to prison for several days, after which he was deported to Aachen. But with the help of the anarchists he still soon reached Paris....He spent several months in Paris, living among anarchists, first in the Jewish street, then in the Russian quarter. He was bewitched by French culture—he who until then had barely held a single book in his hands.[222]

Many have written already of the ideas of the young Kassák and the changes therein.[223] Kassák became involved in socialist associations of urban, heavy-industry workers almost as soon as he entered work. And though he initially fought for the fulfilment of the goals of the Social Democratic Party, he recognized very quickly that the interests of the party leadership differed from his own. He recognized that

the party hierachy, based on the principle of authority, contradicted the demand for the emancipation of the workers, for it forced the workers' revolutionary efforts into the regulated channel of party policy. Dissatisfied with the MSZDP, Kassák was, after 1905, attracted by the radicalism of the anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists; he appeared ever more often at their events, and he mixed also with the circle around Krausz.

Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution*,[224] which centerd around the principles of collectivity and solidarity, was first published in Hungarian in 1908.[225] These ideas had an enlightening impact upon Kassák, and at this time his instinctive anarchism was replaced by a more conscious, self-building demeanor. Almost immediately, he combined a consciousness of theoretical antistatism and human solidarity with the messianic intention of human transformation. The period of his wanderings around western Europe, which lasted for half a year in 1909, seemed to strengthen this lifestyle anarchism in him, but in fact it became a time of gradual distancing from anarchism. Among both local and emigrant anarchists in Brussels and Paris, it became clear that their conception of solidarity was above all one of *class* solidarity, and that it was thus, in essence, socialist. He was awakened to this by his meetings with the "propagandists of the deed" and the Jewish emigrants of the 1905 revolution living in Paris. Kassák wrote in his *The Life of a Man*,

> The Russians went not a step further, they constantly mixed their stock phrases, and though we too considered ourselves to be anarchists, we could not abide by their merciless dogmas and belligerent phrases. I certainly learnt much from their debates, but I did not become more of an anarchist; their path led me back to Marxist socialism. At home, the grand words of the anarchists in Szentkirályi utca [Street] gripped me, and I liked their bold gestures; here, by contrast, I could watch everything with critical consciousness. I was not enthused; rather, I learnt. And the more I clarified my own thoughts, the further I moved from the romantic high plateau of these people and the more I inclined to the level of the mass movements.[226]

This did not, however, signal a return to the MSZDP, still less to the movementist jargon. After 1910, the influence of Ervin Szabó became ever more evident in Kassák's statements. He accepted the pro-

gram of revolutionary socialism, the economic movement and the general strike. In connection with an article written by Ervin Szabó in 1913, he wrote in his autobiography,

> I think of Ervin Szabó, whose writings I await and read with curiosity, and whom I consider to be our most erudite socialist, and I know that there are few of us who so value him. The party people plotted to remove him from among themselves.…I profess myself to stand close to him. Everything that I have read of him I have learnt, and I should like to keep before me his knowledge and his humane disposition. He recently published an article of two to three pages in *Nyugat*, and it gave me more than could a whole year's worth of the pompous, slimy verbal gargling of the party spokesmen.[227]

The periodical *A Tett* [The Deed], established in November 1915 and edited by Kassák (and its successor *Ma* [Today]), besides being the most important forum for avant-garde literature in Hungary, displayed strong antimilitarism—and that at a time when, as we have seen, the whole of Europe lived under the spell of war. In 1915, *A Tett* published a short story by Kassák inspired by a picture by Carlo D. Carra entitled *Anarchist Burial*. By this time, however, Kassák's views shifted ever more towards revolutionary socialism. The centerpiece of his political views became a revolutionary conception emphasizing the principle of quality, according to which only a class-conscious "collectivity of ideologically and intellectually developed individuals is 'worthy' both ethnically and historically to the 'right' of fundamental changes in circumstances."[228] In light of this, he criticized exaggerated conceptions of the character of the Russian Revolution. And in this he remained loyal to his masters—to Kropotkin, who, in old age, became in internal emigrant of the revolution, and to Ervin Szabó, who always contrasted the principles of party discipline and individual freedom.

## 5.2. *The "Conductor of Mystery": Emil Szittya*

The most interesting personality in this circle from the anarchist viewpoint was Kassák's companion during his wanders in western

Europe: the writer, poet, journalist, painter, art historian and above all *bon vivant*, Emil Szittya (1886–1964). The trip with Kassák was not the first visit to western Europe for this tradesman's apprentice, who felt equally at home in the world of art and in the homeless shelters: between 1908 and 1927 he moved around almost continuously. Decades later, Kassák recalled,

> The door burst open and I saw him almost running along the street. The people who came towards him surely thought him some deranged artist; his grotesque figure stood out among those going about their business. I had already been together with this person for weeks, but still he was a stranger to me too: I could not discern his true nature. I was already sure that he was not homosexual, and that he was not Jack the Ripper, but he remained a secretive, masked stranger. He spoke as if possessed by God. He was unkempt and dirty like the stray dogs in autumn. I used to ask myself—Is he a good person? Is he a bad person? And I did not find an answer. Perhaps one had to know his childhood, or to go even further back into his origins. He could have been one of those legendary Jews who lived their whole lives on the road and never reached home.[229]

Who was Emil Szittya? Answering this question has caused no small amount of mental labor for those who have researched his life.[230] Szittya was born Adolf Schenk, the son of Ignác Schenk and Regina Spatz, in one of Budapest's poorest quarters. "The impoverished environment and brutal milieu left permanent marks on his personality. He did not speak much about this in later life, but what he did say was shocking. One consequence of the environment was that in effect he could not go to school. It was probably also a result of those circumstances that he left home at an early age. Around 1900 or 1901 he became a vagrant in Budapest, subsisting off refuse and begging."[231]

Around 1905, Szittya began to take an interest in literature and the fine arts, and this turn was fixed when he became personally acquainted with the poet Endre Ady. Under the influence of Ady and the 1905 Russian Revolution he moved towards socialism, and during his trip to Paris in 1906 and 1907 he shifted towards anarchism. Around 1907 he

still did not know himself whether he wanted to be a writer and artist, or an anarchist activist. His writings were rather trying to be original than actually original, the characters were rather freaks than people. While Kassák adopted the "constructive" side of anarchist thought that he recognized in the work of Kropotkin and Ervin Szabó, Szittya made the "destructive" side his own. Against the collectivist anarchism of Tolstoy or Kropotkin, Szittya much preferred the teachings of Stirner and Nietzsche—to such an extent that on 20 September 1908 he gave a lecture to the society Új Gárda [New Guard] in Budapest entitled "Tolsztoj, mint népgyűlölő" [Tolstoy as Misanthrope]. The text of the lecture does not survive; nor do we know what another of the invited lecturers—none other than Jenő Henrik Schmitt—said about it.

But Kassák accurately preserves Szittya's main ideas in *The Life of a Man*: "We anarchists cannot be troubled by moral worms. I have decided that if I finish my book on images of Christ, I shall give sermons on anarchism."[232] The seemingly limited opportunities available to him did not stop Szittya from setting improbable goals. Whether he wanted to be an avant-garde artist or an anarchist prophet, the next moment he planned to become a missionary in Chile or a gold digger in Alaska.

In 1908 he published a short book together with Gyula Wojticzky lauding the poet Endre Ady,[233] and his writings then gradually began to appear in the periodicals. In the same year he appeared in the Swiss town of Ascona, in the Monte Veritá circle,[234] in the company first of anarchists, then of Dadaists, bohemians and members of the Bauhaus school. Szittya "was able to form acquaintances very well" (Kassák), and he was particularly skilled in discovering and bringing people together. He was one of the first critics of Kassák's poems and one of the first exponents of his abilities as a writer. Szittya later played the role of discoverer and supporter for Hans Richter, Blaise Cendrars, Paul Beudisch, Alexander Calder, Wilhelm Dressler and others.[235]

Between July and December 1909 he journeyed with Kassák along a route through Stuttgart, Frankfurt, Aachen and Brussels to Paris, walking along highways and hiding on freight trains. It was through Szittya that Kassák entered anarchist and socialist societies, and they were deported together from Belgium. A policeman at the German border remarked to them that "it states on your papers that you are dan-

gerous anarchists."[236] Whenever they could, these "dangerous anar-
chists" sought out museums, where they admired the scuptures of
Rodin and the pictures of Arnold Böcklin, and Szittya noted the details
of pictures of Christ for the book he planned but never wrote.

Between 1909 and 1912, Szittya lived in Paris, where he published
anonymously a series of articles entitled "Anarchism and Beauty" in
the periodical he edited with Blaise Cendrars, *Les Hommes Nouveux*.
At this time he still participated in Freemason and anarchist organiza-
tions; with Hans Richter, one of his editorial colleagues, for example,
he wrote to Ervin Szabó inviting him to work for the periodical. In
1912, the anarchists Le Retif, Stodolsky, Bschorr, and Murmain became
contributors to *Les Hommes Nouveux*.[237] Meanwhile, Szittya wrote a
novel, became interested in occult sciences and published expressionist
prose poetry.

We referred earlier to the fact that the world of art—particularly in
fin-de-siècle and turn-of-the-century France—related to the anarchists
with a sympathy that expressed a certain spiritual affinity. Besides the
overlap of their social bases, moral, intellectual and aesthetical bonds
developed between them. This culture was institutionalized in the anar-
chist press, the blossoming anarchist cabaret theatres, in certain
Parisian art schools, and in the revolutionary propaganda of the emerg-
ing trade unions. While the Schmittian Gödöllő artists of the first years
of the century sought to fulfil the ideal of the "art of life" not only in
their works of art but also (and above all) in their lifestyles, the sym-
bolist and expressionist artists of Paris saw in anarchism— which they
interpreted metaphorically—above all freedom of expression.

The French anarchist movements of the time thus cannot be
described or understood using solely political terminology: they should
be conceived also as part of a broad *cultural rebellion*. The anarchist
artists attacked the petit bourgeois mentality just as the anarchist revo-
lutionaries attacked the institutions of state power. In the name of indi-
vidual autonomy, they sought to develop not only a social or political
critique of existing conditions, but also a forceful cultural critique of the
ruling system of values concealed behind the explicit operation of the
existing system. The symbolists believed that their radical message—
consciously avoiding the possibilities of direct political interpreta-
tion—could be expressed in the esthetic content of their art. This

approach was, naturally, the product not of self-censorship but of principle: they were convinced that genuine anarchism must move beyond political critique. The poets abandoned the traditional, rhyming romantic verse form and against its rules of "artificial" rhyme chose the metalinguistic, self-expressive form of "natural" rhyme. They contended that art cannot be measured on the utilitarian scale, for art is *for itself*; without aesthetic autonomy, there can be no artistic creativity. Thus, while the artists of religious anarchism placed art in the service of "Life" the symbolist and expressionist artists of the turn of the century recognized no form of authority above art—not even life.

Anarchism for them signified creative freedom contrasting with academic clichés, and they sought to attain the same level of freedom outside art too. While for the followers of Schmitt and Tolstoy there was no art without the ideal worldview concerning life, for the followers of French symbolism—with only slight exaggeration —there was no life without the aesthetic autonomy of art for its own sake. As Richard D. Sonn observed, in Paris's anarchist theatres, two cultures— elite and mass—seemed to unite under the aegis of anarchism.[238]

From 1912, following his sojourn in Paris, Emil Szittya again spent several years roaming in Europe. "It seems that Europe was for our hero what the shrines in nearby villages were for others. The latter have the pub opposite them, a friend to their left, the grocer and the baker to their right; all the day's toings and froings are but a stone's throw away. For our wanderer, Europe became his 'living space'; in every large town he kept a worn out, dirty, but indispensable piece of clothing. In 1912, his presence was still noted in the anarchists' favorite Paris coffee house in the area of the Rue Cujas,"[239] but he later appeared again in Italy, Germany and Belgium. Anarchism was for him not a system of theoretical doctrines, but a network of personal anarchist connections, a life form there to be lived. He was in Brussels at the outbreak of war, then returned to Hungary, and then in early 1915 appeared in Zurich among antiwar activists. With Hugo Kersten and Walter Serner he edited the journal *Der Mistral*, of which three issues were published. Among the contributors to the journal were Ivan Goll, Ludwig Rubiner "and several other notable antiwar, anarchist, expressionist, Dadaist figures."[240] In Zurich he became acquainted with such great figures from the worlds of politics, literature and art as Lenin, Joyce, Wedekind, Tzara, Werfel, Giacometti, and Hans Arp.

He did not, however, break his links with Hungary during the war: from time to time, more or less regularly, he appeared in Budapest. He visited Ervin Szabó, whom he got to know at this time together with Ervin Batthyány. He described himself in the coffee houses of Budapest as "socialist but not dogmatic." During the war, Szittya published a large number of articles (by his own estimation, 182), under his own name, anonymously or under various pseudonyms (such as Hugo Reinhardt, or Lesit/t/ Émile). His output was particularly high between 1915 and 1917, especially in the national radical journal *Új Nemzedék* [New Generation], in *Pesti Futár* [Pest Courier] and *Magyar Figyelő* [Hungarian Observer], and later in his own pamphlet-type journal, *Horizont* [Horizon]. Because of the prevailing mood and the wartime censorship, he had to hide his "nondogmatic socialist" convictions behind the appearance of objectivity, but when discussing such topics as the labor movements and the war he did not neglect to mention the—mostly dismal—state of the anarchist movements.

Because of his wide reading, his European purview, his up-to-date information and his ability to form a comprehensive view of a subject, his articles had a refreshing effect. In 1917, he was also a contributor, alongside Dezső Kosztolányi and Frigyes Karinthy, to the journal *Arcok és Álarcok* [Faces and Masks], publishing there a compilation of Hungarian anarchists living abroad.[241]

Kassák's volume *Epic in the Mask of Wagner* was published in 1915 with Szittya's encouragement and cooperation,[242] and it is probable that he contributed to the editing of the second and sixteenth issues of the journal *A Tett*, the latter of which was seized by the authorities. Because of his unexplained connections and his extensive financial resources from unknown sources, he had to deal for the first time at this time with the—unproved—allegations of a police informant. Kassák himself believed that Szittya played a part in the final banning of *A Tett*. The suspicion that surrounded him only grew when, in 1918, he became involved in allegations of spying on the parliamentary opposition leader, Count Mihály Károlyi. According to the charge, Major Hermann Konsten, the then leader of the German gendarmerie in Hungary, seeking evidence that Károlyi held pro-Entente feelings, used and paid handsomely for Szittya's services. The case never reached court and Szittya, wishing to free himself from the shadow of suspicion—protested his innocence in a pamphlet. By way of defense he

also distanced himself from the anarchists: "I am not an anarchist (I have always protested against having any such tag attached to my brow) and yet I still have been expelled from Prussia, the whole of Austria, Italy, and two Swiss cantons, Aargau and Ticino, and I have sat in jail in Sankt Pölten, Berlin, Rome, Aarau, Locarno and Trieste."[243]

By this time he was genuinely not an anarchist; "he opposed Marxism, but he opposed still more Károlyi's political efforts, which he saw as dilettante."[244] In the remainder of his career he became, as he noted himself, a recorder of "falling, sinking people," writing, for example, a lengthy monograph on people who committed suicide.[245] He summed up his own experiences in his 1923 book *Das Kuriositäten-Kabinett*. A significant part of this, entitled "Anarchist Heroes," was concerned with anarchism, and it included separate chapters on, among other topics, ideal anarchism, national anarchisms, the relationship between anarchism and sexuality, Marxism, individual anarchism, and Hungarian anarchists. Of the latter he wrote scornfully and disparagingly, as though he had never had any link to anarchism. It is characteristic of the author's wide-ranging interests that, after portraits of social democrats, syndicalists and Bolsheviks (Lenin and Trotsky) and a description of the artistic movements of the period, the book closes with an introduction to the activities of the Belgian anarchist artists.[246]

The rootlessness that lay behind Emil Szittya's eccentricity fitted with the Hungarian anarchist tradition. "He broke with the soil on which he was brought up, and he has been unable ever since to retain a grip on anything."[247] He confessed, "throughout my life I have been a habitual collector of curiosities,"[248] though in Hungary he remained a curiosity himself. In his thoughts and his worldview he was able to connect only with a narrow avant-garde group in Hungary. After 1919, Szittya—the "conductor of mystery"[249] frequented various towns in Austria and Germany, and in 1927 he settled finally in Paris. He broke his ties with Hungary and became an established French writer, painter and historian of art.

## 5.3. *The Moralist Revolutionaries*

Ervin Szabó's influence was strongest not in the group associated with Kassák but among left-wing political movements revived by

young activists. Following his unsuccessful attempt to form a movement in 1910, Szabó returned to his theoretical work and librarian's tasks. But he retained his principles, and he gave moral support and practical assistance to the radical activity that strengthened again from the middle of the decade. He acted as a personal catalyst between the different revolutionary waves: it was through him that the groups of old syndicalist workers (Ignác Bellér, at the time the president of the Boilerworkers' Union, and trade union stewards Antal Mosolygó and Dezső Végh) and the students of the Galileo Circle [Galilei Kör] who turned to him in their search for a mass base (Ilona Duczynska, Árpád Haász, Tivadar Sugár) became acquainted with one another.

The Galileo Circle was formed with Freemason support in 1908 as an anticlerical, academic, self-educating circle of university students. Though Károly Polányi (later the world-famous economic historian known outside Hungary as Karl Polanyi), in his own words, "led [the group] in an antipolitical direction,"[250] the academic debates and the lectures that were intended to extend knowledge gradually led to the forging of a new set of political concepts, and the circle slowly became a socialist students' organization. According to Oszkár Jászi,

> Amidst the privations and passions of the war it fell more and more under the influence of antimilitarist and syndicalist propaganda, so that the police suppressed it a few weeks before the outbreak of the revolution, and arrested several of its members. Among the intellectuals in the camp of the Communist revolution, the youths in their twenties were almost exclusively drawn from the membership of the Galileo Club [Circle].[251]

All of this is worth mentioning from the viewpoint of the history of anarchism in Hungary because among the antecedents of the revolutionary socialism that was revived in the Galileo Circle in 1917 was the journal *Társadalmi Forradalom*, founded by Ervin Batthyány precisely ten years earlier. For example, the famous antimilitarist emblem of the Galileo Circle—in which two fists smashed a weapon to pieces—was precisely the decoration that appeared on the antimilitarist issues of *Társadalmi Forradalom*. It was chosen from Batthyány's journal by Duczynska.[252] Besides their formal similarities, their worldviews were

also the same: antimilitarist, antiwar revolutionary socialism seeking to organize a workers' revolution. The outbreak of World War in 1914 made the antimilitarist and revolutionary socialist principles that were born out of anarchism all the more real.

Meanwhile, around 1916–17, terrorism reappeared in the stock of weapons used by the labor movement. Acting out of powerless fury over the seemingly endless, ever more hopeless and bloody war, on 21 October 1916 Friedrich Adler, leading figure of Austro-Marxism and a socialist parliamentary deputy, shot and killed the Austrian prime minister, Count Karl Stürgkh.[253] The aim of the attack was to draw the attention of European public opinion to the claim that the leadership of the Dual Monarchy, and thus Stürgkh himself, was responsible for the war. "They say that Marxism (in which Adler, in his intentions, was a believer) rejects individual terror. The situation is not so simple. Marxism's rejectionary behavior towards such attacks is not moral but rational in character. They do not condemn murder as a weapon of the political battle at all; they merely prefer the organization of the labor movement to a few desperate anarchist acts against individuals."[254]

Adler's action was the product of a sense of moral responsibility that derived from the suffering of millions. This moral rage was not unknown in Hungary either. Several assassination attempts were planned against the symbol of the Hungarian régime, the prime minister, Count István Tisza. In Ilona Duczynska's view, "let someone, anyone come, shoot István Tisza, and hit the embodiment of the system in the heart. An idol will topple."[255] First Ervin Szabó himself wanted to perform this act. Then Duczynska, with Szabó's approval, took responsibility for it. On 23 May 1917, on the fifth anniversary of the "Bloody Thursday" (when Tisza gave the order to fire on workers demonstrating for the franchise), she had already set out towards this goal with a pistol stolen from József Madzsar when she heard *en route* that Emperor Karl I (King Charles IV of Hungary) had that very day accepted the prime minister's resignation. István Tisza's assassination was thus unnecessary—but it happened anyway one and a half years later. Shortly after an unsuccessful attempt by the revolutionary socialist János Lékai on 16 October 1918, Tisza was murdered on 31 October, on the the eve of so-called "Chrysanthemum Revolution."[256] Had the assassination attempts made by Duczynska or Lékai been success-

ful, our view today of Szabó and his circle would have been different, emphasizing more their anarchist linkages.

János Lékai (1895–1925), revolutionary socialist and supporter of the "propaganda by the deed," wrote thus: "Our goal is not that a stupid but disciplined mass should follow blindly after the leaders; we want every worker to hold consciously the desire that burns in those who have seen the truth.…We must raise consciousness considerably."[257] The actionist group was able to connect with some of the workers: its influence was most significant in the workers' settlements around Budapest, among the workers of the aircraft factory in Mátyásföld, the armaments factory in Pesterzsébet and the Mannfréd Weiss factory in Csepel. Lékai promoted his avant-garde views—which were not anarchist but far-left communist—in *Ifjúmunkás* [Young Worker] and, from January 1919 in *Ifjú Proletár* [Young Proletarian]. The Third Congress of the Comintern, however, later considered his theory of the offensive, which emphasized freedom of action for young workers, to be dangerous and divisive, while the majority of those living in emigration regarded him as a "naïve idealist and a political Tolstoyan."[258]

In his literary work, Lékai was linked to the circle around Kassák and published many writings in the avant-garde periodical *Ma* [Today]. His later short novel, *Vörös és fehér* [Red and White] tackled a problem characteristic of the expressionist literature of the time, the legitimacy of individual terror and revolutionary violence:

> This was a problem for the whole of the contemporary European intelligentsia. For Gorky the same debate arises over violence and nonviolence as it does in France between Romain Rolland and Barbusse. The idealist heroes of the expressionist age generally cannot solve this question; they become sacrificial offerings on the altar of their ideals, throwing away their lives in atonement for actions performed in the interests of the good of all that are felt to be criminal. Such sacrifice for socialism, such a conception of ethical socialism appears most clearly perhaps in Ernst Toller, for whom anarchist rebellion and revolution seemed to be realized for the purified person of the future, in unity with messianistic mission and the shouldering of sacrifice.[259]

Lékai's hero rejects reconciliation, the Christian conception represented by Ervin Sinkó. But his anarchist "can render [his action] compatible with his system of ideas and his conception of morality only by losing his own life and thus becoming a sacrificial victim, allowing his martyrdom to the great cause of the proletariat to purify his crime."[260]

Pupils of Ervin Szabó (Bellér, Duczynska, Sugár) initiated the formation of workers' councils independent of the party for the first time in Hungary, and were arrested in January 1918 for their antimilitarist actions.[261] The demands for direct workers' action and workers' supervision of the party existed side by side in their thinking. Towards the end of his life, Szabó moved towards the viewpoint of *ethical idealism*, which opposed rigid materialist determinism and demanded the agreement of means and ends.[262] In this he found such followers as György Lukács, Béla Fogarasi and Ervin Sinkó, who at the time were living under the spell of the political messianism of world revolution.[263]

Many from the revolutionary movement that emerged around 1917–19 became communists (besides Lékai, Ottó Korvin, Imre Sallai and the members of the so-called Liberation Group [Szabadulás-csoport], who broke with the Kassák circle and promoted seditious literature: Aladár Komját, József Lengyel, and József Révai). Ervin Szabó was influential upon them too, and prior to his death in September 1918 he gave theoretical and practical assistance to those who turned to him. But he accompanied them with reservations:

> with his characteristic sombre consistency, he rejected any labor movement of a political character, fearing, on the basis of his experiences with social democracy, that a small intellectual minority always breaths down the neck of the workers in such movements, sidelining the workers' economic demands in order to further its own predominance. From a historical distance, he viewed this intellectual party stratum as a "new class" that would introduce dictatorship under the guise of giving power to the working class. This worry was so strong in Ervin Szabó that he accepted the [Russian] October socialist revolution only with reservations.[264]

The anarchism of the early twentieth century was characteristic of Hungarian political culture precisely because of its lack of organization.

From this point of view, the Hungary of the time—after the decline of the agrarian-socialist movements—occupied a unique intermediary position in Europe. Western development at this time displayed the limits of parliamentary democracy, while in Russia and the Balkans before February 1917 the question of democratization had hardly been raised. For these reasons, the anarchist movement could be stronger in these countries. In Hungary at the beginning of the century, democratization through franchise extension was only an extended hand—an aim that appeared realizable at any time but yet that in fact could not be realized. From the 1910s—except during the period of revolutions—the political situation of the country as it drifted into the deadend of nationalism rendered the hope for democracy untimely, while the dream of anarchy could remain the goal of only a few groups with little influence.

## 6. ANARCHISM DURING THE PERIOD OF THE HUNGARIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC (1919)

### 6.1. *Anarchism versus Bolshevism: The Soviet Example*

On 15 April 1919, barely four weeks after the foundation of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, the anarchist journal *Társadalmi Forradalom* was published again. At the center of the rapidly formed Budapest Anarchist Group [Budapesti Anarchista Csoport] was Károly Krausz, whose path had taken him from Schmitt's *Állam Nélkül* to Batthyány's *Társadalmi Forradalom*, and who had remained the standard-bearer of anarchism in the first half of the 1910s as the organizer of the Budapest Group of Revolutionary Socialists. The social base of anarchism consisted at this time mainly of workers from small production units. From the time of the group's formation, it strove for the formation of a national network, though, because of the rapid collapse of the Soviet Republic, it never had time to do so.

The question arises why the political leadership of the Soviet Republic tolerated this legal organization of openly antistatist anarchists (even if it was not strong, as it had no more than two hundred members), when it banned every non-Marxist political party? How could a Bolshe-

vik-type party that began to construct a state machinery more oppressive than anything that had gone before tolerate the anarchists? The exceptional place of the anarchists can be traced to international factors.

The Hungarian Soviet Republic was formed following the example of the 1917 Russian October Revolution, and this model secured a place in it for the anarchist critique. In early Soviet Russia, anarchism was still clearly conceived as the traditional comrade-in-arms (even if sometimes a distant or even conflicting comrade) of the other labor-movement orientations in the struggle for socialism. (An example of this historical view in Hungary is given by Ervin Szabó's statement, already quoted: "anarchism is a species of socialism; nor is social democracy any more than this.")[265] The respect for and living tradition of Bakunin, Kropotkin and other revolutionaries of Russian origin strengthened this conception. Russian and Ukrainian anarchists, anarcho-communists, soviet communists and syndicalists played a large part, together with other orientations, in preparing for and fighting the 1917 socialist revolution and in establishing the new system. After 1917, they supported the consistent extension of the revolution, spoke against the construction of a new state and its total domination, demanded socialization and decentralization in place of nationalization, and wanted to activate the system of soviets to form a free federal system vis-à-vis the Party. It is indicative of the mass scale of the movement that anarchist organizations appeared in thirty-three towns and workers' settlements in 1917, 130 in 1918 and twenty-three in 1919, and that twenty-one legal anarchist newspapers and periodicals could appear in the young Soviet state in 1917, fifty-five in 1918 and twenty-eight in 1919.[266]

The anarchists and Bolsheviks engaged initially in illuminating theoretical debate. The contradictions between them were described in the following terms by one of communist anarchism's most notable representatives, Alexander Berkman:

> The great difference between the Anarchists and the Bolsheviki was that the Anarchists wanted the masses to decide and manage their affairs for themselves, through their own organizations, without orders from any political party. They wanted real liberty and voluntary cooperation in joint ownership. The Anarchists therefore called

themselves *free* Communists, or *Communist Anarchists*, while the Bolsheviki were *compulsory*, governmental or State Communists. The Anarchists did not want any State to dictate to the people, because such dictation, they argued, always means tyranny and oppression. The Bolsheviki, on the other hand, while repudiating the capitalist State and bourgeois dictatorship, wanted the State and the dictatorship to be *theirs*, of their Party.[267] (Italics added.)

Berkman distinguished his group from the nihilists and terrorists (more than ten anarchist factions could be differentiated at the time) and defined the essence of communist anarchism in terms of common ownership and statelessness. By contrast, Lenin regarded anarchism as "a sort of punishment for the opportunist sins of the working class movement."[268] In his view, centralization was not in itself a good or a bad arrangement. He argued that it was acceptable to think in terms "of voluntary centralism, of the voluntary unification of the communes into a nation, of the voluntary fusion of the proletarian communes in the cause of destroying bourgeois rule and the bourgeois state machine."[269] Because he argued that a new society could not come about in a decentralized structure, he justified the necessity of temporarily maintaining the state and the dictatorship of the proletariat with the need for the pooling of forces. "The proletariat needs the state only temporarily. We do not at all disagree with the *anarchists* on the question of the abolition of the state as an *aim*. We maintain that, to achieve this aim, we must make temporary use of the instruments, resources and methods of state power *against* the exploiters."[270] (Italics added.)

The anarchist Kropotkin considered precisely this kind of strategic, political argumentation to be unacceptable: "We anarchists have pronounced final sentence upon dictatorship….We know that every dictatorship, no matter how honest its intentions, will lead to the death of the revolution. We know…that the idea of dictatorship is nothing more nor less than the pernicious product of governmental fetishism which…has always striven to perpetuate slavery."[271] Stalin offered the following response to this charge in his pamphlet *Anarchism or Socialism*?: "the dictatorship of the proletariat will be a dictatorship of the entire proletariat as a class over the bourgeoisie and not the domination of a few individuals over the proletariat."[272]

The first warning that Stalin was no prophet came with the steps he took against the anarchists. The turning point in the relationship between the anarchists and Bolsheviks came with the signing of the Peace Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in 1918 ending the war between Russia and the Central Powers: the anarchists regarded this as a betrayal of the world revolution. Following this, the process of distancing and the growth of conflict began. For example, only six issues of the communist-anarchist journal *Trud i Volya* [Labor and Freedom], founded in early 1919, could be published; in these, the journal attacked the Bolshevik system for "its rule over the human person" and urged direct action against bureaucratic power. The Ukrainian peasant anarchist army led by Nestor Makhno,[273] which fought for "real socialism" against both Bolshevism and the White armies, was eliminated through armed conflict, and well-known anarchist leaders (such as Arshinov, Volin, Shapiro, Shatov, Cherkezishvili, Maximov, and Zhelezhnyakov) were gradually pushed out of political life.[274] In 1921 the Moscow anarchist groups were dissolved, and in the same year the sailors' rebellion in Kronstadt—an anarchist and Menshevik demonstration of social dissatisfaction with the system of War Communism—was suppressed. From that time on, the traumatic suppression of the Kronstadt Uprising became the symbol of left-wing and democratic risings against the dictatorship of state socialism.[275]

But the "syndicalist and anarchist deviation" appeared also within the Communist (Bolshevik) Party in the program of the so-called Workers' Opposition. Its representatives recommended that the direction of the entire national economy be given to an all-Russian congress of producers, through which they wanted, explicitly or implicitly, to enhance the role of the trade unions vis-à-vis the Soviet state and the Communist Party. On Lenin's recommendation, the group was crushed organizationally at the Eleventh Party Congress in 1922. By the end of 1922, the anarchist movement had essentially ceased to exist in the Soviet Union, and the last major anarchist demonstration occurred at Kropotkin's funeral in 1921. Following this, the left-wing opposition within the Party was represented by the Trotskyites. The process of settling scores with the anarchists[276] reached its climax under Stalinism—even internationally, with Stalin's intervention against Spanish anarchism in the 1930s. The program of the famous Spanish anarchist trade union alliance, the CNT (Confederación Nacional de Trabajadores),

and its political wing, the FAI (Federación Anarquista Ibérica) called
for direct workers' control, local, committee-based government and ant-
icapitalist, anticlerical struggle, but their left-wing, statist "comrades in
arms" branded them divisive and even fascist and moved against them
with ruthless armed force.[277]

## 6.2. *Critical, Revolutionary and Cultural Opposition*

The leaders of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, however, could not
predict these developments. Given also that the Hungarian anarchist
movement was insignificant in numerical terms, the new elite of the
régime closed its eyes to the organizational activity of its former com-
rade-in-arms. The anarchists, meanwhile, were careful not to present
themselves to the public under their full name. They published their
radical oppositional essays in *Társadalmi Forradalom* under combat-
ive or poetic pseudonyms (such as Sirocco, Salome or Jakab Vörös
[Red]) or by using personal signs.

Anarchism in Hungary at this time—after the periods when anar-
chism leant towards the ideal or to anarcho-syndicalism—differed
markedly from its predecessors. It did not group around a defining the-
ory or personality as it had around Jenő Henrik Schmitt, and Ervin
Batthyány. Schmitt had personally written and edited his journal and
led his movement, and the exclusive thought system of that movement
had been ideal anarchism. Batthyány's material sacrifices had increased
his energy, but in the end exhausted him. The school and the journals
that he had founded were linked to him closely. (It is no accident that
publication of *Társadalmi Forradalom* had become less regular as soon
as he withdrew his support.) By contrast, the anarchists of 1919 orga-
nized without a leading ideologist. They did not seek to construct a
movement around an existing system of ideas; rather, the members con-
structed their group from their own strength. Their journal was written
and edited by workers, and in place of the primacy of ideology they
were characterized by practical activity and a movementist orientation.

Despite these differences, the 1919 anarchists professed them-
selves to be the heirs to the whole Hungarian anarchist tradition: their
journal republished Schmitt's famous defense at his 1897 libel trial,

Batthyány's 1906 study *Szocializmus és anarchizmus* [Socialism and Anarchism], which had become much more salient with the coming of state-socialist revolution, and excerpts from a piece writen by Szabó in 1908, *Bakunyin, Marx és az Internacionálé* [Bakunin, Marx and the International]. At the head of the first issue of the journal they declared proudly: "The work that we began with *Állam Nélkül* and continued with *Társadalmi Forradalom* we now take further with this new issue!"[278] In their rapid reactivation they thus continued the organizational endeavors of the years between 1908 and 1914; indeed many of the participants were the same. It is typical that *Társadalmi Forradalom* turned for articles to "our brothers who participated in the old movement."

It is indicative of the group's theoretical awareness that, besides Bakunin, Tolstoy and Kropotkin, it knew and published articles by the American feminist anarchist Emma Goldman, and by Jean Grave, who advocated alliance with syndicalism while himself retaining an anarchist viewpoint. They also participated in the international Esperanto movement.

Their proclaimed goal was to educate self-conscious, independently acting individuals who would, on the basis of solidarity, mutual aid and fraternity, take up the fight against power, prejudice and the various forms of authority in the name—to quote the pathos of their rhetoric—of eternal peace, culture and free development. They spoke in support of the one-parent families produced by the war (mothers' protection), they recommended the hastened establishment of boarding schools for abandoned and orphaned children (in place of adoption in the rural areas, which led to exploitation and a life of domestic service), and they raised the prospect of ending prostitution. To solve the problem of old bank accounts that offered scope for abuse, they recommended that small amounts should be repaid equally. They called on the people to join the Red Army in the name of proletarian unity and opposed Romania's unacceptable armistice conditions.[279] Because of the adverse economic situation, they initiated the establishment of production groups in the country. Their plan was that these groups would be assembled under the direction of the trade unions from factory workers, and that the leaders too would, for an equal wage, engage in physical work.

The members of the Budapest Anarchist Group shared a common basic situation: the socialist state was for them not a product of theo-

retical deduction, but rather the immediate reality of proletarian dicta-torship, and one demanding a response. They greeted the Soviet Repub-lic with sympathy, but they retained the option of turning against it if "you do not return the power that you possess today to the hands of those you got it from—*the hands of the proletarian*!"[280]

The anarchists demanded self-governing socialism based on direct democracy, which to a degree conformed with the Soviet Republic's ideology of the rapid withering of the state. "In creating the state of the proletarian dictatorship, the Soviet Republic took as its guide the prin-ciples laid down in Lenin's *State and Revolution*,[281] and thus proposed the replacement of the old state with the direct rule and dictatorship of the workers through the system of soviets. This dictatorship was to be maintained during the historically short period of the construction of socialism, in the hope that the proletarian state would rapidly give way to a classless and stateless communist society."[282] The situation of a state striving for statelessness during the period of dictatorship was fur-ther complicated by the fact that the difference between the state and party leadership remained unclear throughout the Soviet Republic's existence. Indeed the impossibility of replacing the entire staff of the administrative system, while a new party-based administration was nevertheless created, "led initially to the doubling of the size of the apparatus."[283] Alongside this bifurcated state, the system of soviets—consisting of territorial (village, district, town and capital city) and workplace self-governing units—was also important. "The sponta-neous revolutionism that broke out in the soviets made up for many deficiencies,"[284] and it was the consistent realization of this spirit that the anarchists expected. Alongside anarchism, syndicalism too gradu-ally strengthened during the revolutionary struggles of 1917 to 1919. The growth of its influence was helped much more by the spontaneous, revolutionary dissatisfaction of the workers (the formation of workers' councils in the course of 1918, the growing role of the trade unions and their more radical moves against the party leadership, and the syndi-calist features apparent during the Hungarian Soviet Republic) than by theoretical teachings.[285]

The members of the Budapest Anarchist Group differed from these anarchist and syndicalist manifestations of spontaneous revolutionism in that they sought to express in theoretical terms the left-wing work-

ers' critique of the socialist system that had been created. They argued
that the party-state that had brought about the revolution held on to
power and did not return it in sufficient time to its entrusters: the work-
ers. Not long after greeting the Soviet Republic with sympathy, Károly
Krausz said in a lecture that "today's communism is nothing other than
terrorist social democracy, and the communists differ from the social
democrats only in their tactics."[286]

Various different points of view appeared within the Budapest
Anarchist Group, and these diverged from one another in their rela-
tionship to "real existing socialism." Though the differences could not
take shape fully within this short period and though the various
approaches at times mixed with one another, three viewpoints can be
identified within the group: 1, the critical; 2, revolutionary; and 3, cul-
tural forms of opposition.

Some anarchists accepted that socialism could be achieved only
after a period of revolutionary dictatorship, and they saw their tasks as,
first, the left-wing critique of the new state, and, second, the utilization
of the long-awaited opportunity extended to them for the direct realiza-
tion of the anarchist social ideal. They viewed the importance of free
criticism as coming from the fact that "while Marx dreamt that the class
rule of the proletariat would not imply class rule or class repression in
the strict sense," in reality, rule brings repression inevitably.[287] The
anarchists were thus far from delighted with the existing Bolshevik sys-
tem. They recognized that their goals were lofty and that the Bolshevik
system fulfilled a defined historical function, and they thus criticized it
without actively attacking it. Still, following Ervin Szabó, they drew
attention to the essential importance of free criticism from the view-
point of societal development. It was a mistake, they said, to suppose
that there was no need for criticism in the emerging socialism, for fur-
ther development can always be expected, and no particular arrange-
ment can ever be perfect. It was a mistake also for the representatives
of the party-state to brand criticism of the transitional institutions and
measures as "counterrevolutionary activity." The suppression of criti-
cism would work against the revolution in two ways. First, it would
evince a reactionary spirit running contrary to genuine revolutionism;
second, criticism pushed into illegality would be an obvious example of
weakness of the system.[288]

The goal of this critical standpoint was the immediate realization of the anarchist social ideal: "autonomous individual, autonomous community, federal alliance of the people." To achieve this, the group announced the organization of an alliance of cells of fewer than two hundred people each. The group's "Call to Organize," which was published as the 1st May 1919 issue of *Társadalmi Forradalom*—was in essence none other than a twenty-two-point set of organizational statutes.[289] Similar statutes could be found in those countries where anarchism was a mass movement (for example, in the over two-million-strong syndicalist and anarchist federation in interwar Spain).[290] The first, short condition in the program for the survival of the anarchist group and the ending of its repression was "individual freedom." The second: "fraternal cooperation." The relationship between these: "individual freedom rules out all forms of internal or external violence; fraternal cooperation ties the members to one another morally." The statutes stated that individual groups could be formed independently and were required only to give notice of their existence. These entirely independent organizations would join together in a congress once a year in order to coordinate their propaganda work. The groups would establish press, membership and economic committees the members of which would be unpaid. Common funds could be used only for propaganda and the maintenance of the group's premises.

A second viewpoint can be distinguished from the swirling pluralism of the anarchist group, one that viewed the critique of state socialism as hopeless, seeing no prospect in it for the creation of a new society. Its adherents proclaimed left-wing revolution against the dictatorship of the proletariat. Their starting point was that the final stated goal of the dictatorship of the proletariat—abolition of the state—would fulfil the goal of anarchism. The knew that the Soviet Republic, following Lenin, accepted the principle—which they themselves regarded as of historical significance—of the self-abolition of the state. As quoted in *Társadalmi Forradalom*, Lenin drew a distinction in *State and Revolution* between the violent abolition of the state and its withering away: he recognized the necessity of violent revolution against the bourgeois state, while he expected the proletarian state to wither away. "The principles of automatism and revolution thus stand in opposition to each other. Lenin's principle is that revolution was necessary only against

the bourgeois state; it will not be needed against the dictatorship, because the state of the dictatorship will wither away by itself."[291]

Lenin and the anarchists shared the same final goal, but their means of achieving it differed. In the anarchist conception, and in harmony with the iron law of oligarchy, "every organization, if it outlives its time, becomes an end in itself and thus continues its operation." The self-movement of organizations follows the law of inertia and operates even "if they have already fulfilled their goal and become superfluous—until they are destroyed by a violent push." The institutional system of the dictatorship of the proletariat is no exception to this. For this reason, some anarchists "remain attached to the standpoint of revolution rather than the principle of automatism, because they see no evidence for the withering of the state in the state itself. The state as an organization seeks to be self-sustaining, independently of the goals that it has achieved or is to achieve. The only possible evidence for the 'withering' of the state as an organization is revolution."[292]

The statement of the necessity of a new revolution chimes interestingly with an older article by Jean Grave published in the group's journal. Despite its purely theoretical character, "Society the Day after the Revolution" remained timely and telling in 1919. Grave emphasized that after the future socialist revolution, the organization of producer and consumer groups could not take place on a single model, that one mode of action would not be appropriate for the differing group interests. And yet the revolutionaries prepare for a situation in which the workers become accustomed to acting without individual initiative as an unconscious mass and thus enter an organizational framework that they force upon everyone after the revolution. The dangers of compliance thus show themselves fully only after the change. By this time "the revolutionary forces are accustomed to fulfilling commands from above. Instead of having a known dictator in some town hall (council building), we would possess *inconceivable* power that would constantly be renewed from our own ranks.…The people, believing that they thus protect their own interests, will only carry out the commands of their new masters."[293] (Italics added.) Thus, in Grave's hypothetical "post-revolutionary" society, the people in effect fight against themselves, and because it is for the leading stratum to dismiss itself, which it will never do, that society repeats the structure of the prerevolution-

ary society. The fight against capitalists will by this stage be unnecessary, for, isolated and lacking both capital and power, those capitalists present no threat. Thus, in Grave's prediction, the new system creates a new enemy for itself: it turns the power organized initially against reactionism against critical progressivism. Communism can be achieved, he concludes, only as the product of many lines of experimentation, building upon individual freedom of organization. The new collective, united system that defines one compulsory path, by contrast "leaves the dissatisfied with no way out but revolution."[294]

Alongside the critical and revolutionary viewpoints, a third voice strengthened in the journal during the summer of 1919. In an article published on 5 July, for example, Károly Krausz stated that the anarchist movement was a cultural movement. According to this conception, which was a return to Schmitt, anarchism was none other than a movement for the extension of cultural self-knowledge, and anarchy was knowledge itself. Anarchy and culture—the two words express the same aspiration. The Übermensch, the God-man, is none other than the cultural person. "For him the present is the past." He has already settled his scores with hatred, prejudice and dichotomous national, religious and economic divisions. An ignorant person cannot be free, and results achieved by means of an enthused but ignorant mass cannot be durable.

Anarchist education, by contrast, creates the new person, the genuine revolutionary: "Revolutionary Man, the relentless rebel."[295] "You can successfully delay and lengthen the gestation period, but to cancel the revolution is not possible. The revolution is stronger than its every enemy and the alliance of all its enemies. It is here and it will not yield an inch.…Counterrevolution is death, revolution is life. *Anarchy is eternal revolution* and thus eternal life also."[296] (Italics added.) This beautiful, metaphorical thought—uttered on the eve of failure and White Terror, in the air of the repressive dictatorship of the proletariat—survived as the swansong of an anarchist tradition that lasted in Hungary for forty years.

But this is not the only legacy of the anarchism of 1919. We can without exaggeration regard the proclamation issued by the Budapest Anarchist Group under the title "A Summary of the Worldview of the Anarchists of Hungary" as of exceptional significance.[297] The text, which recalls the composition and style of Károly Krausz's work, was written during the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat and sum-

marizes the most important anarchist values in ten points.[298] Stated briefly, these were:

- a social order without rule (the cooperation of self-governing communities);
- continuous development;
- cooperation founded upon individual freedom;
- freedom of agitation;
- struggle against the institutions of compulsion;
- free economic alliance formation;
- consciousness-raising;
- the development of everything that is naturally good in a person;
- struggle for the universal interests of man.

Béla Kun, the commissar of foreign affairs of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, and in reality its leader, was strongly suspicious of such programs. He regarded the existence of producers' cooperatives as a short transitional phase in the development of large-scale socialist agricultural units. He described the demand for land distribution that erupted in places as a "vapid anarchist utopia" (even though land distribution was *not* an anarchist demand). He branded self-management as a form of "localism" the implementation of which would be "similar to land distribution, and bring the result that the workforce of each factory would regard the factory as its own, as extended private property."[299]

But there was no time for the opportunities for conflict between the anarchists and Bolsheviks afforded by these differences of opinion to come to a head. The nationalist, counterrevolutionary régime that entered power in the autumn of 1919 regarded the anarchists, revolutionary socialists, and Bolsheviks as a single enemy. Its first goal was to end the influence of all intellectual orientations opposed to the new "Christian-national" official ideology. A decree issued in September 1919 by Prime Minister István Friedrich ruled that "the possession or supply of all *communist*, *Bolshevik or anarchist* printed matter dangerous to public order and public security is *forbidden*; such publications must be surrendered to the police authorities of first instance."[300] (Italics added.) The decree required the police to take all measures (house searches, body searches,

etc.) to locate such printed matter, and to destroy the publications thereby obtained "by incineration." Minister of Internal Affairs Ödön Beniczky was charged with implementing the decree. In another decree, he reported a list prepared by the minister of public education and religious affairs of those publications "to be confiscated and destroyed." Besides Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Bukharin, Kautsky, Béla Kun, György Lukács, Ernő Garami, Zsigmond Kunfi and others, this included the works of Kropotkin, Ervin Szabó, József Migray, Lajos Kassák, and József Révai (who was an anarchist sympathizer in his early years, and later a Stalinist politician and ideologist). The Ministry of Internal Affairs decree added, "It goes without saying that printed matter that does not appear on the list but that is communist, Bolshevik or anarchist in its orientation or that agitates for the reinstatement of the Soviet Republic is also to be seized and destroyed."[301]

After 1919 the anarchists dispersed and were squeezed out of Hungarian political life—in which even before they had participated only peripherally. The majority of them were disillusioned with the Communist Party, though some—lacking any alternative opportunity for action—rejoined it.

The continuous tradition was interrupted, and the spirit of anarchism was preserved in interwar Hungary only by a few—not always conscious—cultural signs.

## 7. ANARCHISM IN HUNGARY: A STRUCTURAL EXPLANATION

### 7.1. *Nonpolitical Politics*

The Horthy régime that came to power in the autumn of 1919 interrupted and—along with the best part of the Hungarian left—eliminated from intellectual life an anarchist tradition that survived in Hungary for approaching forty years, from the 1880s until 1919. How should we evaluate the strands of this tradition? What were the social and political factors that prevented the emergence of a mass anarchist and syndicalist movement in Hungary as occurred in some western and southern European countries and in Russia?

Of the anarchist-influenced radical socialist group led in the 1880s by Ármin Práger and András Szalay, we can hypothesize that, had it not been for the government's firm intervention in 1884, they would, as elsewhere, have launched assassination attempts. Terrorism was at the time a futile attempt at instigating social revolution launched by an anarchism that lacked a social base, could find no way out of the existing system and was incapable of analyzing the basic conditions of that system.

By contrast, the later waves of Hungarian anarchism rejected the use of terror. In the 1890s, the nonviolent ideal anarchism associated with Jenő Henrik Schmitt struggled with other problems: because its only weapons were verbal persuasion and moral example, and because it was not prepared to venture into the political sphere, it was incapable of influencing a wider circle. An exception was the influence it exercised on the Independent Socialist Party led by István Várkonyi and, through this, on the agrarian-socialist movements, though the party accepted only the program of abolition of rule and the state and could not espouse ideal anarchism's complete nonviolence. Schmitt thus remained a philosopher and prophetic preacher who had to withdraw from politics and the publicity of the social movements into the intellectual world of Gnosticism. Ideal anarchism proved politically unrealistic (it did not even make political participation its goal); its system of thinking survived only in the religious peasants' sects—and even there, becoming narrower and changing its function, it shifted ever more from the practical call for the creation of a new society.

The rationalist, solidaristic anarchism that appeared with Ervin Batthyány sought a different way out: after the turn of the century, it slid towards the labor movement's theory of class war, anarcho-syndicalism and syndicalism. Over the longer term, however, the syndicalist trade unions were found equally wanting—even in those countries where syndicalism became a leading force in the labor movement. The general strike did not fulfil the revolutionary hopes vested in it, the strikes that took place being unable to shake a single system. Further, because of Hungary's relative economic and social isolation from the central and east European region, it was necessary to tie the movement to a conception already formed in the developed countries, something that neither Batthyány nor Ervin Szabó succeeded in doing. Because of their failure, both of these figures had to withdraw from politics; Batthyány, like Schmitt, also left the country.

Batthyány and Schmitt are the two most significant figures in the history of anarchism in Hungary. Two lives that in essence nevertheless form one paradigm. Despite their differences, their lives, endeavors and conflicts proceeded along parallel tracks. Both achieved intellectual consciousness within a foreign—Western—intellectual tradition, though these differed radically from one another: Batthyány proceeded from English rationalism, Schmitt from German metaphysics (and both returned to these roots at the end of their careers). The point of contact between them for a particular period of their lives was anarchism. It was their goal to surpass every previous social order and to liberate the individual by awakening him to self-consciousness. And the location of their efforts to achieve this goal was Hungary.

Their shared basic principles were opposition to rule and opposition to politics. It followed from their theories that the creation of the new moral world order was *not a political question*. Yet the logic of the situation forced them both into active political involvement: the drift towards a schizophrenic position characterized by the antinomy of theoretical conviction and revolutionary practice forced them to abandon pure theory. They made a series of compromises: between 1897 and 1899, Schmitt drew near to peasant socialism; between 1906 and 1908, Batthyány sought association with anarcho-syndicalism. After two years of failure, each came to recognize the contradictory nature of his situation and drew the conclusions thereby implied.

They were not revolutionaries but theorists, as the resolution of their internal conflict demonstrated: leaving the path of political compromise, they returned once again to pure theory. As academics they could gain recognition because they were innocuous, but as ideologists organizing movements they could not. Both the society to be formed and the semi-bourgeoisified political system threw them out as foreign bodies. Only one path compatible with anarchism remained open to them: to formulate their aims in moral, religious and cultural terms. Only in this way, by circumventing politics, could they temporarily find a connection between social theory and social practice. But they thereby fell twice over—as anarchists and as natives of the region—into the insoluble paradox of "nonpolitical engagement in politics."

They were romantic enlighteners and enlightened romantics: romantics who proclaimed the importance of worldviews; romantics

who turned to the future instead of the past. Becoming conscious of their rootlessness, they had no option but to burn their bridges and depart. The circle closed and, following their points of intersection, their lives returned to their respective starting points.[302]

Nor did the intransigent anarchists grouped around Károly Krausz succeed in 1919 in gaining significant influence. The anarchists who operated legally under the Soviet Republic, advocating three distinct paths (critical, revolutionary and cultural), had no marked effect upon the course of events. Besides their mere existence, their journal, their program and their attempt to establish a national federation are worthy of attention. Limited time and the rapid changes in the political situation may have caused not only the failure of their attempt to found a new society, but also the absence of any theoretical generalization of the contradictory relationship between anarchism and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The personal fate of the Hungarian anarchists followed a distinctive path: despite their determined efforts, which consumed much energy and often entailed considerable material sacrifice, they were pushed out of the domestic political struggle and were not capable of forming an anarchist mass movement. That none of this was due to personal failings is shown by the example of Ervin Szabó: though Szabó was one of the labor movement's most able theorists, even on the international stage, he was incapable of establishing a syndicalist movement.

## 7.2. *Four Waves of Anarchism*

Why could no anarchist and syndicalist mass movement come into being in Hungary? In seeking an answer we venture on to an essentially impassable road. An obvious—but oversimplified—"culturalist" explanation may hypothesize that the "Latin" culture of the southern European countries—Spain, Italy and France—offered more fertile ground and a more favorable cultural climate for anarchist rebellion. This would explain the strong presence of anarchism in the Mediterranean countries: it sees anarchism as the political reincarnation of the southern temperament and Mediterranean spirit, and thus as alien to the Hungarian system and culture. For several reasons, however, this expla-

nation is unsatisfactory. Firstly, significant anarchist movements were formed in some non-Mediterranean countries, such as Switzerland and Russia[303] (though not in other Slavic countries besides Serbia). Secondly, anarchism had no influence in the Maghreb. More generally, however, it would be wrong to hypothesize a direct influence between national culture, political culture and the political-institutional system, such that national culture is an independent variable that directly determines political culture and indirectly—through political culture—determines the political-institutional system and the strength or weakness of particular political orientations.

Culture, including political culture, is never a permanent, unchanging, independent factor. It constantly changes and it stands in mutual interaction with structural factors that are themselves mutually influencing. If we are seeking an explanation for the existence and influence of the various political orientations, we have to examine such factors as (a) the *economic structure* (position in the world economy, the level of industrial development, the system of external economic relations); (b) the *social structure*; and (c) the *political system* (the geopolitical and regional situation, the external political context, and, especially, the internal political structure). This has been examined by studies on some southern European anarchist movements as well.[304] We must look in particular at what political rivals have occupied anarchism's potential sphere of influence, and what institutions have presented a barrier to anarchist efforts in Hungary.

We must thus hypothesize structural reasons for the weakness of anarchism in Hungary and for the Hungarian anarchists' paradigmatic personal fate, discussed above. The starting point of our argument is that the Hungarian labor movement was founded, consolidated and developed in the second half of the nineteenth century following the example of—and in close connection with—the labor movements of Austria and Germany.[305] This fact is the product of numerous structural factors, and the following factors must be taken into account in its explanation.[306]

1. The leadership and political-institutional structure of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy were similar in many regards to those of the German Reich. The institution of the emperor, the lack of liberal, civic democratic institutions (above all universal franchise and the secret bal-

lot), the strong presence of feudal elements (landowners) and their ability to advance their own interests and the autocratic political culture— all of these elements contributed to similar political contexts for the German, Austrian and Hungarian labor movements[307] as they emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century.

2. The German minority in Hungary, which was significant both numerically and institutionally, offered a channel for the diffusion of socialist ideas originating in the the German-speaking countries. After 1867, around one fifth of Hungary's workforce, and around one third of that in Budapest, was of German origin.[308] The Austro-Hungarian commonwealth, consolidated with the 1867 *Ausgleich*, offered the possibility of constant reinforcement for the German-speaking workers wanting to work in Budapest's flourishing industries.

3. A strong institutional structure was built around Hungary's German population. The German-language workers' newspapers—including *Arbeiter Wochen-Chronik* and its Hungarian-language sister paper *Munkás Heti-Krónika* [Worker's Weekly Chronicle], edited from 1873 in Budapest by Leó Frankel, as well as *Volksstimme*, edited by Viktor Külföldi, and the workers' clubs linked to it—were significant publications. The continuous existence of links between the Hungarian, Austrian, and German labor movements can be readily followed in these papers. When emphasizing the significance of the German-language workers' institutions, we should also note that the German-speaking workers in Hungary generally belonged to the more skilled work force, and that German became one of the lingua franca among members of the other ethnic minorities within the Dual Monarchy who migrated to Hungary.

4. Under the influence of the factors above, the theoretical orientation of the labor movement in Hungary turned almost solely to the theorists of the German-speaking region. The revolutionary theory of Marx and Engels, and later the views of Bebel, Kautsky and Bernstein were of defining significance in Hungary, where no fundamentally new theories were born and no decisive theoretical contributions were made within the socialist movement during the nineteenth century. The theoretical influence remained unidirectional; the German-speaking thinkers simply had no competitors in Hungary. This is reflected in the fact that party programs in Hungary often copied mechanically the programs accepted at the congresses of the German, and Austrian parties.

With these four factors we move closer to answering our original question: why did no anarchist mass movement emerge in Hungary? In the German-speaking region, which influenced and often determined the organizational structure and the ideology of the Hungarian labor movement, the appeal of the anarchist movement was equally tiny in comparison with that of the social democratic alternative. As we have already noted, the strongest anarchist movements developed in Switzerland, the countries of southern Europe and Russia—for differing reasons. The social base of anarchism (besides certain intellectual and petty-bourgeois groups) typically consisted in Switzerland, northern Italy and France of organized workers and in southern Italy and Russia of the peasantry. To pursue our question further, we must therefore ask, why were these social strata not attracted to anarchism in Hungary?

From our argument above that the Hungarian labor institutions, following the German and Austrian models, generally in large part absorbed the potential mass base of anarchism, *two hypotheses* can be derived: (a) anarchist movements were born or achieved relative success in Hungary when a split emerged in the German and Austrian labor movement; and (b) Hungarian social democracy could not offer an institutional alternative to the radical, socialist-influenced demands of certain strata. We shall briefly examine the explanatory power of these two hypotheses in relation to the various periods of anarchism in Hungary.

1. The separation of the *radical socialists*, who organized in Hungary between 1881 and 1884, from the social-democratic majority in the General Worker's Party of Hungary [Magyarországi Általános Munkáspárt] did closely follow a split in the German and Austrian movement. The radicals were well acquainted with the principles, revolutionary rhetoric and cultivation of the "propaganda by the deed" associated with Johann Most, a social democrat, who became an anarchist.[309] Between 1869 and 1871, Most lived in Vienna, and he was known in Budapest from his articles in the Austrian press.[310] Germany's "exceptional legislation" of 1878, which banned the socialist organizations (but paradoxically allowed their operation in the Reichstag) also influenced the organization of the group of Hungarian radicals in many ways. It had a direct influence in that the banned socialists requested and received—in the name of international workers' solidarity—assistance and accommodation in the Dual Monarchy for their

comrades escaping from Germany. Through personal and movement connections, a significant number of German socialists and anarchists settled in Austria and Hungary, and, with their intermediation, the radical revolutionary point of view could recruit many adherents. Thus, the first radical party journals in Budapest were German-language publications (*Der Sozialist, Der Kommunist, Volkswille*), and many of their copies were sold in Vienna.

The German exceptional legislation was also influential in Hungary more indirectly: it polarized the German and Austrian labor movement, and thus polarization unavoidably followed in Hungary too. In Germany, the Most wing, which propagated a revolutionary alternative, individual terror, direct action and antiparliamentarism, came into conflict with the moderates who were oriented towards reform and parliamentary struggle and who emphasized especially extension of the franchise. Most was arrested in 1878 on the basis of the exceptional legislation as a social democratic deputy. He fled to London, where from 1879 he edited the journal *Freiheit*, which moved rapidly in an anarchist revolutionary direction. Around three hundred copies of *Freitheit* reached Hungary,[311] which undoubtedly added to personal and movement links and contributed to the strengthening of the Budapest radicals. The Hungarian radicals published several letters in *Freiheit* protesting against the moderate policy, and one of the journal's smuggling routes to Germany passed through Budapest. Polarization of the movement also took place in Hungary in 1880–81: not even Leó Frankel, who sought to keep the two orientations united, could protect it from this essentially external influence. The process by which anarchist propositions entered the writings of the radicals can clearly be seen in the columns of the radical journal *Népakarat*.

Thus, in sum, we can state that the emergence of the Hungarian radical group, and within it anarchism, between 1881 and 1884 closely followed and mirrored the split in the German and Austrian movement; further, the radicals in Hungary were often the very same people who had escaped from Germany. The further spread of radicalism and anarchism in Hungary during this period was prevented by state intervention. The régime of Prime Minister Kálmán Tisza recognized that, following the introduction of the German antisocialist laws, Budapest, alongside Vienna, could easily become a center for radical organiza-

tion. Thus, following the Austrian exceptional legislation of January 1884, the Hungarian government quickly used arrests and expulsions to break up the radical socialist group.

2. The second attempt at anarchist organization in Hungary was the agrarian movement led by István Várkonyi, which opened towards Jenő Henrik Schmitt's ideal anarchism, and which for a short period was able to sustain a political party imbued with anarchist elements— the Independent Socialist Party. The formation of this party again caused a split in the Hungarian socialist movement, and this split can again be linked to particular features of international social democracy.

Social democracy proved incapable of wrestling with the land question or producing a program popular among the millions of landless peasants. For an explanation we must again return to the German exceptional legislation. Between 1878 and 1890, during the years of the exceptional legislation, German social democracy was incapable of engaging in village agitation,[312] and, for this among other reasons, the rather unrealistic agricultural policy dating from 1870, setting the goal of large-scale farming, remained in force. In a resolution accepted at their 1890 party congress, the Hungarian social democrats adopted the German resolution of 1870 word for word, stating that "the agricultural land should be transferred to common ownership, that it be distributed to agricultural cooperatives by the government, and that those cooperatives, working the land scientifically, produce directly for the state [*sic*!]."[313] According to this principle of large-scale production, the state had to turn this produce to "common usage."

The program of large-scale production was not in the least attractive to the landless masses of the peasantry. As we have already discussed, the agrarian movement incorporated the dual goals of creating land communes and of distributing the land, but the image of large-scale state-owned production units always remained alien to both strands.

To summarize, the unrealistic agrarian program of the social democrats left a political vacuum for a peasant population permeated with a chiliastic-socialist ideology and did not offer an institutional channel for the mobilization thereof. Thus the emptiness of the agrarian movement's segment of political space explains the formation and initial successes of Várkonyi's Independent Socialist Party. But this

radical- and anarchist-influenced peasant movement was again forced back by the terrorist actions of the Bánffy government. Its decline can be explained by the banning of its party conference, the suppression of the harvest strikes, Várkonyi's arrest and the implementation in 1898 of the so-called "slave law." At the same time, because of the theoretical character of Schmitt's ideal anarchism, it did not pose a direct political danger. The government thus did not ban its operation; but ideal anarchism remained without a mass peasant following.

3. Why did the third wave of anarchist organization in Hungary—linked to Ervin Batthyány's attempt to consolidate anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism and Ervin Szabó's effort to raise support for syndicalism—end essentially without success? Again, we must turn for an answer to the German and Austrian model upon which the Hungarian labor movement was based. In János Jemnitz's view, the expansion of syndicalism in France was a product of the structure of the French work force and the particular features of French political relations (among others, the failure of millenarianism).[314] As the following table illustrates, the German and French work forces of the second half of the nineteenth century differed widely from each other in their stratification and in the proportion working in large-scale industries.

TABLE 5. *Structural Differences between the French and German Trade and Industry*

| NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES | GERMANY | FRANCE |
|---|---|---|
| 1–6 | 37.3% | 53.2% |
| 6–50 | 25.4% | 16.7% |
| 51–1000 | 30.6% | 22.7% |
| more than 1000 | 6.7% | 7.4% |
| total | 100.0% | 100.0% |

Source: Jemnitz.[315]

The first column of the figure gives the number of people employed in each business, while the remaining columns give the proportion of the workforce employed in businesses of the given size in Germany and in France. It can be seen that the structure of the French workforce leaned strongly towards small-scale industry: an absolute majority was employed in businesses of between one and six people, and more than two-thirds worked in businesses of fewer than fifty people. The extended petty bourgeois and small peasant strata were associated with the orientation of the workforce towards small-scale industry, and this characteristic of the social structure gave fertile ground to anarchism's emphasis upon individualism and autonomy. The syndicalist trade unions also often organized among those working in small units, such as building workers, sailors and ironworkers.[316] Different labor movement institutional systems were built upon the different social structures: in France in 1902, the Fédération des Bourses du travail [Federation of Labor Exchanges] (the FBT), and the alliance of syndicates, the Confédération général du travail (CGT), merged under the umbrella of the CGT to form a giant syndicalist trade union; in Germany, meanwhile, the trade unions and the social democratic party were strongly embedded within one another.

The golden age of the CGT lasted until 1909—and during this time its influence reached Batthyány and Szabó. In Hungary at the start of the twentieth century, however, the question of the universal franchise and the secret ballot remained the center of attention for political life, including the social democratic party. The syndicalist viewpoint (rejecting parliamentary struggle) and the anarcho-syndicalist journal *Testvériség* stood in the constant crossfire of attacks from the Social Democratic Party and *Népszava*. Batthyány sought to win over opposition social democrats—Lajos Tarczai, Gyula Mérő, Sándor Csizmadia—as well as Ervin Szabó as allies. This alliance, however, proved ephemeral, because the opposition social democrats wanted to restructure their party from within; the party's institutional attraction proved stronger than Batthyány's wishes, and more than once his former allies attacked what they regarded as anarchism's petit bourgeois policies. Batthyány regarded this as betrayal, but this does not alter the fact that the appearance of social democracy left no space for anarchist or syndicalist organization.

To summarize, the particular features of Hungarian political life, the high salience of the franchise question, the attacks of the Social Democratic Party and the party's institutional appeal—which released even the opposition social democrats from its influence only fleetingly—all contributed to the impossibility of founding an anarchist and syndicalist movement in Hungary at the beginning of the twentieth century.

4. The fact that the Budapest Anarchist Group appeared on the scene shortly after the formation of the Soviet Republic in 1919 shows that the anarchist core grouped around Károly Krausz found a more favorable political context among the institutions created by the communist régime than had been the case in previous years. Their rapid mobilization indicates that anarchism had a narrow but genuine potential appeal in the 1910s. This small circle could not become institutionalized while it remained in the shadow of a reformist Social Democratic Party that placed the question of the democratic franchise in center stage. Further, a significant number of the revolutionary socialists who opposed the reformist alternative were attracted towards the end of the 1910s by what seemed to be the more efficient institutional model of the dictatorial party presented by Bolshevism, and this draining influence weakened the position of anarchism.

The anarchist-syndicalist spirit that appeared spontaneously under the communist régime of 1919 did not, however, coincide with the theoretically erudite, conscious anarchism of the Budapest Anarchist Group, and the workers' council and trade union movement, like the later organization of the Soviet labor opposition, raised the possibility of broadening the movement's social base. But in Hungary time proved too short for this: the Soviet Republic and the anarchist group that formed as its internal opposition were swept away by geopolitical factors, the victory of the Entente Powers and the dismemberment of historic Hungary (by the Peace Treaty of Trianon of 1920). We can justifiably postulate that Béla Kun and his comrades—learning from the Soviet example—would soon have erased the opponents of a consolidating Bolshevik-type régime. This postulate—and what is more significant: the actual Soviet example—show that anarchism was unable to exert wide influence during this period not only because of its internal, theoretical contradictions, but also because if its institutional weakness: its inability to use the "organizational weapon."

In sum, Hungarian anarchism, which sought to organize against the Social Democratic Party that followed the developed Austro-German institutional and theoretical model, could not construct the alternative institutional structure that was necessary for mass mobilization.[317] Besides some of the weaknesses of anarchist ideology discussed in part one, the reasons for the nonviability of anarchism in Hungary are to be found in social democracy's high level of institutionalization and in the periodic strengthening of state terror. Except for short periods, social democratic institutions absorbed the potential appeal of anarchism and filled the space that might have been open to it; and in other cases the state gave neither the social democratic nor the radical revolutionary groups the opportunity to organize or occupy political space. Anarchism in Hungary could break out—for a short time—from the theoretical ghetto only when a crack appeared in social democracy's institutional "coverage" and when the state reacted too late.

In these cases,

(a) the split in the Hungarian social democratic movement could be linked directly to an external factor: the split in the German and Austrian movement (1881–1884);

(b) social democracy was incapable of covering the political space of the radicalizing agrarian movement (1897–1898);

(c) Batthyány's efforts were multiplied by his material sacrifices and by the appeal of French anarcho-syndicalism, which was at the time enjoying its golden age (around 1904–1910);

(d) the Bolshevik state briefly left time and space for the small group of theoretical anarchists, who were, however, unable to find a social base (1919).

But these short periods proved to be exceptional. On the one hand, the strong institutional organization of social democracy, and on the other hand state repression (the dispersal of the radical socialists in 1884; the suppression of the agrarian movement in 1897–1898; and the transfer of power to the Horthy régime in 1919) stifled every anarchist initiative in Hungary. These factors worked together to prevent the emergence of a mass anarchist movement in Hungary.

# ANARCHIST IDEAS AND INITIATIVES: LEGACIES AND FUTURE PERSPECTIVES

## 1. UNFINISHED PAST

### 1.1. *Anarchist Influences in Hungary after 1919*

After 1919, though with differing intermediaries, elements of anarchist and syndicalist thought did surface in Hungary and the Hungarian diaspora. Three particular forms of anarchist influence can be identified in Hungarian intellectual life at this time. First, the anarchist spirit influenced the artistic and political avant-garde of the emigrant community in Vienna, the left-wing ideologists struggling with the choice between ethical socialism and Bolshevism, and the isolated labor-movement activists of the Horthy era. Second, we can find anarchist and syndicalist ideas—from various sources, at several removes, and mixed with nationalism and the ideology of the third way—in the national-populist [népi] movement. In the first of these, we can point to direct links, in the second to much weaker, often unconscious marks. Finally, the anarchist view left its mark immediately after the war upon the Georgism-based "real anarchist" circle.

Beginning with the avant-garde strands operating within the emigrant community in Vienna after 1919, we must first mention Dadaism, and, within this, Sándor Barta, who left the circle around Kassák and founded his own journal, *Akasztott Ember* [Hanged Man] (1922–1923). The spirit of Dadaism is close to that of anarchism—as the creator of anarchist social philosophy, Paul Feyerabend, himself recognized.[1] But there was more to *Akasztott Ember* than this: the demand for a socially

committed *ethical socialism* appeared in the journal. From here (with the journals *Ék* [Wedge] and *Egység* [Unity]) Barta came to accept communism and the Moscow emigrant community.

Ethical socialism fitted closely with the left-wing intellectual universe of the late 1910s. The revolutions that followed World War I brought within reach the historical moment when the socialist *idea* would be transformed into society-building *praxis*. Morality and political action brought an unavoidable dilemma for György Lukács and Ervin Sinkó, just as for János Lékai and Ilona Duczynska among the key figures of the left-wing intelligentsia.[2] Anarchism's pure morality and apolitical social philosophy foundered here: the imperative of the consonance of means and ends excluded in principle (but in practice often made unavoidable) any action involving violence or power relations—that is, any political action. Ethical socialism attempted the impossible: to achieve revolution and radical social transformation while also retaining moral purity. This implied a choice for every consistent left-wing thinker between the ideal-typical model of anarchism or that of Bolshevism, between value-rational and goal-rational action. György Lukács, who finally accepted Bolshevism, went further along his chosen path to communism; Ervin Sinkó, who became a Tolstoyan, for a time rejected it.

In 1924 and 1925, Sinkó edited in Vienna a mystical, Tolstoyan literary periodical entitled *Testvér* [Sibling]. In it he published mainly his own poems and analyzes, but he also translated excerpts from Martin Buber's mystical writings.[3] In a programmatic article, Sinkó wrote that "*Testvér* has chosen its own route to the world through the spirits and minds of certain individuals,"[4] and he thus gave space for the writings, besides Buber, of Kirkegaard, André Gide, Jean Paul, Lajos Kassák, Anna Lesznai, Paul Ernst, Endre Gáspár, and others. Analyzing Tolstoy,[5] Sinkó concluded that Tolstoy experienced the devil more intensely than he did God; social problems and protest against the present, state power and violence led him to Christianity. He was not so much a believer as someone who wanted to believe; the ethic for Tolstoy was none other than the struggle for religion.

Contrary to Sinkó, the revolutionary socialists who followed Ervin Szabó (Duczynska, Lékai, and others) accepted the individual "propaganda by the deed"; their "spontaneist" activism led them to pursue

direct action with the "purgatorial" zeal of self-sacrifice, knowing that only martydom could bring absolution from their crime. After the establishment of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, their aversion to state and party apparatuses and to all forms of bureaucracy became striking: the center came to regard their actionism as unnecessary and, indeed, damaging; they themselves became uncertain—they felt themselves betrayed and cheated. At this time they realized that the champions of permanent revolution had become the foot soldiers of the consolidation of a new ruling order. But this role was alien to their temperament: they became partisans, "deviants" and dissidents, and thus suspicious and alien to the system. What was initially a moral imperative that they followed voluntarily became for them a command rendered compulsory from outside.

The period of the Soviet Republic was too short for this process to take shape as it did in Soviet Russia. Further, as we have said, the White Terror regarded the Bolsheviks, revolutionary socialists and anarchists as one opponent—though in fact all they shared was their underground position. Their mutual tolerance and the intellectual link between them, which dated from the turn of the century, were broken. The Bolsheviks regarded the anarchists—and later the Trotskyites—as subversives who destroyed the unity of the left, who became the "bad conscience" of the left-wing tradition because they remembered the goals of the revolution after the revolution. The new left later wanted to free itself from this "bad conscience," in entirely different historical circumstances when, recalling the earlier events, they tried to break out from a social system rendered "one-dimensional" by the authoritarian structures.[6] But the rekindling of revolutionary activism often led to the dead end of extreme political action.[7]

During the 1910s, cultural and political radicalism linked with each other more or less successfully. Antiwar and revolutionary ideas found adequate forms of self-expression in avant-garde art in the expressionist and Dadaist orientations. "We must regard the closing gesture [of Hungarian Dadaism] to be Attila József's poem "Tiszta szívvel" [With a Pure Heart]—an example of behavior and a relationship to the world that preceded the poet's ensuing anarchist period (before which he rushed to Paris) in its social attitude and political point of view."[8] It is not widely known that one of the best Hungarian poets of the twentieth

century, Attila József was for a time a Dadaist and member of an anarchist organization in Paris, and the influence of anarchism can be seen in his poetry. In Vienna in 1925 he became acquainted with Pierre Ramus, a Viennese anarchist who had long had ties with Hungary and was an old comrade of Batthyány and Szabó,[9] and with the Hungarian anarchist group led by Ernő Weiler, which engaged in minor sabotage activities. In 1926 he joined the Union anarchiste communiste in Paris. He returned from Paris in 1927 and met his later life-companion, Judit Szántó. In her diary, Szántó described the returning poet as an anarchist, though writing in 1948 she observed that "at this time Attila was a radical socialist, and he met with anarchists after Paris."[10] Anarchism left an impression on his poetry (for example, in the poems "Szabados dal" [Indecent Song] and "Világosítsd föl" [Enlighten]) and his mature theoretical writings, and thus—though they were not conscious of his anarchist roots, and primarily after liberation—among a wide readership.[11] But Attila József's institutional link to anarchism formed only an episode in his life, as did his brief period of association with the national-populist [népi] movement with his participation in the Miklós Bartha Society.

In terms of both his principles and his political behavior, we can regard Sándor Sztáron, who was condemned in the mid-1920s for his organization of an attempt to assassinate Horthy, as an anarchist. István Czibor, who was accused groundlessly of planning to assassinate Count István Bethlen and later (in 1927) acquitted, was also described as an anarchist in police reports.[12] But police reports and court minutes must be interpreted cautiously. "Anarchist" was often a synonym for "confirmed subversive" and was used only to justify "ideologically" intervention based on criminal law.

The second strand of anarchist influence could be detected in the interwar national-populist [népi] movement. Though the writer Dezső Szabó, who entered the service of the new régime in 1919 and 1920 but rapidly turned strongly against it, carefully kept the sources of his ideas secret, the syndicalism, anti-intellectualism, nationalism and mythology of violence associated with Sorel can be clearly recognized in his political writings.[13] But this leads a long way from anarchism. Besides Dezső Szabó's influence, there are many reasons in social history and the history of ideas that cannot be discussed here for the shift of some

members of the interwar népi movement to the realm of *quality socialism*.

From this circle, the most important author, László Németh, was strongly influenced by the lives and thoughts of Tolstoy and Gandhi (as well as those of Endre Ady, Zsigmond Móricz, Dezső Szabó and Ortega y Gasset). The "prophetic anarchism" that they represented, which mixed Eastern and Western religious traditions, the image of an ideal society built upon fraternity and nonviolence, which was reminiscent of the image held by primitive Christians, and their actions aimed at the realization of that ideal society were influential in the "third way" efforts found in the countries of the semi-periphery. Self-construction and completeness: to be equal to the demands above all of human quality—this was the ethical message of "quality socialism"; at the level of social practice, meanwhile, the peasantry was the key agent in third-way reformist and revolutionary claims. For László Németh, the demand for social revolution was paired with an ethical program: the "doctrine of mercy," as his final message, was not merely compassion, but was the "ideal of life, guided from utopia but indispensable, involving endeavor for social and spiritual balance and practicable modern harmonious existence."[14] According to Németh, a work of art is above all a service, and creation of works of art based on the ethical imperative of responsibility is only a moment in, not the fulfilment of, the process of self-creation.

Ervin Szabó also had a posthumus publication, close to anarchism, during the Horthy period, *Party Discipline and Individual Freedom*.[15] It was published by István Miklós Stolte, who was expelled from the Communist Party during the 1930s, lived an adventurous life, and at this time was sympathetic towards the ideas of free socialism. In his foreword to the work, he portrayed Ervin Szabó as the kind of independent-spirited socialist who was much needed in the labor movement. Stolte, who was under suspicion as a result of the accusations of a police informant (and who founded an illegal communist cell in 1931–1932 with Ferenc Fejtő,[16] Gyula Schöpflin, László Rajk,[17] and others), contended that he himself "was expelled [from the Communist Party] because of his untrustworthiness and his anarchist nature." In his memoirs, Stolte protested against the charge of untrustworthiness, but not against that of an "anarchist nature."[18] "It is true that I am not

immune to a slight inclination towards anarchism of Bakunin's kind. Indeed, I am proud of it…."[19]

Anarchism's third area of influence in post-1919 Hungary lay in its connection with Georgism—Henry George's conception of socialism based upon land tenure.[20] George's morally based liberal-socialist theory influenced Tolstoy in the early years of the twentieth century; later Oszkár Jászi, briefly the economist Jenő Varga, and then the sociologist Róbert Braun, J. Gyula Pikler, and the architect, economist and philosopher Aladár Sós became his followers. The members of an anarchist alliance that existed briefly in Budapest in the winter of 1945–46 took Georgism as their starting point and also attended Aladár Sós's seminars.[21] Among them were the future sociologist István Kemény, the historian and statistician Tibor Kolossa and the sociographer István Márkus (all of whom were members of the National Alliance of Népi Colleges [Népi Kollégiumok Országos Szövetsége], NÉKOSZ), as well as the mathematician Károly Sólyom, and the journalist Lajos Halász. Their wider circle also included the future economist Tibor Liska. Turning against the legacy of Jenő Henrik Schmitt's ideal anarchism, they strove for the development of a "real anarchism." This "real anarchism" was an amalgam of Georgism and anarchism; its goal was to work out an alternative to the existing—that is, to generate a real transition towards stateless socialism. They accepted the nationalization of industry, but wanted state enterprises to pay land tax; they accepted common ownership of the land, but only if private usage thereof was maintained. Among other elements, this real anarchism appeared in an entirely original form in the conception of economic enterprise outlined by Tibor Liska after 1956. In the interests of securing the right to experiment, Liska disregarded the majority principle in his conception of democracy. He argued that "we should establish a democracy in which everyone has the right to be even more independent than in the case of absolute sovereignty, and this cannot be a dictatorship that represses the majority."[22] It is not by chance that for two decades Liska's writings from the 1960s could not legally be published in Hungary.[23]

## 1.2. *Anarchism under "Real Existing Socialism" (1970s–1980s)*

The influence of anarchism can be seen in the student, opposition and alternative movements of the 1970s and 1980s (for example, in the debates over the organizational principles of the peace group Dialógus [Dialogue][24] and in the activities of György Krassó,[25] a member of the the democratic opposition Inconnu group[26] and the circle around the samizdat journal *Égtájak között* [Between the Compass Points]) and in the youth (punk) subculture.[27] In the latter of these, however, anarchism's influence was largely "unconscious," often amounting to no more than the spirit of rebellion and protest, and the use of symbol thereof, a circled "A," which could be found as graffiti on the facades of Budapest buildings.

In the realm of alternative social-theoretical thinking, political scientist Máté Szabó attempted to formulate an unusually broad conception of democracy based on values that extended beyond the spheres of materialist economics (the satisfaction of needs, the market) and politics (participation, power). He criticized the formal, technical conception of the ruling democratic model, for he saw it as emphasizing only the role of institutions. In order to step beyond this, Máté Szabó stressed the importance of the ecological and anthropological viewpoints. The democracy he envisaged would not operate solely in the spheres of politics, but would rather become embedded in the whole of social existence and thus—becoming almost the essence of man— would be able to create social harmony. This post-materialist, nonviolent, socio-cultural understanding of democracy emphasizing participatory elements stood close to the ideals of anarchism.[28]

In his book *The Eye and the Hand*, published in samizdat in 1983, the philosopher Gáspár Miklós Tamás, a member of the democratic opposition, outlined a social theory feeding off the idea of *non-existing* socialism. "My political standpoint is left-wing, being tied, more precisely, to the anarchist-socialist-syndicalist tradition.…It is no secret that the inspiration of my thoughts is the same as that of every rebellious emotion: I experience the violent limiting of my freedom as unacceptable and humiliating, even if, because of the impersonalism and captivating superior force of the régime, that humiliation hardly seeks my consent and thus does not force me directly into immoral action.

However it may be, the state is bad; we must strive to make it as small as possible."[29]

Politics in existing socialism becomes merely a centralized office, and, in place of the agora, the only forms of action that can exist are those of the administrative state or the individual. By contrast, libertarian socialism ("non-existing" socialism) is built upon the agora and participatory politics. The retention of the word "socialism" is conscious: "the author expresses his loyalty towards the struggles of the repressed members of modern society and his shouldering of the tradition of solidarity, plebeian decency and antistate internationalism. In this, the author, like every Hungarian democratic socialist, is the pupil of Ervin Szabó."[30]

Gáspár Miklós Tamás's goal was to conceive a society that was *good for everyone*. But since everyone is different, the good can be only the individual good for each separate person. The content of the good thus cannot be defined. Were we to prescribe the good, freedom would disappear, for those who did not accept that good would be forced to follow it. Nor can we propose a uniform morality, for this would anticipate the substantive good that we wish to avoid. The good can only be nominal—that is, the name of the individual goods—because "we cannot compel acceptance of the morality of selflessness."[31] "Rule could be good for everyone only if everyone could rule, which is impossible *ex vi termini*. Rule cannot be distributed equally—which could be good in this case—because it would then cease immediately."[32] As we shall see, in conceiving an anarchic society, István Bibó sought to do precisely this: to bring an end to power in society through the mutual balancing of all power situations. But the good society could be surveyed only from an external, Archimedean point—whereas we live within society and can see only its various segments. From a strict anarchist point of view legitimate rule for the whole society is *impossible*. The good for everyone can be attained only where there is no rule and no violence.

The good society must be based upon equal freedom; this equality cannot, however, be distributed from above, but must be based on the agreement of the citizens. In Tamás's view, the achievement of equal freedom requires first that we unmask the state, the essence of which is the *secret*. Ultimately the state is no more than the group of individuals who exercise the chief power over the population of a given territory. Those belonging to the state gain advantages without bargaining by

virtue of their position, and present their privileges as service. Rule can be felt by society, but it is invisible, for it hides behind an abstract, impersonal system of rules. The exposure of this, the uncovering of the "secret" is the task of anarchism, for once this has been done the legitimacy of the state cannot be maintained.

In place of state privilege, the good society must be built upon a compensatory system of equality, behind which lies consensus constantly renewed through social debate and acceptance of comparative selfishness. "Everyone must choose the privilege that is appealing to them and the disadvantage that is not so disagreeable."[33] The members of the society accept the axiom that "it cannot be good for everyone that it is not good for everyone,"[34] but within this stipulation the independent communities of society are in constant conflict—both within themselves and with each other.

Thus, on this conception, the possibility of the good society is created not by some original natural property, nor by a substantive good, but by a compensatory system of equalities. This guarantees autonomy, or "the ability of all of the people themselves to determine laws for themselves."[35] The equality of autonomies gives the possibility of freedom and of a society that—without substantive definition of the good—is good for everyone. This eliminates pure selfishness, but it retains "comparative selfishness," for it is good for me, and it is possible that what is good *for me* may at the same time be good for others.

Though the book's critics pointed out perceptively certain logical contradictions in its argument, (a) that the deduction from the preferences of the individual to the distribution of social situations good for everyone is lacking; and (b) that the substantive definition of the moral is unavoidable even when the absolute subjectivity of the good is postulated,[36] Tamás's contribution nevertheless occupies an important place in the history of Hungarian anarchist thought. Despite its relatively weak impact on the political thinking of the nascent opposition it was a significant attempt, after decades of state socialism, to conceptualize an ideal society based within the socialist tradition understood broadly. It is likely that the difficulties in doing this contributed to the fact that, following the publication of the book, Tamás distanced himself from the anarchist conceptual universe and, several years later, while retaining a strictly antistatist orientation and seeking to minimize

the role of the state, moved to conservative liberalism. In the late 1990s, however, he returned to his former, anti-authoritarian leftist political position.

Besides the traces of anarchist thinking that have been described, certain institutions of Hungarian social reality also bore the marks of anarchism. It is thus no accident that, writing of the népi-national committees formed in 1944–1945 in the Hungarian territories newly liberated from fascism, formely népi thinker, Zoltán Szabó analyzed the period as the "era of creative anarchy,"[37] and the revolutionary activities of the workers' councils in 1956 can also be analyzed from the same point of view.[38] But these organizations did not crystalize into pure forms; because of the nature of the political situation, they simultaneously performed several functions and pursued different forms of rationality.

### 1.3. *The Revival of Anarchist Organization in the Postcommunist Transition (1988–1993)*

Following decades of dormancy, the 1989 régime change brought a revival in anarchist organization in Hungary. The first anarchist group, the Autonomy Group [Autonómia Csoport], was formed on 17 November 1988 in Budapest's Eötvös Club. In their founding declaration, the organizers stated that "our goal is a free society without a state, without rule and without violence, in which the principle of authority is eliminated and where autonomous, self-determining communities form voluntary, decentralized alliances." The group was based partly on Hungarian anarchist traditions and partly on the values of Western alternative, autonomist movements. They rejected both capitalist and state-socialist exploitation, and they condemned "every form of political, national, racial, religious, sexual and other discrimination." They conceived society as built upon the principles of workers' self-management and workers' ownership, in which the economy was subordinated to "human and ecological goals."[39]

Though the group did not at this time use the word "anarchism" in its name, it did consciously profess and promote anarchism's values. It did not, however, reject the need for *legal* protection of societal minorities, and it defined itself as an independent *political* group.

> Our goal is not participation in power, but support for sponta-
> neously organized groups and communities. Political activity
> means for us not that we choose parliamentary representatives, but
> that we seek to form our direct social environment on the basis of
> the principles outlined above. Though our goal is a society without
> power and without political parties, in Hungary's present situation
> we support any independent initiative that seeks to establish a mul-
> tiparty system based upon the separation of power. We do this even
> though we reject the world's present state-power structures and
> would not follow any of the existing models of democracy.[40]

Hungarian society and the newly organizing political forces wanted
democracy. Even if the free organization of anti-dictatorship groups was
favorable to the anarchists of the Autonomy Group, in this atmosphere it
was all but impossible for those anarchists to criticize effectively the
democratic party system and the principle of representation. Members of
the group appeared in various new political movements and organiza-
tions and sought to influence their operation according to their own val-
ues. During the first period of party development, anarchists operated in
the Federation of Young Democrats [Fiatal Demokraták Szövetsége],
FIDESZ, the Alliance of Free Democrats [Szabad Demokraták Szövet-
sége], SZDSZ, the Hungarian October Party [Magyar Október Párt] and
the Green Party of Hungary [Magyarországi Zöld Párt]. In autumn 1988,
the anarchist members of FIDESZ formed a separate base organization
named "1992," but this disintegrated in the spring of 1989. One activist
in the Autonomy Group, Gyula Bartók was for several months a member
of Fidesz's national steering committee,[41] and the key figure in the group,
László Seres, was also briefly a Fidesz member.[42] In 1992, the vice pres-
ident of Hungarian Radio ordered his subordinates not to employ Seres.
Following this, Seres worked as editor of *Magyar Narancs* [Hungarian
Orange], a journal, briefly associated with FIDESZ in 1989–90. In early
1993 he was elected to the executive body of the Publicity Club [Nyil-
vánosság Klub].[43] Between January 1989 and April 1991, an anarcho-lib-
eral group known as the Portrait Circle [Képmás Kör] operated within the
SZDSZ in the eastern town of Nyíregyháza.[44] In April 1990, one of the
circle's organizers, József Gulyás, became an SZDSZ deputy in the first
freely elected postcommunist parliament.

During the process of party crystallization, however, most of the anarchists left these parties because they did not want to follow them on the path to parliamentary democracy. Ever more people (fifty to sixty) came to the weekly gatherings of the Autonomy Group at the Eötvös Club. In July 1989, the group published the newspaper *Autonómia* [Autonomy] with a print run of one thousand copies, though only one issue ever appeared. The lead article, "Who we are and what we want," rekindled the memory of the 1968 Paris events in its call to the readers: "Let us finally start to live—here and now! Turn all power into fantasy! Be realistic: demand the impossible!"[45]

Besides the newspaper, the Autonomy Group also used leaflets to carry its message: in one it called for workers' self-management based on workers' councils[46]; in another, entitled "What do we celebrate on May Day?" it emphasized the need for social solidarity "against the rule of the state and of capital."[47] On May Day 1989, several dozen anarchists demonstrated beneath the black flag of the Autonomy Group at the events organized in Budapest's Népliget [People's Grove] by the independent organizations of civil society, and on 13 August it held a demonstration on Vörösmarty tér [Square] against the Berlin Wall, which symbolized the separation of the people from one another by state boundaries.[48] Between 16 and 25 March 1990, after the dissolution of the old, communist parliament but before the elections of the new, democratic one, the Autonomy Group organized the "Exlex Napok" [Extra-Legal Days], or the "unofficial culture week." As part of this, they held a demonstration protesting against the use of personal identity numbers, and identity cards, which they saw as delivering citizens into the hands of the state.[49]

During the years of political transformation, the Hungarian anarchists argued in the following terms: the collapse of the state-socialist system gives an opportunity for the achievement of an independent society. On this view, the Soviet-type state organization no longer permeated Hungarian society, the capitalist system did not yet permeate it, and the interregnum opened the way to a third approach—integration based upon civil society. In this sense, the anarchists were the most radical representatives of the east central European program of "civil society against the state,"[50] not only in Hungary, but also in Czechoslovakia, Poland and the Soviet Union,[51] for they sought not the dichoto-

mous coexistence of the two spheres, but the operation of civil society without a state. They envisaged a future characterized by a colorful swirl of groups, independent trade unions, political and self-educating circles, associations, workers' councils, embryonic parties, academic salons and independent periodicals, all of which would contribute to the self-organization of society. They imagined a society in which only change could be regarded as permanent.

Hungarian society, however, did not want more experiments; rather, it wanted the opposite: an end to the era of experimentation.[52] The program of "returning to Europe" expressed the wish that, finally, Hungary should not differ (in a negative sense) from the West, but should catch up with it. Two views of this return to Europe emerged: the first gave primacy to adapting the Western democratic institutional structure as early as possible; the second stressed the need for the reconstruction of Hungarian national identity. The anarchists however, rejected the programs of both liberal and national capitalism. They could not identify with the fact that the dynamic of social change was moving in politics towards the development of political parties and parliamentary democracy, and in economics towards the market economy and capitalist integration.

While the anarchists wanted to remain loyal to the strategy of "self-limiting revolution" oriented towards civil society,[53] they rejected the idea of "constitution-building revolution."[54] They saw a guaranteed route to the creation of a self-governing society not in state-based democratization but in the expansion of small circles of autonomy.

By the spring of 1990, the cleavage lines within the Autonomy Group had become clearer, and the group decided by mutual agreement that it would disband. From this time, the anarchists operated in three distinct groups.

The first of these groups to form, in the spring of 1990, was the GEO Association [GEO egyesület], which wanted to establish an anarchist-ecological settlement—an "eco-village"—near the Hungarian-Austrian-Slovenian border. In their founding statement they contended that "the most effective way of achieving political independence is geographical separation. This separation also allows us to raise our economic independence to the highest possible level. Our intention is to produce ourselves the food that we consume, and we shall try to use our

own, alternative sources of energy. We would like to show and prove that it is possible to establish a consistent ecological and humanist settlement and society."[55] The GEO-group's activity—withdrawal from existing society—was subordinated to this goal. Individually, however, its members (around fifteen to twenty people) participated in anarchist demonstrations in cooperation with other groups.

The second group was the NAP Anarcho-Punk Group [NAP Anarcho-Punk Csoport], formed on 20 June 1990, which organized around Budapest's punk music subculture and aimed at the creation of a nonviolent, self-organizing society. In their manifesto, they stated that they wanted to spread punk culture and anarchist ideas, "which can happen by printing publications and music fanzines (samizdat magazines) and through the organization of concerts, lectures and discussions."[56] For this group, composed of young people, anarchism signified not primarily a coherent ideology, but rather a nonconformist lifestyle, an alternative cultural and artistic value system, and concrete antimilitarist, anticlerical and nonviolent action.

A small anarcho-syndicalist group also split from the Autonomy Group and tried to organize, trying to nudge the revived workers' councils in a syndicalist direction. But these efforts quickly ended in failure, and the group never reached the stage of formal operation.[57]

The most important of the anarchist groups was the third, founded on 29 August 1990—the Budapest Anarchist Group [Budapesti Anarchista Csoport].[58] The group strove consciously to organize (it levied membership fees, for example), to develop anarchist theory, to document its own activity, to issue public propaganda and to engage in nonviolent street action. Most of its members had been key figures in the Autonomy Group, who, as young, university-educated intellectuals speaking foreign languages, had personal connections in Western anarchist groups. Alongside the students and intellectuals, young people with no university education, typically working in the service sector, also participated in the group. By this time, the progress of the political transition and the greater freedom thereby created allowed all of these groups to describe themselves publicly as anarchist.

On 29 September 1990, the NAP-group and the Budapest Anarchist Group held a peaceful demonstration outside the Ministry of Defense "in honor of unarmed forces day" (under the previous régime,

this day had been celebrated as Armed Forces Day), with the participation of some two to three hundred people. The demonstrators demanded an end to compulsory military service and the abolition of the army, and called for Hungary to become "a neutral state without an army."[59] The demonstration was reported relatively extensively in the press and produced a sizeable reaction.[60] These groups repeated their demonstration on the same day in following years (between eighty and ninety anarchists took part in the demonstration on Vörösmarty tér in 1991), on several occasions cooperating with the Alba Circle [Alba Kör], a group demanding the right to refuse military service.[61] In October 1990, the Budapest Anarchist Group participated with the Feminist Network [Feminista Hálózat] and the Green Women's Group [Zöld Nők Csoportja] in a demonstration in front of the Polish Embassy against Poland's conservative abortion law.[62] In November of the same year, the Budapest anarchists organized a protest in solidarity with their squatter colleagues in Berlin,[63] and in January 1991 they protested against both Iraqi aggression and American militarism and condemned the Gulf War at a rally in Budapest.[64] Meanwhile, the Anarchist Group continued its regular self-educational meetings in the Eötvös Club and, together with Bibó College[65] (the then director of which was the leader of the Alba Circle, Tamás Csapody), it organized a conference on 5 April 1991 to mark the seventieth anniversary of the 1921 Kronstadt rising.[66]

From spring 1991, the Budapest anarchists, together with the Feminist Network, obtained permanent premises and moved from the Eötvös Club to what they named the *Decentrum* in Angyalföld (in northern Budapest). Here they held weekly debate meetings and organized lecture series.[67] By that summer, there were around one hundred anarchist activists in Hungary, though, through their club activities and publications, a much larger circle of sympathizers developed.

The approach of the participants of the alternative scene was shown by a conference held jointly by the Budapest Anarchist Group, the Feminist Network, and *Magyar Narancs* on 21 August 1991 under the title "Free, Thinking Conference" [Szabad, gondolkodó konferencia]. The conference was held in the Kossuth Club in Budapest, and marked a visit to Hungary by Pope John Paul II. The participants debated highly critically the relationship between Christianity, liberalism and power and the church's position regarding the status of women and

abortion. They also criticized the presentation of the pope's visit in the media, particularly the electronic media.[68]

Similar cooperation resulted in a demonstration against national-ism in front of Parliament on 13 December 1991, in which, according to one newspaper report, around one hundred people participated.[69] The demonstration took place in the aftermath of the parliamentary passage of a law on the administration of justice later declared unconstitutional. It was important not because it was in itself a significant event in domestic politics, but because it was the first manifestation of the *rainbow coalition* of new social movement groups, which expanded almost a year later into a broad "antifascist coalition" at a large demonstation (with about 100,000 participants) organized by the Democratic Charter [Demokratikus Charta]. It came about through the cooperation of the Budapest Anarchist Group, the Antiviolence Forum [Erőszakellenes Fórum], the Left-Wing Alternative Association [Baloldali Alternatíva Egyesülés], the Feminist Network, IDE (the youth wing of the SZDSZ), the Young Socialists [Ifjú Szocialisták], the NAP Anarcho-Punk Group and the Raoul Wallenberg Society [Raoul Wallenberg Egyesület]. At the time of a breakthrough for the Christian national right, the greatest interest was naturally produced by the anarchists' provocative placard "No God, No Homeland" [Se Isten, Se Haza]. The participants at the gathering—unlike prevailing opinion—held the Serbian President Slobodan Milošević and the Croatian President Franjo Tudjman equally responsible for the war in the former Yugoslavia, and condemned them both.[70]

Another antimilitarist demonstration took place on 27 March 1992, organized jointly by the Budapest Anarchist Group, the Alba Circle, the Association of Those Whose Rights Have Been Infringed [Jogsértettek Egyesülete] and the NAP Anarcho-Punk Group. The demonstration called for an end to conscription and a reduction in military spending. One leaflet demanded peace without weapons, and asked "Exactly who is the 'enemy'? All those who force you in the name of an empty idea to murder. All those who force you to give up your natural self. Do not allow them to shatter your dreams!"[71]

On 8 May 1992 the Young Socialists and the Budapest Anarchist Group held a commemoration at the Wallenberg Memorial on the anniversary of the defeat of fascism,[72] and on 6 August a silent demon-

stration and vigil took place outside Parliament to mark the Hiroshima bombing. This latter event—in which around five hundred people participated—was organized by the Antiviolence Forum, comprising the Alba Circle, the Radical Party [Radikális Párt], the Budapest Anarchist Group and other smaller groups.[73]

Between 14 and 16 August, the Young Socialists and the Budapest Anarchist Group held an Alternative Festival in the town of Jászberény, the semi-explicit goal of which was the creation of a loose coalition of new left groups.[74] This coalition was not formally created, but present at the event were, besides the demonstration organizers already mentioned, representatives of Forbidden Radio [Tilos Rádió], Black Box [Fekete Doboz], and an independent video journal, founded by young film makers and journalists in 1988, which recorded and uncovered many of the hidden stories of the Hungarian régime change. Among the other participants were the Antimilitarist Group [Antimilitarista Csoport], the Martin Luther King Society,[75] as well as some opposition parliamentary deputies, including Iván Vitányi (Hungarian Socialist Party [Magyar Szocialista Párt] (MSZP), Gábor Fodor (FIDESZ), and Gábor Iványi and Ottília Solt (SZDSZ). Following this event, the Budapest Anarchist Group was transformed into the Budapest Anarchist Federation [Budapesti Anarchista Föderáció], though, because it was unable to form a national federation, this brought no substantial change. The federation did at least include representatives of the newly formed Poverty Anarchist Movement [Nyomor Anarchista Mozgalom].

The Hungarian anarchist groups joined an appeal issued by the Democratic Charter in September 1992 and participated in preparations for a demonstration to be held on 24 September, aimed at hindering the breakthrough of the far right.[76] Because the Charter's appeal the names of the groups participating in the protest were published in the national dailies (*Népszabadság*, *Magyar Hírlap*, *Népszava*). Thus, a large segment of the population came to know about the anarchists' existence through this demonstration.[77] The left-liberal intellectual milieu, which had earlier, in a less significant matter, declined to cooperate with the anarchists, in this more important matter showed a wider popular front, and thus exposed the anarchists to the publicity of the national media. When this became clear, the enemies of the protest sought to discredit the event by emphasizing that its organizers included anarchists and

communists—the latter in the form of the May Day Society, successor to the Ferenc Münnich Society [Münnich Ferenc Társaság]. In reality, only their flower, their candle and their antifascism linked the ageing, old-style communists in their worn-out, grey suits who appeared at the demonstration with the young anarchists in black vests and punk hairstyles: culturally, they were worlds apart.

In a parliamentary debate over a bill to ban autocratic symbols in the autumn of 1992, however, the parliamentary leader of the largest party, the Hungarian Democratic Forum [Magyar Demokrata Fórum] (MDF), raised the possibility of banning communist, fascist and anarchist symbols at the same time. Beyond the fact that the proposer of this bill demonstrated his inexperience in the question (since anarchism, far from leading to autocracy, opposes all rule on principle), the bill, by getting on to the parliamentary agenda, ensured that anarchism again briefly became a fashionable topic in the national media.[78]

But the anarchists, together with the alternative groupings that cooperated with them, considered the strengthening of their own communication system to be more important than constant participation in the national media. In October 1992 they formed the Alternative Network [Alternatív Hálózat], the aim of which was not primarily the organization of action, but rather the establishment of an organizational framework for the mutual exchange of information.[79] While the anarchists' relationship with the sympathetic party elites rapidly cooled, they built strong links with the Young Socialists—who were close to but also critical of the MSZP—and with the SZDSZ's youth wing, the Young Democrats [Ifjú Demokraták] (IDE). In FIDESZ circles, the anarchists were able to form connections only with what amounted to the party's internal opposition—the network of Orange Clubs [Narancs Klubok].[80]

The final demonstration that we should mention was a demonstration held on 28 January 1993 against the war in Bosnia, organized jointly by the Budapest Anarchist Federation and the Feminist Network. The event took place in front of the Budapest embassy of the rump Yugoslavia. On their flier, the anarchists demanded the activation of the UN, the ending of the war, "the immediate dissolution of the Bosnian prison camps, the investigation of human rights abuses, and the bringing of murderers and torturers to justice." The paradoxical character of

the situation created by the war was shown by the fact that the anarchists appealed to organizations (such as the UN and international courts) that ordinarily they would not have recognized. The same people who earlier had organized numerous antimilitarist demonstrations now called for the Bosnian arms embargo to be lifted.[81]

A year after the Alternative Festival in Jászberény, between 20 and 22 August 1993, the Alternative Network held a second festival in Gödöllő. Besides the lectures and the evening concerts, the participants could take part in any of a wide range of discussion groups the topics of which varied from anarchism to youth unemployment, from the churches to the situation of homosexuals or ethnic minorities.[82] Many organizations, clubs and groups were represented at the event that had not previously participated alongside the anarchists (such as the Motivation Foundation [Motiváció Alapítvány], the Small Solidarity Cooperative [Összefogás Kisszövetkezet], the Bokor Catholic Base Community [Bokor Katolikus Bázisközösség], the Green League [Zöld Liga], the Anarcho-Greens [Anarcho-Zöldek], the "Kurzus" Literary Society ["Kurzus" Irodalmi Társaság], the Catalyst Office [Katalizátor Iroda] and Egocentrum). It is interesting that well known groups on the alternative scene that did not participate in the Alternative Network—such as the Alternative Pedagogical Center [Alternatív Pedagógiai Műhely][83] —did attend the festival.

We can state in general that the revived anarchist organization seen in Hungary after 1988 placed great stress, beyond the traditional basic principles of anarchism, upon alternative social values, committing itself to ecological thinking, cooperation with the feminist movement, and nonviolence as a means of social change. It did, however, follow its Hungarian antecedents in that no broad anarchist movement emerged out of the network of groups or the various local initiatives—as in Eger, Nyíregyháza and Szeged.

In the particular circumstances of the postcommunist period, it seems that, through the creation of the rainbow coalition, the historical role of the anarchists is primarily that of catalyst in the establishment of a new, "post-etatist" left. This ideological orientation, in contrast to the old left, emphasizes not state redistribution but support for social self-organization. In part, it turns marginal groups into social forces, or at least helps to draw them into society from their isolated position "out-

side society." In part also, it orients these conceptually divergent groups towards left-wing political space, and thus (whether wanting to or not) strengthens preexisting left-wing political forces that, because of their mentality, could not harness the alternative space themselves. The existence of a gradually widening alternative coalition presented the anarchists with a new challenge: it made it harder for them to protect their own, anarchist identity or to avoid absorption by the new alternative field. A key role could thus be played in creating and protecting an anarchist consciousness of identity by a journal that advanced the opinions and the worldview of the anarchists.

*1.4. "The Joyful Aesthetic of Opposition": The Anarchista Újság (1991–1993)*

The first issue of the *Anarchista Újság* [Anarchist Journal] was published by the Budapest Anarchist Group in early 1991 with a print run of two thousand copies. (With the exception of the issue marking the papal visit, the print run was generally 2,500.) By mid-1993, eight issues had been produced, the first seven by the Budapest Anarchist Group, the last by the Budapest Anarchist Federation. No personal name has ever appeared on the newspaper's imprint—only the publishing organization and a post office box number. Four or five alternative-minded young activists—journalists, teachers, unemployed—began to edit the journal and continue to do so at the time of writing. The journal waives its copyright privileges and recommends that the articles appearing in it be copied and republished.

In terms of the structure of the *Anarchista Újság*, great importance is attached to the title page, which includes, besides the title, a caricature montage, a topical slogan and—in the first issues—the leading article. The slogans are generally compressed versions of particular elements of the anarchist program, such as "Freedom—without a state!" (no. 1, 1992), "Down with all power!" (no. 2, 1991), "Workers' self-government now!" (1993, no. 3), and "Power kills, makes you stupid and reduces you to poverty!" (no. 1, 1993). In some cases, the main inscription had current political meaning and was closely related to the montage below it. Below the title "Thy kingdom come not," for exam-

ple, appeared a picture of the pope with a finger raised in warning, together with the pairing of a cross and a machine gun, Jesus on a cross, and a towering pile of human bones and skulls ( no. 1, 1991). Another title page paraphrased the program of the Network of Free Initiatives [Szabad Kezdeményezések Hálózata], the SZDSZ's predecessor, above a picture of a group of stout men wearing sombreros and carrying machine guns that recalled the world of a Latin American dictatorship (no. 5, 1991). On another title page, under the words "At home, in Europe…" policemen were gathered wearing gas masks and carrying truncheons (no. 1, 1992). On another, the title of Fukuyama's famous essay "The End of History?"[84] appeared above the repellent image of a pair of overweight people biting into a hamburger, framed in a ring of pigs heads (no. 2, 1992).

The journal's visual symbolism is generally characterized by the blasphemous depiction of the organization it judges to be oppressive. The at times Orwellian portrayal of negative figures predominates over the depiction of "positive heroes," giving the impression that we live in a closed, controlled, tyrannical world that is airless both symbolically and in reality. The caricatures often—surprisingly—recall the symbols of the old labor movement. The state appears as a dark-suited, top-hatted gentleman, recalling schematically the figure of the imperial capitalist known from older caricatures. What makes these schematic depictions new is their forceful incorporation of the absurd of graffiti culture. The top-hatted state places the everyday people into its gaping mouth, on to its protruding tongue as on to a conveyor belt, and undigested white skulls shine out from the depth of its throat. The second symbol of the capitalist world is the grey metropolis, out of which rises the Empire State Building representing power, economy and imperial consciousness. The operation of the capitalist system is sustained by the slavishly bureaucratic life-world of machine-like people cooped up in tiny cells, the false picture of which is crushed by a huge fist under the slogan of "Workers' self-government now!"

The favored, propagandistic targets of these caricatures are the factory-owner, the official, the general, the soldier, and the policeman. They comprise the structure of the state, which the workers have borne on their shoulders like a pyramid since ancient times. Only once has a "positive hero" appeared on the title page: in a picture of a young work-

er employed on the construction of a skyscraper in a city (which looks like New York), who stops and wipes the sweat from his forehead. He holds a pickax, which he drops down beside himself; he is high up, beneath him is the city, but the people are missing. He builds houses, but not for himself; he lives in the city, but has no companions. He is a solitary *superman* who fights in his thoughts against invisible powers so long as his brain remains sharp, his imagination does not dim and his head does not swim with hopeless wishes. The caption about the picture suggests, "Power kills, makes you stupid and reduces you to poverty!"

The cartoons that appeared on the back page of the journal, by contrast, diverged markedly from the labor movement's traditional system of symbols. The adventures of "Zorro," "Fat Freddy's Cat" and "Anti the Anarchist" that appeared in these cartoons deconstructed the "stale spirit of the principle of authority."

The *Anarchista Újság* was structured around propaganda, extension of knowledge, provision of information and articles relating to particular concrete political issues. The writers did not sign their articles, using instead either their first names or pseudonyms (such as Miranda Grey, Mihály Kolhaas, Mephisto, Valencia, Akárki [Whoever], Ernő Rut and Jakab Vörös).

Besides the slogans on the title pages, another element of direct propaganda was the constant advancement of the anarchists' basic principles. The article "Kik az anarchisták és mit akarnak?" [Who are the Anarchists and What Do They Want] appeared unaltered on the back page of three consecutive issues of the journal.[85] This basic text was intended as an introductory guide for the interested but uninformed reader. It was then replaced by an easily understood version divided into bullet points entitled "Miért vagyok anarchista?" [Why Am I an Anarchist] and the article on "anarchism" in the Hungarian-language *Cambridge Encyclopaedia* (no. 2, 1992), which gave way in turn to comic strips covering the whole page (no. 1, 1993). The article "Punchline Guerrilla" (no. 1, 1993) also served as a practical guide, giving ideas for the effective use of the "joyful aesthetic of opposition" and anarchist graffiti.[86]

Beyond the direct anarchist propaganda, the journal sought, first, to extend knowledge through news items, foreign reporting and excerpts from the writings of older anarchists, and, second, to give continuous

information regarding other participants in the domestic alternative milieu. In the first issue of 1993, the journal began a series introducing the anarchist classics with an excerpt from Bakunin's writings.[87] Regarding international events that affect the anarchists, we could read news, reports and interviews concerning the Berlin squatters, an atheist demonstration in Warsaw, the Russian, German, and English anarchist organizations, the English Class War Federation and Direct Action Movement, the Vojvodinians who refused military service, French and American environmentalists, Western antiprohibitionist movements fighting for the legalization of drugs, and international anarchist conferences.

The *Anarchista Újság* devoted a relatively large amount of space to introducing and promoting the domestic alternative media. It welcomed in particular *Magyar Narancs*'s famous (or infamous) "papal issue" of August 1991 because of its anticlerical tone.[88] It also offered words of praise for the publication *RÉM*, produced by the journal *Új Hölgyfutár* [New Lady Messenger] (which was attacked in Parliament by the Smallholder Party's leader, József Torgyán and later reported to the police), and for the fanzine *Második Látás* [Second View]. The anarchists also welcomed the new Roma publication *Amaro Drom* [Our Path], and *Mások* [Others], the periodical of the homosexual group Lambda—from the latter of which it later took a number of articles. The journal of the Transnational Radical Party [Transznacionális Radikális Párt], *A Párt* [The Party], was rebuked somewhat—for its title rather than its content—though the anarchists did identify with its Gandhism, federalism and ecologism.[89] The journal also reported on the alternative radio station Tilos Rádió, broadcasting despite a central frequency moratorium (no. 5, 1991), and it greeted enthusiastically the appearance of Hungary's first feminist magazine, *Nőszemély* [Woman].[90] It guaranteed its support for two further fanzines, *Ordító Egér* [Roaring Mouse] and *Szeméttelep* [Rubbish Dump], the latter of which lasted only two issues. The anarchists sympathized with the goals of the periodical *Eszmélet* [Consciousness], which was tied to the Left-Wing Alternative Circle and advocated "self-governing socialism," though they objected to its old-fashioned style.[91]

Among the trade unions, the *Anarchista Újság* sympathized with the Solidarity Trade Union Workers' Alliance (*Szolidaritás Szakszervezeti Munkásszövetség*): it published an article on the union and interviewed its

president, Sándor Bátonyi, who was at the time on hunger strike. It also reported the founding of the National Alliance of the Association of the Unemployed and Job Seekers [Munkanélküliek és Álláskeresők Egyesülete Országos Szövetsége]. The editors sought to keep the sometimes hopeless situation of workers and those made redundant on the political agenda.[92]

The key themes that emerge from the *Anarchista Újság*'s lengthier articles essentially follow those of the Western alternative radical left. These can be conceived above all in terms of the following. (1) Support for vegetarianism and ecological thinking, and protest against animal testing are all mutually connected. (2) A second important theme is support for ethnic and sexual minorities and protest against racism. (3) Antimilitarism forms its own theme, linked above all to the Bosnian and Gulf wars. (4) The circle of themes concerning the position of women, feminism and abortion receives considerable attention. (5) Linked to the papal visit, an anticlerical approach to the general questions of the Catholic church and Christianity are emphasized. (6) All of these lead into the general critique of capitalism based on the ideal of an antistatist, anarchist, self-managing society.

1. *The Anarchista Újság* obtained its articles on green issues primarily from the international press review GAIA. It reported in detail on the *American Earth First*! movement, which organized acts of civil disobedience and sabotage ("ecotage") with the aim of saving natural habitats. This group belongs to the radical environmental-protection movement, which does not recognize the primacy of human society and regards human life as part of nature. Its biocentric approach does not strive merely for the "greening" of industrial society: it is "at war" with the whole of industrial society.[93] The green writings that appeared in the *Anarchista Újság* took these ideas further, criticizing the biblical exhortation to "go forth and multiply" and accepting the feminist conceptualization of the "motherland."[94] In this spirit, the paper issued an appeal against a company producing plastic packaging materials,[95] promoted the merits of vegetarianism,[96] and boycotted the products of McDonald's, which they saw as a symbol of capitalism and the destruction of nature.[97] Regarding animal testing, they represented the viewpoint widespread in radical circles that animals too have rights, and that "human terror cannot be stretched to its limits."[98]

2. The *Anarchista Újság* represented a radical minority protection viewpoint in respect of both ethnic and sexual minorities. (This attitude of minority protection did not, however, extend to religious minorities: the writers were held back from this by their determined anticlericalism.) In the journal's view, racism and sexism are "fiancées" and appear in pure form in war against the defenseless—in "ethnic cleansing" and the rape of women. In an article with the shocking title "Nazi Pogroms in Germany," for example, it was reported that "here at home we cannot imagine the extent of the neofascist terror, above all because the media maintain a silence over it all: since the summer, on average fifty attacks have taken place every day against refugee centers, foreigners and immigrants."[99] It also championed the rights of the Roma,[100] homosexuals,[101] and those infected with AIDS.[102] Nor, at the time of the five hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America, did it forget the unfavorable situation of African-Americans, Native Americans and Asian-Americans living in the USA.[103]

3. If war, as state-organized violence, is the most extreme form of rule, the antimilitarism of the anarchists is self-evident. Traditional opposition to armies—which was also expressed in the anarchist groups' antimilitarist demonstrations—appeared in the journal in the concept of the north-south divide that originated in the new-left thinking of the 1960s, in respect of which the anarchists sympathized with the southern, less developed Third World against the northern, (culturally) imperialist states that possessed the technology of war.[104] Without professing community with the Iraqi dictator, an article was published in this spirit entitled "Saddam the European" analyzing the Gulf War in a manner unparalleled in the Hungarian press:

It is an interesting argument that Saddam Hussein is not normal. But why? Because he conquers for reasons of the state? Because, as a politician, he obtains for himself what he needs? He may well be insane. We know very well that neither America nor the Soviet Union has ever coveted foreign territories, and indeed they have branded such actions as immoral and unscrupulous. Or let us take our own broader homeland, Europe. Only a crooked and faithless falsifier of history could promote the idea that the history of Christian Europe is a history of conquests, the tortures of inquisition and

the slaughter of the peoples of the Third World. We must name as Bolshevik agents those of our compatriots who have the cheek to suggest that the economic structure of the developed West still today might eviscerate the cheap natural treasures and the work-forces of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Anyone arguing that the West has no interest in the development of Eastern Europe clearly works for the KGB, for it conceives for this region only the role of an export market, not that of a capitalist rival able to produce cheaply.[105]

The anarchists expressed the same sentiments at the protest organized against the Gulf War: "The West sacrifices the lives of its own soldiers and other people in order that cheap oil may sustain the extravagant, autotelic consumer society of Western "civilization."…The problems will not be solved by the current war, but will deepen. Violence breeds violence; war breeds war!"[106] Regarding the Bosnian war, the *Anarchista Újság*'s article writer demanded forcefully that Hungarian public opinion confront the apathy surrounding the war and protest. As he wrote, "through our apathy, we abandon any attempt to extricate our lives from the hands of those who can take command of them now and at any time."[107] The newspaper gave space to the Antimilitarist Group's announcements on several occasions,[108] and it supported refusal to perform military service.[109]

4. In respect of the social position of women, the anarchists naturally supported women's equality—but they demanded genuine, not merely legal, equality. They thus accepted not liberal feminism, but rather the viewpoint of the radical feminism that spread in the West from the late 1960s, according to which the state and repressive apparatus is in essence the political manifestation of a world organized along masculine lines.[110] While from the classical anarchist viewpoint the ending of relationships of rule is a precondition of the transformation of the relationship between man and woman, for radical feminists the ordering is reversed. For them, without fundamental transformation of male-female relations, the existing system of rule cannot be changed.[111] But the theoretical differences were not manifested on the pages of the journal: partly because Hungarian feminism did not reach the stage when differing strands might emerge within it; and partly

because Hungarian anarchists and feminists agreed on vastly more issues than they disagreed on. The *Anarchista Újság* gave a detailed picture of violence against women, it advocated home birth, and it supported the pro-choice position in the debate over abortion.[112]

It also questioned the social role of the family: it presented the family (and school) as an institution that socializes people into servile acquiescence to the existence of relations of rule.[113]

5. This theme leads to and is closely linked with questions of the church, religion and Christian teaching—questions made all the more current by Pope John Paul II's visit to Hungary in August 1991. It is not inevitable that anarchists should be against religion: in the history of anarchism we find examples both of theorists who rejected religion (Stirner, Bakunin) and of those who sought to renew it or who accepted it (Landauer, Tolstoy, Read). In contemporary American anarchist literature, for example, the issue of religion is pushed entirely into the background behind discussion of other social problems (such as those relating to environmental pollution, economic growth, psychiatric treatment, crime, and home versus school education). Though anticlericalism and opposition to religion are not identical—many anarchists who attacked the institution of the church have welcomed, for example, the teachings of the Christianity of Jesus—the *Anarchista Újság* is not only combatively anticlerical, but also opposed to religion. It conceives religion in the sense of the French Enlightenment tradition—as a shackle upon thought. The journal quoted Nietzsche: "The Christian decision that we must regard the world as coarse and corrupted made the world coarse and corrupted."[114]

No issue of the *Anarchista Újság* became as famous or as infamous as that marking the papal visit. The first democratically elected government of the postcommunist period hoped, given the antireligious attitude of the previous régime, that it could strengthen its political legitimacy by building its ideology upon Christian, conservative and national values. Thus, for them, the visit of the head of the Catholic church was not merely a religious or church event, or a matter of political protocol, but was rather an important battle in the cultural and ideological "holy war" that they fought with the opposition forces they branded atheist, "liberal-Bolshevik" and "unnational."[115] Almost the whole government was present at the mass celebrated by the pope in

Budapest, turning the ceremony into a political demonstration. The anarchists feared that with the politicization of questions of conscience the separation of church and state would be replaced by their renewed intermingling, and that the church would take the place of the recently defeated party-state. They did not want a Catholic state, and they welcomed the pope on the title page of the *Anarchista Újság* —as an introduction to several critical articles—with the words "Thy kingdom come not."

The police were not slow to respond. Several days after its appearance, every copy of the *Anarchista Újság*'s fourth issue of 1991 was seized as evidence, under suspicion of the offence of agitation against the community. According to the law then in force, anyone using expressions insulting or degrading to any denomination or performing any other similar action committed an offense, and on the basis of this—a mild form of agitation against the community—the police wanted to initiate proceedings.[116] Two distributors of the journal were taken to the police station, where "one had his head smashed against the wall and they were verbally abused," and their houses were later searched briefly.[117] The case gave the journal and the anarchists considerable publicity,[118] which even the journal's editors acknowledged with satisfaction: "We hope that many have read our articles in the Budapest Police Headquarters; we will be happy to see the converted policemen in our office at Forgách utca [Street]."[119]

Barely half a year later, in May 1992, the Constitutional Court decided on the constitutionality of the provisions regarding agitation against the community, i.e., on the limitations on freedom of speech. They concluded that police action could be constitutional only when targeted against direct "incitement of hatred," while punishment of mere verbal abuse or blasphemy contradicted the constitutional right to freedom of opinion. Opinion can be judged in criminal law not on the basis of its content, but only according to the actual danger it poses for "public calm."[120] The *Anarchista Újság* articles that "pirated on papal waters" were thus found to be constitutional—something that probably brought the anarchists themselves only limited pleasure.

6. The journal's most weighty articles were concerned with the adaptation of the basic principles of anarchism to the postcommunist situation and with the clarification of the relationship between anarchism and capitalism.

So the long awaited régime change has happened—and? What do we see? A happy, liberated public atmosphere? The desire to act autonomously? Not exactly. Economic bankruptcy and material poverty would be more bearable during the transition if we could be fulfilled as persons in the new system—if we had the means to influence the most basic decisions that affect us, if our newly minted freedoms extended to the point where we ourselves could decide: in place of privatization, would it not be better to give state-owned workplaces that are on the brink of ruin to the local authorities?…*Power for no one, freedom for everyone*! —this graffito written in an underpass expresses the key point most succinctly....In place of "above" and "below," we champion solidary communities of diversity, and mutual aid as the principle upon which whole societies—not states!—can be built. The place of the state would be taken by self-managing communities, from factories managed through workers' self-government to autonomous village communities.[121] (Italics in original.)

Regarding strategies, this Kropotkin-style proclamation merges with the self-limiting, civil-society-based, "new evolutionist" tradition of the democratic opposition in east central Europe during the 1970s and 1980s: "The more free social space we recapture from the state, the more autonomous (sub)cultures we create and the less we submit ourselves to our bosses and to traditions with no end but themselves, the closer we get to a genuinely free society. And if we look around we see that, yes, this is precisely what is needed. Now more than ever."[122]

Contrary to the Autonomy Group's earlier hopes, the writers of the *Anarchista Újság* had already become disenchanted with the belief that democracy and transition to capitalism might enhance the chances of social change in the direction of anarchism. "For modern anarchism, the undermining of the economic supporting pillars of plutocracy and the state has become a question of primary importance."[123] The demand for struggle against the state's information monopoly is tied to this: the anarchists tried to fight it through the promotion of nonviolent disobedience and refusal to pay taxes, and the exposure of manipulation.

The church appeared in *Anarchista Újság* articles alongside plutocracy and the state as a supporting pillar of the system. The church's task was to "subdue the tame people" during a period when

> the free market economy is breathing down our necks, the big fish eats the little fish, and we live in a "dog-eat-dog" world....The church will call for calm in times of strikes and for introversion should the institutions of "democracy" be questioned; and should the workers—*horribile dictu*—begin to present anticapitalist demands, the promise of classless paradise in the next world will appear once more....State and church: two institutions that stand above us that always want to deprive us of our wishes, our desires and our sensuality. We can shake them off in one way: by thinking freely and making love without a guilty conscience.[124]

Criticism of the privatization practices of the State Property Agency was mixed with the anarcho-syndicalist critique of the state, and this was complemented by the anti-consumerist, culture-critical arguments of the new left of 1968. For the anarchists, the world of *Totaliteurópa* recalled Orwell's *1984*, and the program of "joining Europe" signified submission to the unlimited rule of a bureaucracy above the states—a super state. In their view, in a European federation, "we should voluntarily join self-governing regions, districts, towns and settlements....not nation-states and police forces."[125] The journal would replace the federation of nation-states with speech-communities of cosmopolitan-minded people.[126]

Hungarian anarchism regarded itself as anticapitalist at a time (after the régime change) when anticapitalist thinking had no mass following in Hungary. If the liberal intelligentsia was—in József Böröcz's phrase—the "vanguard of the construction of capitalism,"[127] we can justly call the anarchists the vanguard of postcommunist anticapitalism. The Hungarian anarchists were the heirs to Bakunin's anticlericalism, Kropotkin's communist anarchism, the 1968 new-left cultural critique, the civil-society-oriented strategy of the earlier central European opposition, and the radical, post-materialist agenda and movementist tradition based on the rainbow coalition of the new social movements in the West. At the same time, they accepted neither postmodern value rela-

tivism nor New Age mysticism; their thinking did not include pure individualism, religious tolerance, or the antistatist, free market anarcho-capitalism of the American Libertarian Party. While for Marxism the political power of the state can be broken only through the abolition of capitalist economic relations, for American anarcho-capitalists only through the abolition of the state and state protectionism (and thus political control) can equal freedom be restored within a capitalist economy.[128]

In terms of the spatial dimension defined by these two viewpoints, the Hungarian anarchists became left-wing because they were not only antistatist but also anticapitalist—and in this they were successors to the European anarchist tradition.[129] They became anticapitalist at a time when—with the collapse of the communist experiment—it appeared that there was no alternative in the world to the capitalist economic order. But what they said was authentic: 1989 brought a possible ideal of freedom face to face with day-to-day reality in Europe's democracies, and it brought the central European etatist left face to face with its own former ideal.

## 2. ANARCHY WITH DEMOCRACY? HUNGARIAN ATTEMPTS AT THEORETICAL SYNTHESIS

In the following chapters of part three, we consider the legacy of anarchist social theory and its various reinventions. First, we analyze the attempts of two outstanding Hungarian social scientists and political theorists—Oszkár Jászi (1875–1957) and István Bibó (1911–1979)—to synthesize aspects of anarchist social theory and democratic theory within the conceptual system of "liberal socialism."

### 2.1. *Anarchism and the Liberal Socialism of Oszkár Jászi*

Anarchism in Hungary was linked organically with the intellectual life of the turn of the twentieth century. In that context, it influenced and was influenced by other political ideologies: the Social Science Society [Társadalomtudományi Társaság] (1900–1918) and the Galileo Circle [Galilei Kör] (1908–1919) became gathering places for all the critical-

oppositional currents from liberalism through anarchism to communism. The weakness of the Hungarian labor movement may be attributed to the fact that social democracy—because of "its provincial, unimaginative and often anti-intellectual spirit"[130]—was largely excluded from these circles. Prompted by disillusionment over this party spirit, in 1914 Oszkár Jászi founded the National Bourgeois Radical Party [Országos Polgári Radikális Párt]. The party embraced three ideological strands—bourgeois radical, Marxist socialist, and free socialist; of these, Jászi, who had planned the founding of a Hungarian Socialist Party [Magyar Szocialista Párt] as early as 1904, identified with the third.[131] In contrast to dogmatic social democracy, the free socialists' world view placed intellectual work and the land question at center stage. Just as the anarchists, they advocated "free-cooperation and decentralization in opposition to the state socialism of Marxists, and...disapproval of their doctrine of the class war."[132]

In 1919, in emigration in Vienna, Jászi systematized free socialism's ideology, its aims and its relationship to Marxism. The orientation analyzed here as *liberal socialism* was undoubtedly connected with anarchism in both its mentality and its final goal. In Jászi's view, the common enemy of the broad movement characterized by its anarchist mentality (as opposed to the narrow anarchist movement) was political conservatism, and its membership emerged from various progressive orientations as a counterreaction to the existing conservative régimes. From the viewpoint of liberal socialism, Jászi wrote:

> The main task is always the fulfilment of the individual; the *action directe* of creative, free people guided only by their *Geist* is left to their individual fellow humans and to public opinion. The anarchists believed in the decisive force of the *propaganda of the deed*.…The force of the propaganda of the deed…can also be put to good use, if the action directe is, in the interest of a higher moral standard, conducted with spiritual weapons. The whole ideological basis of today's rotten society must be undermined through an isolated but planned series of decisive intellectual doctrines, through what I might call *moral attacks*—but this should not be done in the spirit of daring destruction: rather, every destructive act should at the same time be an expression of the higher values in the name of

which and for which the International of the Geist battles.…The true spirituality really is anarchist, but in the academic, rather than the popular sense of the word.[133] (Italics in original.)

Anarchism and liberal socialism are conjoined in three areas. First, we can identify an overlap where the latter theory is at its most abstract: in regard to the general mentality and moral orientation of political action. Second, the two orientations share the final goal of a society without rule. Just as the anarchists, Jászi stated that "a free corporation of free individuals" can be created.[134] Third, they share a common internal construction: "liberal socialism is anarchistic in more than its ultimate tendencies: the air of individual freedom applies to the intellectual structure of the entire school."[135]

The difference is that, in order to attain the final goal, liberal socialism recommends concrete political action in place of anarchism's abstract social theory and direct antistatism. In Jászi's view, the correct path involves (in addition to liberal socialism's cooperative-based socialist economic program) the establishment of self-governing circles built upon broad rights of freedom guaranteed by the state, and, in place of the elimination of power, its division and equalization.

The dilemma between state despotism and revolutions by a minority can be solved only if we progress towards the common ideal state that is embraced by both liberal socialism and liberal anarchism, i.e. towards the greatest possible decentralization, the greatest possible autonomy, the most extensive spontaneous association, except where the monopolistic character of the preliminary natural-technical conditions of the factories force the state to take these over.…Liberal socialism does not merely flirt with democracy, but rather takes it to its limits: it seeks to achieve self-determination and self-government for every viable group."[136]

This symbolizes the three basic principles already mentioned: decentraliation, self-government, and association.

Jászi's thoughts on these matters did not subsequently change substantially, but they were pushed into the background. Jászi himself did not publish his book, and it appeared only in the 1980s—first in Paris,

later in Budapest—entitled *Marxizmus vagy liberális szocializmus* [Marxism or Liberal Socialism]. He worked out the theory of liberal socialism immediately after the failure of the Károlyi government (in which Jászi was a minister without portfolio) and of the Soviet Republic, during the period of White Terror, and in the initial confusion of his emigration to Vienna. In writing it, he intended to establish a socialist doctrine in opposition to Marxism and Bolshevism. He later wrote of this task: "We must create a new ideology of liberal, cooperative-based, antistatist, anticapitalist socialism. If I could start my life again, I would devote it entirely to this end and would strive to create a synthesis of socialism in the line of Fourier, Proudhon, Owen, Dühring, Carey and Oppenheimer (hence, based on natural law), without which the world (following the German-Jewish synthesis) will become a terrible, soulless barracks in which the old surplus value is pocketed by a new and even more contemptible aristocracy—the Red Army, the Red bureaucracy and the secret police."[137]

It is likely that the reason Jászi did not publish his book on liberal socialism was that in 1920, as soon as he had finished it, he began work on another volume, *Magyar kálvária, magyar feltámadás* [Hungarian Calvary, Hungarian Resurrection], and because the interpretatation of east European history, the evaluation of his own political role and his desire to clarify his position as an historian drew him away from deeper theoretical systematization. In all certainty, he was dissatisfied with his "anti-Marx book."

During the 1930s and 1940s, when he was in emigration in America, far from events in central Europe, he could have attempted to elaborate upon the doctrine of the new socialism. But he did not—probably because, though he clearly saw the problems of liberal capitalism and the unacceptable nature of fascism and Bolshevism, liberal socialism could not offer a pragmatic economic program.

But Jászi did clarify his views on anarchism. Writing in 1930 in the respected *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, he observed that "anarchism covers so many distinct conceptions and tendencies that it is difficult to reduce them all to a common denominator."[138]

He added to this that anarchism should be conceived of not so much as a social theory but as a "mass ideology colored by many emotional and religious elements."[139] In this, as Derry Novak points out, Jászi came

close to E. V. Zenker, who regarded anarchism and socialism as "idola-
tries" worshipping different idols, as "religions and not sciences, dogmas
and not speculations."[140] The essence of Zenker's view is that both anar-
chism and socialism are types of "honestly meant social mysticism." The
goal of social mysticism is "the establishment of a terrestrial Eden, of a
land of the absolute Ideal, whether it be Freedom or Equality."[141] This
conception is related to Jászi's definition of anarchism: "an attempt to
establish justice (that is, equality and reciprocity) in all human relations
by the complete elimination of the state (or by the greatest possible min-
imization of its activity) and its replacement by an entirely free and spon-
taneous cooperation among individuals, groups, regions and nations."[142]
It is impossible not to sympathize with the anarchism that radiates from
these lines. But this sympathy suggests a paradox, for Jászi, as a gifted
sociologist saw anarchism's religiously utopian character very clearly.

A deeper contradiction lies behind this paradox—the same contra-
diction as prevented Jászi from elaborating the doctrine of the new
socialism during his academic retirement in America. This was that,
while his vision seemed attractive, the features of the economy of anar-
chistic liberal socialism had not been worked out properly—we may
suppose because they could not be worked out properly.

What happens if the people do not want to or cannot cooperate and
associate for each other's good? Can then capitalism and profit-orient-
ed capitalist enterprise be avoided other than through the central plan-
ning that Jászi despised so much in both its fascist and its communist
forms? In Jászi's view, "capitalism in its present form is just as unsuit-
ed to the resolution of the dilemma of security and freedom as are fas-
cism and Bolshevism." But he was forced also to note, "If I asked
myself what the basic economic medicine is, I would be unable to come
up with any definite plan."[143]

Searching for a way out, Jászi emphasized sometimes market-friend-
ly, sometimes anticapitalist values. He often wrote that the ideology of
the new socialism would be "anticapitalist"; elsewhere, he wrote that "a
non-communist socialism can be conceived only on the basis of the *free
market*, free work and free cooperation."[144] (Italics added.) At the same
time, the centaur of "liberal planning" was also unrealistic to him.[145]

Historical experience shows that the free market brings with it the
concentration of capital and capitalist private investment, while the

demand for socialization leads not to social ownership but to state ownership and the overdominance of the state planning bureaucracy. The two do not go together—their contradiction has proved insoluble at the theoretical level not only for liberal socialism, but generally. The Western welfare states and the policies of the formerly strictly Marxist social democratic parties that were reborn in the mid-twentieth century as democratic people's parties brought not a theoretical solution but a practical softening of the contradiction—in which, while respecting capitalist ownership, high taxes were used to finance a civic right to social welfare for those needing it. Jászi, however who forcefully rejected the old, Marxist social democracy, could not foresee this future avoidance of the question of ownership.

The paradoxical relationship of the ideologist Oszkár Jászi to anarchism can thus be summed up in the following way. His rejection of capitalism and totalitarian dictatorship led him towards an optimistic picture of humanity emphasizing the cooperating person. This picture of humanity was already in itself related to that of anarchism. They also shared their antistatism: in 1925, Jászi wrote an article praising Proudhon as "one of the deepest and most original representatives of scholarly anarchism."[146] He devoted another article to the "glittering and expansive figure" of Bakunin, whose "basic idea, that of the *free organization of free individuals* will proceed victoriously through every hell."[147] (Italics in original.) Following the chaos of world war, the Bolshevik victory and the shock of the Peace Treaty of Trianon, Jászi came close to anarchism's "social mysticism" too with his idea of an International of the Geist. He later established with the cool head of a sociologist that anarchism was not without emotional and religious elements. But while his liberal socialist conception—like that of the anarchists—was unable to produce an effective economic program, he continued to sympathize with anarchism, especially with its general orientation, its final goal and its conception of morality.

Though we have already discussed in detail Ervin Szabó's syndicalist views and his attempts to organize a movement around those views, we must note here that Jászi's thinking regarding self-government and the separation of powers was not far from Szabó's. As long-standing friends and colleagues, they had a mutual influence upon one another, and a tacit division of labor developed between them, where-

by Jászi worked to win over the intellectuals, Szabó, the workers, to socialist—free socialist or syndicalist—thinking.[148] As early as 1904, Szabó too saw a system of self-government developing on the basis of state guarantees as a condition of rule-free "socialist democracy":

> the institutional guarantees are directed at the greatest possible division and diffusion of power. To allow the concentration of only so much power in the hands of individual people as is absolutely necessary in the interests of the objective goal; to extend self-government such that everyone can act as their own legislature and executive within the bounds drawn by the goal of social coexistence; to eliminate representation in the legislature as in the executive as far as possible; to seize control and render it effective: these are the objective instruments with which we can prevent the degeneration of democracy into bureaucracy (rule by officials), dictatorship, or mass tyranny.[149]

Though both Jászi's liberal socialism and Szabó's syndicalism opposed the social democratic alternative, for Szabó the unionized workers were the favored subjects of social change. Beyond the division of power, Szabó's "socialist democracy" included also the demand for economic democracy, whose relationship to the choice between "market or planning" was somewhat unclear (we have already analyzed Jászi's ambivalent relationship to the institution of the market).

## 2.2. *Anarchy and "An-archy": István Bibó and the Society without Rule*

The shared ideas of Oszkár Jászi and Ervin Szabó concerning an anarchistic, free society of equals without rule—as a goal of the anti-totalitarian left—lived on as the twentieth century progressed. We are not choosing randomly from the menu of the history of ideas if we compare their views also with the ideas of democratic and liberal socialism outlined by István Bibó—as our book's subject matter dictates, we remain centered solely on questions concerning the society without rule. Bibó's conception shows marked similarities with Jászi's system of thinking. The basis of community is the recognition of the

excrutiating deficiency described by Jászi in a letter to Imre Csécsy in 1936 in the following terms: "The best minds and the masses both abhor capitalism as they do Bolshevism, but every step "forwards" is a step towards the dictatorship of the *Planwirtschaft*. No doctrine of free, cooperative, antistatist socialism has been worked out."[150] This lack of theoretical development prompted the best of the Hungarian radicals at various times and in various historical situations to outline the values of converging liberal socialist ideologies.

In his last large political work, *Reflections on the Social Development of Europe*, Bibó continued to argue that "the task at hand is not simply to change the rulers, but to eliminate the phenomenon of ruling."[151] His enumeration of the instruments leading to this is almost identical to Jászi's: the development of self-governing circles based on a broad system of basic rights, and complete separation of powers. As we have said, Bibó contended that this is the only system allowing the Christian demand for nonviolence to be fulfilled politically.[152] The whole system of self-government can lead to the "an-archic," rule-free organization of a high-technology society:

> we know by now that the coming modern society is also going to need an extremely complex administrative machinery, supported by computers. The liberation of the common man toward that often mentioned *final state of anarchy* (which is not alien to Marxism, either!) is not going to be realized by making human life more primitive or reducing it to transparent and simple forms. *Dissolving the rule of power or transforming it into something "an-archic"* [italics in original] and *free of domination* [italics added] is more likely to come about through a different course: through every one of us wanting such a change, and every one of us striving to transform each function hitherto viewed as one of power into one of service, both in its organizational form and its moral content.…By depicting a feasible way for making the future "an-archic" or domination-free, we are not projecting a primitive society. On the contrary, we acknowledge its increasing integration and complexity.[153]

In contrast to anarchism's frontal attack upon the state and its demand for the elimination of rule with no transition period, Bibó's

conception called for the softening of the state and the separation of powers. Earlier in this book, we analyzed the opposition between anarchism and Bolshevism and the necessity of choosing between moral and political paths. We now reach a different division: both anarchism and Bolshevism come up against the principles of Bibó's style of liberal socialism. While Bibó's conception shares with anarchism the final goal of the elimination of rule, anarchism proves to be politically powerless and incapable of formulating a program, while Bolshevism, because of the coercion of dictatorship, is unacceptable. Further, the danger that the two extreme orientations will slide into one another remains, for, in György Litván's words, "the injection of revolutionary left-wing anarchism has not reduced the danger of the etatist, anti-freedom deterioration of the socialist movements. On the contrary, it has increased it, for it has helped to elevate these symptoms of illness to a much more organized, more centralized level, creating a party and movement more concentrated on power and freer from democratic constraints than is social democracy."[154]

Bibó, like Jászi and Ervin Szabó, saw the path towards the elimination of rule not as relating to capitalist exploitation, but rather as involving the effective use of civil rights (the freedoms of the press, assembly, speech and party foundation) and their extension within self-governing units. This west European approach promises rational, secure and gradual development, as opposed to the utopistic, messianistic-chiliastic endeavors periodically seen in Europe's semi-periphery. In this conception, bourgeois and socialist revolutions are two stops in the same process—that of the elimination of privilege (based on birth or property).

At the same time, we can agree with Bibó's liberal critics—Mária Ludassy and Béla Faragó—who argue that his work is itself not without utopian features.[155] Bibó stressed the commonalities in the values of liberalism and socialism and the mutually supporting nature of their respective certainties, and he wanted simultaneously to satisfy such demands generally thought of as contradictory as broad protection of basic human rights and collectivization, or expert leadership and workers' self-government. Furthermore, he conceived their realization as occurring through peaceful, cooperative means and gradual compromise. He did, however, counterbalance his utopianism in that he did not

describe a detailed model state to be built come hell or high water, but rather marked out a path to guide political action and assist day-to-day tactics and longer-term stategies. He thus formulated norms and demands, necessary principles in—to quote Pál Szalai—"this previously insane, now more pragmatic century."[156] Bibó offered moral pointers—not a classical, forced utopia.

The liberal socialism of Jászi and Bibó is, like anarchism, anti-Machiavellian, though while anarchism seeks to dissolve politics in morality, liberal socialism strives for the moralization of politics. On this view, the essence of socialism is collectivization and the formation of agricultural cooperatives, not nationalization or planned farming. Liberal socialism seeks to employ democratic procedures not only in the political, but also in the economic sphere. Thus, in politics there is local self-government, in agriculture the cooperative, and in industry workers" self-management. The program of free collectivization is based upon common ownership as distinct from both state and private ownership, and the operation of the market—the justification for which is accepted—is subordinated to this. The "free corporation of free individuals" (Jászi) is a rejection both of the competitive system of classical capitalism and of the "dictatorship over needs" of the impersonal state.[157] Its anthropological ideal type is neither the individual entrepreneur, nor the state official, but is the person participating in a collective.[158] The operation of economic and political bodies is placed on the basis of democratic centralization, and the image of the "collectivizing person" emphasizes discussion, cooperation and communicative rationality.[159] The theory builds its educational program upon these principles. It rejects the growth fetishism of modern industrial society, and it is prepared also to limit economic efficiency in the interests of social integration based upon solidarity.

If anarchism is not without utopian elements, the same can be said of liberal socialism. It too refers the ideal situation back to the present; it hypothesizes that people treat cooperation as valuable in itself and place it ahead of their selfish goals, and that they regard the avoidance of alienation as more important than utilitarianism. The practice of the social-liberal welfare systems, which sometimes approaches these principles, does not, however, give a convincing example of the compatibility of economic democracy based on cooperation and the logic of the

market; it is rather, in essence, a modification of market capitalism, introducing redistribution on the basis of taxation. The state-socialist economic reforms, however, met with failure precisely where they hoped to bring results: in the marketization of the redistributive sector.

Despite every effort to the contrary, the lesson of history is that socialism comes about only under forced development, often under conditions of war, in centralized structures. "Real existing socialism" was always state socialism. Where efforts were made to establish socialism other than through the strengthening of the party-state, as in the Paris Commune, the Kronstadt rising or the Spanish revolution, failure resulted within weeks or months. Attempts to recast socialism from inside also ended in failure. The example of Yugoslavia—where the attempt to establish workers' self-management within the framework of the party-state failed—demonstrated that economic democracy cannot be created under one-party political rule. Such systems work only if they are closed. The failure of post-Stalinism shows that reform of the existing economic mechanism based on simulation of the market is not in itself enough; that is, not only the Stalinist, but also the "softer" Bukharinist model of socialism is unworkable.[160] Socialism as a *system* was unable to fulfil its historical promise: both economically and politically, it proved a modernizing dead end.[161] The promise of catching up became the reality of collapse.

The cooperative "third way" of self-management never became on actual social and political system: in the East it failed because of the lack of political democracy; in the West it remained on the periphery of the profit-based private economy.[162] In the social-liberal welfare systems, the bureaucratic state took up the task of reducing social inequalities. If economic democracy broadly understood is not possible, nor is "ideal" (liberal) socialism. Liberal socialism is based not on the procedural rules of democracy, but on a substantive conception thereof, one that can ultimately be traced back to an idealized image of the person, to the anthropological ideal type of the "collectivizing person." Thus, liberal socialism, like anarchism, is at root utopian in character—even if, as we have noted, it differs from anarchism in many other respects.

History, it seems, has moved beyond the anarchist program of eliminating the state: the task is rather the minimization of its repressive function, its supervision through public scrutiny, and the emphasis

of its welfare function. Most of the basic operating principles of modern democracies are state-political organizing principles: they seek to express the will of society with the intention of influencing state decisionmaking. Among the procedures of *pluralism* (organized in the framework of parliamentary democracy and involving political parties which compete with each other and exist with defined worldviews), *corporatism* (expressing and building upon the distribution of professions, and different—labor, business and other—economic interests), and *direct democracy* (guaranteeing self-government, self-management, supporting active participation of citizens through plebiscites and other means),[163] anarchism came closest to the last. As we have shown, however, anarchism and direct democracy (and direct participation) are not identical, for the latter contains an element of rule vis-à-vis those opinions that remain in the minority.[164] State-political organizing principles are thus based upon basic rights guaranteed by the democratic state: upon a system in which the law has not so much a repressive function—as is emphasized by the anarchists—as one of protecting the channels of freedom.

The anarchist tradition can survive not just as a general, functioning organizing principle relating to the whole society, but rather in the procedures of societal communities and in the instruments of direct participation—at the levels of the place of residence, the district, and the workplace. The new social movements that appeared in ever greater numbers from the early 1970s, adopting the style of single-issue politics, brought a renaissance of the grassroots principle, group autonomy and direct participation. Besides their nonviolent, decentralized and "grassroots democratic" character, the alternative movements were connected to the anarchist tradition also in their attack upon hierarchical, authority-based social structures—ranging from decisionmaking monopolies to ingrained prejudices. These ideas appeared in turn also in the process of the formation of the new mass organizations in Hungary.[165] A new feature, though still one that appeared only occasionally, was that ever more people sought to implement the principles of coexistence without violence or rule in areas distant from politics, such as private life and community interaction. We analyze the relationship between the new social movements and anarchism in detail in the following section.

To summarize the link between anarchist social theory and demo-cratic theory—placing the Hungarian attempts to build a liberal social-ist synthesis in the broadest possible theoretical framework, we have argued so far that anarchism is linked at the political level to direct democracy, but that with this it repudiates itself, for the two concepts are not identical. Anarchy does not, however, conflict with every inter-pretation of democracy. The two conflict if by democracy we mean majority power, the "tyranny of the majority" (Tocqueville), rule over the propertyless (Aristotle) or false people's dictatorship (Bakunin); but they coincide if popular rule means the rule of *everyone*—or the *absence* of rule. This is tied not to the exclusivity of the direct or rep-resentative principles, but to continuous social agreement subject to supervision in which the elements of democracy complement one another. In modern societies, this implies not the complete disappear-ance of rule or domination, but rather the mutual balancing of different situations of domination. More precisely, it points to the possibility of balancing domination in such a way as to push power into the back-ground.[166] This arrangement is not closed, not given once and for all; rather, it is continuously perfectable, for it builds upon dynamic, not static, renewable consensus. In this sense, democracy is none other than controlled anarchy.

### 3. ANARCHISM AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Finally, we extend our analysis to examine the legacy of anarchism in the international "new social movements," and discuss the relationship between anarchism on the one hand and postmodern philosophy, feminism, the green movement and municipalism on the other. This chapter also considers the social-structural and value-system changes lying behind the emergence of the new social movements, which, in Western societies, can be described in terms of "post-indus-trialism" and "post-materialism." In a way of conclusion, our analysis will close with an examination of the prospects for the development of antiauthoritarian movements in central and eastern Europe.

## 3.1. *Anarchism and the Anarchist Mentality*

The direct legacy of anarchism lives on today in numerous anarchist, anarcho-syndicalist, and more recently antiglobalist, worker and intellectual groups and journals operating sporadically in Europe, North and South America and other regions of the world. These groups' influence is greatest in Italy (where they publish the theoretical journal *Rivista* A) and in Spain. It is also worth mentioning the French Anarchist Federation (FAF), the anarchism evident in the German green movement, and the syndicalist International, the International Workers' Alliance (AIT), which has local federations in every major west European country.[167] A development of recent years is the reemergence of anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism in Russia based upon the rich Russian anarchist tradition, and its development of politically significant links with the independent labor movement.[168]

Many anarchist elements appeared, however, outside the anarchist groups in other intellectual orientations and political movements. These emerging orientations—the new social movements and the related postmodern philosophy—perpetuated many features of the anarchist value system. This includes such basic anarchist values as absence of rule, pluralism and alternativism, acceptance based on free choice, written profanation, humanism, independence and autonomy, changability, rebellion against rule and authority, moral and social liberation, and decentralization. They are thus bearers of what may be termed the *anarchist mentality*.[169]

The writings of a number of anarchist authors have contained doctrines relating to the execution of revolution and the shape of the new society. But there are few who refer to a defined utopia—to a precise forced utopia demanding implementation. On the contrary, anarchists have generally consciously emphasized that the society without rule, the image of anarchy, cannot be delineated in advance, for to do so would inevitably entail an element of repression and rule. Instead, they have emphasized the flexible character of the anarchist ideal and the importance of the vision and the actions of autonomous actors. The anarchist tradition thus rarely produces forced utopias, and rather spawns an ideal emerging from the totality of positive values.

The more "doctrinaire" was anarchist teaching—the more it engaged in frontal attack upon the state and attempted to prescribe precisely the

course of the revolution and the nature of utopia—the less real it is today. Anarchism is not alone in this: in other political traditions two, rigid doctrines have been unable to stand the test of practice. Classical liberalism was supplemented by social features and the institutions of the welfare state; the phalansterian society of communism failed; and the centralizing, redistributing doctrine of socialism has also gone into crisis. But the more we place the emphasis upon anarchism's positive value ideal and the values of the anarchist mentality, the more we find contemporary efforts in which anarchist principles are manifested.

To round off our analysis, we now discuss briefly a number of contemporary philosophical schools and political orientations—and the social circumstances surrounding their salience—that are not anarchist in a strict sense but that do represent the values of the anarchist mentality. These currents manifested themselves in the West parallel to the movements for regime change in central and eastern Europe, in the same period of time. These were: postmodernism, feminism, the green movement, and federalism.

### 3.2. *Postmodern Philosophy and the Anarchist Worldview*[170]

Anarchism's present-day existence can be understood on several levels, from the metaphorical presence of the anarchist mentality to anarchism's concrete political influence. Its spirit was undoubtedly present in the metaphorical sense in postmodern thinking. Before discussing this, we must briefly outline postmodernism itself as a school of thought and intellectual orientation. (Besides these senses, postmodernism is also an influential contemporary movement in architecture and the fine arts.)

The appearance of postmodernism was the logical consequence of the crisis in the theory of knowledge within twentieth-century Western philosophy. Like other critical theories—particularly the sociology of knowledge and philosophical hermeneutics—postmodernism criticized the basic structure of Western thought. It rejected the view that language simply reflects reality, and it denied the existence of universal truth valid everywhere for everyone. In other words, it attacked the basic form that knowledge and meaning have taken since their foundation in the Western philosophical and scientific tradition.

The goal of this Western tradition was the discovery of general, all-embracing principles through which it could understand natural and social reality. While the role of knowledge was to represent this reality precisely, language had the role of an instrument: its task remained that of mediating and communicating reality. The philosophical schools that followed the spirit of the Enlightenment supposed that a direct connection existed between reality and the conceptions formed of it. They believed that reality existed independently of themselves and that they could apprehend it directly. Thus, "reality" served as the basis for meaning and correct expression, and philosophy conceived itself as the science of objective knowledge, reflecting reality and independent of political or ideological interests.

As early as the nineteenth century, however, theories began to emerge that questioned this view and confronted the simple conception of the *ego* as capable of rational, independent, value-free apprehension. Marx emphasized the structural forces of history and society, which far exceeded the force of the individual; Sigmund Freud drew attention to the importance of the unconscious; Nietzsche, as Alice Jardine puts it, saw truth as "Man's oldest illusion,"[171] and relativized the desire to find truth: "Why not *rather* untruth? And uncertainty? Even ignorance?"[172] The views of the linguist Saussure—that the link between words and things is entirely arbitrary—further eroded the understanding of language as the apprehension of "reality." Finally, the philosophy of Wittgenstein shook the earlier theory of knowledge to its foundations. According to Wittgenstein, meaning depends upon context and linguistic environment and is a matter of social convention. All knowledge—and thus also the concept of knowledge itself—is formed in a "linguistic game"; it is thus impossible for us to break out from our linguistic games or to obtain "objective" knowledge.

What differentiates twentieth-century philosophy from earlier theories of knowledge is precisely its emphasis upon the importance of language—a kind of "linguistic revolution." The essence of this is summarized by Terry Eagleton: "The hallmark of the 'linguistic revolution' of the twentieth century…is the recognition that meaning is not simply something 'expressed' or 'reflected' in language: it is actually *produced* by it."[173] (Italics added.) Meaning is thus socially and linguistically constructed and is not simply given by "reality." In consequence, the

system of meanings, language, cannot be an abstract system independent of the social and political environment. If, however, meaning is uncertain, formed again and again in the process of discourse, the Enlightenment philosophers' conception of the single, general, unquestionable "truth" is strongly questioned. Thus, the recognition that we have no means of direct access to "reality" leads to uncertainty. Furthermore, it is not clear on what criterion we may decide among different statements formed about "truth."

The theorists of postmodernism—Lacan, Derrida, Lyotard, Deleuze, Foucault—complete the linguistic turn in twentieth-century philosophy and historiography. The starting point for their radical interpretation is that there is *no* meaning or consciousness without language. For them, the fact that meaning is socially and linguistically constructed excludes all certainty and renders any statement about general moral or scientific "truths" impossible. There is no guarantee of the identity of meaning; no one can be in possession of general truth. Postmodernism thus launches a frontal attack upon the concept of objective truth. It contends that every statement about truth is tied to values, and thus that every system of ideas, without exception, is ideological: every one hides within itself the seeds of power. Following Foucault, postmodernism states that power and knowledge are thus inseparably intertwined in public discourse and in every sphere of human language use and thought, and it rebels against ideologies that conceal this. Postmodernism's goal is, according to József Böröcz, "to expose the complete presence of knowledge/power in these constructions, and thus to cast light on their deep insincerity. Through the implosion of the dividing lines between basic elements of earlier theoretical constructions, postmodernism seeks to end the distinction between 'high' and 'low' cultures and to abolish all the binary oppositions of traditional philosophy."[174]

A similar approach to this has been used by Noam Chomsky in analyzing the language of mass communication and by Paul Feyerabend in the theory of science. Both authors consciously refer to anarchism's intellectual legacy and openly express sympathy towards political anarchism.[175] The link between postmodernism and the anarchist mentality is, however, generally rather less direct.

To summarize, the linguistic revolution wrought by postmodernism expresses the anarchist mentality in that it proclaims a form of

linguistic anarchism. Postmodern writers contend that language is not independent from interests or from power. It is thus impossible to pick out one form of language usage, one system of understanding, one interpretative framework and place it in a central position from where the truth of other modes of understanding could be judged. There is no ruling linguistic system, no central authority; or if there is, it is illegitimate, and this must be demonstrated: we must rebel against it. The spirit of rebellion; the denial of the natural basis of the existing authoritarian worldview and the demand that it be destroyed; the muddling of the central basis of comparison and system of coordinates; the rejection of authority and the proclamation of the equality of alternative interpretations: these are the characteristics that make the postmodern linguistic revolution an expression of the anarchist mentality.[176]

### 3.3. *Feminism and the Anarchist Mentality*

Postmodernism emerged as primarily an intellectual and academic orientation that, with few exceptions, has not been linked to concrete, salient social and political movements. This can be understood, in that its language-critical approach included a deep scepticism towards political ideologies, and it was thus difficult to conceive how its intellectual capital could serve the needs of an ideology-pursuing movement. Nevertheless, postmodernism's political significance is indisputable in two senses. First, its critical potential can be used to expose the one-sidedness, contingency, and interest-orientation of every political "ism." Second, postmodern linguistic theory often turns into fierce cultural criticism and shows the oppressive character of the basic social and linguistic structure of the Western cultural circle and human civilization. Here postmodernism meets with feminism, and in this rendezvous is to be found postmodernism's greatest political potential.

The first wave of the feminist movement was born in the nineteenth century out of the suffragettes' campaign for women's enfranchisement. The movement gained new wind in the 1960s, demanding equality for women in every area of life, equality of pay, career opportunities, political representation, sexual enjoyment, as well as the rights to abortion and contraception. Besides the struggle for these formal

rights, from the 1970s, feminism began to turn attention to forms of informal, everyday, oppressive behavior, knowledge and language that, even where the formal rights mentioned above were present, hindered women's success. On the basis of this feminist critique, a new concept emerged and entered into every Western language, encompassing all the prejudiced, often aggressive expectations that necessarily tied behavior in the various spheres of life to a person's sex. This was the concept of sexism.

The criticism of the manifestations of informal, everyday sexism and the deep linguistic and social structures lying behind them is the area in which feminist analysts have used and politicized the postmodern worldview. Thus, postmodern feminism emerged as one of the many strands of feminism, forming one of the most influential academic-intellectual schools of feminist thinking.

The representatives of postmodern feminism contend that the Western logical system is in crisis and cannot answer to the postmodern challenge; further, they add that this crisis is not neutral between the *sexes*. The narrative system that is in crisis is one formed by men that does not represent the feminine. This is the blindspot of Western thinking: the feminine has remained unspoken, untold, oppressed; it has been written out of history; its place is silence. This silence contributed to women's marginalized and subjugated position, and it is this silence that postmodern feminism wants to break: it seeks to subvert the defining, patriarchal mode of thinking, to breach continuity.

The desire for subversion is nourished by the perception that the existence of the bipolar oppositions generally characteristic of Western modes of thinking (good-bad, true-false, heaven-hell, all-nothing, etc.) is linked with the man-woman polarity. While the masculine, "male" value, located at the positive pole, is advantaged, the oppressed feminine, "female" value is defined as the negative imprint, the inverse, the underword, of the masculine value.

The goal of postmodern feminism of subverting the masculine logical system includes the demand to recast the difference between the sexes—without the hierarchy that exists between them. The instrument for this is feminist discourse and the creation of a corpus of women's writing—women's history writing and women's literature: the writing of the female experience. "The feminine text," writes Hélène Cixous, "cannot

fail to be more than subversive. It is volcanic; as it is written it brings about an upheaval of the old property crust, carrier of masculine investments; there's no other way. There's no room for her if she's not a he. If she's a her-she, it's in order to smash everything, to shatter the framework of institutions, to blow up the law, to break up the 'truth' with laughter."[177]

"Femininity" on this interpretation is upheaval, incoherence, irrationality and ambiguity. Its simultaneous meaning consciously violates the masculine laws of the binary oppositions. Its goal is to disturb the structures of thinking with which the ruling structures establish meanings, create the concept of "truth," portray "authenticity," and legitimate themselves. In short, femininity launches an attack against the concept of definite, objective, fixed knowledge and meaning.

Postmodern feminism thus rejects the "logic of identification,"[178] and, in this spirit, it does not define the precise content of femininity. The concept of femininity, containing many meanings at once and reflecting the viewpoint of anarchism, leaves definition impossible and unnecessary. Its essence is precisely the subversion of the fixed meanings of the two sexes and of the system of oppressive thought structures and binary oppositions. Femininity thus becomes a metaphor for subversion—the "feminine" is not necessarily tied to women, the "masculine" not necessarily to men: men too can be "feminine" and can represent the "feminine" anarchist viewpoint.[179] "There are some men (all too few) who aren't afraid of femininity."[180] Thus, for postmodern feminism femininity signifies *space for subversion*. Anyone can accept this, both women and men, though women have a greater chance given their oppressed situation.

The fundamental subversion of the deep structure of the oppressive and general western logic demands the complete rethinking and reorganizing of society and its discourses. In Cixous's words, the goal is no less that completely to rewrite the old rules of the game, "to blow up the law."[181]

To sum up, the irreverent feminist question "why is what 'is' just as it is, and and why must it be just this way?" carries the legacy of anarchism. The subversion of the ruling system and its structures of thought, the shattering of rigid meanings, the propagation of flexible, variegated meanings, and opposition to hierarchy—these are the features that postmodern feminism shares with anarchism. And though the anarchistic postmodern feminism is only one—theoretical—strand

within the diverse feminist movement, it can be said of the whole movement that it was born in opposition to oppression—patriarchal oppression—and to authority. In general, the main current within feminism, its main direction of influence, can be characterized by the claim that "the liberation of women is tied to that of men; it contends that the relationship of hierarchy and rule should be ended for both sexes; it is a believer in the creation of rule-free, nonviolent, cooperative relations between the sexes."[182]

### 3.4. *The Anarchist Mentality of the Green Movement*

Postmodern philosophy and feminism have identified "blindspots" in European thinking and questioned axioms that were previously taken for granted. As Karl Mannheim says, an essential condition for progress beyond the existing order is the questioning of and theoretical reflection upon the extent to which this order comes from and is part of nature.[183] The new critical viewpoints introduce a fundamentally new conceptual system and new language. Thus, neither postmodernism nor feminism is tied exclusively to any previous political or philosophical "ism." They operate in a different dimension from rationalism and universalism, or the ideologies of liberalism, conservatism and socialism: they crosscut the existing, mutually conflicting ideologies. The green movement, which emerged first in the 1970s, shares this trait; one of its precepts is that "what is valid today may already be invalid tomorrow, even if it has been valid for a thousand years."[184]

Several clearly differentiable currents are influential within the green movement that has emerged in contemporary Western Europe—and particularly in Germany. The green political party, the civil environmental protection movements (such as the antinuclear power movement) organizing around particular concrete goals, and the alternative lifestyle movement all appeared roughly simultaneously and partly overlapped with each other. Though they work for different particular goals in different spheres, their worldviews and their theoretical and philosophical bases are similar.

In our analysis,[185] the era of global capitalism subordinates every social value and life sphere to the ruling value and logic of economic

growth. Instead, argue the greens, the pace of economic growth must be regulated by ecological values and a social outlook. During the current period, in their view, the triad of industry, science and technology that serves economic growth has been elevated to the status of the holy trinity, working as an out-of-control motor that determines the course of social development. Instead, it must be adapted to suit social goals and cultural models. The greens' basic insight is that natural reserves are finite and cannot be exploited to infinity. The value of endless economic growth is senseless in the Earth's finite natural system. Sooner or later, finite energy sources such as oil and coal will be exhausted. Their excessive use and the blind logic of economic growth undermine the balance of other finite natural systems, such as the oxygen-producing forests and the ozone layer.

The disruption of ecological balance thus leads to irreversible changes and, ultimately, to catastrophe. The use of new technologies (such as nuclear energy) can lead in the same direction: nuclear reactors cannot be entirely safe, not to mention the consequences of using nuclear energy as an instrument of war. Alongside the demand for the regulation of the "Prometheus unbound" and the humanization of the industry-science-technology holy trinity, the green movement also confronts the threadbare industrial model with an alternative vision. The greens urge the development of alternative technologies (such as solar, wind and water energy) and, relatedly, most green initiatives sketch an alternative social model as well.

The greens begin by arguing that the division of modern societies into subsystems—the separation of economics, culture, law and politics—leaves people as the bearers of mutually unfamiliar, fragmented roles. In order to draw together these separated systems of activity and create a new harmony out of them, it is thus necessary to establish a new type of political community. While the separated systems of action flow from a centralized, bureaucratic, hierarchical institutional system, the establishment of the new communities can be based upon decentralized, antiauthoritarian, grassroots-democratic, self-managing social organization. These principles also contain the demand for the elimination of violence, rejecting both open violence (war and the repression of human rights) and structural violence (the various forms of economic and social oppression). The green ideal is that of a violence-free soci-

ety in which violence between people, groups and states disappears, leading ultimately to the dismantling of the institutions of violence belonging to the state.[186]

The greens have often consciously emphasized their links to the anarchist tradition. Though most of them reluctantly accepted party-based operation and parliamentary political activity, they stated that,

> The greens want no form of power…in fact, all forms of power are suspicious to them.…Even the word "government" gives rise to antipathy in many greens, for it has something in common with power and hierarchy.…We would like communication without rule to spread through the political scene.…The slogan "No power for any-one!" can equally be expressed as "All power for everyone!"—not in the sense of a misunderstood anarchy, as the absolutism of everyone, but rather in the sense that everyone is taken into account.[187]

Reflecting one legacy of the classic anarchist movement, the green movement rejects centralization, hierarchy, formalization and bureau-cratization. It contrasts this with the anarchist organizational model of grassroots democracy, the characteristics of which are the following:

> (1) decentralization: the organization aims to secure maximal inde-pendence for the individual and the community; (2) network form: it is based upon equal, independent communities and groups; there are no administrative rights or duties distributed by rank—the groups are linked by agreement and cooperation; (3) spontaneity and informality: rejecting the regulation- and statute-fetishism of modern organizations, the greens regulate their organizational behavior and relations as little as possible; they seek to achieve the spontaneous self-regulation of independent individuals and com-munities; (4) direct democracy: they seek organizational structures that ensure that those affected are able to contribute directly to debate and that guarantee the activation and self-management of the social base, thus excluding representation[188]

—or moderating it through systematic rotation.

The most notable sign of the green movement's link to the nonvi-

olent anarchism of Tolstoy, Schmitt, Buber and others is one of their central values—the principle of total nonviolence (though in the case of the greens this is not associated unconditionally with religious belief). In the words of Antje Vollmer, a former Green Party parliamentary deputy in Germany, the party's long-term goal was that "we should possess a nonviolent society in which the state, as such, withers away.…In our state, we should supplement the existing progressive civic traditions with elements of grassroots and radical democracy and a dose of anarchism."[189]

The green movement's goal of nonviolence agrees in essence with the basic value of nonviolence held by both feminism and the strong new peace movement of the 1970s and 1980s. The difference is that while the mainstream green movement works to eliminate violence between people and between person and nature, the peace movement interprets nonviolence as antimilitarism and advocates the nonviolent resolution of international conflicts and the dismantling of the potential for war, and feminism strives "to reduce the rule and the patriarchy that appears in the relationship between man and woman …and to curb both latent and manifest 'male violence.'"[190]

The new social movements which gained prominence in the 1970s and 1980s— the green movement, feminism, and the peace movement—were thus closely linked to one another.[191] They were also closely linked in many ways to the anarchist tradition: eco-anarchism and anarcha-feminism are widely known concepts for long time. In these movements, it is the presence of the anarchist mentality and the spiritual-metaphorical representation of basic anarchist values which can be identified in the first place. Secondly, in more concrete political terminology, it is in the movements' final goal, strategy and organizational model which are influenced by anarchist thinking. According to Máté Szabó, the common goals and other links between the new social movements and anarchism can be summarized in terms of the following:

1. At the level of the *final goal*, the elimination of rule, power, violence and hierarchy in the most diverse spheres of civil society and the political state leads to the final goal of the abolition of the state. A new feature in comparison with classical anarchism is that, in the new social movements, the demand for the absence of rule

and of violence becomes a problem primarily not of politics but of a string of private spheres of existence.

2. In terms of *strategy*, the great majority of the new social movements seek a path to the goal of the nonviolent society through nonviolent politics.…The new social movement's strategy for changing society breaks with the anarchists' efforts to initiate a "Great Revolution"; through everyday "miniature revolutions" and changes in the civil sphere, they hope to avoid both reformism and revolutionism, both of which are concentrated upon the state. The basis of the society-changing strategies of both the alternatives and the anarchists is the idea of "society against the state," which seeks to abolish the traditionally understood state on the basis of the autonomous transformation of society and the development of self-management.

3. Regarding *organizational models*, the demand for the creation of a movement free from bureaucracy and rule can be found in the alternative movements. In common with part of the anarchist movement, the alternative social movements build a model based upon grassroots democracy, decentralization, autonomy and self-management.[192] (Italics in the original.)

The new social movements of the 1980s drew attention to the fact that the phenomena of violence, rule, power and authority characterized not only the political sphere, but also the private sphere and the everyday world. This theoretical revision—the proclamation of a kind of anti-authority "everyday anarchism" turned attention to the oppressive forms of everyday behavior to be found in sexuality, education and the workplace. In this way, it broke down the sharp distinction between the private person and the citizen. Thus, the new social movements are not only influential at the political level, but also have close links to the lifestyle movements. They convert their political convictions into "small change" and implement them in matters of day-to-day life—and, conversely, they represent their day-to-day beliefs on the political stage.

To summarize, anarchist elements appear in both the mentality of the green movement and some other social movements and in their organizational order. The goal and practice of nonviolence, the opposition to repression, hierarchy and authority in both the political and pri-

vate spheres, and the pursuit of a grassroots-democratic, self-managing organizational model—these are the principal elements that make the new social movements the hiers to the anarchist tradition.


### 3.5. *Municipalism and the Anarchist Legacy*

Progressing from the metaphorical presence of the anarchist mentality to anarchism's concrete, contemporary influence, we must finally take account of the ideas surrounding federalism. While postmodernism was primarily a philosophical orientation, and the new social movements were active on both the everyday and political levels, federalism is a principle relating unambiguously to the organization of macro-structures—above all, political institutions.

Federalism is an organizing principle characterizing a political system composed of several units—member organizations, member states, regions—in which the units of the system are united while retaining their basic political integrity. At the same time, it is a varied system of thinking that has followed different paths in different periods and different societies. Some political parties have been formed precisely in order to represent federal thinking; more often, however, federalism has appeared linked to, and in part merged with, other orientations. It is useful to distinguish democratic and anarchist versions as the two logical endpoints between which the many conceptions of federalism may range.

The essence of federalism as a democratic organizing principle is that the citizens elect directly their representatives in the governing bodies of the local (regional, state) political units and the central (federal) unit. The result is the bifurcation of the political, state system into a power structure on two levels.

According to the anarchist conception of federalism, the election of representatives is to be avoided. Instead, assemblies called to deal with local issues engage in deliberations and then reach decisions on the basis of agreement and voluntary cooperation. The result is the abandonment of the state and its functional replacement—excluding the state's violence function.

Behind these two conceptions of federalism lie two differing philosophical premises. The democratic viewpoint states that people are

essentially selfish, and thus democracy is guaranteed through technical frameworks and formal demands and obligations. For the anarchists, people are essentially good, and thus few technical questions need be resolved—more can be left to spontaneity based upon autonomy.

A further key point of difference between the two viewpoints is that, according to the democratic conception, the member states have a wide but precisely defined sphere of autonomous action; thus, they are not independent, but rather share the governmental functions with the central government. The member organizations of anarchist federalism, by contrast, are wholly independent. The basic principle of anarchist federalism is that higher-level federal assemblies can perform the functions only of deliberation and agreement; they cannot take decisions that encroach upon the independence of the member organizations. Anarchist federations are thus network organizations with no upper, directing tier; beyond the political sphere, they could operate also in the form of various professional associations. A practical example of the operation of such organizations is given, in the anarchists'' view, by the international networks of telephone companies, postal organizations and train companies, which have no central leadership and are based on direct cooperation between the companies, but which nevertheless operate reliably.[193]

An additional important difference between the two conceptions of federalism concerns their relationship to the nation-state. Democratic federalism is in part the basic principle for the organization of nation-states covering a large territory or including multiple nations, and is in part concerned with cooperation between states. Anarchist federations, by contrast, perform a state-replacing function and seek to offer an alternative to political nationalism. Anarchist federal theory thus leaves out the level of the nation-state and focuses on the question of forming partly subnational (local), partly supranational (regional) federations. As Proudhon puts it,

> Europe would be too large to form a single confederation; it would have to be a confederation of confederations. This is why…the first measure of reform to be made in public law is the re-establishment of the Italian, Greek, Batavian (Netherlands), Scandinavian and Danubian confederations as a prelude to the decentralization of the

large States, followed by a general disarmament. In these condi-
tions all nations would recover their freedom, and the notion of the
balance of power in Europe would become a reality. This has been
envisaged by all political writers and statesmen but has remained
impossible so long as the great powers are centralized States. It is
not surprising that the notion of federation should have been lost
amid the splendours of the great States, since it is by nature peace-
ful and mild and plays a self-effacing role on the political scene.[194]

In anarchist thinking, federalism is a principle referring to the most
important macro-organizations. Despite this, outside the international
anarchist federation, it has had little impact as a social and political orga-
nizing principle. Because anarchist federalism—like the whole of the
anarchist system of thinking—strives to eliminate the element of power
from public affairs, the desire for the absence of rule has remained just as
unfulfilled in the sphere of international relations as has the demand for
abstract statelessness in the domestic political realm. By contrast, the
democratic conception of international federalism has become highly
salient with the highly debated future federalist organization of the Euro-
pean Union.[195] The reason for this is that the principle of democratic fed-
eralism is well suited to the nature of the modern capitalist economy. By
the end of the twentieth century, capitalism had outgrown the confines of
the nation-state and become a global phenomenon—a process that was
completed with the collapse of the communist world system. It became
global not only in the sense that countries and companies traded with one
another across the whole world, but also in that the international compa-
nies themselves penetrated beneath the skin of the nation-states in every
part of the world. To the global investments of multinational corporations
are connected global money, commodity markets and information sys-
tems. All of this leaves the traditional concept of national sovereignty
ever more obsolete. Into this process fits the unification of Europe, which
has revived the concept of democratic federalism with the unambiguous
primacy of business interests.[196] By contrast, in eastern Europe the need
to transcend ethnic nationalism and the interests of minority protection
speak in favor of the creation of a democratic regional federation.

While on the international stage anarchist federalism has largely
proved ineffective, at the subnational, local level, it has not lacked

impact. The contemporary heir of anarchist federalism is *municipalism*. Municipalism formulates a demand for radical local self-management against the operation of local state institutions. Municipalism belongs among the civil society movements and citizens' initiatives that strengthened during the 1980s and aimed at the recovery of local functions from the "omnipotent sovereignty of the nation-state."[197] While traditional radicalism and authoritarian socialism aimed at the achievement and influence of central, state administration, municipalism urges the formation of neighborhood-, district- and town-level institutions independent from, and when necessary opposed to, state power.

These initiatives achieved some success in towns in the USA, Canada and England. In several US towns, they brought success for liberals and radicals whose activity was directed at the municipalist reorganization of local power independent of central power. Such initiatives were seen in Santa Monica, Santa Cruz (California) and Burlington (Vermont); they occurred also in Montreal, London and certain northern English cities.[198] On the one hand, the municipalist movement, working locally with socialists, advanced material goals—rent regulation, apartments for those requiring them, protection for unbuilt-up areas and the curbing of speculation. On the other hand, however, while the socialists participating in the initiatives sought rapid reduction in social inequalities and pressed for only direct material measures, the alternative activists participating in the municipalist movement stressed the necessity of fundamental political and cultural change, self-management, independence from the state and direct democracy.

In Germany and other European countries, as the eco-anarchist Murray Bookchin points out, municipalism has been inspired also by the green movement—emphasizing as it does human dimensions, regionalism and decentralization.

> The two are ideologically congruent. Similarly, there is a congruence of the anti-hierarchical mentality of left-wing feminists and eco-feminists with the notion of anti-hierarchical civic movements based on neighborhood councils and assemblies. It would require an incredible degree of political myopia not to see that the ecological vision of decentralized human communities, sensitively tailored in their technologies, civic institutions, and use of resources

to the ecosystems in which they are located, forms the radical matrix for a humanly scaled political municipalism as well. Feminism, in turn, adds the all-important demand of freedom from domination and from hierarchy which is embodied not only by patriarchy but by the nation-state.[199]

The question arises how far these municipalist endeavors are anarchist in character—for they strive for local political influence and direct, local democracy. That is, they do not represent the demand for total freedom, for *anarchy* in the philosophical sense, strictly understood—in which it is not possible to force a minority to accept a decision against its wishes, even if it consists of only one person.

Bakunin's answer to the "dogmatic" view that anarchism can be represented only on the philosophical level, namely, that anarchists can take part in local politics because "municipal elections always best reflect the real attitude and will of the people"[200]—though an exaggeration, does give the key to understanding the anarchist character of municipalism. On this view, the contemporary municipalist movement is linked to the anarchist tradition in two ways. First, as the heir of anarchist federalism, it demands local federations and labors for the development of self-management. In this sense, municipalism continues directly the political tradition of anarchism.

Second, anarchism is not a philosophical doctrine standing above time and space, but a society-forming ideology attached to active popular movements that in various times, societies and environments has expressed the real needs of particular strata. Thus, for example, the Paris Commune represented the wishes and interests of the French workers, the Makhnovite movement those of the Ukrainian peasantry, and Spanish anarchism those of the urban intellectuals and workers and the peasants of Andalusia and other regions. At the present time, new popular movements have appeared expressing new, real demands. One of these is municipalism, which organizes against the lack of local power stemming from state centralization and the nature of modern political systems. Anarchism thus continues to appear in the new social movements—including in municipalism—as an ideology linked to contemporary popular movements and seeking to answer real questions. This is the indirect form of its influence, and it is upon this that

its future depends. "Anarchism will either live or die to the extent that it can fully express these issues in terms that are intelligible to people of the present era, notably, ecology, feminism, municipalism, and anti-militarism."[201]

To sum up, we can conclude that the common denominator of the new social movements is given by the central values of anarchism: opposition to authority, hierarchy and violence. The mentality of these movements—of the contemporary progressivism—is anarchist rather than socialist. In Bookchin's words,

> Above all the anti-hierarchicalism that is associated with anar-chism, particularly its most recently developed eco-anarchist forms, and its broader appeals to dominated people—women, eth-nic groups, the elderly, and the dispossessed—rather than strictly to the proletariat, form the theoretical premises that cohere various tendencies, groups and regionally based movements into a broad category that can be called "new social movements." The all-important conviction that freedom can be attained not merely if classes are abolished but if hierarchy in all its forms disappears brings ecology into accord with feminism and feminism into accord with the community conceived as a new *ethical* as well as functional dispensation of social life. The principle that unites these seemingly independent movements is the notion of participation and mutual aid—not only between municipalities but in the bios-phere and between men and women. That this focus is no longer socialist but anarchist; that it is completely removed from notions of liberal adaptations to a society based on domination in the home as well as exploitation in the workplace; that it excludes socialist compromises with the pragmatics of a male-oriented, propertied, and, above all, statist social order—this omnipresent outlook is both the haunting conscience as well as the cohering ideal of the majority of people who enter into the new social movements of our day. Feminist movements would have no reason to relate to social ecology movements and social ecology movements would have no reason to relate to municipalist movements if an essentially anar-chic view of a humanity freed of all hierarchy and domination were not translatable into ecological, feminist, and municipalist visions

of a harmonized world in the future as well as the need to heal a
totally divided world today.[202]


## 3.6. *The Post-Industrial Turn, Post-Materialist Value Change and the New Social Movements*

The new social movements appeared first in the developed coun-
tries—in the societies of western and northern Europe, the USA, Canada
and Australia. These societies differ in two fundamental ways from oth-
ers. First, their citizens possess "existential security": mass welfare and
relative plenty are guaranteed for the great bulk of the people. Second,
they are stable mass democracies. A high level of economic development
and a democratic political system are the abstract prerequisites for the
emergence of new social movements, while their social base consists pri-
marily of the middle class, white-collar employees and intellectuals.

Deep changes to social structure lay behind the emergence and, in
historical terms, rapid breakthrough of the alternative movements in the
latter part of the twentieth century. The development of a middle class
encompassing a large part of society and, more generally, the increas-
ing number of educated employees are consequences of the post-indus-
trial turn in Western societies. The essence of the shift to the post-
industrial society that began in the 1960s is, according to Daniel Bell,
"a changeover from a goods-producing society to an information or
knowledge society."[203] In practical terms, this transformation brings a
shift from manufacturing to services, the use of new technologies and
the expansion of a new technical elite. The social reality that best char-
acterizes post-industrial society is that of manmade symbols—in con-
trast to the natural world and the material world characteristic of indus-
trial society. "The post-industrial society is essentially a game between
persons."[204] The leading sectors of the post-industrial economy are the
knowledge-based sectors, the computer industry, robotics, scientific
research and development, and business information services. At the
societal level, this is combined with leisure and recreation pusuits, an
increase in the time and value that people devote to themselves, the
rapid development of the visual world (mass culture and advertising),
increased respect for sensual experiences, and the development of sec-

tors and services serving these demands—the hospitality industry, tourism, mass communication, the cosmetics and fashion industries, the entertainment industry, and advertising.

The post-industrial turn in Western societies is transforming not only the social structure and the economic leading sectors, but also society's value structure. Since the early 1970s, numerous broad empirical sociological studies have shown that growing social groups "no longer have a direct relationship to the imperatives of economic security."[205] Thus, the everyday struggle for survival and improvement of material living conditions no longer lies at the heart of their lives. This value change is summed up by the concept of post-materialism. Post-materialism describes a social condition in which a growing part of the population emphasizes such goods, services and values as improve the quality of life—in contrast to the emphasis on the accumulation of material goods. During the second half of the twentieth century, particularly in areas influenced by the "Protestant ethic" that helped in the emergence of the capitalist mentality, "the long-term consequences of economic development began to be felt. The generations that grew up in unparalleled prosperity and economic security gradually made post-materialist values their own."

The post-materialist "silent revolution" stemming from these value changes has brought a turn towards non-material demands—such as a sense of community, ecological values, environmental protection and creativity. It has also brought a growing desire to press these demands even at the expense of economic growth. Post-materialist values are emphasized primarily by young, better educated groups, and the ageing of these groups has greatly increased the influence of post-materialism over the last two decades. According to some studies, in certain countries—the Netherlands, West Germany, Great Britain—the number of post-materialists already exceeds that of materialists, and other Western countries are gradually approaching this point.[206] The post-industrial economic and social transformation and the extension of the accompanying post-materialist value system to the mass of the population are the deep structural changes that have led, at the political level, to the emergence of the new social movements.[207]

It would, however, be a mistake to draw direct conclusions from this as to the future spread of the alternative movements and the anar-

chist mentality that they bear. The changes in values and social struc-
tures that we have mentioned have not eliminated the basic structure of
western social development. The post-industrial and post-materialist
transformation is taking place in the context of *capitalism*, and even the
alternative movements operate within the all-encompassing reality of
capitalist development and amidst the separation of life spheres. The
logic of this—ranging from urban structures that cannot readily be
changed, through workplace compulsion and sexist advertising, to the
marketization of alternative values—pervades everyday life in devel-
oped societies and works against the original alternative goals. It slows
and hinders the spread of alternative values, and, by absorbing them
and transforming them into consumer products, it subordinates them to
the logic of the market. Thus, while the tendencies of post-industrialism
and post-materialism constitute a component of our age and leave a
deep imprint upon it, they do not define its fundamental nature.

A better definition of the period may be that of post-material capi-
talism. While the concept of post-industrialism refers to economic and
social and structural change, and post-materialism expresses the world
of values, the concept of postmodernism refers also to changes in intel-
lectual and political life. It is thus a summarizing concept the essence
of which is the disintegration of the traditional model of the public
sphere, the tranformation of public discourse into mass culture, and the
retreat of rationalism. While postmodern philosophy radically rela-
tivizes supposedly eternal truths, displays disdain for ideology and
shows systems of ideas—every system of ideas—to be governed by
interests, postmodern cultural practice gives rise to the attitude of "any-
thing goes," the reality of "simulacra,"[208] and a change in consumer
culture that already seems unquestionable. In harmony with this, post-
modern politics brings the marginalization of public discourse over
public affairs, the crumbling of the public sphere and its conversion into
mass culture, the marketization of political elections and the technical
transformation of political processes.

How can the structural situation of the new social movements be
compared with that of classical anarchism? Classical, nineteenth-centu-
ry anarchism arose in opposition to industrial capitalist production, the
nation-state and the process of political centralization. The social basis
of classical anarchism, and its ideologists, derived in large part from

groups that were unable to adjust to industrial capitalism and remained organizationally outside it—the peasantry and the artisans, the urban poor and the aristocracy. Regarding its cultural values, anarchism opposed the tendency towards materialism, and it projected as the idyll of the future a rose-tinted view of the past, pre-industrial society.[209]

The new social movements that emerged in the late twentieth century stand opposed to the new, post-industrial capitalism. This capitalism has left the era of industrial centralization behind and in many respects has become more decentralized (for example, through the use of computer networks and the blossoming of small and medium-sized companies). The anarchist value of decentralization found in the alternative movements continues, however, to oppose the economic power centerd in the hands of the international conglomerates. But unlike the case of the classical anarchist movements, a significant portion of the participants in the new social movements are not marginalized members of society, but rather possess valuable cultural—more rarely, economic—capital.

To conclude, classical anarchism's rule-free idyll could not compete with the materialism of the state and the market; nor could it prevent the break-up of society into different life spheres and subsystems following different principles. The contemporary new social movements too speak out against the primacy of the economy and the hierarchies that go with it, but the state of "existential security" and the spread of post-materialism have given relatively favorable ground for mobilization against materialism, rule, authority and hierarchy and for action aimed at improving the quality of life. In historical terms, the logic of the post-industrial and post-materialist transformation works in favor of the new social movements. Further, the articulated values of the new social movements and their strategy of attending to small, everyday changes gives their ambitions greater credibility than classical anarchism's "Great Revolution" and abstract antistatism could possess.

As Bookchin writes,

Capitalism has developed technology to a point where the superfluity of human needs in the western world and the capacity to satisfy them has given well-to-do people the opportunity, indeed, the historic luxury, of bringing many of their needs and technics into ques-

tion on ecological and social grounds. It is not accidental that in a newly emerging era of cybernation and robotization, millions of people can afford to address themselves to such questions as the "limits of growth," "harmony with nature," notions that call for restrictions on humanity's intervention into nature, a non-hierarchical sensibility and the like. Arguments for "simple living," "animal rights," "labor-intensive technologies," and "respect for nature" would have gained very few supporters during those long centuries when the promise of the good life in simple material terms was regarded as chimerical and hopelessly unattainable for all but elite minorities.[210]

# Conclusions: Anarcho-Democrats and Social Change

What we have said so far about the new social initiatives refers mainly to the developed capitalist countries. In the new democracies of central and eastern Europe, the questions to be asked regarding these movements are still rather different. First, these societies do not display wide-scale existential security: because the era of mass well-being has not yet arrived, maintaining economic growth remains these societies' main goal.[211] The stability and development of new democracies of these parts of Europe does not yet match the finely tuned operation of democracy in the West. The Europe of Yalta[212] brought not just political, but also intellectual division: besides leading to economic destruction, the Soviet occupation also conserved the region's intellectual underdevelopment. In contrast to the Western "post-era" of post-industrialism and post-materialism, in eastern Europe the era of postcommunist change has brought the desire for well functioning industrialism, the blossoming of materialism and the ideology of modernity. In Europe, the postcommunist East of the 1990s should rather be compared to postfascist West of the 1950s.

In the past fifteen years, political forces in central and eastern Europe were occupied with the creation of institutional infrastructures for their democracy and of an efficiently functioning structure for pluralism and corporatism. Thus, despite the fact that the ecological system is in a worse state than that of western Europe, the green movement organizes primarily around particular instances of environmental degradation. They do not at present claim to present a comprehensive critique of technology and society, or offer the promise of a new, grassroots-democratic model of society. While federalism in western Europe

is a technical (administrative, legal, financial) question both in the internal affairs of federal countries and in the development of the European Community, in eastern Europe it remains a modest proposal for the taming of snarling nationalisms. Municipalism can be accompanied by the danger of populism and nationalism.[213] Successful new democracies of central Europe, whose democratic governments managed their country's admission to the European Union, might overcome these problems soon.

In post-Soviet eastern Europe today, the consolidation of the authority of the new political, military, and economic structures—stable, well functioning democratic parliamentary pluralism, international security, and economic growth—is, at least in principle, on the agenda. Some of these countries are, however, slipping back to different forms of semi-democracy or electoral authoritarianism. From an anarchist point of view, it is possible to criticize the disadvantages of both the transformation and the lack of it, and demand a more refined, more bearable and more just political, economic and everyday system essentially only after it has been born. None of this, however, is a prediction of a demand precisely for the western model. There is no direct relationship of cause and effect between the economic and social changes and the emergence of the new social movements: the link is much more indirect. The new social movements are strongly cultural in character and work on the creation of a new identity consciousness. Indeed, they might be called as "new cultural movements." Thus, their ability to influence the system of cultural institutions, their attempts to fill the spaces in the political map, and their presence in the public domain—in the media—are more important factors for their organization and influence than in the cases of more traditional movements.

At present in central Europe, the post-industrial middle class that is able to support the new social movements is small. Equally small are the groups—such as the young—capable of following post-materialist values. Thus, judging by experience to date, the values of the alternative movements are likely to spread "from above" in relatively small intellectual circles. It is likely that is this regard Central Europe might continue the tradition that gives the reformist intelligentsia a still important—essentially substituting—role.[214]

In no sense are today's central European democracies systems of postmodern capitalism. From the viewpoint of the opportunities avail-

able to the new social movements, this is in one sense a disadvantage—for, in consequence of the region's underdevelopment, it is not the post-industrial turn that is taking place here, but rather the process of enduring simultaneously original capital accumulation and colonization. But in another sense it may be an advantage: broad social discourse still takes place; there remains a public space in which public affairs may be debated with considerable publicity; mass culture is only slowly eroding that public space and rendering political culture consumerist.

The legacy of anarchism in contemporary central Europe may be not abstract antistatism, but rather a healthy scepticism vis-à-vis the new, democratic state power, and a moral balance against corruption. As the liberal historian Lord Acton reminded us, "all power corrupts," for the representatives elected to power by the people become professionalized and bureaucratized; that is, as the anarcho-syndicalist Robert Michels argued, in all power organizations, the "iron law of oligarchy" is unavoidable. In writing his anarcho-syndicalist critique of the over-centralized German Social Democratic Party with its concentration upon the parliamentary faction, Michels formed what remains one of the fundamental theses of political sociology.[215] This thesis remains valid even if the demand for stability in central Europe today emphasizes the benefits of elite politics. The civil society concept of "society against the state"[216] appears today in the new social movements built from below in opposition to the oligarchies, in the organization of citizens' initiatives, in civil disobedience and in the principle and practice of rotation. These efforts will have no effect if they remain strictly anti-statist and do not perform the role of counterbalancing elite politics. How can we sum up the message of this for the current historical epoch?

From the viewpoint of postmodern philosophy, the enemies of anarchistic revolt are rigid, hierarchical systems of thinking and the ideological world of value-laden bipolar oppositions that conceal interests. From the feminist viewpoint, they are social hierarchies based on authority, dominated by men, and centerd on patriarchal thinking. For the green movement, they are the idolization of the economy, the irresponsible use of dangerous technologies, the quest for absoluteness in narrow-minded science, political rule and state violence. For federalism they are centralized, restrictive political organizations. The common denominator underpinning the critiques presented by all of these move-

ments is 1. their opposition to hierarchy, 2. their delegitimating, critically subversive basic position of opposition to authority and 3. opposition to subordinating, oppressive social and conceptual structures.

The contemporary form of the anarchist mentality also contains a constructive, positive vision, a demand for the creation of a new social and conceptual structure. Here, the common denominator is 1. respect for autonomy, 2. construction from below, 3. effort to secure equality, balance and decentralization, 4. a federative character, and 5. adherence to the principle of coordination—both in everyday life and in the political realm.

The demand for a frontal attack upon the state and the anarchist desire for the elimination of the state have always proved quite unrealistic so far. Though the claim of the "original evil" of the state remains a noteworthy warning, acceptance of the widely controlled and reliably democratic state appears to be the alternative.

The broader interpretation of the concept of anarchism, the representation of the anarchistic value-ideal, is not so distant from the views of anarchism's classical thinkers. As Rudolf Rocker says in the excerpt quoted at the start of this book, anarchism is "not a fixed, self-enclosed social system, but rather a definite trend in the historic development of mankind." In Malatesta's words, "the issue is not that today, tomorrow or in a thousand years we shall achieve anarchy, but that today, tomorrow and continuously we progress along the path to anarchy."[217]

Who, then, are the anarchists? What differentiates them from others? In the *Encyclopédie Anarchiste*, Sebastian Faure answers in the following terms:

> There is not, and there cannot be, a libertarian Creed or *Catechism*.
>
> That which exists and constitutes what one might call the anarchist doctrine is a cluster of general principles, fundamental conceptions and practical applications regarding which a consensus has been established among individuals whose thought is inimical to Authority and who struggle, collectively or in isolation, against all disciplines and constraints, whether political, economic, intellectual or moral.
>
> At the same time, there may be—and indeed there are—many varieties of anarchist, yet all have a common characteristic that separates them from the rest of humankind. This uniting point is

*the negation of the principle of Authority in social organizations
and the hatred of all constraints that originate in institutions
founded on this principle.*

Thus, whoever denies Authority and fights against it is an
Anarchist.[218] (Italics in original.)

We have tried to show in this volume that the various European
anarchist ideas and movements were confronted with a variety of chal-
lenges that were geographic, historical and cultural in nature. Anarchism
could be strong structurally where there was democracy as in western
Europe and where consequently there was disappointment with democ-
racy. It was also strong where democracy and anarchism were equally
distant from reality and appeared only on a utopian horizon, as in Russia.
central Europe, including Hungary, was in a transitional position. Achiev-
ing democracy seemed only a few steps away and thus offered the oppor-
tunity for strong, optimistic expectations. The immediacy of democracy
made it difficult for both pre-democratic and post-democratic anarchism
to gain strengths. It is not a coincidence that it was only the peasant
movement in the Alföld [Plain], at the end of the nineteenth century that
was able to move masses on the basis of anarchist principles. The reason
was that this messianic-millenarian movement was as far from democra-
cy as possible. So far as the post-democratic "an-archist" point of view is
concerned, this ideal fusion of liberal and socialist elements going
beyond the real democracy in the West and the fictional democracy in the
East and linked to the name of Jászi, Bibó and Tamás, its effects never
progressed beyond a small group of intellectuals.

We have mentioned in the introduction that the thinkers in this
region, sympathizing with liberalism and anarchism, endeavored to
answer the question of societal changes with a hybrid theoretical solu-
tion. In essence all of them, from Ervin Szabó to István Bibó and
György Konrád and, regionally, from Václav Havel to Václav Benda
and to the ideologues of the Polish Solidarity movement, imagined a
solution that combined the advantages of anarchy and democracy with-
out the disadvantages of either. They wanted the people to come into
power but detested power itself.

The question of power could not be avoided in central Europe. It
had to be confronted, perhaps by democratizing it and dividing it

among various groups in society. The one thing that could not be done was ignoring it. Power could not be simply dismissed a priori, and something had to be done to make it more human and endurable. In contrast to Russia, this issue was put on the agenda in central Europe. From this such ideas emerged as conversion of the structure of power into "Liberal Socialism (Jászi) or "Quality Socialism" (László Németh). Other conversion ideas included "An-Archism" (Bibó), or idealization of civilian society by re-moralizing politics (Havel) and the direct "Antipolitics" (György Konrád).

We claim, therefore, that there was a peculiarly Central European dilemma, a Central European theoretical policy paradigm, from which even very differently oriented thinkers could not disembarrass themselves. This was a problem just as much for the populist thinkers as for the urbanite ones. How the various external influences could be melded and then how could this mixture be made to yield an original variant that would be characteristic and typical for this region? It should be a variant that went beyond the alienation and egoist individuality of the West and the brutality and governmental centralization of the East. One of these concepts was the "Garden Hungary" idea of László Németh. It was a harmonious wishful image of Hungary, based on little people and small enterprises and free of the ones wielding great power. We must also mention the occasionally emerging idea of socialist cooperatives (Ferenc Erdei), the adaptation experiments of Henry George and the ideas and romanticism of the 1956 revolution that was built on workers' councils and ground-level democracy. The same ideas appeared in the basic principles of Solidarity in Poland when the drafters of the movement's program spoke about the necessity of a democratic and ethical republic based on self-governing Christian Socialist principles. In central Europe practically every anti-authority thinker claimed that the solution was a small community democracy, originating with individuals, brotherhood, solidarity, cooperation, collaboration, self-government and cooperatives rather than the great formal structures like capitalism, communism, representative democracy or global world system. For them, "lifeworld," grassroots, civility and community meant freedom, permanence, the creation of a new quality and the pawn to national advancement.

The group established by András Szalay, the Radical Workers' Party was an anarchist initiative within the emerging social democracy

and as an internal opposition to it. The participants were not certain what to call themselves. They were hesitant to call themselves anarchists but they were sharply critical of social democracy even though they functioned within it. They were very much aware of the dilemma of democratic clout versus anarchist rejection.

In this regard perhaps Jenő Henrik Schmitt was the most interesting individual who was simultaneously very much Western and Eastern. Western because on a Christian basis and in Christ's name he rejected democracy, as though it had existed in Hungary, and considered it a mendacious domineering system. He went so far as to remove the word democratic from the name of the Independent Socialist Party. He was Eastern, because under the influence of Tolstoy and others he proclaimed worldly redemption and Gnostic teachings. In fact, he did not have a political program and had no positive utopia about a desirable and possible political system. This duality was united in the cult of nonviolence because this was an equally Western and Eastern concept. Schmitt was probably the only exception of the Central European paradigm that blended democracy and anarchy while idealizing both.

Erwin Batthyány was originally a Western personality who shared the Western disillusionment with social democracy and believed in evolutional practices like reformed schools, education, enlightenment and training on the British model. Politically he vacillated between Kropotkin's anarchism that he liked and the idea of "free Socialism" that was associated with Ervin Szabó and William Morris. He also experimented with hybrid solutions. Particularly, when he wrote an article about socialism and anarchism being the two sides of the same coin. He urged that the followers of both unite not only tactically but strategically as well.

Ervin Szabó was originally a "free socialist democrat" but under French influence he turned to syndicalism and increasingly rejected the democratic approach. He became disillusioned with the boring democratism of the social democrats and found the revolutionary syndicalism spiritually much more exciting. He was, thus, also a component of the Central European paradigm, as shown by his 1904 speech in defense of socialism. Under Western influence he gradually removed himself from the arena and by the time of World War I, he was increasingly on the sidelines.

Károly Krausz also fits into this group. He simultaneously fought against the liberal capitalism of the Monarchy and against the Hungarian

Soviet Republic that modeled itself on Soviet Russia and introduced censorship. It is important to note, however, that initially the slogan "All Power to the Soviet" appealed to him indicating that he also perceived the need for a potential fusion of anarchy and democracy. He found that if the power belonged to the workers' collectives and not to the party or the state, he could support it even though, as an anarchist, he should have rejected it. He became disillusioned with the Soviet Republic because the first Hungarian communist regime was not true to the principles of a direct, participatory workers' democracy that it proclaimed and because the rule of the workers was replaced by a party dictatorship.

As we have indicated Oszkár Jászi's "liberal socialism" was replete with anarchist elements but he, himself was not an anarchist, but rather a democrat with liberal socialist principles. At the same time, he did not like the crude "majority democracy" and wished to dilute it with liberal, anarchist "quality" intellectual elements. He did not join the Social Democratic Party but established the much less weighty but freer Bourgeois Radical Party. For him the idea of the bourgeois equaled a free individual, a person who could not be manipulated by great power structures and propaganda machines.

The later writings of István Bibó, particularly his "The Meaning of European Social Evolution," come increasingly closer to anarchism. Bibó, who started as a "law and order democrat" came by the end of his life to the ideas of a "European liberal socialism" constructed on the principles of "an-archia." He realized that power could not be eliminated but did not consider it sufficient to democratize it as the "will of the majority." For him the true essence of democracy was represented by the dispersal of and humanization of power. He envisioned a viable system that held individual freedom in the greatest respect and in which the slogan of being a democrat equaled not being afraid which meant that in a true democracy, that is in an an-archy, the individual did not have to fear the will of the majority. He wanted a democracy that respected the individual's moral autonomy. The American anarchist theoretician, Robert Paul Wolff also believed that the greatest problem of democracy was the conflict between decisionmaking by the majority and the moral autonomy of the individual. In contrast to Bibó, however, Wolff did not believe that the two basic concepts could be reconciled and opted for "pure" philosophical anarchism.

Gáspár Miklós Tamás's book, *A szem és a kéz* [The Hand and the Eye] is a fundamentally anarchist work but first emphasizes the principle of equality and it is from this that he derived freedom. He tried to create a socialistic utopian system in which the disappearance of inequalities was not derived from a freedom without rule but from the equalizing processes of a universal compensatory system.

The anarchist initiatives, like the Autonomy Group and the Budapest Anarchist Group, appearing at the time of the change of regime in 1988–1990, were also confronted with the dilemma of "anarchy or democracy." By that time democracy was achievable and their dilemma became paradigmatic. They first participated in the movements demanding democracy but very quickly realized the inevitability of bureaucratization and oligarchization and left the new, democratic parties. They believed that compared to dictatorship democracy was a step forward and this is why they supported it. Very soon they realized, however, that from the perspective of anarchy, democracy was also not a solution and that they had to remain in opposition. They had the same experience with the post-1989 democracy as their predecessors did with the 1919 soviet system. The latter anarchist groups, however, instead of maintaining the anarchist alternative to democracy and become the radical critics of democracy, dissolved their groups and joined other movements in the political arena, like the human rights group or a populist party. There was an anarchist movement only so long as it moved along with democratization as a parallel process and a parallel option and as long as the theoretical possibility existed that the revolutionary changes would lead to the birth of an anarchist society. As soon as democracy arrived the anarchist movement atrophied.

In the historical era under study in our book, from the middle of the nineteenth century to the 1990s, there existed a peculiar Central European and Hungarian, simultaneously anarchist and fundamental democratic, tradition that remained a component of political thought in both the Horthy-regime and the Kádár-regime. Regardless how theoretically impossible and practically unrealizable the idea of an "anarchy with democracy" may seem, it is a fact that the related ideas of the 1999 Seattle antiglobalization demonstrations have entered the theoretical path-finding spectrum of the international left wing. Many authors have addressed the broadening of apathy, the decrease of participation in pol-

itics, the uniformity of neoliberal globalizing economy and similar social and political problems. "Democratic deficit" has become the political watchword of our age.

What can we say? One of the ways of defeating the democratic deficit is to redefine the concept of democracy because it can not exist without participants. "Democracy" has drifted away from the people. Anarchizing democracy, making it more approachable and humanizing it may well be the global political task of the near future. The old ideal of the civil society may have a revival in the utopia of a "global civil society."

The question probed by István Bibó is not related merely to local issues and to the Central European communist systems. It is not simply an anti-Kádár utopia but is really a problem of the "meaning of European social evolution." The liberal democracies, without competition since the fall of the soviet system, must be ready for a renewal unless they wish to remain an "expert democracy" ruled by a technocrat elite. Bibó's questions are European and even global questions that are becoming increasingly timely. The history of Central Europe, after all, is not anything fundamentally different from a continuous experiment of melding incompatible structures. This has numerous negative consequences. These are the conflict of formal and informal structures and the inscrutability, haziness and lack of clarity of the regulations. Yet, perhaps from a theoretical political perspective there may be positive consequences as well at least over a longer period of time. These positive consequences might be derived from thoughts of Jászi, Patocka, Bibó, Havel, Konrád and others because they may help in finding a way through complex and incompatible systems. It may turn out that the world is not homogenous and can not be homogenized, but a system composed of complex and mutually contradictory systems. In its crises perhaps the intellectual heritage of the Central European anarchodemocratic thinkers may provide a handhold.

It was not the purpose of our book to prove that there was a strong, unbroken, chemically pure anarchist movement in Hungary. The truth is precisely the opposite. On the European semi-periphery, it is the characteristic peculiarity of the history of Hungarian anarchism that the anarchist movements and the democratic initiatives echoed each other and, to some extent, were manifested in a reciprocal relationship.

# NOTES

## NOTE TO INTRODUCTION

1. Rudolf Rocker, *Anarcho-Syndicalism* (London: Pluto Press, [1938] 1989), p. 31.

## NOTES TO PART ONE

1. Quoted in Noam Chomsky, introduction to *Anarchism, from Theory to Practice*, by Daniel Guérin (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970), xii.

2. Usually Proudhon and Bakunin are regarded as the leading figures of a collectivist trend in anarchism, which is, narrowly understood, different from communist anarchism. See in more detail, George Woodcock, *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movement* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972); Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, *What Is Property?* (New York: Dover, 1970); George Woodcock, *Pierre-Joseph Proudhon*; G. P. Maximoff, ed., *The Political Philosophy of Bakunin: Scientific Anarchism* (New York: Free Press, 1953); Mikhail Bakunin, *Statism and Anarchy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); and Aileen Kelly, *Mikhail Bakunin* (New Haven: Yale University Press, [1971] 1987).

3. For communist anarchism, see Alexander Berkman, *Now and After: The ABC of Communist Anarchism* (London: Freedom Press, 1964); Alexander Berkman, *What Is Communist Anarchism?* (New York: Dover, 1972); Emile Capouya and Keitha Tompkins, eds., *The Essential Kropotkin* (New York: Liveright, 1975); Peter Kropotkin,

*Two Essays: Anarchism* [1910] *and Anarchist Communism* [1887], ed. Nicolas Walter (London: Freedom Press, 1993); Johann Most, "Der Kommunistische Anarchismus," *Rote Fahn* (Berlin), nos. 53–54 (1921); Max Nomad, "Johann Most," *Modern Monthly*, nos. 9–10 (1936–1938); Richard Drinnon, *Rebel in Paradise: A Biography of Emma Goldman* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961); and Laslo Sekelj, "Has Anarcho-Communism a Future?" *Raven*, no. 9 (January, 1990): 15–25.

4. For anarcho-syndicalism, see Rocker, *Anarcho-Syndicalism*; John L. Stanley, ed., *From Georges Sorel: Essays in Socialism and Philosophy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976).

5. Max Stirner, *The Ego and His Own: The Case of Individual Against Authority* (New York: Libertarian Book Club, 1963); R. W. K. Paterson, *The Nihilist Egoist: Max Stirner* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971); and John P. Clark, *Max Stirner's Egoism* (London: Freedom Press, 1976).

6. On the American anarchist trends, see James Martin, *Men Against the State: The Expositors of Individualist Anarchism in America, 1827–1908* (DeKalb, IL: Adrian Allen, 1953); William Reichert, *Partisans of Freedom: A Study in American Anarchism* (Bowling Green: Bowling Greeen University Popular Press, 1976); Rudolf Rocker, *Pioneers of American Freedom* (Los Angeles: Rocker Publications, 1949); D. DeLeon, *The American as Anarchist: Reflections on Indigeneous Radicalism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978); Paul Avrich, *Anarchist Voices: An Oral History of Anarchism in America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995); Frank H. Brooks, "American Individualist Anarchism: What It Was and Why It Failed?" *Journal of Political Ideologies* 1, no. 1 (1996): 75–95; and Gary Kline, *The Individualist Anarchists: A Critique of Liberalism* (New York: University Press of America, 1987).

7. Josiah Warren, *Equitable Commerce* (New York: Burt Franklin, [1846] 1867); Clarence Swartz, *Josiah Warren, the First American Anarchist* (Berkeley Heights: The Oriole Press, 1955); Lysander Spooner, *No Treason: The Constitution of No Authority* (Colorado Springs: Ralph Myers Publishing Co., [1867] 1973); Benjamin R. Tucker, *Instead of a Book by a Man Too Busy to Write One* (New York: Tucker, 1893); Michael E. Coughlin, Charles Hamilton, and Mark A. Sullivan, eds., *Benjamin R. Tucker and the Champions of Liberty* (St.

Paul, MN: M. E. Coughlin and M. Sullivan, 1986); and Stephen Pearl Andrews, *The Science of Society* (New York: Fowler and Wells, 1852).

8. See Murray Rothbard, "The Anatomy of the State," in *Contemporary Anarchism*, ed. Terry Perlin (New Brunswick: Transaction, 1979), 127–149; and Murray Rothbard, "Why Be Libertarian?" ibid., 151–155.

9. Leo Tolstoy, *The Kingdom of God Is Within You* (New York: Bantam, [1894] 1971).

10. Jenő Henrik Schmitt, "What Do We Want," in *Liberty and Socialism: Writings of Libertarian Socialists in Hungary, 1884–1919*, ed. János Bak et al. (Savage, MD: Rowman/Littlefield, 1991), 9–19. See further discussions of, and references for, Schmitt's Gnostic writings later in this book.

11. Martin Buber, *Paths in Utopia* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1958).

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89. William B. Greene, *Mutual Banking* (West Brookfield, MA: O. S. Cooke and Co., 1850). See Kline, *The Individualist Anarchist*, 47–48.

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98. Miller, *Anarchism*, 174.

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104. Ibid.

105. See in detail, Mikhail Bakunin: "Perils of the Marxist State," in *The Anarchist Reader*, ed. Woodcock, 140–43; Rothbard, "The Anatomy of the State," 127–49.

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109. Cf. Colin Ward, ed., *A Decade of Anarchy (1961–1970)* (London: Freedom Press, 1987).

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114. Lomasky, *Persons*, 106.

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125. Joshua King Ingalls, *Social Wealth: The Sole Factors and Exact Ratios in Its Acquirement and Apportionment* (New York: Social Science Pub. Co., 1885).

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129. Cf. Norman P. Barry, *The New Right* (London: Croom Helm, 1987); David Green, *The New Right* (Brighton: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1987); and Patrick Dunleavy and Brendan O'Leary, *Theories of the State* (London: Macmillan, 1987), 72–135.

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132. Murray Rothbard, *For a New Liberty: A Libertarian Manifesto* (New York: Libertarian Review Foundation, 1973); Murray Rothbard, "Society without a State," in *Annarchhism: Nomos XIX*, ed. Pennock and Chapman, 191–207. Rothbard's approach is analyzed in Miller, *Anarchism*, 35–36, 67.

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Free Press, 1997); and David Boaz, ed., *The Libertarian Reader* (New York: Free Press, 1997).

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139. Bozóki, "Az anarchizmus elmélete és típusa," 162.

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148. On Fabian Society, see Shaw et al., *Fabian Essays*.

149. Jászi, "A szocializmus megalapozása," 193.

150. Cf. Oszkár Jászi: "P-J. Proudhon feltámadása" [The Resurrec-

tion of P-J-Proudhon], in *A kommunizmus kilátástalansága*, ed. Gyurgyák and Kövér, 297–304, originally published in *Világ*, January 25, 1925.

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152. Oszkár Jászi, *Marxizmus vagy liberális szocializmus* [Marxism or Liberal Socialism] (Paris: MFK, 1983), 70.

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154. Bibó, "Reflections," 495.

155. István Bibó, *Válogatott tanulmányok* [Selected Works], ed. Tibor Huszár, István Vida, and Endre Nagy (Budapest: Magvető, 1986), vol. 3, 93.

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157. Bozóki: "Az anarchizmus elmélete és tipusai."

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166. Cf. Berlin,"Two Concepts of Liberty."

167. Both classic and contemporary liberals pay special attention to constitutional arrangements. Cf. Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay, *Federalist Papers: A Collection of Essays Written in Support of the Constitution of the United States* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, [1866] 1981), or, more recently, Bruce Ackerman, *The Future of Liberal Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

168. Miklós Szabó, A "liberalizmus utópiája és a 'létező' liberalizmus" [The Liberal Utopia and 'Existing' Liberalism], in *Válság és reform: A Magyar Politikatudományi Társaság Évkönyve* [Crisis and Reform. The Yearbook of the Hungarian Political Science Association], ed. György Szoboszlai (Budapest: MPT, 1987), 151–152.

169. Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid*.

170. For more extensive discussion of liberalism, see T. S. Ashton, *The Industrial Revolution* (London: Oxford University Press, 1984); L. T. Hobhouse, *Liberalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964); Ludwig von Mises, *Liberalism in the Classical Tradition* (San Fransisco: Cobden Press, 1985); and the debate concerning liberalism in *Válság és reform*, ed. Szoboszlai, 125–174.

171. This direction of criticism politically reunites left- and right-wingers inside the anarchist camp.


### NOTES TO PART TWO

1. Woodcock, *Pierre-Joseph Proudhon*; Katalin Haskó: "Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, az anarchizmus atyja" [Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, Father of Anarchism], *Valóság* 38, no. 7 (July 1995): 39–55; and K.

Steven Vincent, *Pierre-Joseph Proudhon and the Rise of French Republican Socialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984).

2. F. F. Ridley, *Revolutionary Syndicalism in France: The Direct Action of Its Time* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1971); and Louis Levine, *The Labor Movement in France: A Study in Revolutionary Syndicalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, [1914] 1972).

3. Miklós Szabó, "Schmitt Jenő Henrik és a magyar forradalmiság" [Jenő Henrik Schmitt and Hungarian Revolutionism], *Világosság* 29, no. 12 (1988): 780–783.

4. See Murray Bookchin, *The Spanish Anarchists: The Heroic Years 1868–1936* (New York: Free Life Editions, 1977); Eric Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959); Temma Kaplan, *Anarchists of Andalusia, 1868–1903* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977); and Clara Lida, "Agrarian Anarchism in Andalusia," *International Review in Social History* 14, (1969): 316–352.

5. Peter Arshinov, *The History of the Makhnovist Movement, 1918–21* (Chicago: Black and Red, 1974); and Michael Palij, *The Anarchism of Nestor Makhno, 1918–21: An Aspect of Ukrainaian Revolution* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1976).

6. On Zapata, see John Womack, *Zapata and the Mexican Revolution* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972).

7. Nunzio Pernicone: *Italian Anarchism, 1864–1892* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); see also Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels*.

8. The term "fre-floating intelligentsia" refers to Karl Mannheim's famous book in the sociology of knowledge written in the interwar period. According to Mannheim, all knowledge are bound to the bearers of knowledge, who, by their social position represent a particularistic form of knowledge. The only exception to the rule is the role of the freischwebende Intelligenz [free-floating intellectuals] who are not tied to any social group. They are the only ones, according to Mannheim, who are able to synthetize all particularisms and to acquire a universalistic form of knowledge. See, Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1936).

9. George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic, *The Anarchist Prince: A Biography of Peter Kropotkin* (London: T.V. Broadman, 1950); P. Holgate, *Malatesta* (London: Freedom Press, 1956); Henry Gifford, *Tolstoy* ( Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982); and Viktória M. Kondor and Zsuzsa D. Zöldhelyi: "P. A. Kropotkin and Count Ervin Batthyány," *Studia Slavica Hungarica* (1978): 121–35.

10. See in detail, William Reichert, *Partisans of Freedom: A Study in American Anarchism* (Bowling Green: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1976); and James Martin, *Men Against the State: The Expositors of Individualist Anarchism in America, 1827–1908* (De Kalb, IL: Adrian Allen, 1953).

11. Richard D. Sonn, *Anarchism and Cultural Politics in Fin-de-Siècle France* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989).

12. P. Leighten, *Re-ordering the Universe: Picasso and Anarchism, 1897–1914* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989).

13. Sonn, *Anarchism and Cultural Politics*.

14. Ilona Sármány: "Egy század eleji kísérlet tanulságai: a gödöllőiek öröksége" [Lessons of a Turn-of-the-Century Experiment: The Legacy of the Gödöllő Artists), *Kritika* 16, no. 2 (1978): 13–14.

15. See Rudolf Rocker, *The London Years* (London: Ascombe, 1956); James W. Hulse, *Revolutionists in London: A Study of Five Unorthodox Socialists* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970); H. Oliver, *The International Anarchist Movement in Late Victorian London* (London: Croom Helm, 1983); for some exceptions, see John Quail, *The Slow Burning Fuse: A Lost History of the British Anarchists* (London: Granada Publishing, 1978).

16. Tibor Erényi, "Elméleti-politikai irányzatok a XIX. század magyarországi munkásmozgalmában" [Theoretical and Political Orientations in the Nineteenth Century Hungarian Labor Movement], *Párttörténeti Közlemények* 28, no. 2 (1982): 170–203.

17. On Lassalle, see, Eckard Colberg, *Die Erlösung der Welt durch Ferdinand Lassalle* (Munich: List, 1969).

18. Edit S. Vincze, *A hűtlenségi per* [The Disloyalty Trial] (Budapest: Kossuth, 1971).

19. Péter Hanák, "A szocialista munkásmozgalom megerősödése az 1890-es évek elején" [The Strengthening of the Socialist Labor Movement at the Start of the 1890s], in *Magyarország története* [The

History of Hungary], ed. Péter Hanák and Ferenc Mucsi (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1983), vol. 7, pt. 1, 115.

20. Miklós Szabó, "Reflexiók az anarchizmusról," 200–205.

21. On Johann Most, see Frederic Trautmann, *Voice of Terror: A Biography of Johann Most* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980).

22. Sándor Vadász, "A francia anarcho-szindikalizmus ideológiá-ja" [The Ideology of French Anarcho-Syndicalism], *Párttörténeti Közlemények* 28, no. 1(1982): 59–89; Ridley, *Revolutionary Syndicalism in France*; and Levine, *The Labor Movement in France*.

23. Marie Fleming, "Propaganda by the Deed: Terrorism and Anarchist Theory in Late Nineteenth-Century Europe," in *Terrorism in Europe*, ed. Yonah Alexander and Kenneth A. Myers (London: Croom Helm, 1983).

24. See a fascinating account on this: Paul Avrich, *Bakunin and Nechaev* (London: Freedom Press, 1974).

25. Quoted in Andrew Carlson, *Anarchism in Germany* (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, 1972), 253.

26. Ibid., 259.

27. See Mária H. Kohut, "A radikális szocialisták  és Szalay András: Adatok az ellenzéki szocialisták 1881–84 évi tevékenysé-géhez" [The Radical Socialists and András Szalay: Data on the Activities of the Opposition Socialists, 1881–84], *Párttörténeti Közlemények* 13, no. 4 (1967): 118–149; Edit S. Vincze, "A magyarországi és a német szocialisták a 'kivételes törvény' első éveiben, 1878–1881" [Hungarian and German Socialists in the First Years of the "Exceptional Legislation," 1878–1881], in *Az útkeresés évtizedei* [The Decades of Searching for a Direction] (Budapest: Kossuth, 1977),  277–340.

28. István Varró, "A magyarországi anarchizmus kezdetei" [The Beginnings of Anarchism in Hungary], (manuscript, 1983).

29. Kohut, "A Radikális szocialisták."

30. *Népakarat*, 15 September 1883.

31. *Népakarat*, 15 April 1883.

32. "A szocializmusról" [On Socialism], *Népakarat*, 22 April 1882.

33. "Az anarchistákról" [On the Anarchists], *Népakarat*, 15 March 1884.

34. "Az anarchisták és a magyar kormány" [The Anarchists and the Hungarian Government], *Népakarat*, 15 March 1884.

35. Carlson, *Anarchism in Germany*, 269.

36.  Mihály Révész, *A magyarországi munkásmozgalom története, 1867–1913* [The History of the Labor Movement in Hungary, 1867–1913] (Budapest: Népszava-könyvkereskedés, 1913), 30.

37.  George Woodcock, *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements* (London: Penguin, [1962] 1972), 406.

38.  Quoted in István Tóth, *Földosztó mozgalom Szabolcs Megyében* [The Movement for Land Distribution in Szabolcs County] (Budapest: Kossuth Kiadó, 1963), 111–112.

39.  Hanák, "A szocialista munkásmozgalom," 127–128.

40.  For these concepts see Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia*.

41.  Lajos Leopold Jr., "Vallás és agrárszocializmus"[Religion and Agrarian Socialism], *Huszadik Század* 6, no. 2 (1905): 97–119.

42.  Ibid.

43.  Quoted in Péter Simon, *A századforduló földmunkás és szegényparaszt mozgalmai, 1891–1907* [The Movements of Agricultural Workers and Poor Peasants at the Turn of the Century, 1891–1907] (Budapest: Szikra Könyvkiadó, 1953): 139–140.

44.  Péter Hanák, "Az agrárszocialista mozgalom mentalitása és szimbólumai" ["The Mentality and Symbols of the Agrarian Socialist Movement"], in *A Kert és a Műhely* [The Garden and the Workplace] (Budapest: Gondolat, 1988), 212; for a lengthier treatment, see Yonina Talmon, "Millenarian Movements," *Archives Européennes de Sociologie* 7, no. 2 (1966): 159.

45.  Hanák, "Az agrárszocialista mozgalom," 205.

46.  Ibid., 207.

47.  József Farkas, "Az 1897–99-es pártszakadás és Várkonyi István fellépése" [The Party Split of 1897–99 and the Emergence of István Várkonyi], *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József Nominatae, Sectio Scientes socialismi* 7 (Szeged: Szegedi Nyomda, 1969).

48.  On different approaches to Russian populism, see Philip Pomper, *Peter Lavrov and the Russian Revolutionary Movement* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972); Ronald Seth, *The Russian Terrorists: The Story of Narodniki* (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1966); Franco Venturi, *The Roots of Revolution: A History of Populist and Socialist Movements in Nineteenth-Century Russia* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1960); and Andrzej Walicki, *A History of Russian Thought from the Enlightenment to Marxism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980).

49.  Quoted in József Farkas, "Az agrárszocializmus eszmei tartalma és ideológiai forrásai" [The Content and Ideological Sources of the Ideas of Agrarian Socialism], *Mezőgazdasági Mérnök* 23, no. 7 (1982): 5.

50.   Farkas "Az 1897–99-es pártszakadás."

51.  See Peter Brock, "Tolstoyism and the Hungarian Peasant," *The Slavonic and East European Review* no. 3 (1980); S. D. Drosick, "The Agrarian Socialist Movement in Hungary, 1890–1899" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1976); and Tóth, *Földosztó mozgalom*.

52.  Eugen Henrich Schmitt, *Das Geheimnis der Hegelischen Dialektik, belenchtet vom concret-sinnlichen Standpunkte* (Berlin: Die Philosophische Gesellschaft zu Berlin, 1887).

53.  Jenő Henrik Schmitt, *Krisztus istensége a modern ember szellemében* [Christ's Divinity in the Spirit of Modern Man] (Budapest: 1892; reprint, Budapest: Hatágú Síp Alapítvány, 1993).

54.  Ibid., 29.

55.  On gnosticism, see László Kákosy, *Fény és káosz. A kopt gnosztikus kódexek* [Light and Chaos: The Coptic Gnostic Codices] (Budapest: Gondolat, 1984).

56.  Jenő Henrik Schmitt, "A szellemi vallás katekizmusa" [The Catechism of Spiritual Religion], *Az Élet,* nos. 3, 4, 6 (1984–85).

57.  József Migray, "Egy magyar filozófus hatása Tolsztoj Leóra" [The Influence of a Hungarian Philosopher upon Leo Tolstoy], *Független Magyarország*, 30 May 1909.

58.  Tivadar Kertész, "Tolsztoj és a 'szellemi vallás' magyar filozófusa. Schmitt Jenő Henrik 1851–1916" [Tolstoy and the Hungarian Philosopher of the "Religion des Geistes": Jenő Henrik Schmitt, 1851–1916], *Világosság* 20, no. 5 (1979): 291–298; and Zsuzsa Siklós, "Schmitt Jenő Henrik és az ideális anarchizmus" [Jenő Henrik Schmitt and Ideal Anarchism], *Magyar Filozófiai Szemle* 30, nos. 5–6 (1986): 625–647.

59.  Letter from Jenő Henrik Schmitt to Ervin Szabó, 26 January 1899, in György Litván and László Szűcs, eds., *Szabó Ervin levelezése* [The Correspondence of Ervin Szabó] (hereafter cited as *CES*) (Budapest: Kossuth, 1977), vol. 1, 41–42.

60.  Jenő Henrik Schmitt, "Az anarchizmus vallása" [The Religion of Anarchism], *Der Sozialist*.

61.  Tolstoy, *Die Religion des Geistes*.

62.  Jenő Henrik Schmitt, "A világnézet és a jövő társadalma"

[The Worldview and the Society of the Future], *Állam nélkül*, January 1898.

63.  Jenő Henrik Schmitt, "Egy pillantás a jövő világába" [A Glance into the World of the Future], *Erőszaknélküliség*, December 1899.

64.  László Kardos, "Az utolsó magyar paraszt-gnosztikus" [The Last Hungarian Peasant-Gnostic], in *Egyház és vallásos élet egy mai faluban: Bakonycsernye, 1965* [Church and Religious Life in a Contemporary Village: Bakonycsernye, 1965] (Budapest: Kossuth, 1969), 216–224.

65.  Jenő Henrik Schmitt, "Független szocializmus" [Independent Socialism], *Állam nélkül*, 22 January 1897.

66.  *Földmívelő*, 27 September 1897, quoted in  Simon, *A századforduló földmunkás mozgalmai*, 134.

67.  Miklós Szabó, "Schmitt Jenő Henrik és a magyar forradalmiság" [Jenő Henrik Schmitt and Hungarian Revolutionism], *Világosság* 29, no. 12 (1988): 780–783.

68.  Károly Gallovich, "Budapest anarchistái: A magyar tolsztojánusok" [The Anarchists of Budapest: The Hungarian Tolstoyists], *Magyar Figyelő*, 1 December 1915.

69.  Quoted in József Farkas, "Áchim L. András és Várkonyi István kapcsolata" [The Relationship between L. András Áchim and István Várkonyi], *Békési Élet* 3, no. 1 (1968): 27.

70.  József Farkas, *Agrárszocialista mozgalmak, 1890–1907* [Agrarian Socialist Movements, 1890–1907] (Szeged: Szegedi Nyomda, 1968).

71.  Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels*, 58–59.

72.  Ibid., 65.

73.  Ibid.,  91.

74.  John D. Bell, *Peasants in Power: Alexander Stamboliski and the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union, 1899–1923* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977).

75.  Leopold, "Vallás és agrárszocializmus."

76.  Since the 1920 Peace Treaty of Trianon, Arad and Brassó (Braşov) belong to Romania.

77.  József Migray, *Forrongás* [Uproar] (Budapest, 1903).

78.  József Migray, "Schmitt Jenő Henrik" ["Jenő Henrik Schmitt"], in *Schmitt Jenő Henrik három előadása: Tolsztoj, Nietzsche, Ibsen*

[Three Lectures by Jenő Henrik Schmitt: Tolstoy, Nietzsche, Ibsen] (Budapest: Nagel-Spatz Nyomda, 1911).

79. József Migray, *Magasban* [On High ] (Budapest: Táltos, 1918).

80. József Migray, *A marxizmus csődje* [The Bankruptcy of Marxism] (Budapest,1932).

81. Jenő Henrik Schmitt, "Az anarchia kivihetősége" [The Feasibility of Anarchism], *Állam nélkül*, 22 January 1897.

82. Migray,"Schmitt Jenő Henrik," 26.

83. Tivadar Neuschlosz, "Védbeszéd Schmitt Jenő védelmére" [Closing Speech in Defense of Jenő Schmitt], *Melléklet az Ügyvédek Lapjához* (Budapest) [Supplement to the Lawyers' Journal], 1898.

84. Eugen Heinrich Schmitt, *Friedrich Nietzsche an der Grenzschelde zweiter Weltalter: Versuch einer Belechtung vom Standpunkte einer neuen Weltanschauung* (Leipzig, 1898).

85. Eugen Heinrich Schmitt, *Leo Tolstoi und seine Bedeutung für unsere Kultur* (Leipzig, 1901).

86. On the assassination, see Niederhauser, *Merénylet*.

87. Schmitt, *Die Kulturbedingungen der christlichen Dogmen*.

88. Eugen Heinrich Schmitt, *Die Gnosis*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, Jena: Verlegt bei Eugen Diederichs, 1903 and  1907 ).

89. Eugen Heinrich Schmitt, *Der Idealstaat* (Berlin: J.Rade, 1904).

90. For the third introduction to *Die Gnosis*, see Ferenc Kepes, *Schmitt Jenő törvénye: Az általános dimenziótörvény* [Jenő Schmitt's Law: the General Law of Dimension] (Budapest, 1925).

91. Eugen Heinrich Schmitt, *Christus: Bekenntnis eines unglaubigen*, nos. 1–2 (Bund Deutscher Volkserzieher: Die Bundesschule, 1907).

92. Eugen Heinrich Schmitt, *Neue Horizonte: Leo Tolstoi: Ideen über die Frennung von Kirche und Staat* (Leipzig: Wigand, 1907).

93. Eugen Heinrich Schmitt, *Ibsen als prophet: Grundgedanken einer neuen Asthetik* (Leipzig: E. Eckardt, 1908).

94. Eugen Heinrich Schmitt, *Religionslehre für die Jugend: Zugleich ein leben Jesus und eine Einführung in die Erkenntnis für jedermann* (Leipzig, 1909).

95. Schmitt, *Tolsztoj, Nietzsche, Ibsen*.

96. Katalin Gellér and Katalin Keserű, *A gödöllői művésztelep* [The Gödöllő Artists' Colony] (Budapest: Corvina, 1987), 13.

97. József Geréb, preface to *Krisztus istensége. A modern ember*

*szellemében* [Christ's Divinity: In the Mind of Modern Man] by Jenő Schmitt (Chicago, 1925).

98. The precursors of the artists' colony were the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, the Society of Nazarenes, the weaving school operating in Christiania (Oslo), and the artists' colonies in Viburg, Turku and Helsinki.

99. Gellér and Keserű, *A gödöllői művésztelep*, 13.

100. On Ruskin, see John D. Hunt, *A Wider Sea: A Life of John Ruskin* (London: Dent, 1982); George P. Landow, *Ruskin* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985); and Sarolta Geőcze, *Ruskin élete és tanítása* [The Life and Teachings of Ruskin] (Budapest: Athenaeum 1903).

101. On Morris, see E. P. Thompson, *William Morris: Romantic to Revolutionary* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1955); and Peter Stansky, *William Morris* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983).

102. William Morris, "Art and Socialism," in Political Writings, ed. A. L. Morton (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1979), 109–133.

103. Aladár Körösfői-Kriesch, quoted in Gellér and Keserű, *A gödöllői művésztelep*, 25.

104. See John Ruskin, "Unto this Last," in *The Genius of John Ruskin: Selections from his Writings*, ed. John D. Rosenberg (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1963), 270.

105. Among the Transylvanian communities, Kalotaszeg was the symbol of the Ruskin "island."

106. Gellér and Keserű, *A gödöllői művésztelep*, 102.

107. Letter from Sándor Nagy to Ervin Szabó, 23 September 1901, in *CES*, vol. 1, 144.

108. Sándor Nagy, *Kályhaellenző* [Firescreen] (Budapest, 1900), 214.

109. See Jenő Boér, *Az ember. Ébredő korszellemünk megnyilat-kozása* [The Human: The Manifestation of our Waking Zeitgeist] (Kolozsvár: Gámán János örökösének Nyomdája, 1906); and Endre Kiss, *A világnézet kora* [The Age of the Worldview] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982).

110. Gellér and Keserű, *A gödöllői művésztelep*, 102.

111. Ervin Batthyány, József Migray, and Jenő Schmitt, *Anarkiz-mus* [Anarchism] (Budapest: Politzer Zsigmond és Fia, 1904).

112. Schmitt, *Tolsztoj, Nietzsche, Ibsen*.

113. József Migray, *Magasban*.

114. Sándor Nagy, *Az élet művészetéről* [On the Art of Life] (Budapest: Politzer Zsigmond és Fia, 1911).

115. Jenő Henrik Schmitt's lecture on art was first given on 9 December 1911 and was subsequently published as Schmitt, *Művészet, etikai élet, szerelem* [Art, Ethical Life, Love] (Budapest: Táltos, 1917).

116. Ibid., 48.

117. Ibid., 49.

118. Ibid., 49.

119. Gellér and Keserű, *A gödöllői művésztelep*, 30; Robert Landmann, *Ascona-Monte Verita* (Frankfurt am Main: Ullstein, 1979); Sármány, "Egy század eleji kísérlet"; and Júlia Papp, "Az ideális anarchizmus hatása a gödöllői művésztelepre" [The Influence of Ideal Anarchism on the Gödöllő Artists' Colony] (manuscript, 1986).

120. Letter from Ervin Szabó to Jenő Henrik Schmitt, 1899, *CES*, vol. 1, 46.

121. Gábor Kemény, *Szabó Ervin és a magyar társadalomszemlélet* [Ervin Szabó and Hungarian Social Theory] (Budapest: Magvető, 1977), 97–98.

122. Kiss, *A világnézet kora*, 28–29.

123. Ottó Indig, *Juhász Gyula Nagyváradon 1908–11* [Gyula Juhász in Nagyvárad 1908–11] (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1978), 65.

124. Letter from Lajos Leopold to Ervin Szabó, 8 October 1903, *CES*, vol. 1, 350.

125. György Lukács, "Könyvek Ibsenről" [Books on Ibsen], *Nyugat*, 16 November 1908.

126. Imre Bori, "Schmitt Jenő Henrikről" [On Jenő Henrik Schmitt], *Híd* 42, no. 4 (1978): 502–506.

127. On these tendencies of socialism, see, for instance, Bernard Crick, *Socialism*; Alexander Gray, *The Socialist Tradition* (London: Longmans, 1963 [1946]); Leszek Kolakowski, *Main Currents of Marxism: Its Origins, Growth and Dissolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978); and Adam Przeworski, *Paper Stones: A History of Electoral Socialism* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986).

128. Oscar Jászi, "Socialism," in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, ed. Edwin R. A. Seligman (New York: Macmillan, 1937), vol. 7, 188–212.

129.  See Bertrand Russell, *Proposed Roads to Freedom: Socialism, Anarchism, Syndicalism* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1919); and Rocker, *Anarcho-Syndicalism*.

130.  Ridley, *Revolutionary Syndicalism in France*; Levine, *The Labor Movement in France*; and Jeremy R. Jennings, *Syndicalism in France* (London: Macmillan, 1990).

131.  Katalin Haskó, "A francia szocialisták a II. Internacionáléban (1890–1900)" [French Socialists in the Second International], *Párt-történeti Közlemények* 26, no. 1 (1980).

132.  Robert Michels, *Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy* (London: The Free Press, 1962).

133.  Phil Goodstein, *The Theory of the General Strike from the French Revolution to Poland* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984).

134.  Quoted in Ervin Szabó, "Szindikalizmus és Szociáldemokrá-cia" [Syndicalism and Social Democracy], *Huszadik Század* 9, no. 2 (1908): 273–292.

135.  Werner Sombart, *A szocializmus és a szociális mozgalom* [Socialism and the Social Movement] (Budapest: Grill, 1908); János Jemnitz, "Az anarcho-szindikalizmus franciaországi történetéhez 1914 előtt" [Towards a History of Anarcho-Syndicalism in France before 1914], *Századok* 96, nos. 5–6 (1962): 748–792.

136.  See also the analysis of Darrow Schechter, *Radical Theories: Paths Beyond Marxism and Social Democracy* (Manchester: Manches-ter University Press, 1994), 21–45.

137.  Jemnitz, "Az anarcho-szindikalizmus," 755.

138.  Péter Ágoston, "A szindikalizmus" [Syndicalism], *Szocializ-mus*, no. 12 (1911).

139.  Letter from Lajos Leopold Jr. to Ervin Szabó, 8 March 1903, in *CES*, vol. 1, 260–261.

140.  József Naszády, *Anarchia* [Anarchy] (Budapest: Légrádi Testvérek, 1903), 125.

141.  Ibid., 124.

142.  Ibid., 120.

143.  Mikhail Bakunin, *Marxism, Freedom and the State* (London: Freedom Press, 1998); and Paul Thomas, *Karl Marx and the Anarchists* (London: Routledge, 1980).

144. Jean Grave, *Organisation, Initiative, Cohèsion* (Paris: Temps Nouveaux, 1902).

145. Peter Kropotkin, *Revolutionary Pamphlets*, ed. Roger N. Baldwin (New York: Vanguard Press, 1927).

146. Berkman, *Russian Tragedy*, especially, 35–59.

147. See Miklós Szabó, "Reflexiók az anarchizmusról"; and Mária Ormos, *Mussolini* (Budapest: Gondolat, 1987).

148. Tibor Erényi, "Az anarcho-szindikalizmusról" [On Anarcho-Syndicalism], *Párttörténeti Közlemények* 14, no. 3 (1968): 167–188.

149. György Litván, *Szabó Ervin* [Ervin Szabó] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1974).

150. Ferenc Horváth, "A bögötei iskola" ["The School at Bögöte"], *Vasi Szemle*, no. 3 (1962), and no. 1 (1963).

151. Ervin Batthyány, "Edward Carpenter," *Huszadik Század* 4, no. 1 (1903): 318–325.

152. William Morris, *News from Nowhere, or an Epoch of Rest: Being Some Chapters from a Utopian Romance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). On Morris, see for instance, James W. Hulse, *Revolutionists in London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 77–110.

153. Letter from Ervin Batthyány to Ervin Szabó, *CES*, vol. 1.

154. Kropotkin, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*.

155. Peter Kropotkin, *Fields, Factories and Workshops Tomorrow* (London: Allen and Unwin, [1899] 1974)

156. Viktória M. Kondor and Zsuzsa D. Zöldhegyi, "'Kevesebb és több Tolsztoj evangéliumánál.' Batthyány Ervin leveleiből" ["Less and more than Tolstoy's gospel": From the Letters of Ervin Batthyány], *Magyar Tudomány* 23, nos. 7–8 (1978): 620–626.

157. Ibid.; and Kondor and Zöldhegyi, "Kropotkin and Batthyány," 121–135.

158. In a letter written to Ervin Szabó on 26 March 1903 from the Holländer Institute, Batthyány described his situation: "I am staying here in Dr Holländer's sanitorium trying to obtain the doctor's certificate needed for my liberation. Dr. H. has assured me that he will give me a favorable certificate, but because the certificate on the basis of which I was placed under guardianship relied primarily on the claim that I cannot concentrate on any concrete and consistent occupation, he

considers that we should refute this with evidence, and he has therefore entrusted me to work on a theme from national economics: 'the summary and criticism of Marxist and other value theories.'…I have, so to say, not the faintest idea of any of this, and I dare not hope that I could gain it in the near future. But I should like to leave this place by Easter,…and I cannot obtain a certificate before finishing the essay. For you, dear friend, I am sure it would take no great effort to write for me at least the outline of the work: this would be a huge help to me. And I ask you very kindly, knowing how very much it troubles your heart too that my case should be resolved successfully, that you sacrifice the few hours of your time that it would take you to write this summary…the essay is intended only for the examining doctors, and I shall of course translate it to German." *CES*, vol. 1, 266–268.

159. Társadalomtudományi Társaság [Social Science Society], *A társadalmi fejlődés iránya* [The Direction of Social Development] (Budapest: Politzer Zsigmond és Fia, 1904), 23.

160. Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid*.

161. Ervin Batthyány, "A kölcsönös segítség, mint természettörvény. Kropotkin új könyve" [Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution—Kropotkin's New Book], *Huszadik Század* 4, no. 2 (1903): 565–568.

162. Contribution by István Czóbel in *A társadalmi fejlődés iránya*, 444–445.

163. Closing speech by Ervin Szabó, ibid., 372–373.

164. Letter from Jenő Henrik Schmitt to Ervin Szabó, 26 January 1899, *CES*, vol. 1, 42.

165. Letter from Ervin Batthyány to Ervin Szabó, 18 March 1904, ibid., 462.

166. On the history of reform school experiments, see Paul Avrich, *The Modern School Movement* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980).

167. Letter from Ervin Batthyány to Ervin Szabó, 10 November 1902, *CES*, vol. 1, 239.

168. Ibid., 234.

169. Horváth, "A bögötei iskola," *Vasi Szemle*, no. 3 (1962).

170. See Endre Ady, "Ervin gróf iskolája" [Count Ervin's School], "Batthyány Ervin" [Ervin Batthyány], in *Az én hadseregem* [My Army] (Budapest: Kozmosz, 1977): 81–82, and 98.

171. Archives of Vas County, Szombathely. Quoted in András Bozóki, "Anarchista elméletek Magyarországon. Batthyány Ervin és Schmitt Jenő Henrik" [Anarchist Theories in Hungary: Ervin Batthyány and Jenő Henrik Schmitt], *Világosság* 26, no. 3 (1985): 76.

172. Letter from Oszkár Jászi to Ervin Szabó, *CES*, vol. 2, 229.

173. Quoted in Lajos Kuntár, "Adatok a bögötei reformiskola történetéhez" [Data on the History of the Bögöte Reform School], *Vasi Szemle*, no. 2 (1961): 88–93.

174. Letter from Ervin Batthyány to Ervin Szabó, 5 June 1906, *CES*, vol. 2, 363.

175. Pál Gyuk, "Mi történik Bögötén?" [What is Happening in Bögöte?], *Szombathelyi Újság*, 22 July 1906.

176. Letter from Ervin Batthyány to Ervin Szabó, 11 October 1905, *CES*, vol. 2, 223.

177. Ervin Batthyány, "Szocializmus és anarchizmus" [Socialism and Anarchism], *A Jövő*, February 1906.

178. Ibid.

179. Letter from Ervin Batthyány to Ervin Szabó, 11 October 1905, *CES*, vol. 2, 223

180. Ervin Batthyány, *A nép joga* [The Rights of the People] (Budapest: Az Általános Titkos Választójog Ligájának Kiadványai, 1905).

181. Letter from Ervin Batthyány to Ervin Szabó, 30 October 1905, *CES*, vol. 2, 235.

182. Letter from Ervin Batthyány to Ervin Szabó, 28 April 1910, *CES*, vol. 2, 769.

183. Letter from Ervin Batthyány to Ervin Szabó, 7 February 1906, *CES*, vol. 2, 294.

184. See János Jemnitz, "Az anarcho-szindikalizmus Magyarországon 1914 előtt" [Anarcho-Syndicalism in Hungary before 1914], *Párttörténeti Közlemények* 7, no. 1 (1961): 129–176.

185. Letter from Richárd Lóránt to Ervin Szabó, 10 April 1906, *CES*, vol. 2, 344–345.

186. *A magyarországi szociálisztikus munkásmozgalmak az 1906. évben* [Socialist Labor Movements in Hungary in 1906] (Budapest: Rádó, 1907), 461.

187. L. Vécsei, "Antimilitarizmus" [Antimilitarism], *Új Nemzedék*, 22 October 1916.

188. See Miklós Szabó, "Van-e a proletárnak és a felvilágosult polgárnak megvédeni való hazája: Gondolatok a századelő szocialista antimilitarizmusáról és polgári pacifizmusáról" [Do the Proletarian and the Enlightened Bourgeois Have a Homeland to Protect? Thoughts on Socialist Antimilitarism and Civic Pacifism at the Start of the Century], *Világosság* 26, no. 6 (1985): 364–374.

189. Holgate, *Malatesta*.

190. Pierre Ramus, "Amszterdam és Stuttgart: Az amszterdami kongresszus" [Amsterdam and Stuttgart: The Amsterdam Congress], *Társadalmi Forradalom*, 13 September 1907.

191. "Olvasóinkhoz!" [To Our Readers], *Társadalmi Forradalom*, 8 February 1907.

192. Quoted in Lajos Varga, *A Magyarországi Szociáldemokrata Párt ellenzéke és tevékenysége 1906–1911* [The Opposition and Activity of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary, 1906–1911] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1973).

193. Letter from Lajos Tarczai to Ervin Szabó, 1 March 1908, *CES*, vol. 2, 580–81.

194. Jemnitz, "Az anarcho-szindikalizmus Magyarországon."

195. Letter from Ervin Batthyány to Ervin Szabó, 6 March 1907, *CES*, vol. 2, 515.

196. Letter from Ervin Batthyány to Ervin Szabó, 8 October 1908, *CES*, vol. 2, 635.

197. Letter from Ervin Batthyány to Ervin Szabó, 8 October 1908, *CES*, vol. 2, 635.

198. See T. P., "Ervin gróf" [Count Ervin], *Vasvármegye*, 13 March 1913; and "Gróf vagy nem gróf" [A Count or not a Count], *Vasvármegye*, 13 March 1913.

199. "A bögötei iskola sorsa" [The Fate of the School at Bögöte], *Vasvármegye*, 7 February 1914.

200. Cf. Andor Kun, "Batthyány Ervin gróf" [Count Ervin Batthyány], *8 órai Újság*, 9 January 1931; and Gusztáv Rab, "Esti séta az anarchista magyar gróffal a Pasaréttől a Széna térig" [Evening Stroll from Pasarét to Széna tér with the Anarchist Hungarian Count], *Pesti Napló*, 11 January 1931.

201. We thank Ferenc Tibor Zsuppán, historian and lecturer at St. Andrew's University in Scotland (retired), who first uncovered cred-

itable information concerning the time and circumstances of Count Ervin Batthyány's death.

202. On Kropotkin's last years, see James W. Hulse, *Revolutionists in London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 166–191.

203. See his memoirs, Mihály Károlyi, *Faith Without Illusions,* trans. Catherine Karolyi (London: J. Cape, 1956).

204. Letter from Lajos Leopold to Ervin Szabó, 21 October 1903, *CES*, vol. 1, 363.

205. Hungarian National Archives, BM res. K149–1907–3–331.

206. Ibid., K149–1907–3–156.

207. Jemnitz, "Az anarcho-szindikalizmus Magyarországon."

208. Hungarian National Archives, BM res. K149–1907–3–331.

209. *A magyarországi szociálisztikus munkásmozgalmak az 1908. évben* [Socialist Labor Movements in Hungary in 1908] (Budapest: Rádó, 1909), 692.

210. *A magyarországi szociálisztikus munkásmozgalmak az 1910. évben* [Socialist Labor Movements in Hungary in 1910] (Budapest: Rádó, 1911), 384.

211. Hungarian National Archives, BM res. K149–1908–3–684.

212. *A magyarországi szociálisztikus munkásmozgalmak az 1909. évben* [Socialist Labor Movements in Hungary in 1909] (Budapest: Rádó, 1910), 453–458.

213. Ibid., 450–451.

214. Ervin Szabó, "Pártfegyelem és egyéni szabadság" [Party Discipline and Individual Freedom] (1904), in *Szabó Ervin válogatott írásai* [Selected Writings of Ervin Szabó], ed. György Litván (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1958), 180.

215. Ervin Szabó, "La fonction du parti socialiste," *Le Mouvement Socialiste*, 7 January 1910.

216. Ervin Szabó, "A szindikalizmus, Kiáltvány Magyarország munkásságához" [Syndicalism: Appeal to the Working Class of Hungary], in *Szabó Ervin válogatott írásai*, 327.

217. Ervin Szabó, "Kellenek-e forradalmárok?" [Do We Need Revolutionaries?], *Társadalmi Forradalom*, 24 December 1910.

218. Károly Krausz, "Elvtársak! Barátaink! Testvéreink!" [Comrades! Our Friends! Our Brothers!], *Társadalmi Forradalom*, 9 November 1911.

219. Ervin Szabó, "Isskruljev Krszta" [Krsta Isskruljev], *Huszadik Század* 15, no. 1(1914): 664–666.

220. Károly Gallovich, "Budapest anarchistái: A magyar tolsztojánusok" [The Anarchists of Budapest: The Hungarian Tolstoyists], *Magyar Figyelő*, 1 December 1915.

221. Emil Szittya, "Az anarchisták és a világháború" [The Anarchists and the World War], *Új Nemzedék*, 25 June 1916.

222. Imre Roboz, "Egy fantasztikus művésztársaság: Kassák Lajos és társai" [A Fantastic Artistic Society: Lajos Kassák and his Colleagues], *Új Nemzedék*, 28 September 1918.

223. Most notably, Gábor Andrási, "A fiatal Kassák a szocializmusról" [The Young Kassák on Socialism], *Literatúra* 6, no. 4 (1979): 377–379.

224. Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid*.

225. Pjotr Kropotkin, *A kölcsönös segítség mint természettörvény* [Mutual Aid] (Budapest, 1908).

226. Lajos Kassák, *Egy ember élete* [The Life of a Man] (Budapest: Magvető, 1983), 427.

227. Ibid.

228. Gábor Andrási, "A fiatal Kassák."

229. Kassák, *Egy ember élete*, 361.

230. Ferenc Bodri, "Kalandorok se kíméljenek!" [Even Adventurers Should Not Spare Me], *Literatúra* 7, no. 2 (1980): 281–306; György Szőke, "Ki volt Szittya Emil?" [Who Was Emil Szittya?], *Élet és Irodalom*, 24 October 1986; Attila Tamás, "Még egyszer Szittya Emilről" ["On Emil Szittya, Once Again"], *Élet és Irodalom*, 7 November 1986; Christian Weinek, "Kassák Lajos és Szittya Emil" [Lajos Kassák and Emil Szittya], in *Magam törvénye szerint. Tanulmányok és dokumentumok Kassák Lajosról* [According to My Own Law: Studies and Documents on Lajos Kassák], ed. Ferenc Csaplár (Budapest: Múzsák-PIM, 1987); and László Ferenczi, "Kassák és Cendrars" [Kassák and Cendrars], in *Magam törvénye szerint*, ed. Csaplár.

231. Weinek, "Kassák és Szittya."

232. Kassák, *Egy ember élete*, 352.

233. Emil Szittya and Gyula Wojticzky, *Az újak irodalmáról* [On the Literature of the New Writers] (Budapest, 1908).

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235. Weinek, "Kassák és Szittya."

236. Kassák, *Egy ember élete*, 413.

237. Weinek, "Kassák és Szittya."

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245. Emil Szittya, *Selbsmörder* (Leipzig: Weller et Co, 1925).

246. Emil Szittya, *Das Kuriositäten-Kabinett* (Constance: See-Verlag, 1923).

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248. Emil Szittya, *Én Szittya Emil*, 1.

249. Miriam Cendrars, *Blaise Cendrars* (Paris: Balland, 1984), 229.

250. Quoted in György Dalos, *A cselekvés szerelmese. Duczynska Ilona élete* [The Lover of Action: The Life of Ilona Duczynska] (Budapest: Kossuth, 1984), 36.

251. Oscar Jászi, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Hungary* (London: P. S. King and Son, 1924), 25.

252. Dalos, *A cselekvés szerelmese*, 50.

253. For Adler, see Emil Szittya, "Adler Frigyes" [Friedrich Adler], *Új Nemzedék*, October 1916.

254. Dalos, *A cselekvés szerelmese*, 28–29. Lenin wrote, relatedly, "Of course, we rejected individual terror only on grounds of expediency." Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, *"Left Wing" Communism: An Infantile Disorder* (London: Bookmark, [1920] 1993), 33.

255.  Dalos, *A cselekvés szerelmese*, 32.

256.  See Ferenc Pölöskei, *A rejtélyes Tisza-gyilkosság* [The Mysterious Murder of Tisza] (Budapest: Helikon, 1988), 8–11 and  96–97.

257.  Quoted in László Illés, *Lékai János válogatott írásai* [Selected Writings of János Lékai] (Budapest: Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1963), 13–14.

258.  Illés, *Lékai János*, 13.

259.  János Lékai, *Vörös és fehér* [Red and White] (Budapest, 1921).

260.  Illés, *Lékai János*, 13.

261.  Ibid., 37.

262.  Litván, *Szabó Ervin*, 240.

263.  See Michael Löwy, "Zsidó messianizmus és anarchista utópiák Közép-Európában" [Jewish Messianism and Anarchist Utopias in Central Europe], in *Zsidókérdés Kelet- és Közép-Európában* [The Jewish Question in Eastern and Central Europe], ed. Róbert Simon (Budapest: ELTE-ÁJTK, 1985), 213–244; Gáspár Miklós Tamás, "Maximum vagy abszolútum" [Maximum or Absolute], *Híd* 43, no. 1 (1979): 77–89; András Karácsony, "Egy dilemma 1918–19-ben. Lukács György and Sinkó Ervin" [A Dilemma in 1918–19: György Lukács and Ervin Sinkó], *Medvetánc*, no. 1 (1981): 41–53.

264.  Dalos (based on Duczynska), *A cselekvés szerelmese*, 40; for new class ideas, see Lawrence Peter King and Iván Szelényi, *Theories of the New Class: Intellectuals and Power* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004).

265.  Ervin Szabó, "Szindikalizmus és szociáldemokrácia" [Syndicalism and Social Democracy] (1908), in *Szabó Ervin válogatott írásai*, 304.

266.  Serafim Nikiforovich Kanev, *Oktiabr'rskaia revolutsiia i krakh anarkhizma: (Bor'ba partii bol'shevikov protiv anarkhizma 1917–1922 gg)* (Moscow: "Mysl'," 1974), appendix, tables 1 and 2.

267.  Alexander Berkman, *What is Communist Anarchism?* (New York: Dover Publications, 1972), 143–144.

268.  Lenin, *"Left Wing" Communism*.

269.  Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, *State and Revolution*, trans. Robert Service (London: Penguin, [1918] 1992), 48.

270.  Ibid., 55.

271. Kropotkin, quoted in Josef Visarionovich Stalin, *Anarchism or Socialism?* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1952), 95.

272. Ibid., 97.

273. Palij, *Anarchism of Nestor Makhno*; Makhno, *The Struggle Against the State*; and Avrich, *Anarchist Portraits*, 111–24.

274. Paul Avrich, *Anarchists in the Russian Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1973); and Anthony D'Agostino, *Marxism and the Russian Anarchists* (San Francisco: Germinal Press, 1977).

275. Alexander Berkman, *Kronstadt Diary* (Seattle, 1972); Paul Avrich, *Kronstadt, 1921* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970); and Ante Ciliga, *The Kronstadt Revolt* (London: Freedom Press, 1976).

276. For more on this process, see Alexander Berkman, *The Bolshevik Myth: Diary (1920–1922)* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1925); Berkman, *Russian Tragedy*; Paul Avrich, *The Russian Anarchists* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967); Goldman, *My Disillusionment in Russia*; and Voline, *The Unknown Revolution*.

277. George Orwell, *Homage to Catalonia* (London: Penguin, 1966); Bookchin, *The Spanish Anarchists*; Murray Bookchin, *Remember Spain: The Anarchist and Syndicalist Revolution of 1936* (Edinburgh: AK Press, 1994); Gerard Brenan, *The Spanish Labyrinth*.

278. "Olvasóinkhoz" [To Our Readers], *Társadalmi Forradalom*, 15 April 1919.

279. See Tibor Hajdú, "A magyarországi Tanácsköztársaság" [The Hungarian Soviet Republic], in *Magyarország története* [The History of Hungary], ed. György Ránki (Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1976), vol. 8, 191–346; R. György Mezei, "1919—egy olasz tiszt szemével. (Romanelli és Kun Béla Magyarországa)" [1919 in the Eyes of an Italian Officer (The Hungary of Romanelli and Béla Kun)], *Mozgó Világ* 12, no. 7 (1986): 4–10.

280. Károly Krausz, "Proletár!" ["Proletarian!"], *Társadalmi Forradalom*, 15 April 1919.

281. Lenin, *State and Revolution*.

282. Hajdú, "A magyarországi Tanácsköztársaság," 240.

283. Ibid., 244.

284. Ibid., 244.

285. Jemnitz, "Az anarcho-szindikalizmus Magyarországon."

286. Quoted in Esperanto, "A budapesti csoport hírei" [The News of the Budapest Group], *Társadalmi Forradalom*, 22 April 1919.

287. Salome, "Minden uralom—osztályuralom" [All Rule is Class Rule], *Társadalmi Forradalom*, 20 June 1919.

288. Jakab Vörös, "A kritika jogai" [The Rights of Criticism], *Társadalmi Forradalom*, 19 May 1919.

289. Budapest Anarchist Group, "Fölhívás szervezkedésre!" [Call to Organize], *Társadalmi Forradalom*, 1 May 1919.

290. See László Seres, "Anarchizmus ma" [Anarchism Today], in *Anarchizmus és rendezőelvek*, ed. Szoboszlai, 213–219.

291. H. I., "Az állam elhal…" [The State Withers…], *Társadalmi Forradalom*, 5 July 1919.

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293. Jean Grave, "A társadalom a forradalom utáni napon" [Society the Day after the Revolution], *Társadalmi Forradalom*, 5 and 20 June, and 5 July 1919.

294. Ibid.

295. Károly Krausz, "Anarchia és kultúra" ["Anarchy and Culture"], *Társadalmi Forradalom*, 5 July 1919.

296. Károly Krausz, "Forradalom és ellenforradalom" ["Revolution and Counterrevolution"], *Társadalmi Forradalom*, 5 July 1919.

297. Budapest Anarchist Group "A magyarországi anarchisták világszemléletének összefoglalása" [A Summary of the Worldview of the Anarchists of Hungary], in Elisée Reclus, *Az anarchia* (Budapest, 1919), appendix, 23–34; republished in András Bozóki and Miklós Sükösd, eds., *Magyar anarchizmus: A magyarországi anarchizmus történeti dokumentumaiból, 1881–1919* [Hungarian Anarchism: From the Historical Documents of Anarchism in Hungary, 1881–1919] (Budapest: Balassi, 1998), 339–340.

298. The text is discussed in László Varga, "Anarchista deklaráció Magyarországon" [Anarchist Declaration in Hungary], in *Móra Évkönyv* [Móra Yearbook] (Szeged, 1989).

299. György Borsányi, *Kun Béla* [Béla Kun] Budapest: Kossuth, 1979, 168. For the English translation, see *The Life of a Communist Revolutionary, Béla Kun* (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, distributed by Columbia University Press, 1993), 169.

300. Prime ministerial decree no. 4680/1919 on the surrender and

destruction of printed matter dangerous to public order and public security.

301. Interior Ministry decree no. 78170/1919 on the surrender and destruction of printed matter dangerous to public order and public security, issued in implementation of prime ministerial decree no. 4680/1919.

302. See Bozóki, "Anarchista elméletek Magyarországon," 170–78.

303. See for instance, Avrich, *Russian Anarchists*; Caroline Cahm, *Kropotkin and the Rise of Revolutionary Anarchism, 1872–1886*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Venturi, *Roots of Revolution*.

304. See, Martha Ackelsberg, *Free Women in Spain: Anarchism and the Struggle for the Emancipation of Women* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991); J. R. Corbin, *The Anarchist Passion: Class Conflict in Southern Spain, 1810–1890* (Aldershot: Avebury, 1993); Temma Kaplan, *Anarchists of Andalusia, 1868–1903* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977); Richard Hostetter, *The Italian Socialist Movement*, vol. 1, *Origins, 1860–1882* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958); and Nunzio Pernicone, *Italian Anarchism, 1864–1892* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

305. Tibor Erényi, "A forradalom és a reform kérdése Ausztria-Magyarország munkásmozgalmában a századfordulón" [The Question of Revolution and Reform in the Labor Movement of Austro-Hungary at the Turn-of-the-Century], *Párttörténeti Közlemények* 21, no. 2 (1975): 24.

306. We here use Erényi's references: ibid., 24 and 30.

307. On German anarchist ideas and movements, see Carlson, *Anarchism in Germany*; Max Nettlau, *A Short History of Anarchism*, ed. H. M. Becker (London: Freedom Press, 1997).

308. Edit S. Vincze, "A magyarországi és a német munkásmozgalom kapcsolata a kivételes törvény első éveiben, 1878–1881" [The Link between the Labor Movements of Hungary and Germany during the First Years of the Exceptional Legislation, 1878–1881], *Párttörténeti Közlemények* 16, no. 3 (1970): 58.

309. On Johann Most, see, Max Nomad, "Johann Most" *Modern Monthly*, nos. 9–10 (1936–38); Trautmann, *Voice of Terror*.

310. Vincze, "A magyarországi és a német munkásmozgalom," 72.

311. Ibid., 86.

312. Edit S. Vincze, "Az MSzDP 1890-es kongresszusán elfogadott agrárhatározat történelmi előzményeiről" [On the Historical Antecedents of the Resolution on Agricultural Policy Accepted at the MSZDP's 1890 Congress], *Párttörténeti Közlemények* 13, no. 4 (1967): 176.

313. Quoted in ibid., 174. The Hungarian resolution difffered from the German only by the addition of a few words, including the goal of the immediate improvement of working conditions.

314. Jemnitz, "Az anarcho-szindikalizmus."

315. This table is given in ibid., 756.

316. Ibid., 756–763.

317. Regarding the questions of mobilizing and revolutionary potential and collective action, see Charles Tilly, *From Mobilization to Revolution* (Reading, PA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1978); and Louise A. Tilly and Charles Tilly, eds., *Class Conflict and Collective Action* (London: Sage, 1981).

## NOTES TO PART THREE

1. Feyerabend, Against Method, 21; see Ferenc Altrichter, "Anarchista ismeretelmélet" [Anarchist Theory of Knowledge], *Világosság* 21, nos. 8–9 (1980): 473–483.

2. See György Lukács, "A bolsevizmus, mint erkölcsi probléma" [Bolshevism as a Moral Problem], in *Történelem és osztálytudat* [History and Class Consciousness] (Budapest: Magvető Kiadó, 1971); Karácsony, "Egy dilemma 1918–19-ben. Lukács György és Sinkó Ervin"; Illés, "Lékai János" [János Lékai], in *Lékai János*, 5–39; Dalos, *A cselekvés szerelmese*; and Tamás, "Maximum vagy abszolútum," 77–89.

3. Martin Buber, "Zsidó legenda a földreszállt lélekről" [Jewish Legend on Spirits who have Descended to Earth], *Testvér* 1, no. 1 (1924): 21–26.

4. Ervin Sinkó, "A legmodernebb irodalmi irányzatok" [The Most Modern Literary Orientations], *Testvér*, 15 June 1925.

5. Ervin Sinkó, "Tolsztoj leánya Bécsben" [Tolstoy's Daughter in Vienna], *Testvér*, 15 May 1925.

6. Herbert Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961).

7. Tamás Tóth, *Útkeresés és útvesztés* [Searching for and Losing the Way] (Budapest: Kossuth, 1973).

8. Imre Bori, *A szecessziótól a dadáig. A magyar futurizmus, expresszionizmus és dadaizmus irodalma* [From the Secession to Dada: The Literature of Hungarian Futurism, Expressionism and Dadaism] (Újvidék [Novi Sad]: Fórum, 1969). For an English translation of "With a Pure Heart," see Attila József, *Poems*, ed. Thomas Kabdebó (London: The Danubia Book Co., 1966).

9. For Ramus's relationship with Ervin Batthyány and Ervin Szabó, see *CES*, vol. 2, 542–543.

10. Judit Szántó, *Napló és visszaemlékezés* [Diary and Recollections] (Budapest: Múzsák, 1986), 28 and 75.

11. See László Bokor, "József Attila Bécsben" [Attila József in Vienna], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 67, no. 6 (1963): 661–677; Miklós Szabolcsi, "…Akkor inkább Bakunyint és Kropotkinkát…Egy epizód József Attila életéből" […Then Preferably Bakunin and Little Kropotkin…: An Episode from the Life of Attila József], in *Változó világ—szocialista irodalom; újabb tanulmányok* [Changing World, Socialist Literature; Recent Studies] (Budapest: Magvető Kiadó, 1973), 27–41.

12. Éva Beránné Nemes and Ervin Hollós, *Megfigyelés alatt. Dokumentumok a horthysta titkosrendőrség működéséből. 1920–1944* [Under Observation: Documents on the Operation of the Horthyist Secret Police, 1920–1944] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1977).

13. Cf. Péter Nagy, *Szabó Dezső* [Dezső Szabó] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1964), 142–146; Gyula Gombos, *Szabó Dezső* [Dezső Szabó] (New York: Püski, 1975), 358–361.

14. István C. Varga, "Tolsztoj és Németh László" [Tolstoy and László Németh], *Alföld*, no. 12 (1978).

15. Ervin Szabó, *Pártfegyelem és egyéni szabadság* [Party Discipline and Individual Freedom] (Budapest: Stolte Kiadás, 1934).

16. Later, after 1940, Fejtő became a well-known author in France as François Fejtő.

17. László Rajk, Hungarian communist, who was executed in 1949 by the communist regime under the rule of Mátyás Rákosi.

18. István Miklós Stolte, "Előszó" [Foreword], in Ervin Szabó, *Pártfegyelem*.

19. István Miklós Stolte, interview by Csaba Nagy, 1987. Budapest: Archives of the Petőfi Literary Museum.

20. The principal book of Georgism was Henry George, *Progress and Poverty* (London: Dent, 1976).

21. Information from István Márkus.

22. András Körösényi and Sándor Türei, "Liberális hatások a szocialista vállalkozás elméletére. Beszélgetés Liska Tiborral" [Liberal Influences upon the Socialist Theory of Enterprise: Conversation with Tibor Liska], *Medvetánc*, nos. 2–3 (1985): 286.

23. See, for instance, Tibor Liska, *Ökonosztát: felkészülés a mechanizmusreformra* [Econstate: Preparation for the Reform of the Economic Regime] (Budapest: KJK, 1988). This book was written in the mid-1960s and was circulated as "scientific samizdat" among reform-minded economists and university circles.

24. Dialógus was a group of young peace activists who organized themselves in universities and among young intellectuals. The group was most active in 1983–84, refusing both Soviet and US militarism. They were criticized by both the communist authorities and the democratic opposition for their "middle-of-the-road" stance.

25. György Krassó was an active participant of the revolution of 1956, and he spent six years in prison afterwards. From the 1970s, he was one of the most radical members of the emerging democratic opposition. In 1989, he founded his radical-populist Hungarian October Party and critized the peaceful transition and the roundtable negotiations as elite bargains. Krassó died in 1991.

26. A group of young artists who organized politically oppositional cultural performances in the 1980s.

27. On this, see András Bozóki, "Critical Movements and Ideologies in Hungary: A Socio-Political Analysis to Alternative Ways to Civil Society" *Südosteuropa* 37, nos. 7–8 (1988): 377–388.

28. Máté Szabó, "Demokráciaelmélet—túl a piacon és a hatalmon" [Democratic Theory—Beyond the Market and Power], *Levlap* (the circular letter of the Interdisciplinary Academic Students' Circle), January 1986.

29. Gáspár M. Tamás, *A szem és a kéz. Bevezetés a politikába* [The Eye and the Hand: An Introduction to Politics] (Budapest: AB, 1983), 5.

30. Ibid., 67.
31. Ibid., 12.
32. Ibid., 29.
33. Ibid., 48.
34. Ibid., 51.
35. Ibid., 48.
36. Béla Faragó, *Nyugati liberális szemmel* [With Western Liberal Eyes] (Paris: MFK, 1986), 147–155.
37. Quoted in ibid., 147–155.
38. Cf. János Molnár, *A Nagybudapesti Központi Munkástanács* [The Central Workers' Council of Greater Budapest] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1969); Bill Lomax, *Hungary, 1956* (London: Allison & Busby, 1976); Bill Lomax, ed., *The Hungarian Workers' Councils in 1956* (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, distributed by Columbia University Press, 1990).
39. "Az Autonómia Csoport nyilatkozata" [Statement of the Autonomy Group] Leaflet, Budapest, 1988.
40. Ibid.
41. Gyula Bartók had earlier belonged to the circle around the samizdat journal *Égtájak között*; now, like his former colleagues József Talata and Zsolt Keszthelyi, he lives in the country. His views can be seen in his article "Közvetlen demokráciát a Fideszben!" [A Call for Direct Democracy in Fidesz], *Fidesz Hírek*, October 1988, reprinted in András Bozóki, ed., *Tiszta lappal. A Fidesz a magyar politikában, 1988–1991* [With a Clean Sheet: Fidesz in Hungarian Politics, 1988–1991] (Budapest: Fidesz, 1992), 101–104.
42. No one writing about anarchist organization in Hungary after 1988 can ignore the role of László Seres, without whom the group would have been much less influential. He gave a lecture as an anarchist at a conference on anarchism held by the Hungarian Political Science Society in 1986, and he played a key role in foundation of the Autonomy Group and later of the Budapest Anarchist Group [Budapesti Anarchista Csoport] and the Anarchist Federation [Anarchista Föderáció]. While working in the head office of Hungarian Radio's Foreign Broadcasting Department, he founded the *Anarchista Újság* [Anarchist Newspaper] with a group of friends, and he also popularized the principles of anarchism and feminism in his articles written in *Magyar Narancs* [Hungarian Orange].

43. A "watchdog" association of journalists and some academic intellectuals to check the guarantees and actual operation of free press.

44. See the statement of the Portrait Circle "Leaflet," Nyíregyháza, 1989; and András Bozóki, "Fekete zászló alatt" [Beneath a Black Flag], *Világ*, 15 June 1989.

45. "Kik vagyunk, mit akarunk" [Who we are and what we want], *Autonómia*, July 1989.

46. "Munkásönkormányzatot!" [Worker's Self-Management Now!] (leaflet, n.d.).

47. "Mit ünneplünk május 1-én?" [What do we celebrate on 1st of May?], (leaflet, n.d.).

48. See, for example, "A budapesti demonstráció" [The Demonstration in Budapest], *Magyar Hírlap*, 14 August 1989.

49. "Exlex Napok" (Extra-Legal Days), (leaflet, Autonomy Group, March 1990). It is worth noting that the Constitutional Court later found the general usage of personal identity numbers to be unconstitutional and invalid.

50. See, Andrew Arato: "Civil Society against the State: Poland, 1980–81" *Telos*, no. 47 (Spring, 1981): 23–47.

51. See the special issue of the English anarchist quarterly *The Raven*, entitled *Anarchists in Eastern Europe: The Raven* 4, no. 1 (January–March 1991).

52. It is well demonstrated by Ferenc Fehér and Ágnes Heller, *Kelet-Európa "dicsőséges forradalmai"* [Eastern Europe's "Glorious Revolutions"] (Budapest: T-Twins, 1992).

53. As it has been described by Neal Ascherson, *The Polish August: The Self-Limiting Revolution* (New York: Penguin, 1981); Jadwiga Staniszkis, *Poland's Self-Limiting Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984); and Jan Zielonka, *Political Ideas in Contemporary Poland* (Aldershot: Avebury, 1989).

54. They differed in this from the left-wing theorists of civil society, who conceived these two strategies as complementary. See Andrew Arató, "Civil társadalom Lengyelországban és Magyarországon" [Civil Society in Poland and Hungary], *Politikatudomány Szemle* 1, no. 2. (1992): 53–80.

55. GEO-group, "Anarchist Social Experiment: Founding Document," *Hírlevél*, n.d.; Lajos Csoma, "Anarchista társadalmi kísérlet"

[Anarchist Social Experiment], *Demokrata* (Winter 1990): 20–21.

56. "Tedd tönkre, ami tönkretesz!" [Destroy what destroys you!], leaflet of the NAP Anarcho-Punk Group, Budapest, 1990. Authors' collection.

57. *Anarcho-Info*, Hungary 2, and verbal communication with László Seres.

58. "A megalakulásról a Budapesti Anarchista Csoport emlékeztetője" [The Budapest Anarchist Group's Reminder of the Foundation], internal publication, Budapest, September 1990. The choice of name was not coincidental: the group consciously avowed the influence of Károly Krausz's association.

59. "Kinek kell a hadsereg?" [Who Needs the Army?], Budapest Anarchist Group leaflet, Budapest, 1990. Authors' collection.

60. See "Fegyvertelen erők napja?" [Unarmed Forces Day?], *Népszabadság*, 1 October 1990; "Éljen az anarchia!" [Long Live Anarchy!], *Mai Nap*, 30 September 1990; and János L. László, "Anarchista tüntetés" [Anarchist Demonstration], *Pesti Hírlap*, 1 October 1990.

61. F. S., "Újra: Fegyvertelen Erők Napja" [Again: Unarmed Forces Day], *Anarchista Újság*, no. 5 (1991): 9.

62. See "Szolidaritás magyar módra" [Solidarity the Hungarian Way], *Mai Reggel*, 10 October 1990.

63. Edit Csarnai, "Enyém a vár…" [The Castle is Mine…], *Kurír*, 24 November 1990; and "Budapesti anarchisták nyilatkozata" [Statement of the Budapest Anarchists], *Magyar Hírlap*, 29 November 1990.

64. "Blood and Oil," *Pesti Hírlap*, 26th January 1991; and "Tiltakozzunk a háború ellen!" [We Must Protest against the War] Budapest Anarchist Group leaflet, January 1991. Authors' collection.

65. A few years earlier, Bibó College had been one of the anticommunist opposition's principal centers of organization. Founded in 1984, the college adopted the name of István Bibó, one of the spiritual fathers of the democratic opposition, in the second half of the 1980s. It offered a home to able university students from outside Budapest who held radical democratic political views. The Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ), which became a successful parliamentary party in the 1990 elections, began its life as a student movement at Bibó College.

66. N. Judit Kósa, "Viharos megemlékezés a kronstadti felkelésről" [Stormy Commemoration of the Kronstadt Rising], *Magyar Nemzet*,

8 April 1991; and "Vitafórum az anarchizmusról" [Debating Forum on Anarchism], *Magyar Hírlap*, 6 April 1991. Lectures were given at the conference organized at Bibó College by Ibolya Rozgonyi, Tamás Krausz, László Seres, and Tibor Porosz.

67.  In spring 1992 the Budapest Anarchist Group held a debate series in the Decentrum in which, with the help of invited lecturers, the anarchists sought to clarify their relationship with other ideologies and with certain social phenomena. The lectures were—in chronological order—András Bozóki, László Seres, Miklós Sükösd, Gyöngyi Mangel, Anna Tóthfalusi, Anita Kazai, Tamás Krausz, the members of the Feminist Network, and Sándor Bátonyi (the leader of the Solidarity Workers' Alliance). See *Anarchista Újság*, no. 1 (1992): 1.

68.  See the reports on the conference: Attila Farkas, "Kereszténység, hatalom, nők, abortusz, pápa" [Christianity, Power, Women, Abortion, Pope], *Magyar Hírlap*, 22 August 1991; and Imre Tompa, "Kénkőszagos pápabírálat" [Criticism of the Pope Smelling of Sulphur], *Kurír*, 22 August 1991. István Eörsi, György Gábor, Alirán Gelenczey, Pál Szalai, Miklós Sükösd and László Seres gave lectures at the conference.

69.  "Anarchisták a Parlament előtt" [Anarchists in front of Parliament], *Népszava*, 14 December 1991.

70.  One placard, for example, read "Milošević, Tudjman, tens of thousands in their graves!" (Milošević, Tudjman, tízezrek a sírban!), photograph by Judit Müller, *Magyar Hírlap*, 14 December 1991.

71.  "Válaszd az életet!" ["Choose Life!"], NAP Anarcho-Punk Group leaflet, Budapest, 1992. Authors' collection.

72.  Concrete links between the spokespeople of the anarchists and the Democratic Charter were formed for the first time in connection with the idea of commemorating 8 May. Despite an invitation, the latter decided not to participate in the event.

73.  (czene), "Hirosima árnyékában" [In the Shadow of Hiroshima], *Mai Nap*, 6 August 1992.

74.  G. P., "Alternatív fesztivál" [Alternative Festival], *Népszabadság*, 13 August 1992.

75.  An association for helping immigrants and foreigners against racism and defending their rights.

76.  Interview by András Bozóki with Katalin Bossányi, Democratic Charter spokesperson, Budapest, October 1992, manuscript. On the

history of the Democratic Charter, see in detail, András Bozóki, "Intellectuals in a New Democracy: The Democratic Charter in Hungary," *East European Politics and Societies* 10, no. 2 (Spring 1996): 173–213.

77. The Democratic Charter spokespeople did not want the organizations participating in the demonstration to march under their own flags, and agreement was reached that participants should take with them only flowers and candles. In exchange, these organizations were given the opportunity to have their names printed after the text of the charter's appeal. Thus, the crowds appeared united, and the various groups also had the opportunity to "advertise" themselves. This compromise was also good for posterity, for it ensured the survival of a reliable list of the supporting groups. Those groups were: the Wallenberg Society, the Roma Parliament, the Publicity Club, the National Students' Union [Országos Diák Unió], VE-GA Alliance [VE-GA Szövetség], the Martin Luther King Society, SZETA, the Helsinki Citizens' Assembly [Helsinki Polgárok Gyülekezete], the New March Front [Új Márciusi Front], the Antimilitarist Group, the Poverty Anarchist Group, the Hungarian Jewish Cultural Society [Magyar Zsidó Kulturális Egyesület], the Hungarian Alliance of Jewish Students [Zsidó Diákok Magyarországi Szövetsége], the Marxist Youth Alliance [Marxista Ifjúsági Szövetség], the May Day Society [[Május 1. Társaság], the Feminist Network, the Green Women, the Green League [Zöld Liga], the 4–6–0 Group [4–6–0 Csoport], the Hungarian Radical Party, the NAP Anarcho-Punk Group, IDE, the Complete Evangelical Students' Alliance [TEDIE Teljes Evangéliumi Diákszövetség], the Popular Democratic Alliance of Workers [Dolgozók Népi Demokratikus Szövetség, and the Antiviolence Forum], which included the Alba Circle, the Budapest Anarchist Circle, the FIKSZ Society [FIKSZ Egyesület], the Association of those whose Rights have been Infringed, the Believing Socialists' Branch [Hívő Szocialisták Tagozata], the Reformed Church of Hungary Mission for the Rescue of Neglected Youth [Magyarországi Református Egyház Kallódó Ifjúságot Mentő Missziója], the Liberal Organization of Roma in Hungary [Magyarországi Romák Liberális Szervezete], the Green Party of Hungary [Magyarországi Zöldpárt], the R-Kert Serving Society [R-Kert Szolgáltató Társulás], and the Budapest Social Democratic Youth Movement [Budapest Szociáldemokrata Ifjúsági Mozgalom].

78. The idea of banning anarchist "autocratic symbols" was later quickly forgotten.

79. See Máté Szabó, "A társadalmi mozgalmak szektora és a tiltakozás kultúrája Magyarországon" [The Social Movement Sector and the Culture of Protest in Hungary], *Politikatudományi Szemle* 2, no. 3 (1993): 45–70.

80. For example, the Orange Club in Kecskemét held a series of lectures on anarchism in autumn 1992.

81. "Tüntetés a boszniai háború ellen" [Demonstration against the Bosnian War], Budapest Anarchist Federation and Feminist Network leaflet, Budapest, 22 January 1993. Authors' collection.

82. The lecturers at the event included Ágnes Heller, Péter György, György Kozma, Tamás Suchman, Gábor Karátson, András Lányi, Gábor Fodor MP, Pál Tamás, Pál Szalai, István Eörsi, András Hegedűs, Katalin Haskó, Antónia Hága, László Zsolnai, Mrs Róbert Jakab, László Boros, and László Laki. See the program guide and the text of Tibor S. Bakács's opening speech in *Magyar Narancs*, 19 August 1993.

83. The Alternative Pedagogical Center, formed in autumn 1991 by Ágnes Békési and Bernadett Czike, and its weekly discussions became a recognized forum for the representatives of the school reform movement (Montessori, Rogers, Waldorf, Burattino, Freinet, Lauder Javne, the Alternative Economic High School, Treasure Hunter [Kincskereső], etc.). See in Bernadett Czike, "Alternatív iskolák" [Alternative Schools], *Magyar Narancs*, 18 March 1992; Ágnes Békési and Bernadett Czike, "Az alternatív Pedagógiai Műhely két féléves működésének tanulságai" [Lessons of the Two Semesters of the Alternative Pedagogical Center's Operation], in *Alternativitás és Pedagógusképzés* [Alternativity and Pedagogical Training] (Budapest: Budapest Teacher Training College, 1992), 22–23.

84. Francis Fukuyama: "The End of History?" *National Interest,* vol. 16 (Summer 1989): 4–18.

85. *Anarchista Újság*, no. 4 (1991), no. 5 (1991), and no. 1(1992).

86. Mephisto, "Poéngerilla" [Punchline Guerrilla], *Anarchista Újság*, no. 1 (1993): 15–16.

87. "Az anarchizmus klasszikusai: Mihail Bakunyin" [The Classics of Anarchism: Mikhail Bakunin], *Anarchista Újság*, no. 1 (1993): 12.

88. [Seres] László, "Lapszemle" [Newspaper Review], *Anarchista Újság*, no. 4 (1991): 14. This support was mutual: *Magyar Narancs* repeatedly announced and reviewed new issues of *Anarchista Újság*.

89. Ibid.

90. (L.), "Lapszemle" ["Newspaper Review"], *Anarchista Újság*, no. 5 (1991): 14.

91. Ibid..

92. Mephisto, "Az állam a munkásság ellen; Interjú Bátonyi Sándorral" [The State against the Workers: Interview with Sándor Bátonyi], *Anarchista Újság*, no. 4 (1991): 10–11; and "Önerőből" [From One's Own Strength], *Anarchista Újság*, no. 5 (1991): 10.

93. "Első a Föld!" ["Earth comes First!"], *Anarchista Újság*, no. 1 (1992): 17–19.

94. Attila, "A pusztítás filozófiája" [The Philosophy of Destruction], *Anarchista Újság*, no. 2 (1992): 9–10.

95. "Öko-felhívás" [Eco-Appeal], *Anarchista Újság*, no. 1 (1993): 4.

96. —mis—, "A vegetarianizmus védelmében" [In Defense of Vegetarianism], *Anarchista Újság*, no. 4 (1991): 15.

97. "Mi a baj a McDonald's-szel?" [What's the Trouble with McDonald's?], *Anarchista Újság*, no. 1 (1991): 5.

98. "Felhívás az állatkísérletek ellen!" [Appeal against Animal Testing!], *Anarchista Újság*, no. 1 (19911): 6.

99. Mephisto, "Náci pogromok Germániában" [Nazi Pogroms in Germany], *Anarchista Újság*, no. 5 (1991): 6–7.

100. Jakab Vörös, "A rasszizmus nemcsak kulturális probléma" [Racism Is Not Only a Cultural Problem], *Anarchista Újság*, no. 1 (1993): 18.

101. Laura M. Dolby, "De Hominibus," *Anarchista Újság*, no. 2 (1992): 11–12; and G. J., "Mindenki másképp csinálja" [Everyone does it Differently], *Anarchista Újság*, no. 2 (1992): 12–14.

102. Luigi Cerina, "AIDS," and "Garanciákat akarunk!" [We Want Guarantees!], *Anarchista Újság*, no. 5 (1991): 15.

103. "A történelem vége. Harc az ünnep ellen" [The End of History: Fight against the Celebration], *Anarchista Újság*, no. 2 (1992): 5–7.

104. An excerpt was published, for example, from Frantz Fanon's "The Wretched of the Earth," in *Anarchista Újság*, no. 2 (1992): 8.

105. [Seres] László, "Szaddam az européer, avagy az álszentség

vására" [Saddam the European, Or The Market of Hypocrisy], *Anarchista Újság*, no. 1 (1991): 2–4.

106. "Tiltakozzunk a háború ellen!" [We Must Protest against the War!], *Anarchista Újság*, no. 2 (1991): 2.

107. (L), "A balkáni háború és mi" [The Balkan War and We], *Anarchista Újság*, no. 1 (1993): 10–11; also see J. V., "Bárhol lehet Bosznia" [Bosnia could be Anywhere], *Anarchista Újság*, no. 1 (1993): 8.

108. "A hadsereg ellen" [Against the Army], *Anarchista Újság*, no. 1 (1992): 11; and "Fegyver nélküli hadüzenet a hadseregnek" [Unarmed Proclamation of War against the Army], *Anarchista Újság*, no. 2 (1992): 18.

109. Pasquale Ambrosino, "Egy teljes szolgálatmegtagadás bejelentése" [Notification of Complete Refusal of Military Service], *Anarchista Újság*, no. 2 (1991): 3.

110. For the various strands of feminism, see, for example, Hester Eisenstein, *Contemporary Feminist Thought* (London: Unwin, 1984); Rosemarie Tong, *Feminist Thought* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989); and Caroline Ramazanoglu, *Feminism and the Contradictions of Oppression* (London: Routledge, 1993).

111. See, for example, Kate Millett, *Sexual Politics* (London: Virago Press, 1977).

112. Zsuzsanna, "Erőszak a nők ellen" [Violence against Women], *Anarchista Újság*, no. 2 (1991): 5–6; Zsuzsanna, "Nyilatkozhat-e a pápa, ha a nők méhéről van szó?" [Can the Pope Speak When the Woman's Womb Is at Issue?], *Anarchista Újság*, no. 4 (1991): 6–8; Miranda Grey, "Szülés orvosok nélkül" [Giving Birth without Doctors], *Anarchista Újság*, no. 5 (1991): 10.

113. [Seres] László, "A szeretet nevében…" [In the Name of Love …], *Anarchista Újság*, no. 4 (1991): 3–5.

114. "Az egyház az állampárt helyén?" [The Church in Place of the State-Party?], *Anarchista Újság*, no. 4 (1991): 9.

115. On this cultural clash between different intellectual groups, see, András Bozóki, "Rhetoric of Action: The Language of the Regime Change in Hungary," in *Intellectuals and Politics in Central Europe*, ed. András Bozóki (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1999), 263–283.

116. For details, see Gábor Halmai, "Véleményszabadság és bün-

tetőjog" [Freedom of Opinion and Criminal Law], *Jogállam*, no. 1 (1993): 40–52.

117. Editor, "Van kiút!" [There is a Way Out], *Anarchista Újság*, no. 5 (1991): 2–3.

118. See, for example, István Eörsi, "Anarchisták" [Anarchists], *Népszabadság*, 11 November 1991.

119. "Van kiút!"

120. Halmai, "Véleményszabadság."

121. "Anarchisták — itt és most!" [Anarchists—Here and Now!"], *Anarchista Újság*, no. 1 (1991): 2–3.

122. Ibid.

123. Valencia, "Modern kapitalizmus és anarchizmus" [Modern Capitalism and Anarchism], *Anarchista Újság*, no. 2 (1991): 1 and 7.

124. László Seres, "Isten óvja a szabad piacgazdaságot!" [God Protect the Free Market Economy!], *Anarchista Újság*, no. 3 (1991): 3–4.

125. László Seres, "Totaliteurópa," *Anarchista Újság*, no. 1 (1992): 5–6.

126. Akárki, "Se Isten, se Haza, se Család" [No God, No Homeland, No Family], *Anarchista Újság*, no. 2 (1992): 16–17; and Samu Kohn, "Legyünk kozmopoliták!" [Let us be Cosmopolitans!], *Anarchista Újság*, no. 1 (1992): 10.

127. József Böröcz: "Vanguard of the Construction of Capitalism: The Hungarian Intellectuals' Trip to Power," *Critical Sociology* 18, no. 1 (1992): 111–16.

128. For the latter, see Rothbard, *For a New Liberty*.

129. See some major works on anarchism as, for instance, Paul Eltzbacher, *Anarchism: Exponents of Anarchist Philosophy*, ed. J. J. Martin (London, [1908] 1960); Daniel Guèrin, ed., *No Gods*, *No Masters: An Anthology of Anarchism* (Edinburgh: AK Press, 1998); Peter Marshall, *Demanding the Impossible: A History of Anarchism* (London: Fontana, 1993); and George Woodcock, *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, [1962] 1975).

130. Dalos, *A cselekvés szerelmese*, 39.

131. See *CES*, vol. 2, 577–582, 591–594; László Szűcs, "A magyarországi polgári radikalizmus kialakulásának történetéhez. Jászi Oszkár ideológiai fejlődése 1900–1906 között" [Towards a History of the Development of Bourgeois Radicalism in Hungary. Oszkár Jászi's

Ideological Evolution between 1900–1906], *Századok* 97, no. 6 (1963): 1205–1237. We note as a matter of interest that during the time of his scholarship in Paris in 1905, Oszkár Jászi often entered anarchist circles, and, indeed, that his French girlfriend was an anarchist. See letter from Oszkár Jászi to Ervin Szabó, *CES*, vol. 2.

132.  Jászi, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution*, 23.

133.  Oszkár Jászi, *Marxizmus vagy liberális szocializmus* [Marxism or Liberal Socialism] (Paris: MFK, [1919] 1983), 134 and 136.

134.  Ibid., 70.

135.  Ibid., 72.

136.  Ibid., 116 and 119.

137.  The quotation dates from 1935. It is given in János Gyurgyák, "Lehetséges-e liberális szocializmus? (Jászi Oszkár ideológiája)" [Is Liberal Socialism Possible? (The Ideology of Oszkár Jászi)], afterword in Jászi, *A kommunizmus kilátástalansága*, 336.

138.  Jászi Oszkár, "Anarchism," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* (New York: Macmillan, 1930), vol. 2, 46; quoted in Derry Novak, "The Place of Anarchism in the History of Political Thought," *The Review of Politics* 20 (July 1958): 307–313 and 320–329.

139.  Ibid.

140.  Ernst Victor Zenker, *Anarchism: A Criticism and History of the Anarchist Theory* (London: Methuen, 1898), 4; quoted in "Place of Anarchism."

141.  Zenker, *Anarchism*, 4.

142.  Jászi, "Anarchism," 46.

143.  Oszkár Jászi, "Kenyér és szabadság" [Bread and Freedom], speech given on 24 May 1939 to the graduating students at Oberlin College, published in Jászi, *A kommunizmus kilátástalansága*, 268–69.

144.  Oszkár Jászi, "A szocializmus egy új megalapozása. Nyerészkedő vagy működéses társadalom?" [A New Grounding for Socialism: A Profiteering or a Functioning Society?], *Világ*, 22 February 1925, reprinted in Jászi, *A kommunizmus kilátástalansága*, 200.

145.  Oszkár Jászi, "A jó társadalom" [The Good Society], *Századunk*, 1938; reprinted in Jászi, *A kommunizmus kilátástalansága*, 261.

146.  Oszkár Jászi, "P. J. Proudhon feltámadása" [The Resurrection of P. J. Proudhon], *Világ*, 25 January 1925, reprinted in Jászi, *A kommunizmus kilátástalansága*, 304.

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148. Szűcs, "A magyarországi polgári radikalizmus."

149. Ervin Szabó, "Pártfegyelem és egyéni szabadság" [Party Discipline and Individual Freedom] (1904), in Litván, ed., *Szabó Ervin válogatott írásai*, 183–184.

150. Letter from Oszkár Jászi to Imre Csécsy, 27 June 1936, quoted in Zsuzsanna L. Nagy, "Jászi és a hazai polgári radikálisok kapcsolata a két világháború között" [The Link between Jászi and the Hungarian Bourgeois Radicals between the Wars], *Történelmi Szemle* 17, no. 4 (1974): 631–649; Endre Nagy, "Jászi Oszkár az állami beavatkozásról 1902–1919" [Oszkár Jászi on State Intervention, 1902–1919], *Tájékoztató*, no. 4 (1981): 43–65.

151. Bibó, "Reflections," 495. Available in Hungarian as "Az európai társadalomfejlődés értelme," in Bibó, *Válogatott tanulmányok*, ed. Huszár, Vida, and Nagy, vol. 3, 93.

152. Bibó, "Reflections," 467–468.

153. Ibid., 481.

154. Litván, "Szabó Ervin és az anarchizmus. Egy értelmiségi attitűd modellje" [Ervin Szabó and Anarchism: The Model of an Intellectual Attitude], in *Anarchizmus és rendezőelvek*, ed. Szoboszlai, 198.

155. Cf. Mária Ludassy, "Krisztus és Condorcet: Hozzászólás Bibó István humanista utópiájához" [Christ and Condorcet: A Response to István Bibó's Humanist Utopia], *Mozgó Világ*, no. 12 (1983); and Faragó, *Nyugati liberális szemmel*.

156. Pál Szalai, "Liberális szocializmus és anarchizmus" [Liberal Socialism and Anarchism], in *Anarchizmus és rendezőelvek*, ed. Szoboszlai, 212.

157. Ferenc Fehér, Ágnes Heller, and György Márkus, *Dictatorship over Needs* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983).

158. Cf. Szalai, "Liberális szocializmus."

159. One of the most important social-theoretical foundations for this is Jürgen Habermas, *Theorie des kommunikative Handelns* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1981).

160. The Bukharinist model, as opposed to the Stalinist one, allows some room for market forces inside communism. Cf. Nikolai Bukharin

and E. Preobrazhensky, *The ABC of Communism* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1966).

161. Cf. János Kornai, *The Socialist System: The Political Economy of Communism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).

162. The "Third Way" between socialism and capitalism is not to be confused with the recent idea of "Third Way" as "new social democracy." For the study of the latter, see Anthony Giddens, *The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998).

163. Cf. Csaba Gombár, "Demokratikus rendezőelvek" [Democratic Organizing Principles], in *Anarchizmus és rendezőelvek*, ed. Szoboszlai, 5–29.

164. For the question of direct democracy, see Laslo Sekelj, *Anarchism, Marxism and Direct Democracy* (Belgrade: University of Belgrade, 1986); and Giovanni Sartori, *The Theory of Democracy Revisited* (New Jersey: Chatham House, 1987), vol. 1, 111–120.

165. From this point of view Fidesz's Organizational Statutes accepted on 2 October 1988 offer an original solution to the conflict between group autonomy and construction of a political party. See *Fidesz Hírek*, no. 3 (1988).

166. For the distinction between power and domination, see Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretative Sociology*, ed. Günther Roth and Claus Wittich (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), vol. 1, 53, and 212–215.

167. For an overview of the contemporary worldwide anarchist movement, see Seres, "Anarchizmus ma," 213–219; and András Bozóki, László Seres, and Miklós Sükösd, "Az anarchizmustól az alternatív mozgalmakig" [From Anarchism to the Alternative Movements], *Mozgó Világ* 17, no. 4 (1991): 22–33.

168. A portion of the workers' committees "have close connections with the anarcho-syndicalists, who represent the most organized and theoretically most securely grounded orientation within the independent trade union movement. Their periodical, *Obshchina*, one of the alternative social movements' most critical journals, promotes syndicalism as an ideology of workers' self-management against all forms of dependency-creating power: it opposes the Communist Party and the state and military powers as technocracy or the power of capital; it alone recognizes the justification for collective forms of ownership....The anarcho-

syndicalist confederation has highly extensive organizations, and they
already publish samizdat journals in ten cities.…The more radical St.
Petersburg anarcho-syndicalist journal *Black Flag* regards the replace-
ment of Gorbachev's liberalization with the confrontation of relations
through the intensification of class war as desirable." Ilona Kiss, "A
munkásosztály paradicsomot is enne" [The Working Class Would Eat
Even Paradise], *Beszélő* 1, no. 29 (1990): 8–10.

169. For the concept of the anarchist mentality, see Sükösd, "Utak
az anarchia felé," 176–179.

170. Sections 2.2. and 2.3. have been written together with Marjut
Ruti, author of the manuscript "Femininity as Subversion: The Political
Implications of the Post-Modern Feminist Focus on 'the Feminine,'"
Harvard University, 1989. We are grateful for her cooperation.

171. Alice Jardine, *Gynesis: Configurations of Woman and Moder-
nity* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 148.

172. Quoted in ibid., 148.

173. Terry Eagleton, *Literary Theory: An Introduction* (Minneapo-
lis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), 60.

174. József Böröcz, "Posztmodern társadalomtudomány—Marx
tótágast" [Postmodern Social Science—Marx Handstand], *Valóság* 33,
no. 6 (June 1990): 42.

175. See Chomsky, introduction to *Anarchism* by Guérin, and radi-
cal political analyses, comprising the greater part of his work, concern-
ing the role of the US in Vietnam, the Middle East and Central Ameri-
ca, and the role of the American media; Feyerabend, *Against Method*;
Paul K. Feyerabend, "Tézisek az anarchizmusról" [Theses on Anar-
chism], *Medvetánc*, no. 4 (1985), no. 1 (1986): 41–45; Ferenc Altrichter,
"Anarchista ismeretelmélet" [Anarchist Theory of Knowledge], *Vilá-
gosság* 21, nos. 8–9 (1980): 473–483.

176. Full analysis of postmodernism and the arguments against it
would lead us far from our topic. We may briefly mention three counter-
arguments. (1) Postmodernism may also be interpreted conservatively: if
no representation is more justified than the others, if every ideology is
only an expression of partial interests, then logically "anything goes," and
there is no legitimate logical basis for opposition to antihumanist, brutal
ideologies. (2) How does postmodernism's extreme relativism answer the
challenge of the scientific and technical results of Western empiricism

(for example, the man on the moon, versus the obsurity of astrology)? (3) If every viewpoint can be relativized, so too can be postmodernism.

177. Helene Cixous, "The Laugh of the Medusa," in *Critical Theory since 1965*, ed. Hazard Adams and Leroy Searle (Talahassee: Florida State University Press, 1986), 316.

178. Kristeva, "Woman's Time," 474.

179. All of this gives rise to a certain tension between postmodern and traditional feminism. In the view of the postmodern feminists, the whole ruling system and the deep intellectual and social structure underlying it must be brought under attack; the task is not to find a secure corner within the male-dominated system. Postmodern feminists are thus highly critical of the tradition feminists seeking equal rights with men. They view them as those who swallow the simple "truths" of Enlightenment rationality and the assertion of the non-ambiguity of subjectivity, representation and identity-creation—leading women inevitably to become members in the male society. Julia Kristeva, *Polyglues* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1977), 498; Josette Feral, quoted in Hester Eisenstein and Alice Jardine, eds., *The Powers of Difference* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1988), 92–93. In this lies contemporary feminism's duality: it demands both equality (equal pay and equal work, educational and sexual opportunities) and the recognition of the non-hierarchical difference between the sexes (the overturning of the dominant logical and social systems, the recognition of "feminine" values, and space for the "feminine" voice).

180. Cixous, "The Laugh of the Medusa," 315.

181. Ibid., 36.

182. Máté Szabó, "Az anarchista tradiciók és az új társadalmi mozgalmak" [The Anarchist Traditions and the New Social Movements], in *Anarchizmus és rendezőelvek*, ed. Szoboszlai, 209.

183. Karl Mannheim, *Conservatism: A Contribution to the Sociology of Knowledge* (London: Routledge and Keegan Paul, 1987), 87–110.

184. Brigitta Jager and Regina Michalik, "Utópia" [Utopia], in *Politikai ökológia. Szemelvények a nyugati alternatív mozgalmak elméletéről és politikájáról* [Political Ecology: Extracts from the Theory and Politics of the Western Alternative Movements], ed. Máté Szabó (Budapest: ELTE, 1989), 259. The piece quoted appeared in

the "margin" of the West German Greens' 1987 electoral program.

185. This section uses schemata developed by Robin Clarke and Máté Szabó. Cf. Szabó, ed., *Politikai ökológia*, p. 8–10.

186. Ibid., 10.

187. Manon Maren-Grisebach, *Philosophie der Grünen* (Munich: Günter Ulzog, 1982), 80–82; quoted in Szabó, ed., *Politikai ökológia*, 27.

188. Szabó, *Politikai ökológia*, 28–29.

189. Quoted in ibid., 208.

190. Ibid., 209.

191. The tight links among the various alternative movements extend to organizational overlaps: consider, for example, the eco-feminists in Germany and the USA, the women's wing of the antimilitarist movement in England, and the anarcha-feminists in the USA. The best known example is the worldwide group Greenpeace, which fights for both ecological and peace issues.

192. Szabó, ed., *Politikai ökológia*, 209–210.

193. The examples are Colin Ward's. One possible criticism is that central direction is absent in the cases of these organizations because they would have no essential funcions to perform, not because the organizations follow anarchist values. With other types of organization, central direction could be more functional. Cf. Colin Ward, "Topless Federations," excerpt from his "Anarchy in Action" (1973), reprinted in Woodcock, *Anarchism*, 319–320.

194. Ward, "Topless Federations," 321, quoting Proudhon, *De Principe Fédératif*.

195. See the debates provoked by the statement of the German foreign minister. Joschka Fischer, "Az államszövetségtől a föderációig: Gondolatok az európai integráció végcéljáról." [From an Alliance of Nation-States to Federation: Thoughts on the Final Goal of European Integration], *Európai Szemle* 11, no. 2 (2000): 3–14.

196. Cf. Justin Greenwood, *Organized Interests and the European Community*, ed. Jürgen R. Grote and Karsten Ronit (London: Sage, 1992); and for the controversy of this process, see a more recent article by Jürgen R. Grote and Philippe C. Schmitter: "The Renaissance of National Corporatism," *Transfer* 5, nos. 1–2 (1999): 34-63.

197. Cf. "Európai Magyarországért (Megszelídíteni a nacionalizmust)" [For a European Hungary (To Tame Nationalism)], interview

with István Borsody by Miklós Sükösd, in András Bozóki and Miklós Sükösd, "Európai Magyarországért: a magyar átmenet történelmi és nemzetközi perspektívában" [For a European Hungary: The Hungarian Transition in Historical and International Perspective], *Mozgó Világ* 16, no. 8 (1990): 119–128; and Stephen Borsody, *The Tragedy of Central Europe* (New York: Collier Books, 1960).

198. Murray Bookchin, "New Social Movements: The Anarchic Dimension," in *For Anarchism: History Theory, Practice*, ed. David Goodway (London: Routledge, 1989), 267.

199. Ibid., 269.

200. Sam Dolgoff ed., *Bakunin on Anarchy* (New York: Knopf, 1972), 223; quoted in Bookchin, "New Social Movements," 271.

201. Bookchin, "New Social Movements," 274.

202. Ibid., 271–272.

203. Daniel Bell, *The Coming of the Post-Industrial Society* (New York: Basic Books, [1973] 1976), 487.

204. Ibid., 487–488.

205. Ronald Inglehart, "The Silent Revolution in Europe: Intergenerational Change in Post-Industrial Societies," *American Political Science Review* 65 no. 4 (1971): 991–1017; also see Inglehart, *The Silent Revolution*.

206. Ronald Inglehart, "The Renaissance of Political Culture," *American Political Science Review* 82, no. 4 (1988): 1225.

207. Ibid.

208. Jean Baudrillard's expression by Böröcz, "Posztmodern társadalomtudomány—Marx tótágast."

209. Woodcock, *Anarchism*, 469.

210. Bookchin, "New Social Movements," 272.

211. However, there are increasing differences among these countries as well. New democracies in Central Europe are better off in these aspects than most of the former Soviet Republics.

## CONCLUSION

212. In the Crimean town, Yalta, in February 1945, Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin, leaders of Great Britain, the United States and the

Soviet Union, agreed to the division of major spheres of influence in postwar Europe. Later, this meeting became a point of reference in Cold War politics, and—in Eastern Europe—Yalta became a symbol of divided Europe.

213. This expression is used by Gáspár M. Tamás; see "Magyarok és németek" [Hungarians and Germans], *Beszélő* 1, no. 25 (1990): 11–13.

214. On this, see the discussions in Bozóki, ed., *Intellectuals and Politics*.

215. Michels, *Political Parties*.

216. For an exposition of this concept, see Arato, "Society against the State," 23–47; András Arató, "Forradalom, civil társadalom és demokrácia Kelet-Európában" [Revolution, Civil Society and Democracy in Eastern Europe], *Mozgó Világ* 16, no. 8 (1990): 11–22.

217. Errico Malatesta, "Az út az anarchia felé" [The Path towards Anarchy], *Társadalmi Forradalom*, 9 November 1911.

218. Sebastian Faure, *Encyclopedie Anarchiste* (n.d.), in Woodcock ed., *The Anarchist Reader*, 62. Criticizing Faure's final aphorism, Woodcock restricts further the concept of anarchism. See, Woodcok, *Anarchism*, 910. The introduction of the concept of the anarchist mentality, however, draws attention, in the spirit of Faure, to anarchism's points of contact with other strands of political thought.

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| *Autonómia* | [Autonomy] | (1989) |
| *Erőszaknélküliség* | [Nonviolence] | (1899) |
| *Földmívelő* | [Land Worker] | (1897–8 and 1905–7) |
| *Népakarat* | [People's Will ] | (1883–4) |
| *Társadalmi Forradalom* | [Social Revolution] | (1907–11 and 1919) |
| *Testvériség* | [Brotherhood] | (1906) |

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
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| *A Tett* | [The Deed] | (1915–6) |
| *Akasztott Ember* | [Hanged Man] | (1922–3) |
| *Arcok és Álarcok* | [Faces and Masks] | (1917–8) |
| *Égtájak Között* | Between the Compass Points] | (1986–8) |
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| *Horizont* | [Horizon] | (1916) |
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| *Ma* | [Today] | (1917–8) |

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| *Új Hölgyfutár* | [New Ladies' Messenger] | (1990–2) |
| *Új Nemzedék* | [New Generation] | (1916) |
| *Világ* | [World] | (191?–192? and 1989–1991) |
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