

ber, will of course suffer from bad guessing. Thus, Arnold C. Brackmann writes about the likelihood of the emergence of a "national communist" regime after Sukarno.

Other countries and regions whose relations and attitudes toward China are discussed, include Britain, France, Germany, Canada, Australia, Pakistan, Malaya, Burma, Cambodia, Thailand, Yugoslavia, Africa, the Middle East and Brazil. Halpern, unfortunately, is little concerned that the U.S. will overlook a more productive approach than sheer containment and that we will not seek areas of agreement with Communist China. Nevertheless, as indicated, he does present varied views on the subject which go a long way toward explaining why U.S. policy has tended to alienate us from our friends and allies.

PROFESSOR CHANG, ALAS, wears rose tinted glasses. Since the Chinese were so bad off in the past—as indeed they were—he feels that "personal freedom is not of much

weight" for the ordinary Chinese. Since he presents no evidence about how the ordinary Chinese feels on this or any other question, it's only a guess. Usually this is the kind of guess made by a white man about the majority of the human race which lives in squalor, when he argues that the people of the underdeveloped countries don't feel that liberty is very important since they are concerned only about sheer survival.

Professor Chang believes that the Chinese Communists have discovered a way of changing human nature. He says that, at least among the Communists, they have eliminated "personal jealousies, selfishness, ambition, greed, avarice" and, to top it all, even "the willing surrender to feminine charms." He sees the Chinese Communist revolution as a great spiritual transformation. All in all, Professor Chang is a very happy man, because in Chinese Communism he has seen the apotheosis of all the good toward which mankind has been striving for thousands of years. JOSEPH CLARK

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## A Valuable Contribution

PATTERNS OF ANARCHY; A COLLECTION OF WRITINGS ON THE ANARCHIST TRADITION, Edited by Leonard I. Krimerman and Lewis Perry, Anchor Books, Garden City, N.Y., 1966, 570 pp., \$1.95.

SERIOUS STUDENTS OF ANARCHISM have long been appalled by the abysmal ignorance that most people reveal when the word anarchy is mentioned. In the mind of the average man, anarchy is synonymous with social disorder and violence. Unfortunately, all too many political scientists share the general public's confusion regarding the essential nature of the anarchist idea. Until the last few years, in fact, it was professionally dangerous for a political scientist to reveal that he was serious about anarchism as a subject for research.

The anthology of anarchist writings which forms the subject of this review

comes as a welcome relief from this sad state of affairs. Perhaps the fact that one of the editors is a historian, while the other has been trained in philosophy, has helped them avoid the obsession with power which clouds the vision of many political scientists. In any event, their wide-eyed amazement upon discovering that "many perceptive social theorists have spoken in the anarchist tradition" is refreshing, even if it is a little naive. And when they candidly state that "we know of no anarchist who has celebrated chaos," anarchists all over the world will be eternally grateful that this simple truth, so self-evident to them, has finally been recognized.

Not only do the editors include selections from classical anarchist works such as those of Godwin, Proudhon, Bakunin, Tolstoy, Goldman, Stirner, and Kropotkin, but they have introduced the works of a number of less well known anarch-

ists. There is an excerpt from Adin Ballou's *Non-Resistance and Government*, Berdyaev's *Slavery and Freedom*, and Dorothy Day's *The Long Loneliness*. Students of native American anarchism will be delighted to discover that the writings of Lysander Spooner, Stephan Pearl Andrews and Benjamin Tucker have not been neglected; heretofore it was very difficult to obtain much of this primary source material. Needless to say, this anthology will prove to be highly useful to historians and political theorists who are interested in introducing their students to the subtleties of anarchist theory, not to mention the general reader who wishes to gain some conception of what the idea is all about.

FACED WITH THE PROBLEM of giving some semblance of order to the great profusion of divergent viewpoints within the anarchist tradition, the editors have arranged the readings they have assembled into broad divisions dealing with such issues as education, socialism, and the philosophical foundations of the movement. But unlike the celebrated anthology compiled by Paul Eltzbacher fifty years ago, they wisely refrained from establishing rigid classifications of anarchist thought on the grounds that "one cheats himself if he tries only to catalogue anarchists." The happy result of this is that they have not made the common mistake of placing the philosophical anarchist in absolute opposition to other kinds of anarchists.

Krimerman and Perry are to be commended for their skill in navigating among the deceptive currents which have wrecked many another voyage into the unchartered waters of anarchist theory. They perceive at once that anarchism "is an avenue to clear thinking about such inescapable concepts as liberty and authority." Searching through the varied streams of anarchist thought for a characteristic that is common to them all, they come to the sensible conclusion that a central concern of all anarchists is to find an alternative to the nasty and restrictive notion of freedom developed by Hobbes. Anarchists may well disagree on

such secondary matters as the best form of economic organization but there is a striking unanimity to be discovered among them on the all important question of whether it is ever permissible for one person to exercise control over the movements of another human being.

The editors also see, even more clearly than many anarchists themselves, that all schools of anarchist thought are beholden to the genius of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon. For it was Proudhon who insisted that anarchism has nothing in common with the utopian mode of viewing the world. "We have been surprised," the editors write, "at how seldom anarchism has indulged in fancy in that direction." Anarchists will be in turn surprised and delighted to discover that the editors have displayed so much good taste and judgment in putting together this anthology.

WILLIAM O. REICHERT

## Western Opinion on Slave Labor

THE PROBLEM OF SLAVERY IN WESTERN CULTURE, by David Brion Davis. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1966, 505 pp., \$10.00.

AS THE INTRODUCTORY volume of his study of the Anglo-American anti-slavery movement, Professor Davis has prepared an impressive compendium of Western opinion on slave labor, with special reference to European colonies in America, until the 1770's.

Concerned mainly with slavery as an intellectual problem, the author devotes to the labor system only three chapters, based more on legal forms than on practice. He argues that slavery in the English colonies was not uniquely harsh, and was basically the same institution as in Latin America and in ancient societies. For the colonial period, Davis discredits the Tannenbaum-Freyre image of "humane" slaveholding in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies. His identification of colonial-mercantilist slavery with the slavery of