light . . . a society of institutional diversity and diffusion of power . . . in a pluralist society of organizations (each unit would be) limited to the specific service it renders to the members of society which it meant to perform–yet, since every institution has power in its own sphere, it would be as such, affected with the public interest . . . such a view of organizations as being autonomous and limited are necessary both both to make the organization perform *and to safeguard the individual's freedom . . .* (emphasis Drucker's)[11]

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

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

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

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

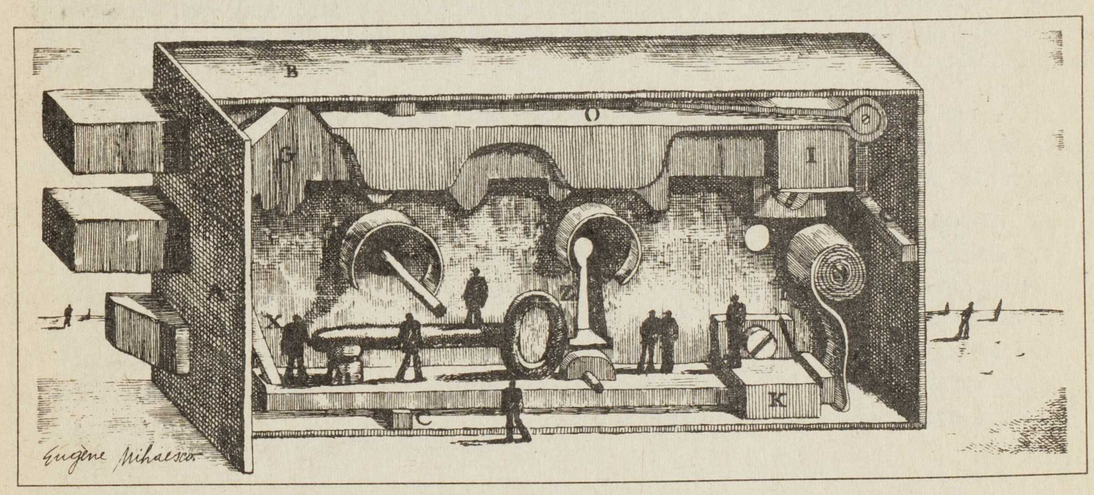
"FORMING THE NEW SOCIETY WITHIN THE SHELL OF THE OLD"

(preamble of the I.W.W.)

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

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

The anarchists . . . build their provisions of the future upon those data which are supplied by the observations of life at the present time . . .[14] *The idea of independent communes for the territorial organizations and of federations of trade unions for the organization of men in accordance with their different functions, gives a concrete conception of a society generated by a social revolution. There remained only to add these two modes of organization, a third, growing up everywhere for the satisfaction of all possible and imaginable needs . . . and all of them ready to meet new needs and adjustments . . .*[15]



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

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

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

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

14. *Revolutionary Pamphlets;* p. 168

15. *Ibid;* pp. 166-67