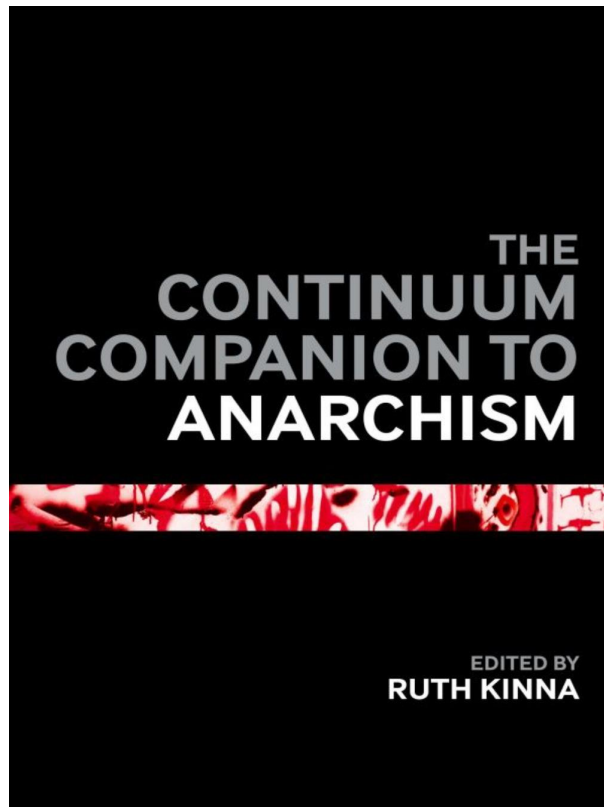


The Continuum Companion to Anarchism

Ruth Kinna



30 Aug. 2012

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[Front Matter]

[Title Page]

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Part I: Research on Anarchism

1. Introduction

Ruth Kinna

Twenty years ago the task of compiling a research guide to anarchism would have been a more straightforward task than it is today. In his introduction to *For Anarchism*, published in 1989, David Goodway argued that anarchism – theory, practice and history – was only just emerging from the periphery.¹ New currents in Britain, Canada and North America indicated that anarchism was beginning to shake off the debris it had acquired from the scrap heap to which it had been consigned. Yet anarchist research still attracted little attention outside anarchist circles and, as he has argued more recently, even in areas where anarchism was a significant influence – in literature, music, art – it struggled to gain intellectual currency or achieve prominence in public debates.² Goodway perhaps overlooked some important niches of anarchist research activity,³ but the picture he painted captured the marginalization of anarchist studies and the failure of mainstream research to engage with anarchism. The neglect was obvious in socialist history, where leading historians simultaneously acknowledged the significant part that anarchists had played in radical movements across the world but nevertheless wrote anarchism out of the modern struggle.⁴

¹ D. Goodway, *For Anarchism, History, Theory and Practice* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), p. 2.

² D. Goodway, *Anarchist Seeds Beneath the Snow: Left-Libertarian Thought and British Writers from William Morris to Colin Ward* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2006). Work in these fields includes S. Casey, *Naked Liberty and the World of Desire, Elements of Anarchism in the Work of D. H. Lawrence* (New York and London: Routledge, 2003); H. G. Klaus and S. Knight, *'To Hell with Culture': Anarchism and Twentieth-Century British Literature* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2005); L. Call, 'Anarchy in the Matrix: Postmodern Anarchism in the Novels of William Gibson and Bruce Sterling', *Anarchist Studies*, 7 (1999), 99–117; L. Call, 'Postmodern Anarchism in the Novels of Ursula K. Le Guin', *SubStance*, 36(2) (2007), 87–105; J. Shantz, *Against All Authority: Anarchism and the Literary Imagination* (Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2011).

³ Though Goodway was right to suggest that leading historians had written anarchism out of socialist history, recommending that anarchist history be 'seriously and appropriately studied', he might have pointed to geography as a field for anarchist research. As Cook and Norcup argue in this collection, the roots of this influence can be traced to the nineteenth century and owe much to the work of Elisée Reclus and Peter Kropotkin. It is apparent in contributions to *Antipode*, the journal of radical geography. On Reclus, see M. Fleming, *The Geography of Freedom: The Odyssey of Elisée Reclus* (Montreal: Black Rose, 1988) and, more recently, J. Clark and C. Martin, *Anarchy, Geography, Modernity: The Radical Social Thought of Elisée Reclus* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2004).

⁴ Goodway points to Eric Hobsbawm, who matched an awareness of anarchism's international

In the last 20 years the volume of work in anarchist studies has grown substantially. The range of disciplinary territories over which anarchists now roam has expanded and interest in anarchist research has grown in parallel. Indeed, whereas researchers once shunned anarchism for say, Marxism (Goodway suggests reasons to do with the lack of tangible reward, anarchist anti-intellectualism and bias against theory) more now seem willing to engage with it.⁵ To be sure, the ‘a’ word still presents problems in research cultures, but anarchism has a foothold in art history,⁶ anthropology,⁷ pedagogy,⁸ utopian studies⁹ and researchers working in the field have made significant contributions to film¹⁰ and social movement studies,¹¹ to work on feminism, gender

significance in nineteenth- and twentieth-century labour movements with an ideological hostility to anarchist ideas. *For Anarchism*, p. 7.

⁵ In 2011 the New School in New York organized a symposium on ‘The Anarchist Turn’, available at www.newschool.edu/eventDetail.aspx?id=64753 – a title suggestive of theoretical change. Audio versions of the papers have been collected in a virtual edition of *Anarchist Developments in Cultural Studies* (2011), available at <http://anarchist-developments.org/index.php/adcs/issue/view/4/showToc>. Goodway’s explanation for the unattractiveness of anarchism to intellectuals is in *Anarchist Seeds beneath the Snow*, p. 8.

⁶ See Allan Antliff’s chapter for a bibliography.

⁷ The influence of Kropotkin and Elie Reclus, the brother of Elisée and author of *Primitive Folk* (London: Walter School, n.d.) can also be felt here. See H. Barclay, *People without Government* (London: Kahn & Averill/Cienfuegos Press, 1982); H. Barclay, *The State* (London: Freedom Press, 2003). Recent contributions include D. Graeber’s work, notably *Fragments of an Anarchist Anthropology* (Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press, 2004) and *Possibilities: Essays on Hierarchy, Rebellion and Desire* (Oakland, CA and Edinburgh: AK Press, 2007) and J. C. Scott’s *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2009).

⁸ There is a long tradition of anarchist thinking about education and approaches to education, stretching at least as far back as Bakunin’s work and notably (later) to the modern school experiments of Francisco Ferrer – see his *The Origin and Ideals of the Modern School* (London: Watts & Co, 1913). For discussion, see P. Avrighi, *The Modern School Movement: Anarchism and Education in the United States* (Edinburgh & Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2006). For a recent treatment of anarchism and education, see J. Suissa, *Anarchism and Education: A Philosophical Perspective* (London: Routledge, 2006, 2nd edn; Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2010). Paulo Freire’s *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Continuum, 2000) has inspired some recent anarchist work. See, for example, A. J. Nocella ‘Emergence of Disability Pedagogy’, *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies*, 6(2) (2008), 77–94; available at www.jceps.com/images/PDFs/6-2-05.pdf.

⁹ The relationship of anarchism to utopianism is explored in M. L. Berneri, *Journey through Utopia* (Freedom Press: London, 1982); M. Buber, *Paths in Utopia* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1949); C. Ward, *Utopia* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974); R. Creagh, *Laboratoires de l’Utopie: Les Communautés Libertaires aux États-Unis* (Paris: Payot, 1983). For recent work, see L. Davis and P. Stillman, *The New Utopian Politics of Ursula K. Le Guin’s The Dispossessed* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2005); S. Clark, *Living without Domination: The Possibility of an Anarchist Utopia* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); C. Honeywell, ‘Utopianism and Anarchism’, *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 12 (2007), 239–54; L. Davis and R. Kinna (eds), *Anarchism and Utopianism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009).

¹⁰ R. Porton, *Film and the Anarchist Imagination* (London-New York: Verso, 1999); N. Jun, ‘Toward an Anarchist Film Theory: Reflections on the Politics of Cinema’, *Anarchist Developments in Cultural Studies*, 1(1) (2010), 139–61.

¹¹ G. Chesters and I. Welsh, *Complexity and Social Movements: Multitudes at the Edge of Chaos*

and sexuality,¹² cultural studies¹³ and contemporary political theory.¹⁴ New avenues are being opened up in sociology¹⁵ and the influence of anarchist ideas is beginning to be felt in economics,¹⁶ criminology¹⁷ and law.¹⁸ And the questions prompted by this body of research are not just about historical movements – though the important task of documenting anarchist activity continues – but about the relationship of anarchism to contemporary activism and anarchist approaches to political, economic, cultural and social issues. What place does anarchism occupy in, for instance, the horizontal

(London: Routledge, 2006); G. Chesters and I. Welsh, *Social Movements: The Key Concepts* (London: Routledge, 2011).

¹² J. Heckert and R. Cleminson, *Anarchism and Sexuality: Ethics, Relationships and Power* (London: Routledge, 2011); T. Kissack *Free Comrades: Anarchism and Homosexuality in the United States 1895–1917* (Edinburgh: AK Press, 2008).

¹³ J. Cohn, *Anarchism and the Crisis of Representation: Hermeneutics, Aesthetics, Politics* (Selingsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 2006). See also work by Gavin Grindon, accessible at www.gavingrindon.net/?page_id=11.

¹⁴ Postanarchist theory occupies an important place here. See T. May, *The Political Philosophy of Poststructuralist Anarchism* (Pennsylvania, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994); S. Newman, *From Bakunin to Lacan: Antiauthoritarianism and the Dislocation of Power* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2001; 2nd edn, 2007) and *The Politics of Postanarchism* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010). For an alternative approach, see P. McLaughlin, *Anarchism and Authority: A Philosophical Introduction to Classical Anarchism* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

¹⁵ D. M. Williams and J. Shantz, 'Defining an Anarchist-Sociology: A Long-Anticipated Marriage', *Theory in Action*, 4(4) (2011), 1–9, available at www.transformativestudies.org/wp-content/uploads/10.3798/tia.1937-0237.11028.pdf. See also J. Shantz, *Constructive Anarchy: Building Infrastructures of Resistance* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010). For a discussion of the overlaps between anarchism and sociology, see Jamie Heckert, 'Anarchism and the Sociological Imagination: Interview with Dana Williams', available at <http://sociologicalimagination.org/archives/tag/jamie-heckert>. For Max Weber's involvement with anarchism, see S. Whimster (ed.), *Max Weber and the Culture of Anarchy* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999).

¹⁶ For a historical analysis of anarchist economics, see R. Knowles, *Political Economy from Below: Economic Thought in Communitarian Anarchism, 1840–1914* (London: Routledge, 2004). See also D. Shannon, A. J. Nocella II and J. Asimakopoulos (eds), *The Accumulation of Freedom: Writings on Anarchist Economics* (Oakland, CA and Edinburgh: AK Press, 2012); D. Graeber, *Debt: The First 5,000 Years* (Brooklyn, New York: Melville House Publishing, 2011).

¹⁷ For a discussion, see J. Ferrell 'Against the Law: Anarchist Criminology', *Social Anarchism*, 25, 1998, available at <http://library.nothingness.org/articles/SA/en/display/127>. His review 'Anarchy Against the Discipline', *Journal of Criminal Justice and Popular Culture*, 3(4) (1995), 86–91, available at www.albany.edu/scj/jcpc/vol3is4/anarchy.html#ferrell has a useful bibliography.

¹⁸ Matt Halling, 'A Law of No Gods, No Masters – Developing and Defending a Participatory Legal System', *Hasting International and Comparative Law Review*, 32 (2009), 237–69, available at http://works.bepress.com/matt_halling/7; see also the work of the legal philosopher Richard Fitch at <http://independent.academia.edu/RichardFitch>. A short reading list compiled by Jamie Heckert is available at http://anarchist-studies-network.org.uk/ReadingLists_Law.

politics of global protest movements¹⁹ or in community organizing?²⁰ Or, by reverse, what can anarchists learn from the experience of groups struggling against the exploitative trade practices of neo-liberalism?²¹ How might anarchist practices be developed, nurtured and applied in everyday relations to challenge existing institutions and institutional behaviours?²² What does anarchist thought teach about the ways in which academic disciplines – international relations,²³ terrorism studies²⁴ – have developed? How does contemporary political theory help us probe, critique, revise and develop anarchist thought;²⁵ how can it help sharpen anarchist conceptions of ethics²⁶ or freedom,²⁷ democracy²⁸ or the analysis of violence?²⁹ How can anarchist approaches to

¹⁹ R. Day, *Gramsci is Dead: Anarchist Currents in the Newest Social Movements* (London: Pluto Press, 2005); Uri Gordon, *Anarchy Alive! Anti-authoritarian Politics from Practice to Theory* (London: Pluto Press, 2007); D. Graeber 'The New Anarchists', *New Left Review*, 13 (2002), 61–73 and *Direct Action: An Ethnography* (Oakland, CA and Edinburgh: AK Press, 2009); D. Graeber and A. Grubacic, 'Anarchism or the Revolutionary Movement of the Twenty-first Century', 2004, available at <http://news.infoshop.org/article.php?story=04/01/06/8555645>.

²⁰ J. Horrox, *A Living Revolution: Anarchism in the Kibbutz Movement (Oakland, CA and Edinburgh: AK Press, 2009)*; A. O'Connor, *Who's Emma? Autonomous Zone and Social Anarchism (Toronto: Confused Editions, 2002)*; J. Shantz, *Constructive Anarchy: Building Infrastructures of Resistance (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010)*.

²¹ *A lesson is delivered in G. Williams, Struggles for an Alternative Globalization: An Ethnography of Counterpower in Southern France (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008)*.

²² See J. Heckert, 'Listening, Caring, Becoming: Anarchism as an Ethics of Direct Relationships', in B. Franks and M. Wilson (eds), *Anarchism and Moral Philosophy* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2010), pp. 186–207. A bibliography of Heckert's work is at <http://anarchist-studies-network.org.uk/JamieHeckert>. See also J. Horrox, 'Reinventing Resistance: Constructive Activism in Gustav Landauer's Social Philosophy', in N. Jun and S. Wahl (eds), *New Perspectives on Anarchism* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2010), pp. 189–206.

²³ A. Prichard, 'Justice, Order and Anarchy: The International Political Theory of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809–1865)', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 35(3) (2007), 623–45; A. Prichard, 'What can the Absence of Anarchism Tell us about the History and Purpose of IR?' *Review of International Studies*, 37 (2010), 1647–69; A. Prichard, 'Deepening Anarchism: International Relations and the Anarchist Ideal', *Anarchist Studies*, 18(2) (2010), 29–57.

²⁴ Recent contributions have centred on terrorology, the commentary on and analysis of terrorist threats. See the exchange in *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 20(4) (2008), and the contributions by R. Bach Jensen and G. R. Esenwein reproduced at <http://slackbastard.anarchobase.com/?p=1855>.

²⁵ Some of the most searching questions have been asked by writers associated with postanarchism. For a discussion and selection of work, see D. Rousselle and S. Evren, *Post-anarchism: A Reader* (London: Pluto, 2011).

²⁶ B. Franks and M. Wilson (eds), *Anarchism and Moral Philosophy* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

²⁷ Uri Gordon, 'Power and Anarchy: In/equality + In/visibility in Autonomous Politics', in N. Jun and S. Wahl (eds), *New Perspectives on Anarchism* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2010), pp. 39–66; M. Wilson, 'Rulers without Rules' (PhD dissertation, Loughborough University, 2011).

²⁸ M. Ackelsberg, *Resisting Citizenship: Feminist Essays on Politics, Community and Democracy* (New York and London: Routledge, 2010); E. Loizidou, 'This is What Democracy Looks Like', in J. Martel and J. Casas Klausen (eds), *How Not to be Governed: Reading and Interpretations from a Postanarchist Left* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2011), pp. 167–87.

²⁹ Gordon provides an analysis in *Anarchy Alive!* For state violence, the best known and most

law, authority and punishment help inform the development of social policy in areas like homelessness or the arbitration of justice?³⁰ In what ways does anarchism intersect with other traditions of thought – religious thinking,³¹ labour organizing³² – or any organizing?³³ All these are the subjects of current research, but they by no means exhaust it.³⁴

The first aim of this collection is to illustrate the scope and depth of research in anarchist studies. The second is to provide a guide to resources useful to further work. In pursuit of the first aim, the collection includes a series of short discussions which focus on approaches to research and a set of longer essays in which authors explore the place of anarchist studies in different research contexts. All the contributions have been commissioned for the collection and are published here for the first time. To meet the second aim and support further research, the book includes a substantial resources section and a bibliography which includes specialist guides to a range of non-English literatures. A separate section of keywords, people and concepts is included to help contextualize some of the ideas discussed in this book and to fill some of the gaps that inevitably remain in the collection.

extensive anarchist analysis has been developed by Noam Chomsky. For Chomsky's work, go to www.chomsky.info/.

³⁰ R. Amster, *Lost in Space: The Criminalization, Globalization, and Urban Ecology of Homelessness* (El Paso, TX: LFB Publishing, 2008); 'Breaking the Law: Anti-Authoritarian Visions of Crime and Justice', *New Formulation*, 2(2) (2004), available at www.newformulation.org/4Amster.htm provides a useful overview of recent debates. For squatting, see The Advisory Service for Squatters in London, *Squatters Handbook*, 13th edn (2009), available at www.squatter.org.uk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=16.

³¹ A. Christoyannopoulos, *Christian Anarchism: A Political Commentary on the Gospel* (Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2010); A. Christoyannopoulos (ed.), *Religious Anarchism: New Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2009); L. Kemmerer and A. J. Nocella II (eds), *Call to Compassion: Reflections on Animal Advocacy* (New York: Lantern Books, 2009) – the latter examines religious thinking and radical social change rather than anarchism specifically.

³² C. Bantman and D. Berry, *New Perspectives on Anarchism, Labour and Syndicalism: The Individual, the National and the Transnational* (Newcastle-on-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2010).

³³ For the discussion and theoretical reflection on issues of organization, self-management, work, labour and resistance, see *Ephemera* at www.ephemeraweb.org/. The question of organization is a perennial topic for discussion. See Colin Ward, 'Anarchism as a Theory of Organisation', from *Anarchy*, 1966, available at www.panarchy.org/ward/organization.1966.html.

³⁴ For a flavour of recent anarchist research, see H. J. Ehrlich, C. Ehrlich, D. DeLeon and G. Morris, *Reinventing Anarchy, Again* (Edinburgh and San Francisco: AK Press, 1996); J. Purkis and J. Bowen (eds), *Twenty-First Century Anarchism: Unorthodox Ideas for a New Millennium* (London: Cassell, 1997); J. Purkis and J. Bowen (eds), *Changing Anarchism: Anarchist Theory and Practice in a Global Age* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005); S. Shukaitis and D. Graeber, *Constituent Imagination: Militant Investigations, Collective Theorization* (Oakland, CA and Edinburgh: AK Press, 2006); R. Amster, A. DeLeon, L. Fernandez, A. J. Nocella II and D. Shannon (eds), *Contemporary Anarchist Studies: An Introductory Anthology of Anarchy in the Academy* (New York: Routledge, 2009); N. Jun and S. Wahl (eds), *New Perspectives on Anarchism* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2010).

Problems of Anarchist Research

The approaches to anarchism discussed in the opening section of the book reflect a general concern to think about what constitutes *anarchist* research. There are a number of questions here: Are there approaches to analysis which are distinctively anarchist or more open to anarchistic ways of thinking than others? How has the study of anarchism shaped, and how might it constructively and critically reshape, conceptions of its constituent ideas and movements? What can anarchist approaches contribute to established disciplines and fields of study? Saul Newman, Benjamin Franks, Allan Antliff, Uri Gordon and Alex Prichard provide some responses.

Saul Newman's discussion of postanarchism offers an answer to the first question and argues that anarchist political theory should be rooted in a particular philosophical approach. In this opening essay he argues that anarchism adopts what he calls a 'war model' approach to politics, presenting a conception of power and authority which is militantly hostile to claims of legitimate sovereignty and which is open, in principle, to ideas of contestation. Yet in the past, anarchists have failed to realize the potential of the war model. The theoretical projects designed by leading anarchist figures, including Bakunin and Kropotkin, were shaped by a desire to find universally valid solutions to the asymmetries of power and authority that the war model exposed. As a result, they reduced the tensions that run through social relations to single stand-offs between opposing players. This approach, Newman contends, is deeply flawed, and it maintains the idea of the sovereign even while opposing its physical embodiment. The genuinely anarchistic approach gestures instead to postanarchist theory which, adopting a perspectival approach to truth and knowledge recognizes that there can never be a solution, nor a resolution to social contestation. Drawing on Michel Foucault's work, Newman argues that the war model points to a politics based on individual autonomy and an ethic of sociability and a philosophical approach that embraces the complexity of politics and the power relations that inescapably fracture all social relations.

Like Newman, Benjamin Franks also thinks that some theoretical approaches are more appropriate to the study of anarchism than others. However his discussion focuses on the ways in which analysis of anarchism has resulted in the misunderstanding and misrepresentation of anarchist ideas. Franks considers the possibilities of analytic political philosophy as a lens for anarchist research and finds that it tends towards the distortion and trivialization of anarchism, narrowing the field for analysis and notably excluding non-academic writing. Anarchism, he argues, is best understood through the identification and arrangement of its core and peripheral concepts, not as philosophers have wanted to define them – in terms borrowed from liberal theory – but as they have been elaborated by activists. Unlike Newman, who locates the theoretical failures of anarchism from within the anarchist tradition, Franks argues that the problems of analysis have arisen from outside, primarily from within academia and he looks to grass roots literatures to find correctives. Moreover, whereas Newman points out a mismatch between anarchist politics and philosophy, Franks locates the problem in mainstream

liberal theory. Both argue that answers to the question ‘what is anarchism’ have been moulded by the theoretical approaches deployed in its analysis but the issue that their essays raise is whether it is the anarchists or their critics who have adopted theory adequate to their politics.

Allan Antliff’s discussion of anarchism and art history highlights the distinctiveness of anarchist approaches to research and shows both how research interacts with practice, to creatively shape and reshape understandings of anarchism, and how it effectively challenges the orthodoxes that seek to marginalize anarchist ideas. Giving an account of the unsympathetic mis-readings that his own work has suffered, he highlights the politicization of the art history field and the unwillingness of some leading scholars either to accept the extent of anarchist influence on modernism – Antliff’s research specialism – or ways of thinking about ‘art’ and ‘politics’ which interrogate and appreciate their complex interrelation. Central to his conception of this relationship is an idea of history as a process of creative unfolding, in which artists and activists seek to transform the social order through their interventions – individual and collective – in the world. Because it reserves an important place for subjectivity and individual autonomous action in social struggle, Antliff’s idea challenges dichotomous conceptions of individual-social action and sketches an idea of freedom as becoming which is fully consistent with notions of structural disadvantage and oppression. Methodologically, his treatment also clears a path to understand the history of art as a rich interpretative field for contemporary activism. Here, there are resonances with Newman’s approach, but in Antliff’s hands, the anti-deterministic, anti-dialectical, anti-hegemonic thrust of anarchism reveals affinities which extend into the past, as well stimulating new ones – for example, in anti-colonial struggle and through engagement with Indigenous cultural production – in anarchism’s present.

Uri Gordon’s essay focuses on participant observation and argues that this approach not only provides a useful tool for research into anarchist movements, but that it is infused with and supportive of anarchist values. As participant observers or insiders researchers gain privileged access to activist processes and they importantly aid militant activism by facilitating movement debates and reflecting critically on the contradictions or tensions that their interventions help reveal. Moreover, they challenge themselves by entering into actions. Gordon illustrates how by drawing on his own experiences as a participant observer in the protest movement. Although his approach to research is very different from both Newman’s and Franks’ he too argues that there are distinctively anarchist approaches to research and that the adoption of methods sympathetic to anarchist values can positively reshape self-understandings as well as external conceptions of anarchism. Similar to Franks, he looks for ways in which activist languages can be translated into high theory without distortion and/or the extension and institutionalization of the gaps separating different groups of activists. Acknowledging that academic argument is evaluated by standards that diverge enormously from movement practices, Gordon argues that intellectuals are able to make a gift of their knowledge – a suggestion that implies a stronger division between research and

activism than Antliff identifies. Gordon is equally committed to the rejection of vanguardism but finds Gramsci's model of the organic intellectual instructive. At the end of his essay, he returns to this division, looking from inside the academy out, to consider the motivations for research and the extent to which researchers working within academic institutions can remain accountable to the movements with which they engage, while also maintaining their personal integrity. The question that his analysis begs is whether the virtues required of participant observers extend to all areas of life – including academia – or whether the location of activists within academic institutions necessarily erects a barrier with the outside world, which researchers have a duty (though the adoption of participant observation) to overcome.³⁵

Alex Prichard asks questions about what it means to think anarchistically both in order to demonstrate the value of anarchism to international relations (IR) theory and to show how distinctively anarchist approaches to the study of the international system help contextualize the practical struggles with which contemporary anarchists engage. He begins his analysis by outlining the ways in which IR theorists – who typically inhabit Anglo-American institutions – have understood the international world. Although taking a lead from Hobbes, he argues that contemporary theory no longer assumes that the interaction of individual sovereigns necessarily spells violent disorder and chaos. So-called realists in IR instead accept the possibility of cooperation. Nevertheless, the destructive image of anarchy remains deeply embedded in the theoretical imagination, and the potential fully to embrace it as a virtuous condition has been lost in a heap of critical literatures. Prichard finds the inspiration for a different view in Proudhon's work and, in particular, his refusal to privilege any sovereigns – groups or individuals – in thinking about social relations in the real world. The idea of power he finds in Proudhon is not far removed from the conception that Newman recommends and it is consistent with the idea of flux and becoming that Antliff champions. For Prichard, the radical pluralism of Proudhon's anarchy illustrates how the invention of artificial hierarchies and attempts to institutionalize them results in stultification, too often expressed in repressive violence and war. The horizontal, decentralizing and federal features of anarchy provide a solution to this problem, but Prichard's point is not just to highlight the organizational value of anarchy and the order that springs from it. In addition, he also shows how the actions and practices of groups and individuals working outside the formal structures of the state realize anarchy's promise. The final part of his essay provides a framework for understanding prefigurative action and, taking Gordon's work as an example for the discussion, Prichard shows in a different way how theory intermeshes with practice.

³⁵ For an interesting discussion on the position of researchers in academic institutions, see Stephen Dunne, Eleni Karamali and Stevphen Shukaitis, 'Inscribing Organized Resistance', *Ephemera*, 5(4) (2005), 562–7, available at www.ephemeraweb.org/journal/5-4/5-4editorial.pdf.

Current Research and Issues

The essays at the centre of the book have been organized around a broad set of themes – history (Carissa Honeywell), sociology and anthropology (Jonathan Purkis), genders and sexualities (Sandra Jeppesen and Holly Nazar), literature (David Goodway), revolution (Laurence Davis), social ecology (Andy Price), social movements (Sara Motta), geographies and urban space (Ian Cook and Joanne Norcup) and eurocentrism (Süreyya Evren). Each essay provides a particular perspective on research within these fields and in different ways each also contributes to the discussion of anarchist approaches raised in the first section.

Carissa Honeywell's essay is a contribution to historical scholarship and it examines the original contribution of a lost generation of post-war Anglo-American anarchists. She considers the place that this generation occupies in anarchist historiography in order to challenge conventional treatments of anarchist political theory and defend the intelligibility of anarchist claims about freedom. In doing so, she picks up on some of the themes that Franks explores in his discussion of analytic political philosophy: anarchist political thought, she notes, has gained a reputation for fuzzy incoherence largely because it does not fit the theoretical template of mainstream liberal theory. Specifically, when Alex Comfort, Herbert Read, Colin Ward, Paul Goodman and Murray Bookchin thought about freedom, they adopted a conception that prevailing ideas about positive and negative liberty could not capture. Indeed, turning the tables, Honeywell argues that their reflections highlight the narrowness of liberal conceptions and the value of rethinking freedom anarchistically. Although Honeywell highlights the innovation of the post-war generation, she also sees continuity between the anarchism of this group and the late nineteenth-century anarchists, especially Kropotkin. Their ideas of freedom were shaped by the particular contexts they inhabited and their familiarity with bodies of research – psychology, for example – that blossomed during the period. In important ways, she shows that they remained wedded to a conception of science that postanarchism has attempted to explode. Nevertheless, in the light of the conclusions that Newman draws from his critique of anarchist thinking, Honeywell's argument is significant because it suggests that the problems that he identifies in classical anarchism might be linked to anarchist historiography rather than to the adoption of faulty or simplistic assumptions about human nature.

Jonathan Purkis's essay, which looks at shifts in sociology and anthropology, is also a reflection on what constitutes *anarchist* theory. Questions of approach, he argues, cannot be disentangled from the values that inform anarchist research. Like Franks and Antliff, he argues that academic institutions are often hostile environments for anarchist research and that anarchists working in these fields, especially sociology, have had to battle to make themselves heard.³⁶ Corporate funding of academic research has left

³⁶ For a discussion, see A. J. Nocella II, S. Best and P. McLaren (eds), *Academic Repression* (Oakland, CA and Edinburgh: AK Press, 2009).

activist academics in a precarious position. And the difficulty that activist researchers face is not just how to use academic rules to defend radical research projects, in the ways that Gordon illustrates, but of challenging the assumptions, values and structures that underpin the practices and behaviours that anarchist sociologists and anthropologists seek to study and critique. Echoing some of Newman's concerns Purkis argues that the problems lie at the meta-theoretical level. Dominant intellectual traditions are based on theories of knowledge which insist on a division between researchers and subjects, establishing paradigms through which the latter are identified, categorized and assessed. Conceptions of marginal or deviant behaviours are elaborated against norms that are value-laden and culturally specific, typically linked to conceptions of progress and ideas of rationality that are shaped by Western capitalist experience. Yet Purkis finds that there is scope for anarchist research, not only in anthropology where a number of leading voices are anarchist, but also in sociology, where the constraints have been tighter. Hitchhiking provides the theoretical touchstone for his work and in a discussion which itself moves from America in the 1970s to modern day Latvia he outlines why. Hitchhiking offers a means to examine cultural variations in social attitudes. It is open to informal practices otherwise neglected in traditional study: practices based on mutual aid, cooperation, trust and gift-giving. Above all, hitchhiking supports an anarchistic programme of research by providing a frame for the development of a new, enchanted idea, of modernity.

Sandra Jeppesen and Holly Nazar share Purkis's concerns about the accessibility of academic institutions to anarchists and, like Franks, they show how grass roots and activist ideas have been marginalized or ignored in academic accounts of anarchism. The result, they note, is the construction of an idea of anarchism that not only fails to capture the concerns and interests of particular anarchist movements, but one which prioritizes some voices – typically white, straight, bourgeois and male – over others. Their essay on gender and sexualities also considers how scholarship is presented and received by others. One problem, which they seek to overcome, is the assumed or claimed authority of the writer. For Jeppesen and Nazar, this claim militates against engagement in anarchist practice. They develop the point by looking at anarchafeminist and queer anarchist involvement in contemporary North American movements. In a wide-ranging discussion which looks at anti-colonialism and racism as well as issues of gender, they show how feminists challenged and continue to challenge established anarchist accounts of oppression based on capitalism and class and how they revealed the ways in which multiple forms of oppression intersect. Understanding these intersections, they argue, is a central task of anarchist research and one which they seek to encourage. Yet the process of research is as important as its framing. Pursuing another line of inquiry, Jeppesen and Nazar show how feminists have championed forms of practice based on discussion, consensus, non-hierarchical organizing, sharing and mutual support. Uncovering the continuing tensions within anarchism and the importance of recognizing the intersections between them, Jeppesen and Nazar situate their contribution within this context. So while they raise important questions about anar-

chist historiography and the construction of anarchist traditions, picking up on themes explored by both Honeywell and Franks, they limit claims to their own authority by setting out some of possibilities for further research and routes to understanding. In this way they engage in deeply democratic research practices that eschew elitism.

David Goodway's essay focuses on British literary traditions and through a discussion of Oscar Wilde, George Orwell, Alex Comfort and Aldous Huxley he illuminates the rich affinities between anarchism and creative writing. His focus is on British writing, indeed, he argues that Britain has produced the most varied and impressive body of libertarian literature in the world, notwithstanding the lack of a significant popular anarchist movement. His discussion uses Kropotkin's claims about the dovetailing of anarchism with all manner of advanced thought and Read's ideas about the politics of the unpolitical as a springboard. His concern is not to claim particular individuals for anarchism or narrowly to examine the work of those who explicitly identified as anarchists. Rather, highlighting three different types of affinity (labelled contrarian, humanist and anarchist) he considers the anarchistic nature of literary practice. A key theme running through the discussion of these affinities is the role of intellectuals in social struggles; and Goodway is keen to capture his authors' very different responses. His engagement with them raises difficult and significant questions about the limits of revolutionary ambition and the extent of state power, particularly in the post-war period, the legitimacy of violence as a means of struggle and the relationship between personal expression and social change – a relationship that is sometimes wrongly captured as a choice between lifestyle and social anarchism. Moreover, although the historical context is not elaborated explicitly, the historical sweep of his essay – from Kropotkin in the late nineteenth century to J. B. Priestly in the mid-twentieth – illustrates the multidimensional nature of anarchist thinking throughout the period. Highlighting the intersections of anarchist and libertarian ideas, Goodway not only develops an approach to the study of anarchism and literature which is anarchistic, he also presents an account of British anarchism which complements Honeywell's work.

Laurence Davis's discussion of revolution picks up some of Goodway's themes, looking specifically at debates about revolution. Noting both the central role that anarchism has played in the global justice movement and the renewed significance that mass protest has taken in recent times across the world, he argues that reflection on revolution is not only timely, but that practice-based research has an especially valuable part to play in thinking the possibilities for radical change. Davis identifies two orientations in anarchist thought: one is class struggle and the other is what he calls 'revolutionary exodus'. Associating the first with anarcho-communist and syndicalist ideas and, specifically, the work of Michael Schmidt, Lucien van der Walt and Wayne Price he defends the creative and constructive potential of the second, crediting David Graeber, Uri Gordon and Richard Day with its exposition. There are, Davis argues, significant methodological and theoretical differences between Graeber, Gordon and Day and the result is a set of sometimes overlapping and sometimes incompatible ideas about popular resistance, radical democracy, solidarity and mass politics, not a

uniform theory. Nevertheless, the attempt to reimagine revolution, Davis argues, compares favourably to ideologically divisive and outmoded class struggle conceptions and it rightly understands radical social change as process rather than an event. Davis does not unpack the historical construction of class struggle anarchism, but the division he identifies assumes a discontinuity in anarchist traditions not very far removed from Newman's understanding. Moreover, in showing how alternative conceptions of revolution encourage anarchists to think differently about the relationship between present and future, Davis finds another dimension in the classical-new dichotomy.

Andy Price's essay traces the development of ecological thinking in anarchism since the late 1960s and examines some of the different directions that it has taken. He focuses on the work of Murray Bookchin who, he argues, not only pioneered social ecology and tied it to anarchism, but also adopted a programme for action that remains attractive and more politically instructive than other radical green alternatives. Bookchin's central insights, Price argues, are his understanding that human beings are part of the natural world but distinct from it and that evolution (as Kropotkin argued) tends towards increasing diversification and complexity. As nature's most complex creatures, Bookchin claimed that humans occupy a uniquely powerful position in the natural world. Unlike other species they have the capacity to intervene in the evolutionary process in positive or negative ways, either encouraging complexity and diversification or working against it. The anarchist dimension of Bookchin's social ecology is his claim that industrialization, statist organization and the centralization of social, economic and cultural phenomena militate against natural evolutionary trends and that alternative, participatory, communal, decentralized social forms should be developed to confront and challenge capitalist and state power. Price presents a robust defence of Bookchin's work and he endorses the minimum and maximum programme ('communalism') he devised as possible routes to a self-managed, balanced and participatory society. Notwithstanding Bookchin's late disenchantment with anarchism, Price finds that his brand of social ecology remains relevant to it; that recent work in anthropology reinforces the view of the natural world that social ecology elaborates and that contemporary urban experiments demonstrate the continuing value of his programmes for civic re-engagement. Like Honeywell, Price defends the theoretical intelligibility of Bookchin's thought and in arguing for the adoption of research agendas that are shaped by practical concerns to deliver anarchistic programmes of social change, he also reflects on the relationship between theory and practice. In social ecology, however, he identifies ideological aspiration as the significant limit to theorizing, not the constraints of mainstream research cultures.

Sara Motta takes a very different view. Her essay on social movements in Latin America opens with a methodological problem which she examines in a reflective discussion of her own position as a researcher. Like Purkis, Motta is interested in finding a way to understand the practices of historically marginalized and colonized groups without imposing new, external frameworks of analysis which are equally distorting. Established ways of thinking are not up to the task, since they prioritize theories of

knowing and categories of being that are part and parcel of the colonizing project. She finds part of the answer in the adoption of the ethic of plurality and diversity associated with post-left anarchy and the philosophical critique (which dovetails with postanarchism) that drives it. Yet this is only part of the answer, since post-left anarchy, she argues, is also shaped and informed by particular strategies and desires that remain rooted in Western capitalist culture, albeit in its critique. The methodological problem Motta identifies is resolved only through a process of border-thinking: the recognition that the legacy of the colonial relationship is felt philosophically as well as in social, economic or cultural spheres. Border-thinking demands the acknowledgement of the colonial priority and the double-translation of ideas: the discussion of post-left anarchy alongside the examination of Latin American practices. The interchange between radical anarchist theorizing and Latin American organizing allows Motta to hold up a mirror to reflect on both. In this way, her essay exemplifies in its approach the kind of politics that she seeks to pursue. Discussion and dialogue lie at its heart.

Ian Cook and Joanne Norcup's essay on geographies and urban space highlights the debt that contemporary radical geographers owe to anarchists, notably Kropotkin and Elisée Reclus, who challenged state-centric currents within the discipline, forged by military, market and colonial agendas. The mantle of late nineteenth-century anarchism was inherited by Colin Ward, and his work, along with Kropotkin's, provides a focus for their discussion. Through an appreciation of Ward's work on cities, they show how the critical frameworks pioneered by Kropotkin facilitated the study of alternative practices and movements, enabling researchers to understand the links between macro and micro processes, local and global movements. For Cook and Norcup, the relationship between research and practice is integral to geographical work: the questions that have been asked are about the agendas that research supports. However, recent radical practice, inspired by anarchism, has encouraged participation action research – an approach similar to Gordon's. This has enabled contemporary researchers to use the observations of community action, mutual aid and cooperation, which informed Kropotkin and Ward's theoretical perspectives, as a springboard for the design of research programmes that are part of transformative practice. Their case study material, from Liverpoolian community groups and China's Gung Ho movement, focus on the use of urban spaces and planning processes. In the latter sections of the essay, Cook and Norcup consider the relationship between geographies and anarchafeminism, examining the educational experiments and community initiatives in which radical geographers have been involved. One of their concerns, to transform education from a system of study into a learning practice based on skill-sharing, picks up on ideas explored by Jeppesen and Nazar. And Cook and Norcup also point to the continuity between nineteenth- and early twentieth-century anarchist traditions. The contexts in which radical geography operates vary and are diverse. But for them, as for Honeywell, the significance of anarchist ideas – historical and contemporary – remains significant and inspirational.

Süreyya Evren's essay returns to the themes explored in Motta's work and examines colonialism in anarchism. However, whereas she considers the barriers to existing dialogue, he looks at the ways in which colonialism has infused and distorted understandings of the anarchist past. Anarchism, he argues, has not only been built around the ideas of a few white men but, moreover, treated as the flowering of a European idea. On this account anarchism is a cultivar not a rhizome; and its success outside Europe can be explained by the work of single emissaries or by the particular receptiveness of non-Europeans to good European thinking. Like Antliff, Evren sees anarchism as a fluid, multidimensional, horizontal and global movement; a network extending from urban hubs, driven by interpersonal contacts, chance meetings and the exchange of ideas through a range of grass-roots media. The patterns of anarchy that he maps show how anarchist ideas intersected with and were changed by encounters with other currents of thought – like Antliff, he finds that the overlaps with art have been significant – and how the global network shaped a coherent, yet plural and open-ended ideology. Questioning the linear Eurocentric flow of dominant colonial accounts, he also reflects on some of its distortions: the idea that anarchism is a theory-less ideology, picking like a magpie on Marxism and liberalism. Like Motta, Evren is sympathetic to post-structuralist philosophy but his analysis challenges the assumptions which underpin postanarchist critiques of historical anarchism and, in contrast to the critics, he refuses to distance himself from these traditions. Postanarchists, he contends, have wrongly focused on past philosophy and have failed to deconstruct anarchist historiography. The failure properly to understand the past continues to frustrate action in the present: anarchists remain locked in a colonial mindset. Adding yet a further dimension to the discussion, and showing that anarchist ideas were always intimately connected to movements, he argues that reflecting on the past and its construction is an essential component in current practice.

Research Practices

Many of the contributors note that anarchism remains some distance from the mainstream in their disciplinary fields. But as their work illustrates, its location on the margins has often encouraged innovation in research and the development of novel approaches. Invention sometimes results from necessity particularly where, as Purkis finds, orthodox methodological approaches appear antithetical to anarchist perspectives. In other instances, it comes from a conscious desire to cut across disciplinary boundaries or to break free from established conventions. From the margins, most also argue that their work is motivated by a desire to engage with anarchist politics. This desire pulls research in very different directions. For Gordon, Cook and Norcup and Davis engagement takes the form of immersion or involvement in movement activity. For Jeppsen and Nazar, Purkis and Motta it is expressed through the exploration of movement practices. In Price's work, it is about developing applications. For New-

man, Prichard, Franks, Honeywell, Goodway and Evren engagement takes the form of radical critique. But for all these differences, engagement is probably the factor most consistently identified as the distinctive trait of *anarchist* research.

The relationship between research and political engagement is a thorny one, notwithstanding recent efforts to overcome what is often seen as a deep divide. There are a number of reasons for this. One set spring from what Goodway identifies as anarchism's anti-bourgeois bent. Broadly conceived, this set might be considered as class-based claims about the privileged socio-economic position that researchers – specifically those based in universities – enjoy and the compromises that participation in market-driven education systems involves, usually at the cost of anarchist alternatives: the development of critical pedagogies, free skools, knowledge labs, DiY publication and copy-left distribution.³⁷ A second set of objections cluster around what Goodway calls anarchism's historical anti-intellectualism: the anti-elitist complaint that research cements a power relationship based on intellect that is hierarchical and authoritarian.³⁸ Jeppesen and Nazar give contemporary voice to this concern in their discussion of non-hierarchical knowledge production, as do Motta and Evren, in their respective critiques of Western philosophy and Eurocentric theorizing.

These objections play out in a number of ways: from complaints about the inaccessibility of research³⁹ and the alienating, adversarial practices it encourages, to frustrations about its relevance – as Franks notes, the puzzlement about the purposes of endlessly discussing the anarchist canon.⁴⁰ Yet perhaps the strongest theme running through these critiques is that research is predicated on a theory-practice divide and

³⁷ In addition to work at note 8, see section 3 of Amster, DeLeon, Fernandez, Nocella and Shannon (eds), *Contemporary Anarchist Studies* and, forthcoming, Robert H. Haworth, *Anarchist Pedagogies: Collective Actions, Theories, and Critical Reflections on Education* (Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2012). For alternative ideas and institutions, see The Really Free University, at <http://reallyopenuniversity.wordpress.com/>; the list of nice places at the third University of Leicester (UK), available at <http://thirduniversity.wordpress.com/about/>; Free Skool project, available at <http://freeskoolsproject.wikispaces.com> and Free School Community of Olympia which has a directory of schools, available at <http://dsame.com/freeschoolcommunity>.

³⁸ A classic anti-education statement, banned in a number of European countries, is S. Hansen and J. Jensen, *Le Petit Livre Rouge Des Ecoliers et Lycéens*, trans. L. and E. Bolo (Lausanne: CEDIPS, 1970). For more recent critique, see University of Strategic Optimism, *Undressing the Academy or the Student Handjob*, online available at Minor Compositions, available at www.minorcompositions.info/?p=272. A forum at <http://anarchy101.org/22/why-is-academia-no-place-for-anarchists> gives a flavour of some of the arguments. And for a response to the marketisation of higher education see Sara Motta, 'And Still We Rise: On the Violence of Marketisation in Higher Education', *Ceasefire*, 1 March 2012, at <http://ceasefiremagazine.co.uk/beautiful-transgressions-11/>.

³⁹ For a discussion of language, see R. Farr, 'Anarchist Poetics', *Fifth Estate*, 41, no. 373 (2006), available at <http://interactivist.autonomeia.org/node/5509> and 'The Strategy of Concealment: Argot & Slang of the "Dangerous Classes"', *Fifth Estate*, 42(1), no. 375 (2007), available at www.anarchistnews.org/?q=node/3942#comment-56566 and the exchange with J. Cohn, 'The End of Communication? The End of Representation?' *Fifth Estate*, 42(2), no. 376 (2007), pp. 40–4.

⁴⁰ N. Thorne, 'An Incomplete Genealogy of Radical Anthropology: Reflexivity, Auto-Ethnographies & Anarchist Dilemmas' discusses some of the issues with reference to anthropology available

that it is the gap between thinking and doing that anarchist researchers must overcome. Davis makes this point in the conclusion to his discussion of revolution: ‘the crucial discussions and debates that need to be held will take place not in the pages of academic books and journals, but on the streets in the general assemblies of a genuinely democratic and global revolutionary movement.’ It resonates with critiques of philosophical anarchism, usually associated with Robert Paul Wolff’s *In Defence of Anarchism*, which consciously divorced intellectual engagement with anarchist principles from anarchist politics.⁴¹ And, notwithstanding the significant and positive influence of Paul Feyerabend’s ideas on currents within contemporary anarchist research, it might equally be applied to his critique of method – epistemological anarchism – since the rejection of method describes another purely intellectual form of anarchism, similarly combined with a rejection of anarchist politics.⁴²

There are tensions and risks in this position. Unqualified, the danger of the critique of theory is that it extends to the claim that anarchism describes a principle of action or an ethical discourse less developed than or even parasitic on other theoretical constructions – notably, Marxism. Ironically, rather than challenging the theory/practice divide, this response merely reinforces it, and insofar as it encourages a rejection of all *theorizing*, potentially involves a voluntary subordination of anarchist thinking to boot.⁴³ The complaint about the relevance of research to everyday political activity similarly cements divisions between thinkers and doers and points to a model of gift-giving, to borrow Gordon’s terms, that is problematic, not just because it places the researcher in the position of the giver, but also to the extent that it requires researchers to deliver gifts that they might not wish to give. Either way, pushed too far, the theory/practice divide risks further marginalizing bodies of research that seek to reveal the biases of mainstream accounts of anarchism, probe its affinities and/or contribute to the elaboration of distinctively anarchist approaches and ideas.

Anarchist History and the Anarchist Past

The theory/practice divide is not the only relationship which has a sting. Another idea of division, the separation of contemporary anarchist practices from historical anarchist traditions, the desire to show how far contemporary thinking about theory and practice differs from conceptions inherited from the past, also presents important issues

at http://curiouspraxis.wordpress.com/prefigurative_politics_anthropological_practic/introduction/0-1-radical-anthropology-reflexivity-auto-ethnographies-anarchist-dilemmas/.

⁴¹ R. P. Wolff, *In Defence of Anarchism* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1970). For an assessment, see Nicholas Walter, *About Anarchism* (London: Freedom Press, 2002), pp. 51–2. William Godwin is also sometimes represented as a philosophical anarchist. And George Woodcock also adopted the designation in his biography, *Letter to the Past* (Toronto: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1982), p. 309.

⁴² P. Feyerabend, *Against Method* (London: Verso, 1979). See his comments on pages 17 and 302.

⁴³ For a discussion of this tendency, see A. Grubacic and D. Graeber, ‘Anarchism, or the Revolutionary Movement of the 21st Century’ (2004), available at <http://makeworlds.net/node/84> and D. Grae-

for anarchist research. Indeed, it supports some of the most contentious philosophical and political disagreements in contemporary anarchism.

The relationship between contemporary anarchism and the anarchist past is a recurrent theme of the collection which might be explained as a consequence of the recent expansion of research activity. For though concerns about the gap between theory and practice are not new, the context in which contemporary researchers seek to meet them has altered radically in the last 20 years or so. Framed by the fall of the Berlin Wall and the rise of the global protest movement, anarchism has acquired a new present, and in doing so, researchers have reflected afresh on the nature of anarchism's past.

Goodway's observation about the invisibility of anarchist scholarship and the marginalization of the anarchist movement by historians in the 1970s and 1980s indicates the extent to which references to anarchism were typically understood at that time to refer to a movement or set of ideas which appeared only to have a past. Paradoxically, the explosion of punk in the late 1970s tended to confirm this status. With the rise of the global protest movement at the end of the 1990s this changed. And while politicians quickly resurrected tired old stereotypes about anarchy, violence and chaos others blew the dust off books and articles that had lain forgotten since the late 1960s, to declare anarchism's new awakening.⁴⁴ In this way, the protest movement provided a space for a new generation of anarchists to conduct and publish their work, kick-starting a discussion of anarchism's revival in the process. Yet the significance of the protest movement's rise for anarchist research is not just that it provided a better opportunity to publish academic work than had previously been the case, but that it also set a new marker for the past's evaluation. And in establishing anarchism's presence, it did not quite explode the underlying idea of its earlier death. It instead provided a new diagnosis for its demise.

The peaks and troughs of anarchist activity are well established in the literature on anarchism: although the birth is variously dated to 1840 (the publication of Proudhon's *What is Property*) and 1871 (Bakunin's break with Marx), its death is usually dated to crushing of the Spanish revolution in 1939.⁴⁵ Goodway notes that the Spanish defeat completed a 'drastic decline as an international force of revolt'. And although recent histories contest this view, he added 'anarchism from the 1940s has had scarcely a toehold in any labour movement'.⁴⁶ The year 1968 represents the moment of anarchism's first, albeit fleeting re-emergence but for most observers, the character of the

ber 'Anarchism, Academia, and the Avant-Garde', in Amster, DeLeon, Fernandez, Nocella and Shannon (eds), *Contemporary Anarchist Studies*, p. 206. This aspect of the relationship between anarchism and Marxism is discussed in the introduction to *Libertarian Socialism: Politics in Black and Red*, A. Prichard, R. Kinna, S. Pinta and D. Berry (eds) (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), forthcoming.

⁴⁴ See, for example, Tony Blair's comments about anarchism, violence and the travelling circus reported available at http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/1392004.stm and Guy Verhofstadt's 'The Paradox of Anti-globalisation', at www.guardian.co.uk/world/2001/sep/28/globalisation.

⁴⁵ See G. Woodcock, 'Postscript' to *Anarchism* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979), p. 453; D. Guérin, *Anarchism*, trans. M. Kloppper (New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1970), p. 144.

⁴⁶ Goodway, *For Anarchism*, p. 2.

movement was utterly changed. This anarchism was new.⁴⁷ Whereas the ‘classic’ anarchism of the past had been built on ideas of class struggle, violent revolution and confrontation, the movements of the 1960s promoted social diversity, creativity, discipline and fun. Where the older form was shot through with heroism and tragedy, new anarchism was innocent, optimistic and charmingly naive. The emergence of the global protest movement in 1999 similarly established fresh frameworks for the past, inviting comparisons between the apparently new anarchism and the old and, specifically, the identification of parallels between movement activity, on the one hand, and the cultural or theoretical shifts that dovetailed with moments of revival, on the other.⁴⁸

The way in which researchers have positioned themselves in respect of the past is a key marker of contemporary debate. The following section outlines two different understandings of that relationship before returning to discuss the implications for anarchist research. The first stresses the discontinuity of contemporary anarchism from the anarchist past and the second finds continuity with it and challenges the accounts of anarchism on which the discontinuity is based.

⁴⁷ The assumptions supporting this claim are examined in Stevphen Shukaitis’s account of labour organizing which outlines a dynamic of continuity and change over time: ‘What occurred following the revolts of the 1960s and 1970s, leading up to the present situation, was not a total transformation or withdrawal of the subversive potential of labor’s imagination, but a series of transformations and permutations in how these imaginaries, movements and practices were conceived: a displacement of a hegemonic imaginary by a diffuse, multiple, and often contradictory and conflicting array of imaginaries. In other words, it’s not that there were class movements and labor organizing (existing as unified, hegemonic wholes) that were replaced by a series of fractured and diffuse movements (i.e. the so-called movement toward identity politics: environmental issues, feminism, questions of cultural and ethnic difference, etc.). Rather, beneath the image of the unified and coherent class movement already existed a series of multiplicitous subjectivities, that while they indeed embody varying forms of class politics are not simply reducible to them. Rather than there being “new” concerns which were different than those found within “old social movements”, ones that because they might at first seem quite different and distinct from previous politics might even be looked upon with suspicion, it’s a question of seeing how those demands and desires were already there, but were lumped together and erased by the false image of a necessary unity that could not accommodate difference within it.’ *Imaginal Machines: Autonomy & Self-Organization in the Revolutions of Everyday Life* (Brooklyn: Autonomedia, 2009), pp. 134–5.

⁴⁸ New anarchism is a catch-all term, interpreted in different ways. In 1968, George Woodcock described newness by the rejection of ‘classic’ nineteenth-century models of revolutionary action and the armed struggle for an anarchist utopia. New anarchism, he argued, was defined by a commitment to non-violence, civil disobedience and continuous resistance to repressive uniformity, see ‘Anarchism Revisited’, in *Anarchism and Anarchists* (Kingston, ON: Quarry Press, 1992), pp. 40–58. See also D. Apter, ‘The Old Anarchism and the New – Some Comments’, in D. Apter and J. Joll (eds), *Anarchism Today* (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1971), pp. 1–13. Writing in 1973, Kathy E. Ferguson’s discussion contrasts old to existential anarchism. See ‘Toward a New Anarchism’, *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 7(1) (1973), 39–57. Recent conceptions of newness – expressed in post-left anarchy and postanarchism – position themselves philosophically, as well as in relation to ‘classic’ anarchism’s political ideals or strategies for change and, unlike Ferguson, they adopt a critical stance towards nineteenth-century anarchist conceptions of power and freedom.

Contemporary Anarchism and the Anarchist Past: Discontinuities

The conscious divorce of contemporary anarchism from earlier traditions has been driven by multiple concerns: the narrowness of its political vision, the inadequacy of its philosophical assumptions and its espousal of an outmoded theory of change loom large in contemporary critique. These concerns might be ordered and linked in a variety of ways. The manner in which the critique of the past is fleshed out also varies. Nevertheless the central component is the idea of the classical anarchist tradition.

Classical anarchism refers to a set of ideas abstracted from a canon of thought. Studies in the history of anarchist ideas identify varying numbers of influential thinkers but the list is often pared down to a triumvirate – Proudhon, Bakunin and Kropotkin.⁴⁹ Typically, as Evren points out, anthologies of anarchist writings have a broader scope than studies of political thought, but the point remains that the list of founding fathers identified in anarchism's history is very narrow and that the selection overwhelmingly favours particular voices.⁵⁰ For the most part, the worthies of anarchist thought are white, educated, men. Consequently, a strong reason to reject classical anarchism is that it constrains anarchism's political imagination. While few critics would argue that anarchist political thinking was inevitably limited by the social or class location of its leading exponents, the misogyny of leading writers and the seam of anti-feminism that ran through anarchism, has been amply demonstrated and linked back to leading classical writers and the canon's exclusivity.⁵¹

The identification of the key theorists of anarchism is fundamental to the critique of the tradition's philosophical weakness because the argument about discontinuity assumes the earlier elaboration of a coherent ideology – distilled from the ideas of the classical anarchists. The broad claim, which Newman advances, is that anarchists adopted a set of philosophical assumptions which limited their revolutionary project. Kropotkin, in particular, drew on the scientific and rationalist approaches typical of the

⁴⁹ George Woodcock's *Anarchism* probably remains the best known and most widely read canonical study. Other studies include: P. Eltzbacher, *Anarchism: Exponents of the Anarchist Philosophy* (London: Freedom Press, 1960[1911]), reprinted as *The Great Anarchists: Ideas and Teachings of Seven Major Thinkers* (New York: Dover Publications, 2004); P. Marshall, *Demanding the Impossible: A History of Anarchism* (London: HarperCollins, 1993); C. Ward, *Anarchism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). In his foreword to this book, Ward notes that Peter Marshall's book is set to overtake Woodcock in global sales. Nevertheless, the influence that Woodcock's book has had in shaping conceptions of anarchism is profound. The reduction of anarchism to the canon is apparent in a number of analyses including G. Crowder, *Classical Anarchism: The Political Thought of Godwin, Proudhon, Bakunin and Kropotkin* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991); D. Morland, *Demanding the Impossible? Human Nature and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Social Anarchism* (London: Cassell, 1997).

⁵⁰ For a discussion, see Ruth Kinna, *The Beginner's Guide to Anarchism*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oneworld, 2009), ch. 1.

⁵¹ S. Gemie, 'Anarchism and Feminism: A Historical Survey', *Women's History*, 5(3) (1996), 417–44.

age and his understanding of the world was informed by an idea of truth-seeking and certainty that is not only outmoded but which tends towards a politics that is out of step with current practices.⁵² Even where anarchists were less open in their embrace of positivist science than Kropotkin, critics argue that the founding fathers grounded their thought on philosophically shaky assumptions: a fixed conception of human nature, an understanding of power which identified it exclusively with the institutions of the state (itself conceptualized in a unified, narrow and legalistic manner) and an idea of struggle based on the naive hope that, when the institutions of oppression were swept away, liberated peoples would be free to realize their true nature and live in perpetual peace and harmony.⁵³ This is an idea of revolution as cataclysmic event similar to the conception that Davis critiques. And just as he argues that this model is outdated, critics of classical anarchism argue that all these ideas conflict with the plural, diverse, horizontal politics of twenty-first-century anarchism. As if to underline the point, some critics voice an additional concern, often in respect of Kropotkin, that anarchism was importantly shaped by the adoption of a theory of evolutionary change. Classical anarchism, on this account, was teleological: both wedded to a utopian ideology and a deterministic conception of history.⁵⁴ The general impression, as Jesse Cohn observes, is that '[w]here the classical anarchists ... clung to naïve notions about science, progress and human nature ... new anarchism boldly dispenses with such outworn fetishes'.⁵⁵

The past that the discontinuity thesis rejects is a theoretical perspective, said to have been dominant in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. By the same

⁵² Saul Newman quotes Feyerabend's critique of Kropotkin to make this point (*Against Method*, p. 302). Ironically, since Feyerabend had little interest in political anarchism, the use of his rejection of method by critics of classical anarchist traditions, tends towards the elevation of anarchist theorizing as a discrete practice in the history of ideas and its separation from political activism. See Newman, *The Politics of Postanarchism*, pp. 50–1. Feyerabend's rejection of method has, at the same time, played an important role in shaping contemporary approaches to anarchist research. Gordon identifies Feyerabend as a source for the development of participatory action research, 'Practising Anarchist Theory: Towards a Participatory Political Philosophy', *Constituent Imagination*, p. 282; Jeff Ferrell draws on his work in his discussion of a Dadist anti-programmatic methodology in 'Against Method, Against Authority ... for Anarchy', in Amster, DeLeon, Fernandez, Nocella and Shannon (eds), *Contemporary Anarchist Studies*, pp. 73–81.

⁵³ Williams' study of alterglobalization activism on the Larzac plateau in southern France suggests that this is an association that horizontal resistance groups also make. See Williams, *Struggles for an Alternative Globalization*, pp. 14–15.

⁵⁴ David Morland challenges the view that anarchists have a naively optimistic view of human nature but provides an account which supports contemporary criticism in *Demanding the Impossible?* For a critique of classical anarchist (and non-anarchist) utopianism, see S. Tormey, 'From Utopian Worlds to Utopian Spaces: Reflections on the Contemporary Radical Imaginary and the Social Forum Process', *Ephemeria*, 5(2) (2005), 394–408, available at <http://ephemeraweb.org/journal/5-2/5-2tormey.pdf>. The postanarchist critique of classical anarchism is also captured in Leonard Williams' review of Newman's *Politics of Postanarchism*, online at http://theanarchistlibrary.org/HTML/Leonard_Williams_Book_Review_The_Politics_of_Postanarchism.html.

⁵⁵ Cohn is critical of this view. 'The End of Communication? The End of Representation?' *Fifth Estate*, 42(2) (2007), 40.

token, the newest forms of new anarchism are not the result of an ineluctable process of change – such as the classical anarchists are said to have theorized – but of its sympathetic critique. Indeed, to highlight the shortcomings of the classical tradition, critics often refer approvingly to Gustav Landauer’s conception of the state as a social relationship, an idea he expressed in 1910.⁵⁶ There is no contradiction, then, in the discovery that remedies for anarchism’s revision can be found from within the history of anarchist ideas, not only in the work of Landauer, but of Max Stirner and/or in the embrace of Nietzsche, who inspired other anarchists typically excluded from the canon, notably Emma Goldman.⁵⁷

The desire to break with the anarchist past has led contemporary research in a number of directions: the development of inventive philosophical projects and the expression of a rich utopian politics based on creative, radical autonomy, continuous resistance, rebellion and subversion; away from talk of the tocsin and the barricades and to discussion of protest, disobedience and direct actions. Discontinuity has encouraged ideas of revolutionary change based on the adoption of alternative behaviours in everyday life; an interest in practical experimentation, community projects, DiY politics and grass-roots organizing, taking a lead from the pragmatic, social anarchism of Ward and the poetic ontological anarchy of Hakim Bey.⁵⁸ Discontinuity has also helped stimulate a sustained critique of the sometimes marked masculine and class biases of the nineteenth-century movement and directed attention to the diffuse ways in which power operates in society, in patriarchy, racism, colonialism and heteronormativity. All this, in turn, has encouraged researchers to rethink the basis on which

⁵⁶ Landauer’s definition appears in the essay ‘Weak Statesmen Weaker People!’, in G. Kuhn (ed.), *Revolution and Other Writings: A Political Reader* (Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2010), pp. 213–14.

⁵⁷ For an appreciation of Nietzsche, see J. Moore and S. Sunshine (eds), *I am Not a Man, I am Dynamite: Friedrich Nietzsche and the Anarchist Tradition* (New York: Autonomedia, 2004). Nietzsche is also discussed in S. M. Sheehan, *Anarchism* (London: Reaktion Books, 2003), ch. 3. Stirner’s relationship to anarchism is the subject of Saul Newman’s collection, *Max Stirner* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011). For Landauer, see S. Bender and G. Kuhn, *Anarchism in Germany and Other Essays* (San Francisco, CA: Barbary Coast Collective, n.d.); G. Kuhn, *Gustav Landauer: Revolution and Other Writings*. (Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2010). On Nietzsche’s appeal to Goldman, see ‘The Individual, Society and the State’, in A. K. Shulman (ed.), *Red Emma Speaks* (London/Sydney: Wildwood House/Bookwise, 1979), pp. 86–100; K. E. Ferguson, ‘Religion, Faith and Politics, Reading Goldman through Nietzsche’, in P. A. Weiss and L. Kensinger (eds), *Feminist Interpretations of Emma Goldman* (Pennsylvania, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007).

⁵⁸ There is complication here, however, Ward’s reference to pragmatism appears in *Anarchy in Action*, a book which he describes as an ‘updating footnote to Kropotkin’s *Mutual Aid*’ – the work on which critics have fastened in their criticisms of anarchist teleology (London: Freedom Press, 1982), p. 4. Hakim Bey’s concept of the Temporary Autonomous Zone (TAZ) has become a focus for the contemporary interest in relational change. His comments on revolution and the TAZ are in *T.A.Z. The Temporary Autonomous Zone. Ontological Anarchy, Poetic Terrorism*, 2nd edn (New York: Autonomedia, 2003), pp. 98–100. For Ward’s measured assessment of Bey, see ‘Temporary Autonomous Zones’ (1997), online at http://theanarchistlibrary.org/HTML/Colin_Ward_-_Temporary_Autonomous_Zones.html and the discussion in S. White, ‘Social Anarchism, Lifestyle Anarchism and the Anarchism of Colin Ward’, *Anarchist Studies*, 19(2) (2011), 92–104.

research is conducted: to consider how to study, ethically, the ideas and practices of activist constituencies and learn through engagement and experimentation. The richness of this work clearly demonstrates how valuable the idea of the anarchist past has been for contemporary research. However, the way in which it is linked to history is nevertheless troubling.

Contemporary Anarchism and the Anarchist Past: Continuities

Inevitably, perhaps, the appreciation of historical continuity has deepened as a result of the discontinuities that contemporary critics have attempted to establish. And although arguments about continuity are not always raised as counterclaims, some of the strongest defences have been presented to reject the idea of the past on which the conception of discontinuity relies. The questions that the discontinuity thesis raises are about the extent to which the canon accurately captures the ideas of the writers linked to it and the legitimacy of using the canon as a marker of historical anarchism.

On the first score, critics accept that the canon exists, but suggest that its construction is deeply flawed and that in drawing on it, the discontinuity thesis add weight to analyses of anarchist thought that are distorting. The canon has instead been framed by an approach to anarchism that prioritizes definition over the application or discussion of ideas and which, almost inevitably, reduces the ideas of anarchists to a few selected texts: few accounts of Proudhon's work analyse the 55 or more volumes that Prichard mentions, let alone contextualize his thought by examining the movements with which he engaged.

The canonical approach was pioneered by Paul Eltzbacher – a legal philosopher who attempted to capture the essence of anarchism by imposing on the thought of seven selected anarchists a framework of analysis based on the state, property and the law. Landauer considered it 'far too strict', overestimating the 'word' and failing to appreciate the 'unspeakable ... mood'.⁵⁹ Undoubtedly, later studies have been less rigid, but the boldness of Eltzbacher's selection and the definitional clarity he sought from the writers and texts he deemed central to the tradition established a popular mould for later analysis. Notwithstanding the extensive body of work produced by consecutive waves of anarchists, which has been clearly exploratory and informed by a desire to apply anarchist insights to – for example – education, urban design, psychology, philosophy, technology and a variety of social policy issues – his search for ideological precision was replicated, both defensively, in order to contest popular misconceptions, and aggressively to reveal anarchism's lack of sophistication, inconsistencies and flaws.⁶⁰ As Honeywell and Franks point out, where categories borrowed from liberalism have

⁵⁹ G. Landauer to Paul Eltzbacher, 2 April 1900, in Gabriel Kuhn's *Gustav Landauer*, pp. 302–3.

⁶⁰ The title of the first chapter of Colin Ward's introduction is 'Definitions and Ancestors'. *Anar-*

been applied to the analysis of anarchist ideas, the resulting philosophy often appears incoherent and contradictory. Similar distortions arise when anarchists are assumed to adopt theoretical models that fit varieties of Marxist or liberal thought. The puzzle of Kropotkin's theory of evolution, namely, the apparent contradiction between his understanding of anarchy as an outcome of historical development and his analysis of the rise of the state, rests on an interpretation of his theory of mutual aid that assumes an idea of natural goodness and a teleological conception of history.⁶¹ To compound the problem, as works of the classical anarchists have been raided to support particular accounts of anarchism, the status of the founding fathers has also changed. Bizarrely, psychology and story-telling have played a significant part in the development of the canon and the interpretation of anarchist thought. One of the ironies of the canon's construction is that a life-long militant like Kropotkin – who was prepared to up-sticks in support of the 1917 revolution even when he was in his seventies – is sometimes represented as arm-chair revolutionary, an erudite philosopher, a supporter of gradualism rather than revolutionary change – above all, a thinker rather than doer.⁶² To support a similar politics, Bakunin suffers the reverse fate. Analysis of his ideas has too often given way to testimony of his domineering, overblown, charismatic and childlike personality and his involvement with Sergei Nechaev – all in order to bolster claims about his, indeed anarchism's, naive and illiberal tendency to utopianism and fondness for vanguards.⁶³ Whether the canon is examined in order to fix anarchism's ideological boundaries, highlight its incoherence or recommend a particular politics, it is difficult to make sense of the anarchist past when the conception of classical anarchism that has helped shape it has so badly skewed the ideas of the writers who suffered the misfortune of being identified as its prime exponents. The legacy of classical anarchism might well be a set of concepts about human nature, state power, revolution and utopia, but there is room to doubt its relationship to the ideas actually expounded by the 'founding fathers of anarchism' held responsible for its genesis.

chism: Very Short Introduction. For critical scholarship, see D. Miller, *Anarchism* (London and Melbourne: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1984); George Crowder, *Classical Anarchism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991); A. Ritter, *Anarchism: A Theoretical Analysis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

⁶¹ This argument is made in M. Adams, 'The Truth of a Few Simple Ideas: Peter Kropotkin, Herbert Read and the Tradition of Anarchist Communism in Britain, 1886–1968' (PhD thesis, Manchester University, 2011); M. Adams, 'Kropotkin: Evolution, Revolutionary Change and the End of History', *Anarchist Studies*, 19(1) (2011), 56–81.

⁶² Kropotkin's insistence that theory should be grounded on grass-roots action is noted by Stuart Christie and Albert Meltzer, *The Floodgates of Anarchy* (Southampton: Kahn & Averill, 1970), p. 20.

⁶³ See E. H. Carr, *Michael Bakunin*, revised edn (London: Octagon Books, 1975); A. Kelly, *Mikhail Bakunin: A Study in the Psychology and Politics of Utopianism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982); E. Lampert, *Studies in Rebellion: Belinsky, Bakunin and Herzen* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957); A. Mendel, *Michael Bakunin: Roots of Apocalypse* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1981); G. Woodcock, 'Bakunin: The Destructive Urge', in *Anarchism and Anarchists*, pp. 160–76. The distortions are noted in R. Cutler, *The Basic Bakunin: Writings 1869–1871* (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books, 1992) and by J. Bekkan, 'Bakunin and the Historians', *Libertarian Labor Review*, 13 (1992), 30–2, available at www.spunk.org/library/pubs/llr/sp000358.txt which has a useful bibliography.

While there is general agreement between researchers about the narrowness of the anarchist canon and the shadow that the spotlight on selected figures casts on the movement as a whole, the status which the discontinuity thesis attaches to the canon as a benchmark of theoretical orthodoxy remains a bone of contention. On specific questions of anti-feminism, for example, the extent to which the beliefs of anarchism's key exponents – notably Proudhon – suggests a particular weakness or neglect in anarchist culture or thought is open to question. At least, the claim that anarchism changed fundamentally in the period between 1939 and 1968, with the dovetailing of so-called second-wave feminism and anarchist activism relies heavily on an implicit assumption that views like Proudhon's predominated in the period before the death and that, by extension, they no longer did so thereafter.⁶⁴ As Jeppesen and Nazar's work suggests, once the exclusivity of the canon is recognized this assumption looks less certain and it becomes more possible to discuss anarchafeminist politics on a continuum.⁶⁵ Similarly, as Evren points out, it also becomes possible to appreciate anarchist movements in all their complexity and diversity. In sum, once the use of the canon as a definitional marker of classical anarchism is challenged, it is both possible to question the pendulum swings in (European) anarchist culture that the discontinuity thesis identifies, while still endorsing much of the critical thinking that it champions.

Naturally, the history of the movement is much disputed. Some currents within contemporary anarchist history present understandings of anarchism which downplay the significance of the very same strands of thought that the discontinuity thesis identifies as wrongly neglected in the classical tradition. For example, the influence of Nietzsche's thinking on nineteenth-century anarchism has been challenged as a distortion of classical traditions, as if the association with ideas of individual creativity

⁶⁴ For a critique of 1960s culture, see Emma Dixon, 'Women, Love and Anarchism: The Rise of Second Wave Feminism', *Perspectives*, 2011, available at www.anarchist-studies.org/node/512.

⁶⁵ However unwilling exponents of Proudhon's work (and not just Proudhon) have been to scrutinize his anti-feminism, there is extensive body of research which suggests that questions of patriarchy, feminism, sex and gender were well-rehearsed by anarchists long before the 1968 revival. The existence of these currents of thought within anarchist traditions hardly excuses scholars who have neglected or buried these less savoury aspects of anarchist thinking, but it does suggest that idea of the revival, as a moment of theoretical transition, is open to question. In the introduction to the first edition of *Post-Scarcity Anarchism*, Murray Bookchin noted that anarchism 'has always been preoccupied with lifestyle, sexuality, community, women's liberation and human relationships' (Oakland, CA and Edinburgh: AK Press, 2004), p. x; 3rd edn. For anarchism and feminism, see R. Cleminson, 'Anarchism and Feminism', *Women's History Review*, 7(1) (1998), 135–8; H. Van Den Berg, 'Pissarro and Anarchism', *History Workshop Journal*, 32(1) (1991), 226–8. For discussions of free love, sexuality and feminism and anarchism, see W. McElroy, *Individualist Feminism of the Nineteenth Century: Collected Writings and Biographical Profiles* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co, 2001); essays by J. Greenway and B. Koenig, *Anarchism and Utopianism* (Davis and Kinna eds), pp. 171–86; Heckert and Cleminson, *Anarchism & Sexuality*. John Henry MacKay's homosexuality and advocacy of 'man-boy' love are discussed in T. Riley, *Germany's Poet-Anarchist: John Henry MacKay* (The Revisionist Press: New York, 1972) and H. Kennedy *Anarchist of Love: The Secret Life of John Henry MacKay* (New York: MacKay Society, 1983). MacKay's ideas are outlined in his novel *The Hustler: The Story of a Nameless Love from Friedrichstrasse* (Bloomington, IN: Xlibris Corporation, 2002).

somehow threatened to sully it, and even though the subjective politics that his work helped stimulate was also strongly linked with Tolstoyan anarchism, usually placed within the classical mainstream.⁶⁶ Similarly, challenging the idea of anarchism's death, recent histories of the anarchist labour and syndicalist movements have persuasively demonstrated how anarchism flourished outside the boundaries of Europe, unaffected by the Spanish catastrophe. Yet in recovering the lost history of non-European movements and revealing the limitations of many anarchist histories, these accounts treat the continuity of anarchist labour organizing as a marker of ideological relevance. In contrast to early twentieth-century studies of anarchism which distinguished anarchist from anarcho-syndicalist ideas and movements,⁶⁷ this version of historical continuity conflates the relationship to argue that anarcho-syndicalist movements – worldwide – occupied the main ground of anarchism.⁶⁸ This is the conflation that Davis points to in Michael Schmidt, Lucien van der Walt and Wayne Price's work, and he suggests that it fosters a narrow idea of revolution. Yet more fundamentally, it embraces the description of classical anarchism that the discontinuity thesis critiques precisely in order to claim the past for a particular current within it.⁶⁹ One consequence of this account of anarchist history is that it places writers like Leo Tolstoy and Stirner and the movements they inspired at one remove from anarchism proper – but in one box marked 'irrelevant' rather than in separate boxes labelled 'classical' and 'postanarchist'. Another is that, in contrast to Evren's account, the history of anarchism is told

⁶⁶ See Brian Morris's review of *I Am Not A Man, I Am Dynamite: Friedrich Nietzsche and the Anarchist Tradition* in *Philosophy Now*, 58 (2012), available at www.philosophynow.org/issue58/I_am_Not_a_Man_I_am_Dynamite_Friedrich_Nietzsche_and_the_Anarchist_Tradition and Sunshine's 'Reply to Brian Morris's Review', is in *Anarchy: A Journal of Desire Armed* available at www.anarchymag.org/index.php/issues/38-70-71/56-reply-to-brian-morrisarsquos-review-of-i-am-not-a-man-i-am-dynamiteq. In the early twentieth century, Nietzschean and Stirnerite ideas resonated with Tolstoyan Christian anarchism. See L. Chestov, *L'Idée de Bien Chez Tolstoi et Nietzsche* (Paris: Editions de Siècle, 1925) and G. Stourzh's comments about the interest of his father Herbert Stourzh in Stirner and Christian thought in *From Vienna to Chicago and Back: Essays on Intellectual History and Political Thought in Europe and America* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2007), p. 2. I am grateful to Robert Knight for the reference.

⁶⁷ This distinction is made by, for example, Albert Weisbord in *The Conquest of Power: Liberalism Anarchism, Syndicalism, Socialism, Fascism and Communism*, 2 vols (London: Martin Secker & Warburg Let, 1938), vol. 1, books II and III. Weisbord was critical of anarchism but the same distinction is made by Kropotkin in his introduction to E. Pataud and E. Pouget, *How We Shall Bring about the Revolution: Syndicalism and the Cooperative Commonwealth* (London: Pluto, 1990), pp. vii–xxvii.

⁶⁸ See especially M. Schmidt and L. van der Walt, *Black Flame: The Revolutionary Class Politics of Anarchism and Syndicalism* (Oakland, CA and Edinburgh: AK Press, 2009). See also A. Skirda, *Facing the Enemy: A History of Anarchist Organization from Proudhon to May 1968*, trans. P. Sharkey (Oakland, CA and Edinburgh: AK Press, 2002). For a critique of *Black Flame*, see Gabriel Kuhn's review, 'The Meaning of Anarchism: Black Flame, Definitions and Struggles Over Identity', *Perspectives*, 2011, available at www.anarchist-studies.org/node/529.

⁶⁹ ee W. Price, 'The Ethical Anarchism of Cindy Milstein', *Anarkismo.net*, available at www.revolutionbythebook.akpress.org/wayne-price-reviews-cindy-milsteins-anarchism-and-its-aspirations-on-anarkismo-net/.

as a one-dimensional story. Even where it identifies with feminism and postcolonial critique, anarchism begins with Bakunin and results in the formation of revolutionary labour movements that he was only able to imagine.⁷⁰

Other histories of anarchism arrive at almost opposite conclusions. Historians like Evren, Goodway and Antliff, who are interested in examining the affinities of anarchist ideas, reject the notion that labour and syndicalist movement activity might be ring-fenced from other forms of anarchist struggle, let alone given definitional priority. Their historical research suggests that questions of labour organization were not traded off against ideas of radical autonomy, creative expression and experimentation with alternative ways of living and that the sort of organizational complexity of anarchy that Prichard illuminates was always a defining feature of anarchist activity.⁷¹ Readings of history that elevate class struggle as a distinctive and singular aspect of anarchism not only fuel the suspicions that discontinuity theorists harbour about the anarchist past, they wrongly gloss over the fluidity of cultural movements and anarchist activism and the interpenetration of a common set of ideas – from Nietzsche, Stirner, Tolstoy and Ibsen to Kropotkin, Malatesta, Goldman and Rocker. By the same token, acknowledgement of this interchange clears the way for a debate about the treatment of classical anarchist concepts because it suggests that anarchists were not only a-tuned to the idea of multiple sites of struggle – the point that Prichard makes about Proudhon, notwithstanding his deafness to feminism – but involved in a diverse range of actions and campaigns. Individuality, concerns with moral regeneration and ethical change were part and parcel of the historical revolutionary movement, even before it was reimagined, and these principles found an outlet in struggles for sexual liberation, contraception, prisoner rights, secular education and experiments in community organizing and against conscription, jingoism, colonialism, nationalism and militarism – within and without syndicalist frameworks. Furthermore, instead of giving a one-dimensional account of anarchism, these accounts of continuity examine the intersections between individuals, currents and movements and trace patterns of parallel, concurrent and consecutive actions that highlight plurality of anarchist movements and ideas.

Notwithstanding the differences between these two accounts of anarchist history, both help bolster the sense of anarchism's historical continuity. On the one hand, close scrutiny of the anarchist labour movement suggests that the death of anarchism was at most only ever a partial collapse and while it accurately captured a real mo-

⁷⁰ The anti-imperial and anti-colonial dimensions in global, internationalist anarchist movements is discussed in S. Hirsch and L. Van der Walt (eds), *Anarchism and Syndicalism in the Colonial and Post-colonial World, 1870–1940. The Praxis of National Liberation, Internationalism and Social Revolution* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

⁷¹ See A. Antliff, 'Anarchy, Power, and Poststructuralism', *SubStance*, 36(2), no. 113 (2007), pp. 56–66. Benjamin Franks comes to a similar conclusion, from a different starting point. See Benjamin Franks, *Rebel Alliances: The Means and Ends of Contemporary British Anarchisms* (Oakland, CA and Edinburgh: AK Press & Dark Star, 2006), pp. 155–6.

ment in European history, the reality elsewhere was very different. On the other hand, attention to the complexity of the history of anarchist ideas suggests that anarchism remained vibrant even in European locations where mass movements no longer enjoyed real purchase, in countless underground, countercultural and art-house groups and expressed in literature, music, art, in civil rights, anti-colonial, anti-racist, anti-nuclear and peace campaigns. Either way, anarchism remained quite fit even beyond its supposed death in 1939.

Continuity theorists do not deny change within the anarchist movement but in restoring some of the lost links in the history of anarchism, they open a space between the anarchist past and anarchist history.⁷² Classical anarchism is revealed as a construct of the former, to be distinguished from the historical movements, and arguments about what anarchism is – which remains fiercely contested⁷³ – or might be,⁷⁴ can be treated as ordinary, constructive, political disagreements, linked to particular sets of values or ideas, rather than theoretically bounded orthodoxies. Challenging

⁷² Had critics of classical anarchism been interested to look at the available historical literature, the difference between anarchist history and the anarchist past was evident even when Goodway rightly argued that anarchism had been written out of mainstream socialist histories. Apart from Paul Avrich, who Goodway mentions, a number of historians recorded the geographical reach and political plurality of the anarchist movement. This important body of work includes: C. Cahm, *Kropotkin and the Rise of Revolutionary Anarchism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); A. Carlson, *Anarchism in Germany* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1972); G. R. Esenwein, *Anarchist Ideology and the Working-Class Movement in Spain 1868–1898* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989); A. Hormusji, *Anarchist Thought in India* (Bombay/New York: Asia Publishing House, 1964); B. James, *Anarchism and State Violence in Sydney and Melbourne, 1886–1896: An Argument about Australian Labour History* (Broadmeadow, NSW: Newey & Beath Printers Pty Ltd, 1986); M. Fleming, *The Anarchist Way to Socialism: Elisée Reclus and Nineteenth Century European Anarchism* (reprinted as *The Geography of Freedom*, Montreal: Black Rose, 1988); E. Lunn, *Prophet of Community: The Romantic Socialism of Gustav Landauer* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1973); C. B. Maurer, *Call to Revolution, the Mystical Anarchism of Gustav Landauer* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1971); M. S. Marsh, *Anarchist Women: 1870–1920* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1981); H. Oliver, *The International Anarchist Movement in Late Victorian London* (London and Canberra: Croom Helm, 1980); J. Quail, *The Slow Burning Fuse. The Lost History of the British Anarchists* (Frogmore: Paladin/Granada, 1978); T. A. Riley, *Germany's Poet-Anarchist John Henry Mackay* (New York: The Revisionist Press, 1972); R. D. Sonn, *Anarchism and Cultural Politics in Fin De Siècle France* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1989). The gap between history and the past is the subject of Süreyya Turkeli's doctoral thesis *What is Anarchism? A Reflection on the Canon and the Constructive Potential of its Destruction* (Loughborough University, 2012).

⁷³ In an interview in *Praxis*, the journal of the Red and Anarchist Action Network, George Katsifas argued: 'In my opinion, one of the main problems dividing the radical movement has been and continues to be an obsessive compulsion to define ideology first rather than unity on the basis of action and program. By this I mean an over-theoretical orientation – "Zerzanists" vs. "Bookchinites" as a contemporary example in the anti-statist movement', available at www.redanarchist.org/texts/autpub/praxis/1/eroseffect.html, last accessed on 31 July 2011.

⁷⁴ The title of Cindy Milstein's *Anarchism and its Aspirations* (Oakland-Edinburgh-Washington: AK Press/The Institute for Anarchist Studies, 2010), which seeks to develop the perceived shift towards ethical anarchism.

narrow conceptions of the past does not wave a magic wand over the theory/practice divide but it at least frees historical study from its elitist, fusty associations and perhaps makes more transparent the value of apparently irrelevant research. And insofar as historians can resist inventing new definitional orthodoxies and exclusionary claims about the character of the historical movement, it helps reveal the extent of the correspondences and overlaps within the anarchist movement which orthodox accounts of the anarchist past have concealed.

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Part II: Approaches to Anarchist Research

2. Research Methods and Problems: Postanarchism

Saul Newman

We know that anarchism is a philosophical, political and ethical critique of authority and power, particularly that which is embodied in the state and in capitalist economic relations. Anarchism contends that life can be lived without government and that social relations can and should be organized through decentralized, voluntary and cooperative structures, and on the basis of liberty and equality.

But if this is the fundamental aspiration of anarchism, what is its methodology? Does anarchism have a distinct methodology? There is no doubt that there is something heretical about anarchism: its uncompromising rejection of authority puts it at odds with most political theory which, in one way or another, is informed by the tradition of sovereignty and is concerned with questions of legitimacy, consent and law. Yet even within the socialist tradition, anarchism has had a somewhat marginal existence. Most socialists and Marxists, while they tend to regard the state from a radically different perspective to that of liberals – the state is an instrument of class domination rather than the legitimate foundation of political society – nevertheless still see the state, once under the control of the proletariat, as a useful tool for transforming society in the ‘transitional’ period.

So what was it about anarchism that allowed it to perceive that the state would *always* be a mechanism of domination, no matter which class was in control of it? What was peculiar to anarchism’s methodological analysis that allowed it to discern, behind the various ideological veils and justificatory discourses, a violent relationship of power and domination that was irreducible to class interests? My contention here is that there is something distinct about anarchism’s methodology that allows power to be seen in its autonomy and specificity. However, as we shall see, to explore this question of methodology also opens up a series of conceptual problems for anarchism, problems that demand a rethinking of some of its epistemological categories, thus gesturing towards what I have called ‘postanarchism’.¹

¹ Saul Newman, *The Politics of Postanarchism* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010).

The War Model

Anarchism's critical analysis of power and authority is based, I suggest, on a methodology derived from war – a 'war model'. For anarchists, political power, enshrined in the state, stands in a relationship of war with society: state power is not based on consent, but is a violently imposed form of domination which intervenes in social relations in distorting, excessive, irrational and destructive ways. This war-like model of social relations is reflected in two ways in anarchist theory. First, political power is considered a form of disguised warfare. In other words, behind the various illusions and justificatory ideologies of democratic consent and the social contract – something Mikhail Bakunin dismisses as a 'wicked fiction' and an 'unworthy hoax'² – there is only conquest and violent domination. As Peter Kropotkin's counter-history reveals, the state is a system of power and accumulation that has been imposed through warfare rather than emerging through rational agreement.³ The state is a form of organized violence, whose domination is established through the conquest of territory and the destruction of pre-existing social relationships.

Second, if the state is a war machine, it can only be confronted with another war machine,⁴ that of the social revolution. Here, the revolution against the state is conceived in terms of war: 'Revolution means war, and that implies the destruction of men and things', declares Bakunin.⁵ However, while this might seem like an endorsement or acceptance of wholesale violence, Bakunin makes an important distinction here between a *political* revolution, such as that desired by Marxists, which has as its aim the seizure and control of state power by the vanguard party; and a *social* revolution, which seeks the abolition and transcendence of state power. While the political revolution will result in massive violence and eventually a new form of domination, the social revolution proposes a kind of liberation not only from power, but also from violence itself:

The Social Revolution must put an end to the old system of organization based upon violence, giving full liberty to the masses, groups, communes, and associations, and likewise to individuals themselves, and destroying once and for all the historic cause of all violences ...⁶

So we can see the anarchist social revolution as a form of counter-violence, a *violence against violence*. The violence of the state – a violence that is much more excessive in

² Michael Bakunin, *The Political Philosophy of Mikhail Bakunin*, G. P. Maximoff (ed.) (London: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1953), p. 165.

³ Peter Kropotkin, *The State: Its Historic Role* (London: Freedom Press, 1987), p. 37.

⁴ Here I am deliberately evoking the terminology of Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari. See chapter 12 on 'Nomadology and the War Machine', in *A Thousand Plateaus* (London: Continuum, 2004).

⁵ *Bakunin*, Political Philosophy, p. 372.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 373.

any case than any form of violence opposed to it – can only be met with a counter-violence; but here violence is transformed into a kind of radical non-violence. This is not to confuse it with peace, because, as the anarchist analysis shows, the peaceful co-existence that is achieved by the state is only a crystallization of violence and conquest. Rather, in order to unmask the violence that the state rests upon, the state can only be confronted with another kind of violence. Yet, what might be proposed is a kind ethical or symbolic violence, rather than a direct physical violence against persons. A similar transformation of violence was suggested by Georges Sorel in his notion of the proletarian general strike, which embodied the language of war and war-like virtues of heroism and discipline, but which, *for that very reason*, was a bloodless ethical and symbolic violence against existing social and political structures. This was to be distinguished from what Sorel called ‘bourgeois force’, in which the Jacobin project of mastering and utilizing state power resulted in real and savage bloodletting.⁷ So we see here a curious paradox, where the violent metaphor of war and confrontation is precisely what makes possible the radical transformation of violence into non-violence; whereas it is the involvement of the state, that instrument of social pacification, which leads to the shedding of blood.

We find a similar attempt to radically rethink violence in Walter Benjamin’s notion of ‘divine violence’, which distinguishes itself from ‘mythic violence’ – as that which produces a continual oscillation between violence and law – and which instead embodies, it should be noted, the anarchist project of the abolition of the state:

On the breaking of this cycle maintained by mythic forms of law, on the suspension of law with all the forces on which it depends as they depend on it, finally therefore on the abolition of state power, a new historical epoch is founded.⁸

So, it is not a question of whether or not a revolution against state power will be violent – against such overwhelming violence and power, it cannot be anything other than violent. Rather it is a question of how exactly revolutionary violence is understood, and whether it is possible to have a form of violence that is at the same time non-violent. Anarchism (and indeed all forms of revolutionary politics) will always be violent, precisely because of its implacable opposition to state power and its desire to transform social relations; however, this need not entail the shedding of blood. The key point here is that the transcendence of violence is only possible, at the same time, through invoking and drawing upon the language and the symbolic violence of war. Indeed, the idea of war is something that, at some level, animates all radical politics.

⁷ Georges Sorel, *Reflections on Violence*, trans. T. E. Hulme and J. Roth (New York: Collier Books, 1961), pp. 171–2.

⁸ Walter Benjamin, ‘Critique of Violence’, in Marcus Bullock and Michael W. Jennings (eds), *Selected Writings*, Vol. 1 (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004), pp. 251–2.

Perhaps we can say that a radical critique of existing social and political structures presupposes the possibility of war, in the same way that Carl Schmitt believed that the political opposition between friend and enemy depended on the possibility of violence.⁹

The relationship between war and radical politics was also explored by Michel Foucault in his Collège de France 1975–76 lecture series ‘Society Must be Defended’ (Il faut défendre la société). In Foucault’s attempt to decipher power relations through a model of warfare, we find many striking parallels with anarchism. First, Foucault, like the anarchists, wants to study power in its specificity. This is why he rejects both the liberal and Marxist understandings as being based on an ‘economism’ of power.¹⁰ In the case of liberalism and classical juridical theory, power can be possessed as a commodity, in the sense of one having a right to power that can be either held or transferred to another through a contract. In the case of Marxism, power is understood as a function of the economic mode of production and the class dynamics that arise with it. Both approaches thus abstract power to another field – either economics or contractual exchanges. Instead, Foucault proposes a methodological model he considers more appropriate to the analysis of power – that of war: ‘can we find in bellicose relations, in the model of war, in the schema of struggle or struggles, a principle that can help us understand and analyze political power, to interpret political power in terms of war, struggles and confrontations?’¹¹ In other words, can war serve as a grid of intelligibility for the analysis of power? If we look behind power relations, both at the level of the state and at the micro-level, do we see a violent clash of force relations? We notice here, then, a similar approach to the anarchists, who see power in terms of violence and conquest rather than contract and consent.

Second, Foucault’s methodology shares with anarchism an anti-sovereign perspective. What he shows is that this methodological proposition of studying power relations through war was actually made possible through the emergence of a certain historical discourse on war, a discourse that appeared in different forms and at different moments, and was mobilized by actors engaged in struggles against the sovereign state. This ‘historico-political’ discourse, as Foucault calls it, views war as the basic ontological condition of society, and as being behind all social and political relations; law and political institutions were simply an encoding and crystallization of previous conquests and dominations. It is a discourse whose appearance coincides with the emergence of the modern state as a sovereign monopolization of violence in society. It insists, in opposition to this new Leviathan which claims to have created social peace, on the continuation of war:

⁹ Carl Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political*, trans. George Schwab (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

¹⁰ Michael Foucault, *Society Must be Defended: Lectures at the Collège De France 1975–76*, trans. David Macey (London: Allen Lane, 2003), p. 13.

¹¹ *Foucault, Society Must be Defended*, p. 23.

War has not been averted ... Law is not pacification, for beneath the law, war continues to rage in all the mechanisms of power, even in the most regular. War is the motor behind institutions and order. In the smallest of its cogs, peace is waging a secret war.¹²

This discursive position of ontologically privileging war over peace is asserted in opposition to the ‘philosophico-juridical discourse’, whose function is to sing the praises of the sovereign and to legitimize state power through notions of law and rational consent. We thus have a clash, a war, between two discursive positions and two different ways of recounting history: one that would rather forget about war and shower the sovereign in glory; the other, constantly digging up the memory of conquests and defeats, and insisting that sovereign power is itself nothing but an illegitimate domination imposed through war. The historico-political discourse of war therefore takes a *partisan* position – the position of the one who fights, who is engaged in a struggle – against the universalistic position of the philosopher and the king claiming to speak for all and to rule in the common interest. Anarchism, as a militant politics, must speak from this partisan position; in other words, it must adopt an anti-universalistic position of the one who fights against the current order that claims universal consent and legitimacy. It is only by reminding us that this proclaimed universality is false, and that it is always based on the violent domination of particular interests which now clothe themselves in the garb of the common good, that radical politics can stake out its claims against power.

Yet, this partisan position at the same time creates certain difficulties for anarchism, precisely because it involves a decentering of truth. The historico-political discourse is *perspectival*, situating itself in opposition to the idea of a universal truth; according to this war-like discourse, universality is always the position from which the sovereign speaks, and thus the sovereignty of truth is at the same time the truth of the sovereign. In contrast, the partisan mobilizes a *particular* truth and casts a parallax gaze on social relations: for him, truth and knowledge are not universal but, on the contrary, weapons to be deployed in a war. Truth thus becomes political, and we can speak here of a militant, partisan truth. ‘The more I decenter myself, the better I can see the truth; the more I accentuate the relationship of force, and the harder I fight, the more effectively I can deploy the truth ahead of me and use it to fight, survive and win,’ says the partisan.¹³

Why is this perspectival partisan position so problematic for anarchism, even as anarchism necessarily adopts it in its critique of state sovereignty? This is because anarchism, at the same time, claims for itself the universal position of epistemic truth, embodied in rationality and scientific knowledge. Indeed, much of classical anarchism – indebted as it was to Enlightenment humanism and rationalism – saw itself as a science, and it had a largely positivist view of social relations. Social relations embodied an

¹² Ibid., p. 50.

¹³ Ibid., p. 53.

essential rationality and morality whose truth could be discerned scientifically through grasping the laws of nature, or by observing the behaviour of animal species.¹⁴ This positivist tendency is affirmed in more recent anarchist thought, such as that of Murray Bookchin, who claimed that there was an innate wholeness immanent within social relations containing the possibilities of a non-hierarchical society; this wholeness waits to unfold dialectically as a flower waits to blossom. This wholeness is the Truth for Bookchin, who inverts Hegel's maxim, 'the True is the whole' into the 'the whole is the True'.¹⁵ Much of anarchist thought is founded on this idea of a universal Truth and fullness embedded in social relations.

However, not only does the partisan position, as described above, destabilize this idea of universal Truth, but it also rends apart the idea of wholeness or totality. In other words, from the partisan's perspective, there is precisely no wholeness, unity or totality to social relations: society is never one, but always two, divided in a binary and antagonistic way.¹⁶ Foucault shows that the war constantly being invoked by the historico-political discourse is a 'race war', a war between two social groups: the Normans and the Saxons, for instance, in various expressions in English historiography. In contrast to the dialectic, however, which seeks to translate the division into a rationally realized wholeness – the Two into One – the war discourse always insists on the continuity of this division and thus the permanent nature of conflict. Indeed, Foucault shows that the Marxist idea of class struggle was basically derived from this much older discourse of race war. However, Foucault makes it clear that this race war, in its original form at least, has nothing to do with racism: the racial division is simply a floating signifier that reflects the basic binary oppositional matrix of society, and which can take many different forms. It is only later, according to Foucault, when the discourses of war are hegemonized by the state, and the notion of race becomes rooted in the idea of a stable biological entity – an entity whose integrity and purity must be protected from its enemies – that the race war takes on the much darker overtones that we have come to associate it with.

This is a complex genealogy of war that Foucault traces. Yet, what are its main implications for anarchism? I have shown that while anarchism's radical critique of existing social and political relations invokes and presupposes the idea of war, at the same time this methodological privileging of antagonistic relations destabilizes the essentialist foundations and universalist claims of anarchism. From the partisan's position, anarchism can no longer be reliant on its foundations in human nature, science and the epistemological authority of truth; anarchism could no longer see itself as a discourse that encompasses the totality of social relations, and it would now have to

¹⁴ Peter Kropotkin, *Ethics: Origin and Development*, trans. L. S. Friedland (New York: Tudor Publishing, 1947).

¹⁵ Murray Bookchin, *The Ecology of Freedom: The Emergence and Dissolution of Hierarchy* (Paolo Alto, CA: Cheshire Books, 1982), p. 31.

¹⁶ Foucault, *Society Must be Defended*, p. 60.

recognize and affirm heterogeneity, difference, singularities and, at times, antagonism. This would be something approaching a postanarchist methodology.

On the other hand, Foucault shows us that the invoking of war has certain risks, risks that confront all forms of radical politics. Indeed, one of the aims of Foucault's genealogy is to show the way that the war matrix – as that which conditions and makes possible militant politics – eventually becomes complicit, as it did in the nineteenth century, with certain discourses of nationalism and even racism; or rather, this is one of its possible trajectories. It is here that Foucault makes a somewhat perplexing charge against the anarchism of the nineteenth century: 'The most racist forms of socialism were, therefore, Blanquism of course, and then the Commune, and then anarchism ...'¹⁷ What should we make of this rather excessive claim, which on the surface seems so unfair and counter-intuitive? While it is the case that a certain anti-Semitism was present in Proudhon, as well as an anti-German prejudice in Bakunin, the very idea of racism is utterly inimical to the ethical and political principles of anarchism, particularly those of equality and proletarian internationalism. There are really two points being made here by Foucault. First, that because militant forms of socialism, including anarchism, are animated by the war matrix, the idea of struggle which is central to them inevitably brings up the figure of the race enemy, constructed as the enemy of the people. While I am not convinced at all of this claim, it does perhaps raise the question of whether anarchism (and indeed postanarchism) is able to transcend the logic of militancy; whether it can go beyond the friend/enemy political matrix essential, for instance, to the conservative thought of Carl Schmitt. Furthermore, as Foucault himself shows, the war matrix is infinitely mobile, and was articulated not only by radical egalitarians and democrats in the English Civil War, but also by reactionary nobility in France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. So, while we have to acknowledge that the war matrix will be inevitably invoked in any radical form of struggle, we must also understand its danger and unpredictability. This means that anarchism must construct for itself an ethical horizon – not only around principles of equality and liberty which must be fought for, but also in response to the ethical demand of the Other, which always jeopardizes the sovereignty of one's own self-identity. Here I think some engagement with the thought of Emmanuel Levinas, and in particular with his notion of 'anarchy', is important.¹⁸

Second, Foucault is making a broader and more substantive point about socialism's (and here he includes anarchism) inability to grapple with the problem of biopower/biopolitics – a rationality aimed at the regulation of the biological life of populations. Biopolitics, as a science of life which emerges in various forms in the late eighteenth century, becomes at the same time the discursive horizon for the emergence of more

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 262.

¹⁸ For a description of the anarchic ethical encounter with the other, see Emmanuel Levinas's essay, 'Substitution', in Sean Hand (ed.), *The Levinas Reader* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), pp. 88–125. See also my discussion of the relevance of this conception of ethics to anarchism in *The Politics of Postanarchism* (particularly ch. 2).

pernicious forms of biological racism which find their ultimate conclusion in mass killing. Foucault's critique is mostly aimed at state socialism which practiced a kind of 'social racism' in the elimination of those considered 'abnormal'.¹⁹ However, the question still remains as to whether anarchism has any sort of response to the problem of biopolitics, which, even if not operationalized in the state, is still intrinsic, as Roberto Esposito points out, to any notion of community; community involves at some level 'immunity', the attempt to immunize or protect the *communitas* from the outsider.²⁰ We know that classical anarchism was in many ways a philosophy of life, based on what were seen as biological tendencies – the laws of nature, evolutionary instincts, etc. Can anarchism be reformulated in ways that are not so bound to this field of life in its biological sense, and not so caught up with the scientific, positivist approach to social relations? I think here it is important to take account of the more mystical strands of anarchism, the utopian thought of, for instance, Martin Buber and Gustav Landauer. For the latter, libertarian socialism is as much a spiritual project as it is a political project, and it depends on a spiritual transformation of relationships between people through which one constitutes oneself as outside the state: 'The state is a relationship between human beings, a way by which people relate to one another; and one destroys it by entering into other relationships, by behaving differently.'²¹

It is around this politico-ethical-spiritual project of autonomy that I would situate any new formulation of anarchist theory: autonomy as a mobilization as well as a transcendence of the logic of war and struggle; and autonomy as a micro-political reconstitution of the self and its relation to others through the invention of new ethical practices of freedom.²² Central here is what might be termed an ethics of voluntary inservitude, where what is interrogated is not only material power relations – relations which emerge or which are in danger of emerging in any form of society, even those that we imagine to be liberated from power – but also, and more fundamentally, our own subjective attachment to power, our own voluntary servitude to the power that subordinates us. The insurrection against power must, as Max Stirner said, start with 'men's discontent with themselves'; it consists of a 'working forth of me out of the established', whereupon power collapses by itself.²³ It is therefore a project of ethical autonomy in which we gain some distance from the power that so captivates us. Any militant action against power must therefore involve an ethical and spiritual dimension

¹⁹ Foucault, *Society Must be Defended*, p. 261.

²⁰ Roberto Esposito, *Bios: Biopolitics and Philosophy*, trans. Timothy Campbell (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2008).

²¹ Gustav Landauer, 'Weak Statesmen, Weaker People', in Robert Graham (ed.), *Anarchism: A Documentary History of Libertarian Ideas*, Vol. 1 (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 2005), p. 165.

²² This was something Foucault himself later became interested in. For a concise summary of Foucault's thought here, see the interview with Foucault entitled 'The Ethics of the Concern of the Self as a Practice of Freedom', in Paul Rabinow (ed.), *Ethics: Essential Works of Michel Foucault 1954–1984*, Vol. 1 (London: Penguin, 2000), pp. 281–302.

²³ See Max Stirner's discussion of insurrection as opposed to revolution in *The Ego and its Own*, David Leopold (ed.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 279–80.

in which one reflects on one's own hidden desire for power, as well as one's own desire to be dominated – which, after all, are one and the same thing.

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3. Anarchism and Analytic Philosophy

Benjamin Franks⁽¹⁾

Introduction

Analytic philosophy¹ is the major methodological current within Anglo-American philosophical institutions,² and thereby has enormous impact on the sub-discipline of political philosophy. This chapter describes its main features and how analytic political philosophy identifies anarchism. Thus, this chapter (i) explains why this approach is fraught with difficulty because it maintains and exacerbates certain damaging sociological divisions; (ii) describes and assesses the methodological assumptions about the nature of logical analysis, and the discovery of universal principles; and (iii) demonstrates that the impact of these weaknesses in the analytic method produces a trivial account of anarchism. By contrast (iv) an alternative mode of analysis, based on Michael Freeden's 'conceptual approach', is demonstrated to be more sophisticated and accurate in delineating the main anarchist currents.

Analytic political philosophy usually presents anarchism in a highly contentious manner: that anarchism is synonymous with the absolute autonomy of the individual,³ usually expressed in terms of fundamental respect for negative rights (rights of non-interference)⁴ and that anarchists are preoccupied with questions concerning the legitimacy or otherwise of the state.⁵ This account of anarchism is controversial, and is contested by anarchist activists.

¹ Analytic is preferred to Anglo-American as the latter places geography over methodology. Some scholars prefer analytical to analytic but many learned societies based on this tradition use the latter.

² Philip Pettit suggests that analytic philosophers initially ignored political philosophy, a silence that ended in the 1950s leading by the end of the twentieth century to the dominance by Rawlsian and Nozickian analytic thinkers; P. Pettit, 'Analytical Philosophy', in R. Goodin and P. Pettit (eds), *A Companion to Contemporary Political Philosophy* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), pp. 8–15.

³ R. P. Wolff, *In Defense of Anarchism* (London: Harper, 1976), p. 18.

⁴ D. Knowles, *Political Philosophy* (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 253.

⁵ A. J. Simmons, 'The Anarchist Position: A Reply to Klosko and Senor', *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 16(3) (1987), 269.

(1) My thanks to Drs Sean Johnston and Lesley Stevenson and participants at the Anarchism Re-

Exchanges between scholars and militants are relatively rare, but they are noted for being deeply problematic, characterized by mutual suspicion, misconception and hostility. There are a number of reasons for this. Academics are concerned with the way activists tend to portray them as being inherently bourgeois and reactionary, knowing little of ‘true anarchism’.⁶ From the perspective of anarchist activists, analytic political philosophy in particular is almost invariably associated with institutional academia and thus viewed as an expression of a hierarchical and elitist discipline, separate from the everyday conditions of the working class(es). As a result, academics who use this approach to write about anarchism are usually viewed as being unacceptably patronizing, attempting to ‘speak for’ subjugated others they barely understand.⁷ There is thought to be an inherent privileging of the academic perspective at the expense of those who are actually engaged in anarchist practices: ‘to place the opinion of academics above that of anarchists implies that anarchists know nothing about anarchism, that we do not really understand the ideas we advocate but academics do!’⁸

Activists become particularly disgruntled when the distancing of philosophical analysis from activist activity leads to a serious misrepresentation of anarchism. Not only, as will be discussed, is the portrayal of ‘philosophical anarchism’ a largely marginal and trivial account of anarchism, but it is also often contrasted with a corrupted version of ‘everyday’ anarchism. A common technique used by political philosophers is one of *disassociation* and *reconstruction*. This procedure demarcates and discredits standard, non-academic accounts of political phenomena (*disassociation*) and an alternative interpretation expressed in a specialist discourse and justified by academic sources is presented in its place (*reconstruction*). This approach is employed by Edward Tverdek and Dudley Knowles. They make a contrast between an academically respectable version of anarchism and that of a supposedly irrationally violent, mass ideology.⁹ Their method confirms the activist complaint, namely that academics are interested only in reaffirming the worst associations of anarchy (anti-social behaviour and property damage) with actual anarchist movements. The harm is compounded by the tendency of scholars to position themselves as the primary authorities on the philosophy, a construction that they are chiefly responsible for developing.

⁶ Ruth Kinna raises the issue of tensions between the lifestyles and expectations of anarchists and academics in ‘Guest Editorial’, *Anarchist Studies*, 15(1) (2007), 4–6; see also Paul McLaughlin’s criticisms of the veteran anarchist Albert Meltzer’s portrayal of academics, ‘In Defence of Philosophical Anarchism’, in B. Franks and M. Wilson (eds), *Anarchism and Moral Philosophy* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2010), pp. 22–3.

⁷ See the debate on libcom, ‘Recent Anarchist Academic Conference’, available at <http://libcom.org/blog/recent-anarchist-academic-conference-15072010>, last accessed on 8 April 2011.

⁸ Anarchist FAQ, ‘Section F – Is Anarcho-Capitalism a Type of Anarchism?’ *An Anarchist FAQ*, 11 November 2008, available at <http://anarchism.pageabode.com/afaq/secFint.html>, last accessed on 8 April 2011.

⁹ E. Tverdek, ‘Review of Alan Carter’s *A Radical Green Political Theory*’, *Ethics*, 111(2) (2001), 405; Knowles, *Political Philosophy*, p. 249.

search Group, Loughborough University, for their useful suggestions and insights.

Not all analytic philosophers fall into this category. Unlike some of his present-day followers, the father of contemporary British analytic philosophy, Bertrand Russell, recognized that violent disruption is part of anarchism, but is not its distinguishing feature.¹⁰ Although there are inaccuracies and prejudices in Russell's account,¹¹ his analysis drew strongly both on significant anarchist writers like Michael Bakunin and Peter Kropotkin, and also the mass workers' organizations like the *Confederation Generale De Travail* (a late nineteenth-century union which combined anarchist principles with syndicalist organization and tactics). It should be noted, too, that modern analytic political philosophy is by no means the sole or worst offender in portraying anarchism in a highly contentious and ill-grounded manner. For instance, researchers in the emerging discipline of Security Studies have overemphasized anarchism's connection with incoherent violence, theocratic terror and psychologically flawed personalities.¹²

Despite these divisions between academics and activists, a number of university-based researchers are interested and engaged in anarchism. Philosophers like Paul McLaughlin and Nathan Jun acknowledge, reflect and attempt to overcome the divisions and limitations of their discipline and aware of the elitism of its practices they have examined the potential for forging links with other workers and treated intellectual activity as a form of labour (albeit relatively privileged).¹³ Similarly, the autonomist-directed political theorist Stephen Shukaitis and anarchist anthropologist David Graeber have made more general critiques of the limitations of Western academic practice. They examined the unreflective construction of canons, with their implicit hierarchies of 'great minds', and the ways in which academe tends to produce scholars more committed to maintaining structures of social rank and distinction than undermining them.¹⁴ Such reflections are aimed at challenging the more hierarchal academic structures and developing alternative, accessible scholarly practices.

This chapter presents a qualified criticism of the analytic method that has been central to much Anglo-American political philosophy. However, it is not the only political

¹⁰ B. Russell, *Proposed Roads to Freedom: Socialism, Anarchism and Syndicalism* (Rockville: Arc Manor, 2008), pp. 31–2.

¹¹ Not least his patronizing account of non-Western societies (Russell, *Proposed Roads*, pp. 98–9).

¹² J. Gelvin, 'Nationalism, Anarchism, Reform: Political Islam from the Inside Out', *Middle East Policy*, 17(3) (2010), 118–33; J. Gelvin, 'Al-Qaeda and Anarchism: A Historians Reply to Terrorology', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 20(4) (2008), 563–81; P. Palin 'Resilience: The grand strategy', *Homeland Security Affairs*, 6(1) (2010), 1–20; Jodi Vittori sees the identifying feature of the main anarchist movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as being a commitment to terrorism, which shows both a misunderstanding of the main features of anarchism of that period and ignorance of the prevalence of terrorist tactics across the ideological spectrum. J. Vittori, 'All Struggles Must End: The Longevity of Terrorist Groups', *Contemporary Security Policy*, 30(3) (2009), 445.

¹³ McLaughlin 'In Defence', pp. 30–1; N. Jun, 'Anarchist Philosophy: Past, Problems and Prospects', in B. Franks and M. Wilson (eds), *Anarchism and Moral Philosophy* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2010), p. 64.

¹⁴ S. Shukaitis and D. Graeber, 'Introduction', in S. Shukaitis et al. (eds), *Constituent Imagination* (Edinburgh: AK Press, 2007), pp. 14–25; D. Graeber, *Fragments of an Anarchist Anthropology* (Chicago, IL: Prickly Paradigm, 2004), pp. 3–4. L. Susan Brown also critiques the patriarchal – competitive, adversarial and hierarchical form of debate which characterizes American intellectual debate, even when

philosophical tradition,¹⁵ as those more indebted to Continental philosophy, have also dealt with anarchism.¹⁶ In scrutinizing the particular features of analytic philosophy and distinctive trends within it, it is important to note that what constitutes the analytic tradition is itself disputed. It is certainly more diverse than some commentators would acknowledge. As the political theorist Mark Philip points out, it can be stretched to include thinkers like Quentin Skinner, who utilize the ideas of analytic philosophers like Ludwig Wittgenstein, W. V. O. Quine and J. L. Austin to make precisely the same criticisms of analytic political philosophy that are made here, namely, that its search for ahistorical, universal concepts is misguided.¹⁷

There is no suggestion here that analytic philosophy should be wholly rejected as method, or that its main techniques have no place in the discipline of philosophy. On the contrary, it deserves a significant place within intellectual life. My argument is that although mainstream analytical methods generate thoughtful and useful insights and arguments in many areas of political thinking concerned with the philosophical account of anarchism and its coherence, rigour and applicability, nonetheless on their own analytical approaches tend to reflect inaccurately the main principles and problematics of anarchist traditions.

In examining the analytic method, this chapter attempts four tasks: First, to demonstrate that analytic philosophy presents itself as the sole or primary philosophical technique at the expense of other legitimate philosophical methods; second, to show that the analytic technique has significant blind spots which produce a very restricted account of anarchism; third, to explain why this account of anarchism is largely inaccurate and trivial; and finally, to illustrate alternative methodological approaches (consistent with the wider philosophical disciplines) that are more productive in analysing anarchisms. In doing so, the discussion draws on critiques of analytic philosophy taken principally from the works of Michael Freeden, supplemented by the work of Alasdair MacIntyre. MacIntyre's ideas emerge from a different theoretical position, but his ideas are directed towards a similar target of criticism. In order to make this case, it is first necessary to explain the analytic method.

Part I: Analytic Methodology and its Primacy

The analytic tradition is a rich one, including significant figures such as Wittgenstein who acknowledged that philosophical techniques might generate necessarily contested

dealing with radical content. 'Looking Back and Moving Forward', *Anarchist Studies*, 12(1) (2004), 10.

¹⁵ D. West, 'The Contribution of Continental Philosophy', in R. Goodin and P. Pettit (eds), *A Companion to Contemporary Political Philosophy* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 39–71; M. Freeden, 'Thinking Politically and Thinking about Politics: Language, Interpretation and Ideology', in D. Leopold and M. Stears (eds), *Political Theory: Methods and Approaches* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

¹⁶ See for instance many of the papers in *Post-Anarchism: A Reader*, ed. D. Rousselle and S. Evren (London: Pluto, 2011).

¹⁷ M. Philip, 'Political Theory and History', in D. Leopold and M. Stears (eds), *Political Theory:*

interpretations that are meaning-rich but indeterminate and/or inconclusive.¹⁸ However, in the main, the starting point for analytic philosophy is the one ascribed to it by proponents like Philip Pettit and Daniel McDermott, and critics including Freedman. Analytic political philosophy is distinguished by its methodology. As McDermott explains this is modelled on natural science: it looks for clarity, internal consistency and (where relevant) testability.¹⁹ This method, suggests McDermott, has been criticized for being ‘too dry and technical, that it is so myopically obsessed with trivial details that it loses sight of what is interesting and important about politics’.²⁰ McDermott’s defence is that the method used is limited and limiting, but provides the appropriate method for generating political knowledge.²¹

McLaughlin, an anarchist philosopher who identifies with the analytic tradition, describes it in a similar manner, but concentrates on argumentative consistency, rather than testability as its main criteria:

I contend that philosophy is an *argumentative process* about anything and everything. Consequently, philosophy is not distinguished by its subject matter (though certain subjects – such as the nature of argumentation itself – are of special interest to philosophers) but by its argumentative mode of thought. This does not mean that non-philosophers do not argue in pursuit of their intellectual goals, but that argumentation does not distinguish their pursuits [...]. A further distinguishing feature of the argumentative process that is philosophy is its quest for *conceptual clarity*. The basic components of argumentation are concepts, and philosophical argumentation can only hope to advance to the extent that such clarity is achieved (or to the extent that we know what our concepts mean, that we know what we are talking about).²² (emphasis added)

For McLaughlin, it is not that other disciplines do not involve argument or conceptual decontestation, but that these are the central defining characteristics of philosophy as against history of ideas or more speculative, critical studies. His description is similar to other significant political philosophers, such as D. D. Raphael who describes it in terms of ‘analysis, synthesis and improvement of concepts’,²³ and Jonathan Wolff who states that: ‘In short, they [political philosophers] present arguments.’²⁴

Methods and Approaches (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) pp. 131–2.

¹⁸ L. Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1978), paras 66–7 (pp. 31–2); IIxi (pp. 193–6).

¹⁹ McDermott, ‘Analytical Political Philosophy’, *Political Theory*, pp. 11–28; see also Pettit, ‘Analytical Philosophy’, p. 7.

²⁰ McDermott, ‘Analytical Political Philosophy’, p. 28.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

²² McLaughlin, ‘In Defence’, p. 22. See also P. McLaughlin, *Anarchism and Authority: A Philosophical Introduction to Classical Anarchism* (Aldershot: Gower, 2007), p. 16.

²³ D. Raphael, *Problems of Political Philosophy*, revised edn (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1979), p. 12.

²⁴ J. Wolff, *An Introduction to Political Philosophy* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2006), p. 3.

The emphasis of the analytic tradition is weighted towards *argumentation* – assessing the validity of arguments. It operates on principles of *conceptual clarity* which, in turn, require definitional foundation. By fixing the meaning of terms, analysts are able to construct conceptual theories and demarcate clearly one political position from another. For example, by examining how concepts of ‘right’ map on to different ideas of ‘liberty’, analysts are able to demarcate the accounts of justice given in Robert Nozick’s minimal state liberalism from that given in John Rawls’ work.

Differences between political theories are clarified by identifying necessary and sufficient conditions for each position: Nozickian liberalism must have a particular view of the self, a particular negative view of freedom based on absolute property rights in the body, which can be transferred to rights over the products of the labour from the body. Rawlsian liberalism is thus distinguished by having a different *concept of freedom*, the *individual* and the concept of *bodily ownership*. The key identifying concepts themselves must be decontested, so that an appropriate evaluation takes place. Much political philosophy revolves around interpretations of key concepts. An example is Wellman’s essay which clarifies the difference between ‘political legitimacy’ – what the state is allowed to do to the citizen – and ‘political obligation’ – the duties the citizen owes – where some might see this as one and the same.²⁵

Before exploring the limits of this analytic approach, it is worth expanding on its perceived virtues. First, it provides philosophy with a clear identity. As McLaughlin points out: while other disciplines, like natural and political science and history, also use argumentation, the difference is that in the specialism of philosophy argument is the central concern. Such an approach is also supposed to promote rigorous thinking and fidelity to the text through careful reading. It also suggests a degree of value neutrality. The aim for analytic political philosophy is to avoid being ‘ideological’, meaning eluding the promotion of non-rationally justifiable norms,²⁶ through coherent analysis of terms, a concern with their internal coherence and logical interconnectedness. It is through the application of reason to political discourses, as David Miller explains in his introductory text, that existing biases can be overcome and the right answer affirmed.²⁷ However, as will be explained below, Freedman (with reference to W. E. Connelly) argues that the institutional presuppositions of academic philosophy lead to the privileging of certain concepts and ways of reading onto texts, systematically colouring their interpretations. Such selection and prioritization undermines the claims to value-neutrality.²⁸

A second advantage of this theoretical approach is said to lie in its precision. By applying universal, decontested, necessary and sufficient conditions to political speech-acts philosophical analysis results in conceptual clarity. To return to anarchism, the

²⁵ C. Wellman, ‘Liberalism, Samaritanism, and Political Legitimacy’, *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 25(3) (1996), 211–23.

²⁶ See, for instance, Raphael, *Problems*, p. 20.

²⁷ D. Miller, *Political Philosophy: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 17–18.

²⁸ M. Freedman, ‘Political Concepts and Ideological Morphology’, *Journal of Political Philosophy*, 2(2)

promise of political philosophy is that anarchist thought can be clearly described and distinguished from other political theories, such as modern liberalism or conservatism. The distinctive identifying principles can be applied to political problems and this enables clear assessment of the relative advantages or disadvantages of competing positions. However, by searching for universal, decontested principles to distinguish political ideologies, analytic philosophers end up misrepresenting the movements they wish to assess.

The analytic account of anarchism and its limits

The standard account of anarchism advanced by analytic philosophers, while considered an accurate portrayal, is not a position endorsed by most (such as Dudley Knowles, David Miller, D. D. Raphael and Jonathan Wolff). However, a few, like Paul McLaughlin, Andrew John Simmons and Robert Wolff accept that analytic description and argue for it as a viable position (a theoretical position referred to as ‘philosophical anarchism’).²⁹ Brief accounts of anarchism, from academic and non-academic sources tend to identify it with a single principle: the rejection of the state.³⁰ However, a more nuanced philosophical position, as the Hellenic scholar David Keyt explains, is that the rejection of the state follows from another more fundamental principle: the absolute respect for the negative freedom of the individual, sometimes expressed as the absolute prohibition on coercion.³¹ The analytic account of anarchism proceeds from this single criterion: the absolute autonomy of the rational individual, who necessarily rejects all coercion.³²

For many analytic philosophers the rejection of the state, while a marker of anarchism, is not its foundational principle. For philosophical anarchists like Simmons, the state would be legitimate if we had consented to its rule, but we do not actually consent, and thus the state is illegitimate.³³ While Robert Wolff agrees we do not con-

(1994), 143; see also M. Le Doeuff, ‘Long Hair, Short Ideas’, in *The Philosophical Imaginary* (London: Continuum, 2002), p. 114.

²⁹ McLaughlin, ‘In Defence’, p. 13. Jeremy Jennings rightly prioritizes in his categorization of philosophical anarchism with Robert Paul Wolff, but extends it to proprietarians such as Robert Nozick and Ayn Rand (J. Jennings, ‘Anarchism’, in R. Eatwell and A. Wright (eds), *Contemporary Political Ideologies* (London: Continuum, 1999), pp. 146–7).

³⁰ R. De George, ‘Anarchism’, in T. Honderich (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 30; E. Malatesta, *Anarchy* (London: Freedom, 1984), p. 11. This point is also raised by Richard Sylvan (‘Anarchism’, *A Companion to Contemporary Political Philosophy*, p. 215).

³¹ D. Keyt, ‘Aristotle and Anarchism’, in R. Kraut and S. Skultety (eds), *Aristotles Politics* (Oxford: Rowan and Littlefield, 2005), p. 204.

³² There are exceptions; Alan Carter, for instance also includes a commitment to equality, ‘Analytical Anarchism: Some Conceptual Foundations’, *Political Theory*, 28(2) (2000), 231–2. William Hockings’ version of philosophical anarchism, predates Robert Paul Wolff’s construction by over four decades, like Carter identifies economic equality as a core feature of anarchism (‘The Philosophical Anarchist’, in Robert Hoffman (ed.), *Anarchism as Political Philosophy* (London: Aldine Transaction, 2010), p. 118).

³³ A. John Simmons, ‘Justification and Legitimacy’, *Ethics*, 109(4) (1999), 769.

sent to the state's rule and thus it is not legitimate on this basis,³⁴ he goes further, suggesting that it might violate Kantian principles to voluntarily restrict individual autonomy over so many domains (as the state demands), making even a consensual state morally unacceptable.³⁵ Thus, it is from the principle of individual sovereignty that anarchists reject the state.

This 'philosophical' account of anarchism, as the maximization of individual autonomy in the face of the state, is found in Knowles: 'Philosophical anarchism ... the highest duty of mankind [is] to act autonomously', which is viewed as antipathetic to the necessarily coercive state.³⁶ In short, the analytic account has one central, universal and fixed principle: absolute sovereignty of the individual, based invariably on a Lockean or Kantian account of the self and negative rights. From this, Wolff deduces that as the state is de facto a social relationship to which we have not consented then it logically follows that the state has no legitimacy and cannot morally compel compliance.³⁷ This is a deduction shared by Knowles and Keyt.³⁸ The two main areas of debate internal to this interpretation of anarchism are first, whether such privileging of autonomy leads to a necessary advocacy of private property rights, such as that proposed by proprietarians³⁹ like David Friedman and Murray Rothbard, or whether it leads to a rejection, or at least ambivalence, to property rights (for instance Paul McLaughlin⁴⁰ and Peter Vallentyne, Hillel Steiner and Michael Otsuka⁴¹). The second area of debate, found principally among the proprietarians, is whether a minimal or ultra-minimal state can be generated which meets the voluntarist criteria.⁴²

This logically coherent, but simple, account of anarchism is found wanting as a political philosophy because, without any grounds for coercion, then all decisions are left to private judgement, leading to a hierarchy of the most powerful.⁴³ Accepting the premises of this argument, some philosophers of anarchism have attempted to dispute its conclusions by assuming a benevolent, universal human nature.⁴⁴ This is a position that is replete with its own problems.

³⁴ Wolff, *In Defense*, p. 24.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 14–15.

³⁶ Knowles, *Political Philosophy*, p. 253.

³⁷ Wolff, *In Defense*, pp. 22–6.

³⁸ Knowles, *Political Philosophy*, p. 249.

³⁹ Proprietarian is here the preferred term for right-libertarians and anarcho-capitalists, as it captures both schools and leaves open the question as whether either is actually a libertarian or anarchist theory properly speaking (see I. McKay, *An Anarchist FAQ* (Edinburgh: AK Press, 2008), pp. 478–503).

⁴⁰ McLaughlin, *Anarchism and Authority*, pp. 70 and 132–6.

⁴¹ P. Vallentyne, H. Steiner and M. Otsuka, 'Why Left-Libertarianism Is Not Incoherent, Indeterminate, or Irrelevant: A Reply to Fried', *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, 33(2) (2005), 201–15.

⁴² See, for instance, Simmons, 'Justification and Legitimacy' and R. Nozick, *Anarchy, State and Utopia* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983); see also many of the papers in R. Long and T. Machan (eds), *Anarchism/Minarchism: Is a Government Part of a Free Country* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

⁴³ Wolff, *An Introduction*, p. 48.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 30–1; Knowles, *Political Philosophy*, p. 249. See also McLaughlin who identifies essentialist claims within a number of commentators on anarchism, such as John P. Clark and, in particu-

Part II: Weaknesses in the Analytic Account of Anarchism

So far I have identified the methodological approach of analytic political philosophy, the ways in which it tends to a narrow interpretation of anarchism based on a single ground, *an absolute rejection of coercion*, supplemented by an ontology of a benign human nature. This section examines the weaknesses of such an approach, proposing in its stead an analysis of anarchism (and other political movements) based on Freeden's conceptual approach.⁴⁵ The main criticisms of some of the main analytic approaches are: (1) The account of political philosophy's role based on the overriding centrality of argumentation is too limited and based on a highly questionable account of universal reason; (2) that analytic political philosophy tends to identify and examine political phenomena through a structure of discovering, clarifying and classifying necessary and sufficient conditions (universal features), which is inappropriate for a stable but adaptable political ideology; (3) that as a result of these failings they draw up a straw-man account of anarchism which is based on a highly limited canon that ignores core thinkers and movements and concentrates on poorly selected characteristics.

Argumentation and *Logos*

Freeden portrays the analytic philosophical tradition as having an 'overriding concern with either or both of the following: the moral rightness of the prescriptions it contains and the logical validity and argumentative coherence of the political philosophy in question'.⁴⁶ While this view is entirely consistent with McLaughlin's characterization,⁴⁷ Freeden's response to the tradition is more critical. Philosophers, Freeden summarizes, concentrate on clarifying or decontesting concepts in order to reach valid conclusions from rigorous arguments.⁴⁸ However, as a result, he argues analytic political philosophy also fails to acknowledge its own ideological role.

Political philosophy has an inbuilt liberal bias. Freeden offers three reasons for this. The first is that, like liberalism, analytic philosophy prioritizes 'value-free rational thought'.⁴⁹ Yet completely non-ideological thought, in terms of expressing a meaning-

lar, David Morland. McLaughlin suggests that the different versions of essentialism identifiable in the classical anarchist canon amounts to no more than the claims that humans are capable of benign, free social relationships and thus a rejection of malign essentialism, rather than any necessary benevolent disposition (McLaughlin, *Anarchism and Authority*, pp. 17–20 and 25–6).

⁴⁵ M. Freeden, *Ideologies and Political Theory: A Conceptual Approach* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996) and M. Freeden *Ideology: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

⁴⁶ Freeden, *Ideology*, p. 67.

⁴⁷ And also Pettit's, 'The Contribution', p. 7.

⁴⁸ Freeden, *Ideologies and Political Theory*, pp. 6–7; Freeden, *Ideology*, p. 68; M. Freeden, 'What Should the Political in Political Theory Explore?' *The Journal of Political Philosophy*, 13(2) (2005), p. 114.

⁴⁹ Freeden, *Ideologies and Political Theory*, p. 28.

rich statement which depends on, and helps to form and express, a social reality,⁵⁰ is impossible. This is because political philosophy creates, develops or prioritizes particular types of language in a selective manner; it pieces concepts together in order to create meaningful analyses; however, analytic philosopher rarely reflects on how these constructions and omissions develop or endorse a particular set of interests, identities and institutions.⁵¹ The second is that analytic philosophy accepts and endorses certain ethical principles associated with liberalism: that peace (even one which ensures inequality) is preferable to war, that contracts are the models of free social conditions and that the main moral operators are the autonomous individual and the state. The third reason is that political philosophy assumes that political conflicts can be resolved and that rational decontestation, through the resources of established pluralist institutions, rather than transformations in material conditions.⁵²

These liberal ideological assumptions of analytic philosophy are rooted in a further presupposition, that the method is non-ideological as it is based on applying universal and fixed reasoning. But, argues Freeden, rationality is context dependent and cannot be wholly distinguished from pre-rationality.⁵³ The status of a single universal logic is invariably assumed, or held to be ontologically primary, rather than demonstrated. As such this is an ideological position.⁵⁴ The very method, criteria and discourse of analysis are those of particular elite social groups, in a particular period of the (post-)Enlightenment.

Freeden's general critique of universal reason dovetails with the analysis presented in Alasdair MacIntyre's virtue theory. While operating from a different perspective (MacIntyre is much more interested in ethical and meta-ethical questions than Freeden) MacIntyre shares with Freeden a similar suspicion of analytic approaches. MacIntyre shows how practical reason emerges from practice-dependent discourses.⁵⁵ Reason is, and cannot be other than, context dependent. For instance, what operates as a slippery slope fallacy or a *reductio ad absurdum* will not be taken as such in another context. An example might be the eminent Cambridge philosopher Thomas Taylor's infamous, satirical response to Mary Wollstonecraft's feminist tract *Vindication of the Rights of Woman*: namely, that if you applied the argument for women's equality to its logical conclusion you end up giving rights to non-human animals (brutes), a conclusion which was assumed by Taylor – and his initial scholarly audience – to be an absurdity. However latterly, the idea that if humans (whether male or female) have some rights regardless of their competence, then non-human animals might also have rights has been integrated into the practices of radical groups.⁵⁶ The plausibility of Taylor's

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 4.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 120.

⁵² Freeden, *Ideology*, p. 69.

⁵³ Freeden, *Ideologies and Political Theory*, pp. 29–30.

⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 30–1.

⁵⁵ A. MacIntyre, *Whose Justice? Which Rationality?* (London: Duckworth, 2001).

⁵⁶ See P. Singer, *Animal Liberation* (London: Pimlico, 1995), pp. 1–2; S. Booth, *Into the 1990s with*

conclusion – that women and brutes should not be viewed as rights-bearing entities – alters as the contexts in which women’s status changes, and those of non-human animals are revised.

When abstracting the propositions of reasoning from one context, they are being constructed not into a neutral space, but into another norm-governed, resource-dependent forum. Thus, there is the possibility of alteration, adaption and reinterpretation. It is also mistaken to assume that core and pervasive logical propositions are universal. In disciplines such as quantum physics the law of non-contradiction does not apply.⁵⁷

The focus on form and the privileging of argumentation sometimes results in the dismissal of ordinary political argument, and thereby limits the canon of anarchist texts. While many academics unreflectively carry out this process of canon building and exclusion, McLaughlin by contrast makes overt this process when he dismisses as logically incoherent the writings of the activist Albert Meltzer. In a discussion of *Anarchism: Arguments for and against*,⁵⁸ McLaughlin highlights the polemical claims that open the volume, to demonstrate that Meltzer’s work lies outside of the canon of serious anarchist texts: ‘Duties, imposed as obligations or ideals, such as patriotism, duty to the state, worship of God, submission to higher classes or authorities, respect of inherited privileges, are lies.’⁵⁹ As McLaughlin rightly identifies, these terms are not themselves defined nor defended: ‘Meltzer practices neither conceptual clarification nor moral argumentation. His is a resolutely unphilosophical expression of anarchism.’⁶⁰

Yet McLaughlin illustrates not that Meltzer’s utterances are meaningless and philosophically trivial, but that the analytic approach inadequately apprehends the communicative features of Meltzer’s position. Meltzer is using a form of argument, though it relies on *enthymeme* – a hidden or accepted premise. Enthymemes appear in almost all texts, including those of analytic philosophy, but in Meltzer’s case the background assumptions are those of activist discourse and the anarchist libertarian agenda. Because these presuppositions are unfamiliar to the vast majority of practising political philosophers (but familiar to anarchists), the text seems alien and inchoate.

For the benefit of an analytic philosopher, we could reconstitute Meltzer’s text into a recognizable, formal argument. Meltzer’s quotation begins ‘Our rights are taken, not granted, and inalienable. Each person born in the world is heir to all the proceeding ages.’⁶¹ ‘The heir to all preceding ages’ is a reference to the basic egalitarian principle that just being the product of previous generations’ labour (dead labour) is part of the commonwealth. In short, Meltzer’s assertions boils down to a simple argument, though one expressed in its own specialist discourse:

Green Anarchist (Oxford: Green Anarchist, 1996), pp. 107–8.

⁵⁷ L. Horn, ‘Contradiction’, *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, available at <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/contradiction/>, last accessed on 11 April 2011.

⁵⁸ A. Meltzer, *Anarchism: Arguments for and against* (London: Black Flag, 1986).

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 12

⁶⁰ McLaughlin, ‘In Defence’, p. 23.

⁶¹ Meltzer, *Anarchism*, p. 12.

Premise 1: All humans have universal rights.

Premise 2: These rights are concerned with sustaining equality.

Premise 3: Submissive practices deny equality.

Conclusion: Submissive practices are a violation of rights (lies).

Thus Meltzer's apparently 'unphilosophical expression' produces a deductively valid argument (where 'lies' stand for a violation of rights).⁶² Though, it does also highlight some of the problems McLaughlin identifies with the soundness of the argument, as the first two premises are contentious and ambiguous.

However such an analytic reconstruction has its own problems. Some of the conceptual richness of Meltzer's principles are lost as the concept of 'rights' becomes disconnected from the historical struggles to rights, and the particularities of hierarchy with which Meltzer is dealing (and which his audience would find familiar). Meltzer's text also operates in the wider philosophical tradition of generating productive thinking about what constitutes right action and good goals.

Analytic political philosophy stresses the importance of rigour through a single *logos* to generate coherence and dismisses those which inadequately measure up to this standard. However, applying philosophical techniques might, as Wittgenstein indicated, produce necessarily contested interpretations that are meaning-rich but indeterminate and/or inconclusive.⁶³ Freeden's approach recognizes that ambiguity, indeterminacy and inconclusiveness are important features of meaningful political utterances, and not a reason for rejecting a text for study.⁶⁴ Analytical philosophy's approach restricts approaches of interpretation and limits the types of texts considered worthy of consideration generating a largely self-referential canon.

Against universals

One of the weaknesses of the analytic method is that different political theories are broken down into a set of fixed, decontested features, such as necessary and sufficient conditions, or a set of family resemblances of which the ideology or movement must have a sufficient number.⁶⁵ Basing political analysis on the search for real, independent universal principles that identify ideologies,⁶⁶ fails to capture the necessarily adaptable, practice-based nature of different political theories. It results in a distortion or misrepresentation of those movements, as can be shown by the analytic account of anarchism, as it ascribes to anarchism a universal characteristic which is more contextual, and comprehensible, only by its relation to adjacent concepts.

⁶² A position consistent with Immanuel Kant, who has an absolute rejection on deception as it violates the categorical imperative which is the basis of rights.

⁶³ Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, paras 66–7 (pp. 31–2); Ixi (pp. 193–6).

⁶⁴ Freeden, 'What Should'.

⁶⁵ McLaughlin, 'In Defence', p. 22; Freeden, *Ideologies and Political Theory*, pp. 72–3.

⁶⁶ Pettit, 'The Contribution', p. 7.

In analytic philosophy a concept is scrutinized discretely, disentangled from others: ‘all its components or properties are treated as internal to it, as independent, self-supporting, and sharply demarcated from other concepts’.⁶⁷ However, argues Freeden, political concepts gain their meaning by their relationship to other components and in the wider social context in which they arise. Ideologies, although they do sustain over long periods, are not constructed out of fixed universal sets of conditions, but are stable constellations of core and peripheral concepts, which mutually define each other.

Freeden provides an example: John Stuart Mill’s liberalism has at its core the concept of liberty. This concept of freedom is positioned next to the individual and a particular type of agent (one which has sovereignty over its body and mind), as these are put together the concept of liberty is clarified as being about individual not social freedom. And this notion of individual freedom is understood in relation to the desired attributes of the individual, such as the full development of character. All three core features appear in Mill’s ‘free development of individuality’. The core concepts help to define each other. If the concept of liberty and core goal of self-development were placed next to a different core goal such as equality (instead of autonomy) then our understanding of liberty would be altered.

Core concepts have their meaning clarified or altered by their relationship not only to other core concepts but also to peripheral ones. Peripheral concepts are of two kinds; first, there are those that are constantly marginal, have little significance in shaping the ideology, but are relatively constant within an ideology and help to inform its practical applications. Second are those peripheral concepts which shift their status over time, becoming core in some contexts and more marginal in others.⁶⁸ For instance the rights of women were more marginal concerns of most liberalisms in the early nineteenth century, but became more core in the twentieth century.⁶⁹

By contrast with the conceptual approach, analytic political philosophy looks for decontested, universal features and ends up with a rather constrained and static interpretation of political movements. As a result, analytic political philosophy tends to concentrate only on the most stable characteristics, identifying them as universal and primary, and thus producing a limited and stereotypical account. It also finds it hard to deal with complexity. According to analytic accounts of anarchism, anarchism cannot deal with anti-social behaviour or appears to support the reduction in welfare support for the poorest as it would be against the coercive, tax raising powers of the state. To deal with the first problem, the dominant interpretation of anarchism, develops into a straw man, ascribing a central principle and an ontology which anarchism, largely, does not stand for, in order to shore up the logical coherence of this academically privileged interpretation.

⁶⁷ Freeden, *Ideologies and Political Theory*, p. 73.

⁶⁸ Freeden, *Ideology*, pp. 62–3.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

The straw man of anarchism

The analytic political philosopher's version of anarchism, based on absolute sovereignty, is often – and easily – criticized for being utopian and impractical. Jonathan Wolff and David Miller, for instance, draw attention to the problem of how to deal with anti-social people if even mild forms of social pressure, such as public disapproval or ostracism, can be viewed as coercive.⁷⁰ This is a problem that Russell also identifies.⁷¹ Even proponents of this version of anarchism, like Robert Paul Wolff, accept that it is hard to conceive of a society operating without any form of coercion.⁷²

Without external authority, the anarchist, according to Jonathan Wolff, relies solely on private judgement.⁷³ The problem of conflicting judgements or the possibility of anti-social behaviour is resolved by claiming anarchists hold a metaphysical belief in a benign human essence. This benign essentialism (or humanism) ascribed to anarchism, is the belief that outside of the distorting influence of the state, humans will naturally cooperate and respect individual freedom.⁷⁴ It is not just analytic philosophers who ascribe this humanist assumption to anarchists, but also opponents of the analytic tradition,⁷⁵ such as the post-structural theorists Saul Newman⁷⁶ and Todd May.⁷⁷

Appeals to humanism or, indeed, any sort of essentialism, are inherently weak and open to all sorts of criticisms. One is epistemological: by what means can one derive a universal characteristic of all humanity? Other criticisms are practical. As Wolff notes, if humans are essentially benign then the problem is explaining how oppressive institutions like the state developed.⁷⁸ As a result, the defence of anarchism fails and the theory can be raised safely, knowing that it is easily refuted.

Anarchism is not, however, condemned to this trivial position. The characterization of it as being concerned primarily and exclusively with avoiding coercion propped up by a humanistic account of the individual is an inaccurate portrayal. Jonathan Wolff, as expected from an eminent analytic theorist seeking conceptual clarity, is usually a careful reader of primary texts. It is odd, therefore, that he supports his reading of anarchism based on benign essentialism with a quotation from Kropotkin's *Law and Authority*. This quotation states: 'No more laws! No more judges! Liberty, equality, and

⁷⁰ Wolff, *An Introduction*, p. 31; D. Miller, *Anarchism* (London: Dent, 1984), pp. 177–8; Miller, *Political Philosophy*, pp. 28–30.

⁷¹ Russell, *Roads*, pp. 78–9.

⁷² Wolff, *In Defense*, p. 82.

⁷³ Wolff, *An Introduction*, pp. 46–7.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 29–31; see also Knowles, p. 60 and W. Hocking, 'Philosophical Anarchist', p. 117.

⁷⁵ McLaughlin questions whether "human nature" can be written off quite so easily', and makes clear his opposition to post-structuralism denouncing it as: 'scholastic verbiage of a fashionable philosophy [... an] impenetrable professional discourse' (*Anarchism and Authority*, p. 167).

⁷⁶ S. Newman, *The Politics of Postanarchism* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), pp. 4–6 and 58.

⁷⁷ T. May, *The Political Philosophy of Poststructuralist Anarchism* (Pennsylvania, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), pp. 63–6.

⁷⁸ Wolff, *An Introduction*, pp. 29–30.

practical human sympathy are the only effectual barriers we can oppose to the anti-social instincts of certain amongst us.⁷⁹ The quotation is significant on two grounds. First, *contra* Wolff, Kropotkin is clear that humans have malevolent instincts as well as benevolent ones, a point Kropotkin makes elsewhere.⁸⁰ Second, it highlights that anarchism is not foundationally committed to the singular principle of rejecting coercion but is connected to other principles, such as equality and solidarity (sympathy). Thus, it is compatible with anarchism to use minimally coercive methods against those institutions whose function is to disempower the already disadvantaged. And thus, in opposition to Knowles and Tverdek's earlier portrayal, activists who use selective, minimal violence to contest hierarchies are more consistent, than philosophical anarchists who refrain from action through fear of violating the negative rights of dominating powers.

Part III: Alternative Anarchisms

It is fundamentally mistaken to identify anarchism solely in terms of a rejection of coercion. This is not to say that identifying anarchism is an easy task, and indeed many significant texts on the subject begin by highlighting the difficulty.⁸¹ This predicament is made worse if the author is searching for universal principles. Instead, anarchism is best understood through Freeden's conceptual approach, as a stable constellation of concepts expressed through particular institutional arrangements. Texts that initially approach anarchism through the historical examples of its major movements often fare better than those who approach anarchism as a set of abstract universal principles (or a single criterion).

To understand any political ideology, including anarchism, it is necessary to examine how it operates, which means looking at its institutional arrangement (its core and peripheral concepts structured in, and expressed through, its resources). Institutions are collections of linked individual practices. As MacIntyre explains, the production and distribution of goods and the construction of participants' identities requires particular types of materials and principles.⁸² The goods of justice (and the character of the judge), for instance, require some form of arbitrational structure, as well as linguistic resources in order to articulate and defend legal judgements.⁸³ Drawing on Giambattista Vico, MacIntyre concludes that principles and concepts can only be expressed and recognized through institutional activity, that is to say, through the ways

⁷⁹ Kropotkin in Wolff, *An Introduction*, p. 26; P. Kropotkin, 'Law and Authority: An Anarchist Essay', *Anarchy Archives* available at http://dwardmac.pitzer.edu/Anarchist_Archives/kropotkin/lawauthority.html, last accessed on 11 April 2011.

⁸⁰ P. Kropotkin, *Ethics: Origins and Development* (Montreal: Black Rose, 1992), pp. 44–5.

⁸¹ P. Marshall, *Demanding the Impossible: A History of Anarchism* (London: HarperCollins, 1992), p. 4; Miller, *Anarchism* p. 3; R. Kinna, *Anarchism: A Beginners Guide* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2005), p. 4.

⁸² A. MacIntyre, *After Virtue*, 2nd edn (Basingstoke: Duckworth, 2007), pp. 152, 187–8 and 222–3.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 67–8 and 152–3.

they shape the interpersonal, material world.⁸⁴ MacIntyre's account is consistent with Freeden's conceptual approach: the concepts that construct ideologies have greater impact if they involve more resources, and the ones that have greatest influence are those which have the largest impact on shaping the social world.

Different ideologies operate through distinctive institutional arrangements. For instance, radical forms of socialism, feminism and environmentalism might operate through public protest, while conservatism is largely antipathetic towards public demonstration.⁸⁵ Many ideologies operate through institutions like the constitutional political party, while others, like anarchism, oppose them. So the core anarchist concepts are found in the introductory aims and principles of historical anarchist organizations,⁸⁶ and more contemporary movements like the Anarchist Federation⁸⁷ and the Solidarity Federation.⁸⁸

These principles are (i) the aforementioned rejection of the state and state-like bodies, which distinguishes anarchism from social democracy; (ii) a rejection of capitalism as a hierarchical and coercive set of norms and practices, which distinguishes it from propertarianism; (iii) a fluid concept of the self in which one's identity is inherently linked to socio-historical contexts and relationships with others, which distinguishes it from pure egoism; and finally (iv) a recognition that the means used have to prefigure anarchist goals, which demarcates anarchism from the instrumentalism of orthodox Marxism. These concepts are often expressed in different ways, depending on context (though the key ideas remain stable), for instance in terms of contesting hierarchies, rejection of mediation (representationalism) and the privileging of the mutual production of immanent social goods.

These principles are interrelated, so that the rejection of the state is understood in terms of developing social relationships that are anti-hierarchical. However, when the immediate choice is between one state form and another more oppressive one, such as during the Spanish Civil War, it was not inconsistent for anarchists to support the social democratic state over a conservative military dictatorship.⁸⁹ Rejection of hierarchy and maximizing the ability of individuals to engage in mutually beneficial relationships, might mean supporting the welfare state, as the dominant alternative (free market capitalism) would exacerbate social inequalities.⁹⁰ Thus, the portrayal of anarchism as necessarily and singularly 'anti-state' without reference to its other

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 265.

⁸⁵ Freeden, *Ideology*, p. 2.

⁸⁶ See, for instance, H. Seymour, 'Editorial', *The Anarchist*, 1(1) (1885), 2; J. Quail, *The Slow Burning Fuse: The Lost History of British Anarchists* (London: Paladin, 1974), p. x.

⁸⁷ Anarchist Federation, 'Aims and Principles', *Organise!* 73 2009, 28.

⁸⁸ Solidarity Federation 'Aims of the Solidarity Federation', *Direct Action*, 43 (2008), 2.

⁸⁹ Anarchist forebears like Bakunin, while wanting the most non-hierarchical and least oppressive society (no state), recognized that a democratic state was preferable to an absolute monarchy; M. Bakunin, *Marxism, Freedom and the State* (London: Freedom, 1984), p. 37.

⁹⁰ See, for instance, contemporary anarchist engagement in the anti-public service cuts in for instance Ireland, Greece and the United Kingdom; and see also N. Chom-

core concepts and institutional context, would support the tabloid contention that anarchists are inconsistent in protesting against privatization and cuts in the welfare state.⁹¹

It is a more sophisticated and accurate methodological approach to look at anarchism, or any other political philosophy, in terms of the structure and operation of its core and peripheral concepts. This conceptual method can more adequately deal with the diffuse living traditions, which adapt over time, producing new forms of anarchism that have largely similar morphologies, but have integrated into their structures an additional core principle (thus subtly changing the meanings of the others). Examples of this adaptation in the last few decades would include the development of specifically green anarchisms, queer anarchisms and explicitly anarcha-feminisms. This conceptual approach can also explain the subtle differences between largely similar forms of anarchism. For instance, for well over a century, the main forms of social anarchism have been anarchist communism and anarcho-syndicalism. Throughout the industrial and post-industrial world groups that identify with these traditions work cooperatively together, in loose alliances and networks, however, differences have occurred. These differences are comprehensible because apparently marginal conceptual differences, in particular contexts, can redefine core principles and lead to radical shifts between apparently similar ideological forms. Hence, the occasional heated divisions between these branches of anarchism over sites of struggle, revolutionary agency and modes of organization.⁹²

Even movements that function primarily through the construction of theory (like analytic philosophy) operate through institutions. However one of the blind spots of philosophy, identified by Michèle Le Doeuff, is that it ignores how social relationships and past exclusions have shaped the discipline. Le Doeuff concentrates on omissions based on gender, but a similar case can be made for structural marginalization of people from particular classes and ethnic groups.⁹³ This process of exclusion is demonstrable through the construction of a particular canon, and also results in privileging certain forms of enquiry.⁹⁴ Analytical approaches do little to reveal these influences and through overlooking them allow them to continue.

sky, 'Chomsky on Ron Paul', AnarchismToday.com, 2 December 2007, available at <http://anarchismtoday.org/News/article/sid=74.html>, last accessed on 11 April 2011.

⁹¹ An example of this is S. Leith, 'Anarchist isn't a Synonym for Thug or Vandal', *Evening Standard* (London), 28 March 2011, available at www.thisislondon.co.uk/standard/article-23935963-anarchist-isnt-a-synonym-for-thug-or-vandal.do, last accessed on 12 April 2011.

⁹² See, for instance, the debate between the anarcho-syndicalists of *Direct Action Movement* (later the *Solidarity Federation*), trade union minded (but syndicalist-supporting) Dave Douglass (*Refracted Perspective: The Left, Working Class Trade Unionism and the Miners* (London: 121 Bookshop/Anarchist Centre, 1991)) and the anti-union, anti-syndicalist communists of *Wildcat*, *Subversion* and *Anti-Exchange and Mart*.

⁹³ Le Doeuff, 'Long Hair, Short Ideas', pp. 105–8 and 114.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

In the current era, overtly economic and political criteria are used to select and validate areas for research and legitimize particular methods and thus structure the discipline. Indeed, there is plenty of anecdotal evidence of inexperienced academic philosophers being warned off partaking in scholarly investigations into anarchism because it lies outside the major concerns of elite journals or major corporate sponsors and would therefore be research of little institutional value.⁹⁵ Theoretical approaches that recognize that academic practices (such as reasoning) take place through institutional arrangements and are not separate from them, can more readily and appropriately respond to these challenges.

Conclusion

In the main, the analytic philosophical tradition has tended to view anarchism in terms of a single overriding universal criterion: a fundamental rejection of coercion. To defend such a position, the orthodoxy of analytic political philosophy has ascribed to anarchism a benign essentialism to support its claims that coercive apparatuses are unnecessary. By contrast, actual anarchist theorists and movements, while considering individual and collective autonomy as significant features of anarchism, view them as operating alongside and through other principles, such as the commitment to contest hierarchies and generate shared social goods. As a result, forms of coercion to restrict greater hierarchies of power would be justified, and thus a benign essentialism is unnecessary (as well as being indefensible).

The portrayal of anarchism in such a singular, simplistic but inaccurate fashion is partly blamed on a methodology that privileges argumentation viewed through a single *logos* and the goal of conceptual decontestation. It privileges texts which fit a particular theoretic and discursive profile shaped by dominant academic rules which have a natural bias towards reaffirming the ‘philosophical anarchist’ position as the legitimate expression of anarchism. Analytic philosophy marginalizes texts, mainly by activists, which contest this identification. While writers such as Andrew John Simmons and Robert Wolff have contributed insightful criticisms into the question concerning the legitimacy of the state, the risk has been that analytic philosophy restricts anarchism to these questions of political authority. This has been at the expense of a more wide-ranging and flexible set of interpretations, and wider questions concerning contemporary political tactics and the production, and evaluation, of anti-hierarchical social practices.

⁹⁵ The factors that influence the types of topics and forms of expression deemed legitimate in contemporary academic research are part of discussion between the audience and the autonomist political theorist John Holloway, in the second part of his presentation at the Free Hetherington, University of Glasgow, ‘John Holloway at the Free Hetherington. Part 2’, *Vimeo*, 26 May 2011, available at <http://>

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4. Anarchism and Art History: Methodologies of Insurrection

Allan Antliff

In recent years, the anarchist turn in radical social movements has been complemented by a wave of scholarship that chooses to engage with anarchism on a constructive basis in a bid to further its development. In Europe and North America, academic networks have been formed with a mandate to encourage anarchist studies within universities and colleges while contributing to theorizing beyond these institutions. Deepening the interrelationship between anarchist activism and the study of the history and theory of anarchism within the academy, such scholarship holds out the promise of reconfigurations across the disciplines, as concerns and perspectives arising from anarchism are brought into the circulation of ideas out of which social practice is (potentially) constituted.¹

Of course, this is not an entirely new phenomenon: there are other instances of such activism taking place in the liminal spaces where the academy meets society. I am thinking of remarkable scholars such as the social theorist Colin Ward, who, working within the university system, anarchist forums and the popular media, drew architects, sociologists, psychologists, city planners, historians, government officials, activists and others into discussing how capitalism vandalizes the built environment or the need to dismantle the existing prison system.² In addition, anarchist artists have also transformed their respective disciplines. For example, Judith Melina, co-founder of the internationally renowned Living Theatre, has made her mark as a diarist, poet, director, actor and critical thinker whose career is integral to the history of experimental theatre.³ Similarly, new music in the latter half of the twentieth century cannot be understood without taking into account the compositions of John Cage,

¹ Süreyya Evren, 'Introduction: How New Anarchism Changed the World (of Opposition) after Seattle and Gave Birth to Post-Anarchism', in Duane Rouselle and Süreyya Evren (eds), *Post-Anarchism: A Reader* (London: Pluto Press, 2011), pp. 1–19.

² See, for example, Colin Ward (ed.), *Vandalism* (New York: Van Nostrand Rienhold Company, 1973) or Ward's well-known 1960s era journal, *Anarchy*, which, among other topics, devoted an entire issue to the conditions of women in prison – see *Anarchy*, no. 133 (1970).

³ On Melina's achievements and those of the Living Theatre's co-founder, the late Julian Beck, see Lorenzo Mango and Giuseppe Morra, *Living Theatre: Labirinti dell' Immaginario* (Napoli: Annali Delle Art, 2003).

whose work also influenced performance art and poetics.⁴ Poet, political theorist and art critic Herbert Read is a fourth anarchist of note whose activities from the 1920s through the 1960s had an important impact on the visual arts.⁵ And at present, a host of artists and independent critics in the contemporary anarchist movement are turning their attention to the history of art, in part to further their own practices.⁶ In short, scholarly and/or creative activity from a stance of engagement is nothing new to anarchism, however, within the academy much of this work has been marginalized or put to the service of other ends.

Certainly this has been the case in art history. The discipline itself is relatively new, having first emerged as an academic field in the early twentieth century.⁷ Art history only began thriving institutionally after World War II and for most of its existence anarchism in the arts has figured, if at all, as a marginal subject: furthermore, the notion that anarchism might have theoretical relevance for the discipline as a whole has gone by the board. The situation has not been helped by the numerous Marxist-oriented art historians firmly ensconced in the academy who are already predisposed towards taking anarchism less than seriously or attacking it as a threat to their perspective.⁸ A case in point is Andrew Hemingway, editor of *Marxism and the History of Art* (2006) and author of *Artists on the Left: American Artists and the Communist Movement, 1926–56* (2002); *Art in Bourgeois Society, 1790–1850* (1998); and *Landscape Imagery and Urban Culture in Early 19th Century Britain* (1992). In a polemical review for the *Oxford Art Journal* of my first book, *Anarchist Modernism: Art, Politics and the First*

⁴ Julia Robinson et al., *The Anarchy of Silence: John Cage and Experimental Art* (Barcelona: Museu D'Art Contemporani de Barcelona, 2009).

⁵ On Read, see Benedict Read and David Thistlewood (eds), *Herbert Read: A British Vision of World Art* (London: Lund Humphries Publications, 1993); David Goodway (ed.), *Herbert Read Re-assessed* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1998); and James King, *Herbert Read: The Last Modern* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1990).

⁶ See, for example, Alan Moore, *Art Gangs: Protest and Counter-Culture in New York City* (New York: Autonomedia, 2011); Adrian Blackwell, 'Not Architecture, Not Performance: Reworking the Expanded Social Field', in Jen Budney and Adrian Blackwell (eds), *Unboxed: Engagements with Social Space* (Ottawa: Gallery 101, 2005), pp. 17–29; Luis Jacob (ed.), *Towards a Theory of Impressionist and Expressionist Spectatorship* (Köln: Verlag der Buchhandlung Walter König, 2009); Josh McPhee and Dara Greenwald (eds), *Signs of Change: Social Movement Cultures, 1960s to Now* (San Francisco, CA: AK Press, 2010); Josh McPhee and Erik Reuland (eds), *Realizing the Impossible: Art against Authority* (San Francisco, CA: AK Press, 2008); and Max Blechman, *Drunken Boat: Art, Rebellion, Anarchy* (New York: Autonomedia and Left Bank Books, 1994).

⁷ Elizabeth C. Mansfield, 'Instituting Art History: The Academy', in Mansfield (ed.), *Making Art History: A Changing Discipline and its Institutions* (London: Routledge, 2007), p. 141.

⁸ In Britain, Marxists have enjoyed considerable institutional power, as evidenced by the frequency of Marxist-oriented articles and reviews in important venues such as the *Oxford Art Journal* and the flagship publication of the British Association of Art Historians, *Art History*. They have proved less dominant in North American art history, though key figures such as T. J. Clark, Thomas Crow, John Tagg, O. K. Werckmeister, Stephen Eiseman and Alan Wallach have had an impact. See Andrew Hemingway, 'New Left Art History's International', in Andrew Hemingway (ed.), *Marxism and the History of Art: From William Morris to the New Left* (London: Pluto Press, 2006), pp. 177–87.

American Avant-Garde (2001), Hemingway framed the study as an anarchist valorization of ‘individualism’ that disconnects modern art from social change and elevates it into an autonomous sphere of free experimentation. In his words, ‘Antliff’s claim is ... that without serving any political end, artistic practices can stand in as anarchist acts in themselves through their repudiation of conventional ways of thinking and the free manifestation of individuality.’⁹ This crude generalization repressed the book’s core argument: that anarchist modernism’s plethora of artistic styles (ranging from painterly expressionism to Dadaist conceptualism to agitation graphics), institutional interventions (anti-commercial art galleries, public exhibiting organizations and art classes), and politically engaged art criticism (in the commercial press, exhibition catalogues and anarchist journals) was ‘part and parcel of a wide-ranging movement that recognized significant social change, sharpened by radical economic and cultural critique, must necessarily involve the arts as well.’¹⁰ On this basis I argue that anarchism was the preeminent cultural and political movement lending coherence and direction to modernism in the United States from 1908 until the early 1920s, when, following America’s entry into World War I and the Communist Party’s seizure of power in Russia, government repression of the anarchist movement in the United States and the rise of the international Communist movement combined to shut anarchist modernism down.

Riding roughshod over my thesis with a slew of misrepresentations and self-serving fabrications,¹¹ Hemingway not only suggested that the nexus of anarchism and modernism I discuss yields nothing more than ‘art world gestures’ completely decoupled from social struggle.¹² He also asserted that my study is not to be taken seriously because ‘the ways in which history determines individual subjectivity remain completely

⁹ Andrew Hemingway, ‘Individualism and/or Solidarity? “Anarchist Modernism” in the United States’, *Oxford Art Journal*, 25(2) (2002), 165.

¹⁰ Allan Antliff, *Anarchist Modernism: Art Politics, and the First American Avant-Garde* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2001), p. 263, n. 7.

¹¹ For example, Hemingway claims that I identify English arts-and-crafts theorist William Morris as an anarchist when I do no such thing. I discuss the reception of Morris’ ideas in the international anarchist movement, focusing, in the main, on the anti-colonial post-industrial theory of the Anglo-Indian art critic Ananda Coomaraswamy, who joins the anarchist movement in the United States after being exiled from Britain for his activities. See Hemingway, ‘Individualism and/or Solidarity?’, p. 167 and Antliff, *Anarchist Modernism*, pp. 26, 43, 123, 127, 128, 130–1 and 133. On another occasion he suggests I should label the IWW union ‘anarcho-syndicalist’ as opposed to anarchist-syndicalist (while mistakenly referring to the IWW as the ‘International Workers of the World’). Hemingway speculates that ‘somehow’ I ‘imagine’ by not doing so I can make the IWW ‘more anarchist’; Hemingway, ‘Individualism and/or Solidarity?’, p. 167. Patronizing tone aside, I had good reason, from an anarchist perspective, not to follow Hemingway’s directive. As David Berry writes, ‘The term “anarcho-syndicalist” only came into wide use in 1921–1922 when it was applied polemically as a pejorative term by Communists to any syndicalists ... who opposed increased control of syndicalism by the Communist parties’. On the etymology of ‘anarcho-syndicalism’, see David Berry, *A History of the French Anarchist Movement, 1917–1945* (New York: Greenwood Press, 2002), p. 134.

¹² Hemingway, ‘Individualism and/or Solidarity?’, p. 167.

undefined' in it.¹³ In fact, far from neglecting this issue, the theoretical foundation for my configuration of individual subjectivity within history pointedly refuses determinism in its approach to the past. I argue that 'early twentieth-century anarchism was a contested discursive field rather than a self-sufficient cultural referent to a stable and unchanging essence' and thus:

... within this discursive cultural field, dominant discourses about anarchism could shape one's self-conception of what it meant to be an anarchist. Or the anarchist could act as cultural agent, revising discourses about anarchism (or inventing new ones) with little regard to received discursive paradigms. Consequently I chart the articulation of many 'anarchisms' within and outside the movement, sometimes in conflict, sometimes in harmony, sometimes in formation or decline, or simply maintained in uneasy coexistence.¹⁴

In short, historical forces do, indeed, figure in my understanding of individual subjectivity, but so too does the agency of the activists and artists (and their adversaries) I discuss, whose struggles to transform the social order, including art practices, are my focus. Contra Hemingway, I treat history's unfolding as a *creative* process and my critical assessments are transparently my own, not surreptitiously mapped onto the past in the guise of determinism. As I state in the introduction, 'by situating early American modernism's evolution within the contingency and flux of the politics out of which it was constituted, I hope to offer more meaningful conclusions about its legacy, both past and present.'¹⁵

The authoritarian understorey that marks off Hemingway's social perspective from my own reveals itself most pointedly in the opening gambit of his review, where he pits two citations – one of anarchist Emma Goldman and the other of poet-activist Ralph H. Chaplin of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) union – against each other in a bid to set up Goldman as the arch-individualist 'straw man' for my thesis in *Anarchist Modernism* and Chaplin as Hemingway's contrarian Marxist comrade-in-arms:

I repudiate the mass as a creative factor. (Emma Goldman, 1910)

Yet what force on earth is weaker than the feeble strength of one? (Ralph H. Chaplin, *Solidarity Forever*, 1915)

Hemingway is evidently unfamiliar with Chaplin's 1948 memoir, *Wobbly: The Rough-and-Tumble Story of an American Radical*, in which the American Communist Party's (CPUSA) attempts to destroy the IWW during the 1920s and 1930s, as well as the

¹³ Ibid., p. 168.

¹⁴ Antliff, *Anarchist Modernism*, p. 2; see also p. 218, n. 8.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 3.

horrors visited upon expatriate IWW activists and anarchists in the Soviet Union are outlined at length.¹⁶ ‘Disgusted’ by these developments upon his release from jail (where he had been incarcerated as a war resister) in 1923, Chaplin began ‘loosening the straight jacket’ of “proletarian” dogmatism and learning to discard the Marxist vernacular’ so as to better defend the IWW’s autonomy.¹⁷ He continued the fight against Communist Party efforts to dominate the American left into the 1930s while serving as editor of the union’s flagship newspaper, the *Industrial Worker* (Chaplin was particularly rankled when Communists took to singing ‘Solidarity Forever’ at their rallies).¹⁸

Conjuring with the politics of the past, Hemingway would have done well to first explore Chaplin’s position regarding the limits of ‘solidarity’ before suggesting Chaplin’s views are synonymous with his own. In any event, the supposed chasm between Emma Goldman, anarchist, and Ralph H. Chapman, IWW activist, is yet another instance of misrepresentation on Hemingway’s part. He plucks his citation of Goldman from the preface to her book, *Anarchism and Other Essays* (1917) where, a few lines before the sentence Hemingway quotes, she observes ‘the most disheartening tendency common among readers is to tear out one sentence from a work, as a criterion of the writer’s ideas or personality.’¹⁹ The irony is poignant. Far from opposing Chaplin’s brand of radical unionism in the name of individualism, Goldman was a passionate supporter, writing, in 1913:

Syndicalism is, in essence, the economic expression of anarchism. That circumstance accounts for the presence of so many anarchists in the syndicalist movement. Like anarchism, syndicalism prepares the workers along direct economic lines, as conscious factors in the tasks of reconstructing society along autonomous industrial lines, as against the paralyzing spirit of centralization with its bureaucratic machinery of corruption, inherent in all political parties.²⁰

It is telling that whereas Goldman praises syndicalism as a means of furthering the workers’ ability to be ‘conscious factors’ in the shaping of society, Hemingway would have it that the IWW encouraged an ‘instrumentalist’ ‘collective’ culture wherein the

¹⁶ 16 Ralph H. Chaplin, *Wobbly: The Rough-and Tumble Story of an American Radical* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1948).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 336.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 358–9. Chaplin’s anger regarding the misuse of his song is noted by the archivist of his papers, which are held by the Washington State Historical Society. See ‘Finding Aid’, MS 71, Ralph Hosea Chaplin Papers (1887–1961), Washington State Historical Society, Washington, p. 2, available at www.wshs.org/.

¹⁹ Emma Goldman, ‘Preface’, *Anarchism and Other Essays* (New York: Dover Publications, 1969), p. 44.

²⁰ Emma Goldman, ‘Syndicalism: Its Theory and Practice’[1913] in Alix Kates Shulman (ed.), *Red Emma Speaks: An Emma Goldman Reader* (New York: Schocken Books, 1983), p. 91.

creative initiative of individuals counted for nothing in the class struggle.²¹ Salvatore Salerno, who has studied the rich cultural politics of the IWW, argues differently. ‘Continually in the process of formation and reformation’, he writes, ‘the I.W.W. did not aim or achieve a formal position on ideology, tactics, or organizational form.’ The union was affinity-oriented, emphasizing the ‘emotion of working-class solidarity’ and each worker’s creative ‘agency’, a position that nurtured ‘revolutionary pluralism’ in an ‘associational context rather than a single ideology’.²² Incidentally, Salerno titles his book, *Red November, Black November: Culture and Community in the Industrial Workers of the World*, after the title of a song by Chaplin commemorating the enduring solidarity between anarchists and IWW unionists.²³

Oblivious to such facts or the methodology through which I brought the discursive practices and political engagements of anarchist modernism in the United States to light in the first place, Hemingway concludes ‘anarchism itself – which is notoriously underdeveloped in matters of social and historical theory – is unlikely to provide the analytical tools’ for understanding the history I discuss or the history of any other period, for that matter.²⁴ ‘There is an anti-scientific element in the anarchist tradition that leads to a distrust of systematic analysis’ he intones, and this is ‘simply counter-productive when it comes to historical questions’, which is why ‘historical materialism continues to offer a far more useful example’.²⁵ In sum, Hemingway believes Marxism

²¹ Hemingway, ‘Individualism and/or Solidarity?’, p. 167.

²² *Salvatore Salerno, Red November, Black November: Culture and Community in the Industrial Workers of the World (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1989), pp. 5–6.*

²³ ‘Red November, Black November’ was written by Chaplin in 1916 to honour the martyrdom of the popular song-writer and IWW organizer Joe Hill, who suffered death by firing squad on 19 November 1915 for a crime he likely did not commit, and the Haymarket Martyrs, four Chicago-based anarchist labour organizers who were sentenced to death on spurious grounds and hung on 11 November 1887 (a total of eight were originally charged with murder; of the seven who were sentenced to death, four were hung, one committed suicide in prison and two were given life sentences upon appeal. The eighth was sentenced to 15 years). Red and black in combination are the traditional colours of anarchist-syndicalism:

Red November, Black November

Red November, black November, Bleak November, black and red. Hallowed month of labor’s martyrs, Labor’s heroes, labour’s dead.

Labor’s wrath and hope and sorrow, Red the promise, black the threat, Who are we not to remember? Who are we to dare forget?

Black and red the colors blended, Black and red the pledge we made, Red until the fight is ended, Black until the debt is paid.

Salerno (p. 79) cites a variation of the song from 1933 which includes this additional stanza:

Wesley Everest and Al Parsons

With Joe Hill and all the rest.

Who are we not to remember?

Who are we to dare forget?

Albert Parsons was a leading figure among the Chicago anarchists. Wesley Everest was lynched on 11 November 1919 by anti-IWW vigilantes. </quote>

²⁴ Hemingway, ‘Individualism and/or Solidarity?’, p. 169.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

is a ‘science’ which trumps all other interpretative approaches by virtue of its objective ‘materialist’ grasp of history: thus, it is the one true path that can ‘enable human beings to end their object status in the historical process and become its identical subject–object, even against the odds’.²⁶ The hegemonic, authoritative status of Marxist art history is given in Hemingway’s world. As he reminds us in his introduction to *Marxism and the History of Art*, ‘liberal pluralism’ in the ‘art historical academy’ might wish to accommodate Marxist art history as a ‘small side dish’ in a ‘great smorgasbord’ of coexisting art histories – ‘formalist art history, queer art history, feminist art history, post-colonial art history’ – but the fact remains that:

Marxist art history is a contradiction in terms, in that Marxism as a totalizing theory of society necessarily throws all disciplinary boundaries into question as obfuscations of bourgeois thought, and, in one variant, at least, sees them as a product of the reification of knowledge characteristic of capitalist society.²⁷

Anarchism’s anti-authoritarian politics, as manifest in its recognition and respect for difference, its stress on social freedom and related critiques of domination and hierarchical structures, as well as its valorization of the creative agency of those who enact social change, point in other directions, certainly. An anarchist art history begins with the rejection of totalizing formulations in favour of understanding the histories we study as processes in formation within contextual social and material conditions that are autonomous from our own. Entering into a relationship of understanding from an anarchist point of view entails the willingness to explore the limits and possibilities out of which the past under consideration is constituted. Undertaking analyses and critical reflections while striving to conduct oneself in such a way as to be transparent, the

²⁶ Hemingway, ‘New Left Art History’s International’, p. 195. Hemingway references Georg Lukács’ *History and Class Consciousness* (1923) to back up his teleological argument that the ‘science’ of Marxism is humanity’s only means of self-emancipation therefore our self-emancipation depends on Marxism. Citing Lukács’ neo-Hegelian analysis, which privileged Marxism (embodied in the Soviet Communist movement) as the theoretical consciousness of the proletariat realizing, for the first time, humanity’s ability to comprehend social reality in its totality and transform history for human ends, Hemingway thus aligns himself with an apologist for the Communist Party dictatorship under Lenin and, later, Stalin. On Lukács, see Leszek Kolakowski, *Main Currents of Marxism: The Breakdown*, trans. P. S. Falla (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), pp. 253–307. Even more problematically, Hemingway’s equation of Lukács’ views with the notion that Marxism is a ‘science’ – and an infallible one at that – suggests he has yet to come to grips with the controversy surrounding Lukács’ thesis, which was received at the time as a threat to the codification of Marxism’s ‘scientific’ status following Lenin’s empiricist-based, reflection theory of knowledge. Gareth Stedman Jones’ rear-guard defense of Marxism and related critique of ‘Lukács’ long irrationalist crusade against “science” in *History and Class Consciousness*, explores this issue, as does Kolakowski; see Gareth Stedman Jones, ‘The Marxism of the Early Lukács’, in New Left Review Collective (eds), *Western Marxism: A Critical Reader* (London: Verso, 1983), p. 58 and Kolakowski, pp. 264–87.

²⁷ Hemingway, ‘Introduction’, *Marxism and the History of Art*, p. 3. The ‘variant’ Hemingway refers

historian adopts a position of partial knowledge in relation to the past that takes into account one's own subjective agency. In this way writing art history from an anarchist point of view can go some way towards avoiding the authoritarian pitfalls of Marxism's 'totalizing' aspirations.

Indeed, the hegemonic ambitions informing Hemingway's combative contempt for 'smorgasbord' art history are antithetical to anarchism. As sociologist Richard Day outlines in *Gramsci is Dead: Anarchist Currents in the Newest Social Movements* (2005), hegemony is a process in which social factions struggling for 'meaning, identity and political power' are pitted against each other as each strives to gain the upper hand.²⁸ These factions may galvanize people around a positive set of ideals and/or be imposed by force: in any event, they will always remain spheres of contestation as each strives for hegemony on the presupposition that 'effective social change can only be achieved simultaneously and *en masse*, across an entire national or supernational space'.²⁹ Whereas Marxist and liberal models of social change share a commitment to hegemony (and this is clearly what Hemingway aspires to) anarchism pursues an affinity-based model of radical social practice that addresses authoritarianism at its root, in our everyday lives. Day points to German anarchist Gustav Landauer's (1870–1919) exemplary argument that capitalism and state formations come into being 'not as "things" (structures), but as sets of relations between subjects (discourses)'.³⁰ Eschewing utopian blueprints for humanity's liberation, anarchists regard creativity and improvisation as integral to dismantling these relationships.³¹ Rather than seeking to 'emancipate "everyone at once"', they propound 'a non-hegemonic theory of social change ... that [does] not seek to free anyone at all but [is] focused on how each of us, as individuals and members of communities, must free ourselves, in an effort that cannot be expected to terminate in a final event of revolution'.³² Affinity figures as a means of strengthening these values while 'warding off and working against those whose practices perpetuate division, domination, and exploitation'.³³

Far from consigning anarchic social practices and values to an as-yet-to-be-attained future, anarchists argue they are already nascent in society, a point Day underlines as he explores contemporary feminism, postcolonial theory and queer politics, observing that 'there are currents within each' creating 'communities that share presuppositions that are *different* from those of the global system of state and corporations, and that are at the same time changeable and open to *anything but* the emergence of apparatuses

to is Lukács' thesis in *History and Class Consciousness*; see *ibid.*, p. 223, n. 7.

²⁸ Richard Day, *Gramsci is Dead: Anarchist Currents in the Newest Social Movements* (Toronto: *Between the Lines*, 2005), p. 6.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 127.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 186.

of division, capture and exploitation'.³⁴ The task, then, is to build affinities of 'groundless solidarity' (solidarity as a process of consensual intercommunity negotiation that does not privilege any particular identity as the foundational determinate of shared social struggles) based on an ethics of 'endless responsibility' (an enduring commitment to anti-authoritarian values within and between communities) that will enable these emerging anarchisms to fully realize their socially transformative potential.³⁵

Day's affinity-based approach reveals many avenues for anarchism to come to the fore in art history, both as a subject of study and a site for theoretical development. Queer theorist Jamie Heckert, for example, has unpacked anarchic configurations of sexuality and identity within post-structuralist thought that have art historical genealogies as well; the egoist anarchism of early twentieth-century post-feminist Dora Marsden, whose ideas were taken up and developed by the English Vorticists and New York Dadaists, prefigures many of the paradigms raised in queer theory.³⁶ Another rich current is Giles Deleuze's anti-determinist, anti-dialectical philosophy of becoming, which is indebted, in the first instance, to French philosopher Henri Bergson's metaphysics.³⁷ Political theorists have drawn attention to the anarchist dimensions of Deleuze's discussion of the generative function of difference as a means of escaping oppressive identity formations, and art historians would do well to consider his ideas from this perspective.³⁸ But they can also look to the work of art historian Mark Antliff, who has examined anarchist currents in modernism as they relate to Bergson and Deleuze's ideas and the implications for our understanding of fascist aesthetics as well as notions of closure, corporality, vision, individualism and the authoritarian uses of myth in collectivist politics.³⁹ In sum, anarchist interpretations of contemporary

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 18.

³⁶ Jamie Heckert, 'Sexuality as State Form', in Duane Rousselle and Süreyya Evren (eds), *Post-Anarchism: A Reader* (London: Pluto Press, 2011), pp. 195–207. On Vorticism, see Mark Antliff, 'Sculptural Nominalism/Anarchist Vortex: Henri Gaudier-Brzeska, Dora Marsden, and Ezra Pound', in Mark Antliff and Vivien Green (eds), *The Vorticists* (London: Tate Publishing, 2010), pp. 47–57. On Marsden's egoism and Dada in New York, see Antliff, *Anarchist Modernism*, pp. 73–94.

³⁷ John Mullarkey has characterized Deleuze's philosophy of difference as the 'contemporary implementation' of Bergson's concepts, and rightly so. See John Mullarkey, 'la Philosophie Nouvelle, or Change in Philosophy', in Mullarkey (ed.), *The New Bergson* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), p. 2.

³⁸ See N. J. Jun, 'Deleuze, Derrida, and Anarchism', *Anarchist Studies*, 15(2) (2007), 132–56 and Saul Newman, 'War on the State: Stirner's and Deleuze's Anarchism', *Anarchist Studies*, 9(2) (2001), pp. 147–63. Both Jun and Newman are indebted to Todd May's reading of Deleuze in his seminal study *The Political Philosophy of Post-Structuralist Anarchism* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994).

³⁹ See Antliff's anarchist analysis of fascism and myth in *Avant-Garde Fascism: The Mobilization of Myth, Art, and Culture in France, 1909–1939* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007); his discussion of Deleuze and Bergson in 'The Rhythms of Duration: Bergson and the Art of Matisse', in Mullarkey (ed.), *The New Bergson*, pp. 194–208; and his chapter on the Bergsonian-anarchist 'Action d'Art' group in *Inventing Bergson: Cultural Politics and the Parisian-Avant-Garde* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp. 135–67.

theory have the potential to transform already existing art historical methodologies and open up new avenues of interpretation in the process. Patricia Leighton's critique of influential New York art historian Rosalind Krauss's misreading of Russian theorist Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of the 'dialogical' in a bid to banish the politics of anarchism from Pablo Picasso's World War I era collages – 'business-as-usual' in the US art world – is another instance of anarchist art history at work in the theoretical sphere: we might look forward to many more.⁴⁰

While the theoretical work gets underway, a host of scholars are contributing to the history of anarchism in art by expanding the field of inquiry. Robyn Roslak, for example, has foregrounded the ecological aesthetic of the nineteenth-century neo-impressionists and the complex social analysis informing their representations of artisanal, rural and industrial labour over and against Marxist-inflected readings that cast anarchism as retrograde for failing to recognize the inevitability of industrialism and its role in preparing the ground for a socialist future.⁴¹ Similarly, though much has been written on modernism and Marxism in the Soviet era, Nina Gurianova is the first to argue that anarchism was the Russian avant-garde's political and aesthetic touchstone before 1918 and to forcefully make the case that this anarchist phase was far more radical than what followed.⁴² Francis M. Naumann, Gennifer Weisenfeld, Theresa Papanikolas and Hubert van den Berg have uncovered currents in the international Dada movement that leave no doubt as to anarchism's central importance.⁴³ Dieter Scholz's *Pinself und Dolch: Anarchistesche Ideen in Kunst und Kunsttheorie, 1840–1920* and Jesse Cohn's *Anarchism and the Crisis of Representation: Hermeneutics, Aesthetics, Politics* (2006) are noteworthy examples of anarchist aesthetics coming to the fore and the work

⁴⁰ Patricia Leighton, 'Cubist Anachronisms: Ahistoricity, Cryptoformalism, and Business-as-Usual in New York', *Oxford Art Journal*, 17(2) (1994), pp. 91–102. Leighton is well-known for her groundbreaking study, *Re-Ordering the Universe: Picasso and Anarchism, 1897–1914*, an inquiry which began when she took the time to read the press clippings documenting the horrors of the First Balkan War (1912) which Pablo Picasso had incorporated into his collages of 1912 and recognized the politics that motivated him to do so. See Patricia Leighton, *Re-Ordering the Universe: Picasso and Anarchism, 1897–1912* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), p. 5.

⁴¹ Robyn Roslak, *Neo-Impressionism and Anarchism in Fin-de Siècle France: Painting, Politics, and Landscape* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2007). While Roslak was making her case in a series of articles published in the 1990s, Marxist art historian John Hutton barely touched on ecological issues in the course of dismissing the neo-impressionists as naïve utopians unable to come to grips with the march of industrialism or the rise of proletarian class struggle. See John Hutton, *Neo-Impressionism and the Search for Solid Ground: Art, Science, and Anarchism in Fin-de Siècle France* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1994).

⁴² Nina Gurianova, *Aesthetics of Anarchy: Art and Ideology in the Early Russian Avant-Garde* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2012).

⁴³ Francis M. Naumann, 'Aesthetic Anarchy', in Jennifer Mundy (ed.), *Duchamp, Man Ray, Picabia* (London: Tate Publishing, 2008), pp. 58–75; Gennifer Weisenfeld, *MAVO: Japanese Artists and the Avant-Garde, 1905–1931* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002); Theresa Papanikolas, *Anarchism and the Advent of Paris Dada: Art and Criticism, 1914–1924* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2010); and Hubert van den Berg, *Avant-Garde und Anarchismus : Dada in Zürich und Berlin* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1999).

of anarchism's most well-known modernist art critic, Herbert Read, is also enjoying a resurgence as a topic of study.⁴⁴ Most recently, art historian Richard R. Brettell, building on the work of Roslak and others, has curated the first major exhibition to showcase the anarchist politics of the nineteenth-century artist Camille Pissarro.⁴⁵ These scholars, who are sympathetic towards or, in a few instances, fully engaged with anarchist politics, are nurturing affinities and spaces of recognition across the discipline and this is, in and of itself, an invaluable contribution. Beyond the hermeneutics of art created by anarchist artists, modern or contemporary, are societies whose cultural modes of expression are autonomous from the European-derived practices that have shaped so much of anarchist art up to the present. My own work on the anti-colonial anarchism of Indian art critic and historian Ananda Coomarswamy has touched on the issue of 'art's' social function in a non-Western context as an anarchizing social force, but what of the vast history of peoples who have lived 'without government' in the statist sense, both past and present? Here art historians have recourse to the methodologies of indigenous scholars who are currently exploring anarchism such as Glen Coulthard and Taiaiake Alfred and the work of anarchist anthropologists James C. Scott, David Graeber and others.⁴⁶

Of course there is more to be done. Stephen Melville has argued that what distinguishes art history from other disciplines is the continual revisiting of its object of study – the category 'art' – which produces an inherent reflexivity, a process of

⁴⁴ Dieter Scholz's *Pinsel und Dolch: Anarchistische Ideen in Kunst und Kunsttheorie, 1840–1920* (Berlin: Reimer Verlag, 1999); Jesse S. Cohn, *Anarchism and the Crisis of Representation: Hermeneutics, Aesthetics, Politics* (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 2006); and Michael Paraskos (ed.), *Re-Reading Read: New Views on Herbert Read* (London: Freedom Press, 2007).

⁴⁵ 'Pissarro's People' which opened at the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute (12 June–2 October 2011) and travelled to the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco (22 October 2011–22 January 2012), is accompanied by a sumptuously illustrated catalogue in which Brettell, who is one of art history's foremost scholars of impressionism, argues that anarchism was 'central to [Pissarro's] identity as a man – and therefore as an artist', from the 1870s to his death in 1903. See Richard R. Brettell, *Pissarro's People* (San Francisco, CA: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco and the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 2011), p. 64. Other notable treatments of Pissarro's anarchism, apart from Brettell and Roslak's, are Martha Ward's *Pissarro, Neo-Impressionism and the Spaces of the Avant-Garde* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1996) and Robert and Eugenia Herbert, 'Artists and Anarchism: Unpublished Letters of Pissarro, Signac, and Others', *Burlington Magazine* (November 1960), 473–82 and (December 1960), 517–22.

⁴⁶ See the Anarch/Indigenism issue of *Affinities: A Journal of Radical Theory, Culture, and Action*, 5(1) (2011), available at <http://journals.sfu.ca/affinities/index.php/affinities/issue/view/8/show-Toc>; Glen Coulthard, 'Subjects of Empire: Indigenous Peoples and the "Politics of Recognition" in Canada', *Contemporary Political Theory*, 6(4) (2007), 437–60; Taiaiake Alfred, *Wasáse: Indigenous Pathways of Action and Freedom* (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2005); James C. Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009); David Graeber, *Toward an Anthropological Theory of Value: The False Coin of Our Own Dreams* (New York: Palgrave, 2001); and Harold Barclay, *People without Government* (London: Kahn & Averill with Cienfuegos Press, 1982).

‘self-critique’, that can stand in as the ‘conscience’ of the academy.⁴⁷ An anarchist art history will intensify this process towards insurrectionary ends, ends that disrupt art history’s domestication within the cultural production of knowledge amenable to the social and institutional hierarchies that grease global capitalism. This entails a refusal of closure, methodological or otherwise, and a dedication to opening the history of art up to activism and dissent, skepticism and critique, prefiguration and creative rupture, all the ways in which social freedom manifests itself in the process of becoming anarchist.

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⁴⁷ Mansfield, p. 142.

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5. Participant Observation

Uri Gordon

It is not by accident that participant observation has become so popular in studies of contemporary movements allied with anarchism.¹ Aside from allowing activists enrolled in academic programmes to conveniently combine their research and political agendas, it is also a practice that carries substantive anarchist affinities. Participant observation is, after all, precisely about testing and transgressing boundaries – those between institutional expectations and political commitments, between scholarly pursuits and real life, and between the intellect, the emotions and the body. For anarchists who object to political borders as well as to all manner of social indoctrination into prescribed roles and identities, participant observation is attractive for the same reasons that it is challenging. It both allows and requires us to bring our whole social selves into our projects of study, to constantly test our perceptions of who we are and what we are doing, and to take a self-critical stance informed by an ethic of accountability to our comrades.

In this chapter I want to argue that participant observation, at least as far as research on anarchism is concerned, goes beyond a discrete research strategy with certain technical advantages. What I want to encourage instead is a view of participant observation as a form of research that is meaningfully in contact with anarchist values. This means that ‘participant observation’ should also be understood as ‘participatory observation’, that is, a form of collaborative inquiry that makes a conscious effort to break down the traditional boundaries between researcher and researched, and to meaningfully involve other members of the anarchist community in the generation of research questions, outputs and analyses.

As should be clear from the following pages, there is nothing particularly new in this call, merely a reiteration of the insights already informing many participatory research projects on the ground. In the first part of what follows, I look at the practice of participant observation and explain the importance of compounding it with practices

¹ For some recent examples see Garrett T. Dahl, *Empowerment of Cyclist Collective Identity in the Social, Safe, and Celebratory Spaces of Critical Mass* (Master’s thesis, Ohio University, 2009); David Foote, *Anarchists, Punks and Vegans – oh my! Ethnography of an Anti-capitalist Community of Dissent* (Master’s thesis, University of Waikato, 2009); Marta Kolářová, ‘Fairies and Fighters: Gendered Tactics of the Alter-Globalization Movement in Prague (2000) and Genoa (2001)’, *Feminist Review*, 92 (2010), 91–107; Niki Thorne, ‘*An Experiment in Liberation Fuelled by Love*’ ... *Hamilton FreeSkool, Prefigurative Politics, and Anthropological Practice* (Master’s thesis, York University, Toronto, 2011).

of action research and militant anthropology. In the second part I take a look at some of the dilemmas associated with creating such a close overlap between specialized research activities and our personal and political life, and with the need to legitimate this overlap towards academic institutions.

Participation and Action Research

As an academic tradition, participant observation emerged in ethnography and cultural anthropology between the World Wars. In its most traditional sense it refers to the methods of Western academics researching indigenous populations, where they would attempt to gain better insight into their culture by living among them for an extended period of time, learning their language and participating in their day-to-day activities, celebrations and rites.² Such practices have since come under significant criticism, pointing to anthropology's roots in the unequal power encounter between the West and the Third World, which led to the imposition of preconceived Western frames of interpretation on the lifeworlds of indigenous peoples, reproducing their image as 'backward savages' and making anthropologists complicit in the extension and reproduction of colonial power.³

In the context of research on anarchism, things are quite the opposite. Rather than a *participating observer*, anarchists researching anarchism are typically *observing participants* – the researcher is not so much an outsider who joins the anarchist milieu periodically for research 'among the natives', but rather is an insider, a person who is in a significant sense already native to the same activities, places and social contexts which she or he wants to investigate. Such participant observation inhabits anarchist collectives and networks as a social environment, through reflexive involvement in their activities and cultural codes. As Jeff Juris puts it,

this means helping to organize actions and workshops, facilitating meetings, weighing in during strategic and tactical debates, staking out political positions, and putting one's body on the line during mass direct actions. Simply taking on the role of 'circumstantial activist' ... is not sufficient. One has to build long-term relationships of mutual commitment and trust, become entangled with complex relations of power, and live the emotions associated with direct action organizing and activist networking.⁴

² For some classical examples, see Margaret Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa: A Psychological Study of Primitive Youth for Western Civilisation* (New York: William Morrow & Co, 1928); E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer, a Description of the Modes Livelihood and Political Institutions of a Nilotic People* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940).

³ Talal Asad (ed.), *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter* (London: Ithaca Press, 1973); Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London: Zed, 1999).

⁴ Jeffrey S. Juris, 'Practicing Militant Ethnography with the Movement for Global Resistance in Barcelona', in S. Shukaitis and D. Graeber (eds), *Constituent Imagination: Militant Investigations*,

In addition to inhabiting and fully participating in activist networks, this form of participant observation emphasizes a horizontal approach to the generation of knowledge. The rigid separation between researcher and researched is dissolved in favour of an approach whereby good research cannot be done *on* people but must be done *with* them. This is in line with traditions such as militant anthropology⁵ and action research⁶ which stress the emancipatory potential of the collective generation of knowledge, and value a socially committed orientation in intellectual endeavours. Participant research can thus express anarchist values by compounding observation with a process of collaboration and dialogue which empowers, motivates, increases self-esteem and develops solidarity among all those taking part.

The role of the observing participant, on this score, is to take part in and facilitate the reflexive process of learning among fellow activists, helping them to clarify and articulate the meaning of their activities and ideas. This means addressing the issues that activists face in their everyday organizing, assembling ideas so that they can be discussed carefully, laying open hidden assumptions and contradictory statements, and in general advancing activists' thinking by transposing it from the fragmented terrain of brief and informal debate to the written page, where a more structured and fine-grained discussion can be undertaken.⁷ The observing participant is therefore not simply an expert observer but primarily an enabler or facilitator, with the participants acting as co-researchers. This is an overtly engaged orientation grounded in an ethos of emancipation that recognizes grass-roots movements' ability to create valuable knowledge through reflexive practice. For Juris, this involves

a politically engaged and collaborative form of participant observation carried out from within rather than outside grassroots movements ... Rather than generating sweeping strategic and/or political directives, collaboratively produced ethnographic knowledge aims to facilitate ongoing activist (self-) reflection regarding movement goals, tactics, strategies, and organizational forms.⁸

This type of theorizing clearly resonates with Antonio Gramsci's idea of the 'organic intellectual'. According to Gramsci, each social group that comes into existence creates within itself intellectuals that give it meaning, and help it bind together and function. As he points out, 'there is no human activity from which every form of in-

Collective Theorization (Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2006), 165–6.

⁵ Nancy Scheper-Hughes, 'The Primacy of the Ethical: Propositions for a Militant Anthropology', *Current Anthropology*, 36(3) (1995), 409–40.

⁶ Peter Reason and Hilary Bradbury, *Handbook of Action Research* (London: Sage, 2001); Leonard Krimerman, 'Participatory Action Research: Should Social Inquiry Be Conducted Democratically?', *Philosophy of the Social Sciences*, 31(1) (2001), 60–82.

⁷ cf. Alain Touraine et al., *Solidarity: The Analysis of a Social Movement* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

⁸ Juris, 'Militant Ethnography', p. 164.

tellectual participation can be excluded'. Everyone, in other words, 'carries on some form of intellectual activity ... participates in a particular conception of the world, has a conscious line of moral conduct, and therefore contributes to sustain a conception of the world or to modify it, that is, to bring into being new modes of thought.'⁹

What is relevant here is not Gramsci's integration of the organic intellectual into an authoritarian-Marxist project striving to generate and impose a new hegemonic order, but rather the emphasis on her or his embeddedness in a particular milieu towards which she or he must remain responsive. Hence the process of generating anarchist research has to be a constant dialogue, in the sense that the people whose ideas and practices are examined should be meaningfully involved in the process of generating knowledge and insight. Only from this dialogical connectedness can the observing participant draw the confidence to speak. On such a reading, the voice of the intellectual should no longer come 'from above', but 'from within'.

Anarchist anthropologist David Graeber has been one of the more prominent voices describing such an approach to generating anarchist social theory. In addition to the initial assumption that 'another world is possible', he also thinks that 'any anarchist social theory would have to self-consciously reject any trace of vanguardism'. What this means is that the role of the anarchist theorist is not to arrive at the 'correct strategic analyses and then lead the masses to follow'. The point, rather, is to answer the needs of anarchists for theoretical expression on the issues that concern them, and 'offer those ideas back, not as prescriptions, but as contributions, possibilities – as gifts'.¹⁰

In terms of particular methodologies, this can involve at least the following elements:

- Appealing directly to the co-participants for input on relevant research questions.
- Initiating and/or participating in directed group discussions that offer an opportunity to reflect on the meanings and challenges of political activities.
- Preferring semi-structured interviews in which only a few questions are prepared, allowing for an open-ended dialogue in which the co-participants' own dilemmas and priorities come to the fore.
- Soliciting feedback from the co-participants on the emerging outputs of one's research.

In addition to the substantive opportunity to express anarchist values through our research, there are also obvious technical advantages to a participant's position. To begin with, it allows us a level of access to the anarchist milieu which would never be available to the outsider, who must overcome suspicions of being a self-serving academic at best, and a police infiltrator at worst.¹¹ Erica Lagalisse investigated patterns

⁹ Antonio Gramsci, 'The Intellectuals', in *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (New York: International Publishers, 1971), p. 9.

¹⁰ David Graeber, *Fragments of an Anarchist Anthropology* (Chicago, IL: Prickly Paradigm Press, 2004), pp. 10–12.

¹¹ cf. Arne Hintz and Stefania Milan, 'Social Science is Police Science: Researching Grass-Roots Activism', *International Journal of Communication*, 4 (2010), 837–44; Laura Portwood-Stacer, 'Construct-

of gendered domination in her Zapatista solidarity collective and activist house cooperative, both in Montreal. As she writes, her decision to research her peers' and her own activism

was inspired by my familiarity with both the compelling and problematic aspects of our praxis and my desire to articulate a constructive critique in this regard. I knew that turning my 'home' into the 'field' would involve both psychological and ethical challenges, but I also knew that my insider/outsider positioning as both activist and researcher would allow a unique opportunity to usefully research this activism ... After all, anarchist activists tend to be extremely critical of 'the establishment' and are not inclined to trust any academic they do not already know.¹²

In addition to facilitating access, the participant's position generates far more confidence in the authenticity of the behaviours and utterances observed. As sociologist Maxine Baca Zinn notes, an insider is

less apt to encourage distrust and hostility, and the experience of being excluded ... from communities, or of being allowed to 'see' only what people ... want [her] to see. People in minority communities have developed so many self-protective behaviors for dealing with outsiders, that it is quite reasonable to question whether many real behaviors and meanings are accessible to outsiders ... who often lack insight into the nuances of behavior.¹³

A participant's position also helps us outside of our immediate research milieu, for example in interpreting textual material. There is a great deal of anarchist literature out there – in books, pamphlets and 'zines, as well as on the web. But without context, it is difficult to determine to what degree a certain text is relevant and influential. This is especially true on the web, where anyone with minimal skills and access can set up a website and publish whatever they want on it. It is thus very easy to present a great deal of material in an attractive set-up, that would give the impression of prominence and importance, where in fact the articulation is misleadingly 'louder' on the web than it is in reality.¹⁴ As for textual interpretation, the emphasis again is on the insights offered by inhabiting the movement and its culture, experiencing them as a 'habitus', rather than as an 'other' mediated by and limited to the texts it produces.

ing Anarchist Sexuality: Queer Identity, Culture, and Politics in the Anarchist Movement', *Sexualities*, 13(4) (2010), 481.

¹² Erica Lagalisse, 'The Limits of "Radical democracy": A Gender Analysis of "Anarchist" Activist Collectives in Montreal', *Altérités*, 7(1) (2010), 22.

¹³ Maxine Baca Zinn, 'Field Research in Minority Communities: Ethical, Methodological and Political Observations by an Insider', *Social Problems*, 27 (1979), 209–19.

¹⁴ For an extreme example, see www.anarchy.no/.

The participant's position has been essential to my own work on contemporary anarchist political theory, as it is articulated within the movement's networks.¹⁵ It offers me intimacy with the verbal discussions among activists, as well as a nuanced and informed approach to written texts. This allows me to map out different arguments and controversies and to spell out the background of social action against which they occur. Developing normative debates in conversation with the vernacular political theorizing that takes place every day at meetings, protests and social events is an attempt to 'do' participatory political philosophy. My own contribution as a trained theorist is to differentiate between different aspects of a discussion, to notice when speakers regularly argue at cross purposes, to point out different uses of the same concept and to put the finger on the questions that are the most precise and meaningfully debatable. From this follows a second task, which is to suggest directions for the reconstruction of certain debates, to formulate substantive arguments of my own; and a third – to feed all this back into the ongoing conversation within the movement.

Negotiating Accountabilities

Participant research requires us to negotiate two essentially different kinds of accountability: towards our comrades and ourselves, and towards academic institutions. On the one hand, we are expected to be transparent about our position as an activist-researcher, to maintain the anonymity of our peers when discussing their actions, and to ensure that our research remains genuinely valuable to the group/s we are working with rather than becoming a self-serving academic exercise. On the other hand, we are expected to comply with academic norms and conventions such as presenting a research design, handing in periodic reports and undergoing assessments, leaving a paper trail of our research process, and submitting our work for evaluation and peer-review.

With the former, a few practical methods such as soliciting input and circulating results for comment were mentioned above. In addition, it is possible to go beyond reliance on our own integrity and to 'fence ourselves in' in terms of accountability to fellow participants. Canadian activist Chris Dixon has recently suggested that observing participants should 'develop more formalized mechanisms for academic researchers to work with articulated expectations *from movements* – and to face consequences when we don't follow through on those expectations'. For his PhD research, he relates, 'I created a second "committee" made up of a small crew of activists who evaluated my work and, when necessary, raised concerns about what I was doing. That was a very small-scale kind of formal accountability'.¹⁶

¹⁵ Uri Gordon, *Anarchy Alive! Anti-authoritarian Politics from Practice to Theory* (London: Pluto Press, 2008).

¹⁶ Chris Dixon, 'Accountability to Whom? Ethics and Activism in Movement Research', paper delivered at the North American Anarchist Studies Network Conference, Toronto, Ontario, 2011; online at www.youtube.com/watch?v=cL01mXIXjtQ.

Accountability towards academic institutions – especially as a student – is another matter altogether. Your dissertation committee may not tear-gas you, but they may well question the validity of research that is not disinterested, value-neutral or otherwise ‘scientific’.¹⁷ Thankfully, there is plenty of available literature on participant observation published in ‘respectable’ journals and academic presses to do the legitimating work for you. See the works cited in this chapter, as well as those they cite themselves, for inspiration and emulation. Remember that, at the end of the day, all you need to do is convince your examiners and/or committee that the piece of research that you have produced passes the bar in terms of disciplinary legitimacy. This will obviously be more difficult in relatively conservative academic institutions, but should still be possible as long as you dress up your material correctly. In practice this means producing a methodological ‘apologia’ – a couple of pages of text in your thesis that account for the process you undertook and place it within acceptable conventions.

Here, a candid account of your research process can do a great deal to disarm suspicions. You will probably want to address questions such as: What was your initial position towards the other research participants? Were you already part of the community or network, did you enter it for the purpose of research or did your involvement as an activist and a researcher proceed in parallel? What activities did you participate in? How did you recruit interviewees? What methods did you use to keep track of your insights? Did you keep a journal, take notes or accumulate a collection of texts? When and how did you take a step back from your participation in order to evaluate your experiences and observations?

You should also be prepared to say something about your personal position in relation to the field of study. On the one hand, discuss how participant observation requires researchers to use their social selves as their primary research tool, in order to experience and understand the ‘insider’s’ point of view. On the other hand, admit that there is indeed a need for some kind of intellectual integrity that allows for critical analysis rather than mere celebration. What should be stressed, however, is that one’s own experience can become a valuable tool of interpretation, a source of theoretical sensitivity rather than bias.

This was a point that I made in my own methodological apologia. I stressed that full participation in movement activities as an insider forced me to ponder interpretative questions and substantive political controversies not only in reference to the behaviours and utterances of other activists, but also with reference to *my own* reflections, emotions and behaviours. Thus personal experiences and my inner life inevitably fed into the discussion, exemplified in ongoing concerns around the way in which I was wielding power in activist circles; in my experiences of post-traumatic stress in the wake of violence in Genoa; and perhaps most strongly in connection to the situation in Israel/Palestine. Far from erasing my critical faculties, however, this personal involvement imbued the critical process with a far more intense and powerful dimension – since by

¹⁷ Cf. Jeff Schmitt, *Disciplined Minds* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001).

default it had to involve a component of *self*-criticism. The theoretical issues I was dealing with had to be confronted, not only for the sake of detached understanding, but also in pursuit of personal and political growth. Precisely because of this personal stake, engaging in an honest and critical discussion became a matter of direct self-interest. Only by constantly pushing myself to question my assumptions and interpretations, and to avoid easy or seemingly comfortable answers, could I generate within myself the kind of clear thinking that would address, or at least make better sense of, the very personal dilemmas and anxieties created by the issues I was discussing.

Nor should political identification with a movement's goals and values inevitably handicap the participant observer's critical faculties. Our interpretations of a movement's cultural codes and vocabulary should not need to suffer from the fact that we, too, think that 'another world is possible'. On the contrary, the identification itself provides a strong corrective against any temptation to present inaccurate findings in order to portray one's own community in a positive light. This is because the most valuable 'contribution' to a movement would be to point out practices and constructions of meaning of which the participants may not be aware, or which they are not keen to confront. Thus participant observation can not only legitimate but also explicitly espouse a self-aware, 'serious partiality'¹⁸ which can engage with the field in a critical and disillusioned manner precisely because of the motivation to contribute to the self-awareness and reflexivity of oneself and one's fellow activists.

Unlike anarchist bat ecologists and string theorists (I personally know one of each!), for observing participants there is a much wider overlap between the research process and our actual lives. This makes participant observation perhaps the most personal and emotionally intense among all choices of research strategy. Turning our actions and ideas into the objects of research brings us directly into confrontation with our own constructed identities, both as activists/anarchists and as academics/intellectuals. It is a difficult choice, but also a courageous one, and the rewards it carries are significant. Participant research allows us to turn our academic work, not only into a useful tool for developing the self-understanding of the movements of which we are part, but also into a process of personal growth and transformation which leaves us stronger and more individuated as human beings.

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¹⁸ James Clifford, 'Introduction: Partial Truths', in James Clifford and George Marcus (eds), *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1986), p. 7.

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6. Anarchy, Anarchism and International Relations

AlexPrichard*

Introduction

Anarchy is central to the academic study of international relations. While the terms of the debate may have changed with the times, the centrality of its core concept has moved Brian Schmidt to dub International Relations (IR) ‘the political discourse of anarchy’.¹ Ironically, however, *anarchism, the political philosophy of anarchy*, does not currently feature in the study of international relations, or political science for that matter. What I want to demonstrate in this chapter is the challenge anarchism poses for the academic study of international relations and, potentially, political science more broadly. I also want to show how an anarchist approach to international relations can help empower new forms of political agency by showing how we can all get involved in international politics without needing to be diplomats and foreign office officials. These two ambitions are linked, of course. If we change the way that we ‘see’ international relations, alternative forms of political agency become clearer and more viable.

The Political Discourse of Anarchy

One of the main hurdles to an empowering praxis of international relations is the grip that common conceptions of anarchy in international relations have on the political imagination. The international anarchy between states, the lack of a world government and the problems of cooperation that allegedly emerge from a condition of anarchic self-help, is said to be the principal block to emancipatory politics. By most accounts, anarchy is the problem to be *resolved*, though few believe this to be possible and many see the international anarchy as a transhistorical fact of life.²

¹ Brian C. Schmidt, *The Political Discourse of Anarchy: A Disciplinary History of International Relations* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1998). Note that I will be using the upper case, International Relations, to refer to the academic discipline and international relations, lower case, to refer to the object of study.

² Martin Wight, ‘Why Is there No International Theory?’, in Herbert Butterfield and Martin Wight

Kenneth Waltz, perhaps the most influential IR theorist since World War II, has argued that when it comes to the study of world politics, '[t]he problem is this: how to conceive of an order without an orderer and of organizational effects where formal organization is lacking'.³ Clearly, for Waltz (and most of IR it has to be said) what is most stunning about the international anarchy is how relatively well ordered it is. Order is not only possible in the international anarchy, but the norm. But how can this be so? Waltz assumes that what characterizes anarchy in international politics, what distinguishes the international realm from the domestic, is that states, conceived as undifferentiated rational actors, are sovereign, thereby recognizing no superior. They exist in anarchy. Why, then, are states not constantly at war with one another if there is no superior power to keep them all in awe? While anarchy is *permissive* of war, Waltz argues, the self-help structure that emerges between states forces them to balance against one another and avoid war wherever possible, mainly because of its costs. It is this defensive strategy and the relative benefits provided by a balance of power (state autonomy) that ensures order.

Because no one is charged with protecting states, Waltz argues that states must become self-regarding power-maximizers, concerned with their own survival. Because they also cannot rely on the cooperation of other states, defection being a likely outcome if none are compelled to cooperate, each state is mutually vulnerable and deeply suspicious of the aggrandizing tendencies of other states. Because states might go to war at any time, preparing for it is vital. This involves building up one's military capabilities, alliance-building and intelligence. As the republican theorist Philip Pettit has argued in a quite different context, 'the price of liberty is eternal vigilance'.⁴ We will have opportunity to revisit this maxim in two different contexts later.

On the face of it, Waltz's 'realist theory' of international politics is not a very pleasant picture of anarchy, and I'm sure no anarchist would endorse it as the model for life after the state. Nevertheless, most of the debate in IR over the past 50 years has surrounded precisely this image of world politics. This 'billiard ball model' of international relations presents world politics as consisting of hermetically sealed states with no linkages between them, ricocheting off one another, with the largest bouncing the hardest and invariably swallowing up the smaller ones like in some epic interplanetary collision. This image corresponds to our inherited and largely intuitive ideas about world politics and it has formed the backbone of thinking about world politics for almost three centuries.

An alternative way of seeing the international anarchy is to see states as ensconced in webs of institutional interdependence. For example, Hedley Bull, one of the key theorists of the 'English School' of international politics, argued that diplomacy, trade

(eds), *Diplomatic Investigations: Essays in the Theory of International Politics* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1966), pp. 17–34

³ Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (London: Addison-Wesley, 1979), p. 89.

⁴ Philip Pettit, *Republicanism: A Theory of Freedom and Government* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 6 and 250.

and the norms and values that some states share help to stabilize the balance of power in ways that mitigate distrust and self-help. However, Bull is clear, without anarchy, that is without the principle of sovereignty that underpins the autonomy and non-interference that states enjoy and which the balance of power protects, none of the other institutions of global life *would be possible*. International pluralism (live and let live) or the loose solidarity between like-minded states are both preferable to the universal dominium that the USSR threatened during the Cold War. But it is because Bull sees the institutions of diplomacy and trade and the shared norms that structure the relations between peoples in like-minded states as central to maintaining order, that the international anarchy is more like a *society* than the billiard ball model would suggest.⁵

Waltz and Bull occupy two different sides of the realist school of thought, and while it is no longer the dominant school of IR, that pre-eminent position now taken back by the liberals after 50 years in the wilderness (1939–89), it is still the position against which most critical theory defines itself. By way of oversimplification, if what characterizes realism is the centrality of the state and anarchy to their theory, then what characterizes the critical literature, from liberal to feminist and Marxist, is that anarchy *must be and is often transcended*.

First of all, liberals question the centrality of anarchy to world politics, arguing, like Bull, that interdependence is the analytically significant norm, that this *supersedes anarchy* in the contemporary world order and that the distinction between domestic and international is largely irrelevant in the contemporary globalized world order.⁶ Marxists have argued that interstate anarchy is a unique feature of capitalist modernity, a structure of power necessary to sustain capitalism rather than some transhistorical feature of global politics: transcend capitalism and anarchy will be transcended too.⁷ Feminists have argued that the ‘personal is international’ and that the notion that it is states in anarchy that is the primary security issue overlooks the lived experiences of women. Women routinely face domestic ‘security’ threats and are routinely the most marginalized in society. To see the international anarchy as a transhistorical feature of world politics is to tacitly endorse masculine practices of world ordering. The anarchic system sustains patriarchy – undermine one and the other will necessarily decline.⁸

While each approach seeks to transcend anarchy, the image of anarchy they argue against is too narrow and too unsophisticated, as I will try and show in the following section. But more than this, too few have reflected on the fact that if world politics

⁵ Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics* (London: Macmillan, 1977).

⁶ Helen Milner, ‘The Assumption of Anarchy in International Relations Theory: A Critique’, *Review of International Studies*, 17 (1991), 67–85.

⁷ Justin Rosenberg, *The Empire of Civil Society: A Critique of the Realist Theory of International Relations* (London: Verso, 1994).

⁸ Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000).

is more complex than we thought, if there are many more centres of power today, historical processes more fluid than we thought and our representations of the naturalness of ‘the international’ less stable or natural than we had assumed, then anarchy has become *more* not less acute. If we take the postmodernists seriously and recognize that all our representations of ‘the global’ are ultimately foundationless, meaning that they rest on nothing more than webs of signification, then there is also a deep *epistemological* anarchy to contend with too.⁹ How then would standard notions of revolution (Marxist, feminist or otherwise) remove anarchy? Surely the reimposition of new hierarchies and new notions of inside and outside will simply recast anarchy in other forms?

The realists may be conservatives, but they are among the few to have ruminated on the ‘virtues of anarchy’.¹⁰ In an often overlooked but relatively lengthy discussion, Waltz, for example, argued that defending anarchy ensures that no state becomes predominant and that states can retain their liberty. An anarchy of independent states ensures a catastrophic ‘civil’ war, one waged internally between peoples to capture a world state, cannot break out; that states must coordinate and regulate their internal relations to meet external goals, and that they must modernize and develop their military and governmental institutions in order to respond better to the challenges of the self-help environment. As Pettit argued in a domestic context, ‘the price of liberty is eternal vigilance’. By having to ‘do it themselves’, so to speak, by being autonomous and responding actively to external pressures, states build also up their internal capacities. By this image, anarchy exerts progressive, developmental pressures on political groups and actors.

In true Kantian vein,¹¹ Waltz hinted that democratic states are best equipped to respond quickly to outside pressures and to develop domestically. Taking up this line of reasoning, Alex Wendt has argued that ‘anarchy is what states make of it’.¹² By this analysis, with the emergence of a Kantian logic of international order, one in which like-minded democratic states no longer go to war with one another because norms of trust and correspondingly strong institutions have developed, the Hobbesian anarchy of the ‘billiard ball model’ is transformed into a republican peace *in anarchy*. Anarchy can also be seen as the framework for global peace rather than insecurity.

⁹ See, for example, Paul Feyerabend, *Against Method: Outline of an Anarchistic Theory of Knowledge* (London: New Left Books, 1975); R. J. B Walker, *Inside/Outside: International Relations as Political Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Richard Ashley, ‘Untying the Sovereign State: A Double Reading of the Anarchy Problematique’, *Millennium – Journal of International Studies*, 17(2) (1988), 227–62.

¹⁰ Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, pp. 111–14.

¹¹ As Waltz once stated, ‘I am a Kantian, not a positivist’, Fred Halliday and Justin Rosenberg ‘Interview with Ken Waltz’, *Review of International Studies*, 24 (1998), 371–86. See also Deudney on Waltz’s republican legacy.

¹² Alexander Wendt, ‘Anarchy Is what States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics’, *International Organization*, 46(2) (1992), 391–425.

Waltz and Wendt are both self-identifying statist, but an anarchist approach can build on Waltz or Wendt to undermine their obvious statism and invert it to anarchistic ends. To do this, we first have to recognize that IR has become almost completely ‘bewitched’, to use Quentin Skinner’s eloquent term, by its inherited understandings of anarchy and the state. Under this spell, we cannot see the possibilities inherent in the present and the limits of our own conceptual apparatus.¹³ To paraphrase Skinner, it is only by abandoning the dominant paradigm that we can move beyond the current impasse.¹⁴ What I will now argue is that the logic that applies to the state ought and can be applied to the relations of all *social groups* that operate ‘between’, ‘across’ and ‘within’ what we traditionally think of as ‘states’. This is what Proudhon’s anarchism can bring to conceptions of anarchy in IR, and a brief discussion of it should illustrate this more clearly.

Anarchism and International Relations

Some 20 years ago, Ken Booth argued that if we desire peace and security in world politics, anarchy might best be seen as ‘the framework for thinking about the *solutions* to global problems, not the essence of the problem to be overcome’.¹⁵ Booth did not flesh out what this might mean beyond the notion that the world might be constituted as a ‘community of communities’. Others have attempted to argue for the value of anarchism for world politics in other ways,¹⁶ but to date, none have taken up Booth’s challenge to properly theorize the emancipatory potential of anarchy in and for the study of world politics.

A good place to start might be with the works of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809–65), the first self-identifying anarchist. Proudhon defended his vision of anarchism in a number of different ways over the course of the 50+ volumes he wrote. Contrary to popular misconceptions, however, a close and contextual reading of these works shows his vision of republican, mutualist federalism to be relatively consistent over that time. While the emphasis may have changed, the underlying vision did not. Bearing this in mind, Proudhon’s writings about international politics, which were contained in six of the last eight books he wrote, constitute the most developed articulation of this vision, one of the only anarchist approaches to international politics, certainly the most extensive and detailed early socialist writings on world politics, and probably one of

¹³ Quentin Skinner, *Liberty before Liberalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

¹⁴ Quentin Skinner, ‘Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas’[1969], in James Tully (ed.), *Meaning and Context: Quentin Skinner and His Critics* (Cambridge: Polity, 1988), pp. 29–67.

¹⁵ Ken Booth, ‘Security in Anarchy: Utopian Realism in Theory and Practice’, *International Affairs*, 67(3) (1991), 540.

¹⁶ For a fuller survey of anarchist approaches to IR see Alex Prichard, ‘Introduction: Anarchism and World Politics’, *Millennium – Journal of International Studies*, 39(2) (2010), 373–80.

the most important early sociological studies of war. Of course, they've been all but ignored.¹⁷

There are four aspects of Proudhon's thought that can help us rethink anarchy: his theory of natural groups; his relational ontology, that is, his theory of how natural groups emerge out of complex social relations; his theory of social conflict; and the critique of the state and capitalism that rests on this prior social theory. I will now discuss each in turn.

Modernity is characterized by many things, but the emergence of the rational, sovereign individual is central to the transformation that took place in political thought between the seventeenth and the nineteenth centuries. As Richard Tuck has shown, the emergence of the individual was also coterminous with the emergence of the state, considered the social group *par excellence*.¹⁸ The question prompted by this transformation was: How can the autonomy of the individual be reconciled with that of the state and does the state supersede all other groups in society? Answers to this question form the canon of Western political thought, and like his contemporaries, Proudhon also approached the question of international politics in this frame.¹⁹

In the 'Petit Chatechisme Politique',²⁰ Proudhon argues that the individual and the group are as inviolable as one another, and that neither groups nor individuals have the right to dominate the other, or one another. Thus, the state has no right to dominate all other groups. It is, *inter alia*, because the state dominates both individuals *and* groups that it is unjust. This political argument is important and is well known, but the theory of social groups that underpins it dramatically changes the way we understand international politics.

So, first of all, where do all these groups come from? Proudhon's answer is: from transformative action. As individuals co-act, they become a group. The outputs of their collective labour, be that material or intellectual, 'are quite different, often quite the inverse, of *my* individual conclusions. But be clear that this conversion does not lead to the condemnation of individuality; it presupposes it.'²¹ Co-action leads to group

¹⁷ For more detailed examinations, see Alex Prichard, *The International Political Theory of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809–1865): A World without Sovereigns* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012).

¹⁸ Richard Tuck, *The Rights of War and Peace: Political Thought and the International Order from Grotius to Kant* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

¹⁹ In *General Idea of the Revolution*, Proudhon provides his staunchest defence of the autonomy of the individual against the encroachments of the communists or the state. Proudhon's most stridently collectivist writings were only published posthumously as the *Cours d'Economie Politique*, and have been largely ignored. It is in *De la Justice*, where the two poles of the antimony between individual and group are worked out to their fullest. For more on this, see Sophie Chambost, *Proudhon et la Norm: Pensé Juridique d'un Anarchiste* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2004).

²⁰ This short essay is a crucial piece of Proudhon's four-volume *magnum opus*, *De la Justice* (1858). It has recently been translated by Jesse Cohn and included in Iain McKay's excellent anthology: *Property is Theft! A Pierre-Joseph Proudhon Anthology* (Edinburgh: AK Press, 2011), pp. 654–84.

²¹ P.-J. Proudhon, *De La Justice Dans La Révolution Et Dans L'église: Études De Philosophie Pratique*, 4 vols (Paris: Fayard, 1988–90), p. 1261 (*emphasis added*).

formation, regardless of whether those who co-act see themselves as a group. But for groups to have political capacity they must affirm this collective agency, either by constitutionalizing their internal interactions or by democratizing them, and then they have to *act* like a group. Groups don't cohere without purposive *action*.

Proudhon argued that the character of groups is determined by the confluence of the characters, ambitions and failings of the individuals within them, while the character of individuals is formed in those very same groups in turn – a classic ‘chicken and egg’ way of seeing the relationship. Language is a good example of one aspect of this process. Without the group, language acquisition becomes impossible and the precise language individuals learn, the unique accent they adopt, is shaped by the groups they grow up in, the geographic moves they make during their youth and so forth. Direct democracy is an example of the influence going the other way. Group politics are shaped by the direct involvement of individuals and what a group decides is identifiably the result of individual input. But the outcome of both processes is irreducible to either group or individual. The individual's precise linguistic inflection and the character of the group are *emergent* properties, superior to the sum of the relationship between the two, but nothing without both.

Liberal communitarian statist, by contrast, argued that emergent associations *supersede* the ‘lower’ units, both ethically and politically, while individualists argued that individuals are more normatively significant than groups because groups are *only* aggregates of individuals. But where both agreed was that through the imposition of a universal law, an unavoidable degree of force, the mollifications of custom and the complex jiggery pokerey of modern democracy, the state was justified in arrogating to itself the right to direct and adjudicate between all individuals and to supersede all other groups.

Proudhon begged to differ and the next step in his argument was what cut him off from the mainstream of Western political thought. He argued that just as all individuals are inviolable, so too are all social groups equally sacrosanct. The autonomy of groups, like the autonomy of individuals is central to the possibility of either and to elide that through representation or superveneance (allowing the state to *supervene* all other groups) is to elide the very thing that gives associations and ultimately political community itself, dynamism; that is, the autonomy of groups. Central to Proudhon's writings on international relations, then, is the idea that all ‘natural groups’ are as ontologically, normatively and politically significant as all individuals.

In *Contradictions Politiques*, Proudhon defines ‘natural groups’ as any groups that ‘willy-nilly impose upon themselves some conditions of solidarity ... which soon constitutes itself into a city or a political organism, affirms itself in its unity, its independence, its life or its own movement (autokinesis), and its autonomy’.²² Examples of natural groups include nations, towns, cities, parish councils, football clubs and so forth. The

²² Cited in K. Steven Vincent, *Pierre-Joseph Proudhon and the Rise of French Republican Socialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), p. 218.

state, shorthand for the government for our purposes here, is but one group among many, and is often itself divided between various factions or groups. Other groups might include the judiciary, the army, the police, unions, classes, workshops and so on. How these groups align with one another and whether these groups are autonomous from one another, is what gives a particular constellation its political character. For example, if labour unions align with a social democratic government, the resulting emergent political culture will be quite different than if the government aligns with the military and judiciary against a minority group in society. Clearly, each different constellation requires that the related groups exert a degree of force on one another.

Force is central to Proudhon's international social theory. Like in international relations and the balance of power, Proudhon recognized that force was central to politics. At the most basic level, even inanimate objects exert a force of resistance when you bump up against them. Sentient beings and groups also exert force when they express and affirm their individuality or autonomy. One defines oneself and one's goals against others. One acts against others. Social life is characterized by relations of force exerted by social groups upon one another. This is not to say that might makes right, only that might underpins all conceptions of right. Without force, there is no order as society would atrophy. Like international society, order is maintained and changes through emergent and transforming relations of group force.

Whether a given alignment corresponds to classical theories of the state is an empirical question. It is my contention that the sort of total state or leviathan envisaged by Hobbes or Rousseau was, and remains, possible only in a condition of total war, when all social groups pull in the same direction, usually at gunpoint. At all other times, society pulls in different directions and rarely together.

What also characterizes and distinguishes one society from another is the way in which these underlying relations of social force are rationalized and given moral weight. Religion, liberalism, communism and so forth, all rationalize particular constellations of social force; that is, they rationalize a balance of power within and between the social groups that go to making up a given society. These rationalizations are also emergent systems of justice. For Proudhon Christianity or socialism, are both historically specific manifestations of justice, rationalizing, making sense of and legitimizing the realignment of social groups in relation to one another. As our ideas about justice become more enlightened (a necessity if we are to progress from slavery to freedom), then so too will constellations of social groups change to reflect these ideas, and so too will these ideas change to reflect (upon) this social change. For example, the pre-modern state was constituted by the warrior class, the most heavily armed group in society. Brute force led to the domination of this group over society but that domination was rationalized and legitimized as a manifestation of divine justice. Charlemagne, Alexander the Great and innumerable others embodied this link between divine and temporal power. Nowadays, with the military and the church nominally distinct from the government, different rationalizations of force are articulated through the plural discourses of liberalism, including individual rights, representative democracy, state

autonomy and power and so forth, which reflect in and support our modern ideas of justice, order and international anarchy.

If force is central to social order and social change, and if it is through the confluence or conflict between groups that norms emerge, then for Proudhon the social state is a state of war: ‘politics, by its essence, by its right and in its institutions is war’.²³ Antagonism is as productive as it can be destructive, but whichever way we look at it, relations of force are at the heart of the social order, are what sustain it and what defend it. As societies become more complex, force is sustained without the need for direct violence, by complex juridical or cultural norms or economic interdependence, trust, cooperation and so forth. As Bull recognized in the international anarchy, brute force always underpins this equilibrium and we see this most clearly in domestic society when the police or army are ordered onto the streets to maintain a ‘status quo’ that is clearly not universally accepted.

Thus, the ‘domestic’ order, by this analysis, is little different from the ‘international’ order theorized by realists. This group ontology, what Proudhon calls in *De La Justice* a ‘revolutionary ontology’,²⁴ is central to the way in which he understands European international politics too. Moreover, Proudhon saw justice as immanent to and emergent from social conflict: to speak ‘as a supporter of immanence [makes one] a true anarchist’,²⁵ Proudhon argued.

Proudhon proposed federalism as a *better* way of organizing society. The federative principle was essentially designed to institutionalize the complex diversity of natural groups that go to make up a society without constraining the autonomy of groups or individuals to realign or change in whichever direction they choose. Federalism, by Proudhon’s analysis was constituted as a pact, a contractual agreement between unequals for equitable ends. Federalism works as treaties do in international politics between ‘sovereign states’: they do not provide equality or undermine hierarchy, but they do allow the negotiation of equity. In the absence of formal hierarchy, where none is preponderant, pacts, contracts and treaties specify the status quo. Law should be seen in the same light; not as a universal standard, but as a codification of the political status quo. It is incumbent upon us to challenge that order if we find it to be contrary to our group interests, to our ideas about justice or our individual conscience. Federalism conceived as a pact, is a way of seeing the world as much as it is a theory for its reorganization. What it presupposes is the rejection of formal hierarchies and centres of power.

Like the republican he was, Proudhon argued that all powers had to be divided. Once groups and powers had been divided, their relations were to be constitutionalized in terms of reciprocal *mutuality*. This meant that social groups should relate commutatively or horizontally, according to need, in recognition of their mutual vul-

²³ P.-J. Proudhon, *La Guerre Et La Paix, Recherches Sur La Principe et la Constitution du Droit Des Gens. Nouvelle edn, 2 vols (Paris: Editions Tops, 1998), p. 122.*

²⁴ Proudhon, *De La Justice*, p. 725.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 637.

nerability and interdependence, and on the basis of reciprocal equality of status derived from their natural autonomy. Individual rights would be enshrined in all groups by instituting direct democracy to govern their internal relations, giving each individual the formal right to express their individuality and thereby shape the identity of the group in ways that respected that individuality.²⁶ As natural groups assert their autonomy in anarchy and federate their interrelations, any centralizing powers become constrained because they cannot dominate.

In this system, the state would no longer be ‘the ultimate prize’. Anarchy would not only guarantee autonomy but would also compel groups to ‘do it themselves’. To paraphrase Kant, the freedom of one would be the precondition of all and, to repeat Pettit’s arresting line, ‘the price of liberty is eternal vigilance’.

Unlike Kant or Petit, Proudhon applied this republican impulse to the economy too. By democratizing property titles, the whims of the capitalist are similarly constrained. Democratizing capital would stop monopoly, would help regulate the relations of enterprises and workshops and would develop systems of regulation and governance that all would participate in willingly and have their voices heard democratically. Economic alienation and political alienation have the same cure – democratize the workplace! Needless to say, this is a million miles away from what we have today.

Proudhon thus saw anarchy as the framework which best guaranteed the liberty of all groups, not just the government, and best ensured that groups mutually constrained and enabled one another. Anarchism becomes the manifestation and rationalization of justice in this context and the other chapters in this book will undoubtedly specify this in more detail in different social and political cases. Regardless of the focus, however, the social equilibrium that emerges from this confluence of forces is best understood and developed in more just ways using the tools of philosophical anarchism.

Conclusion: A World without Sovereigns?[[<http://www.lisaberger.net/>]]www.lisaberger.net/]].

Because the tendency today is to see the world as populated by states and individuals and very little else, it is far easier to think of the institutional architecture of world politics in terms of levels: the individual, the domestic, the state, the international, the supranational and so on. But what if we look at the world from Proudhon’s perspective and see global society as composed of porous and interconnected groups? What sort of challenge does this pose?

First, it no longer makes sense to see one group as ‘above’ the other, with some social reality divided between ‘levels’ populated by only one type of group (governments, or

²⁶ P.-J. Proudhon, *De La Capacité Politique Des Classes Oeuvrières* (Paris: Slatkine, 1982), p. 268.

more accurately, state departments or foreign offices). Secondly, we can see why talk of international relations is historically specific to a period in which *nations* went to war with one another and nationalism justified particular historical social relations. This means we can understand politics historically and sociologically and it makes it very difficult to say that there is anything permanent about social relations at all. Thirdly, anarchy becomes the condition of politics as such. Just because some societies are relatively stable ought not to blind us to the fact that this stability is contingent on the relations of force between social groups holding in their current form. Despite the government's claim to represent the final point of authority in a given area, and despite its claim never to give in to force, what we see in reality is that governments rarely bow to anything other than force and in this globalized world are one point of authority among many. Force, be that violent or otherwise, and the rebalancing of power is the permanent condition of politics. This takes place in a wider and deeper anarchy than IR theorists have been willing to accept but which some anarchists have seen clearly for centuries.

Seen from this perspective, global society becomes 'flat' and it is much easier to see how our actions have global effects if we refuse to see all meaningful international political agency as necessarily mediated through states or the formal arteries of global power. As Chris Rossdale, Uri Gordon and others have shown,²⁷ we can act directly in international politics if we rethink where international politics takes place. We act in the realm of the 'glocal' (the confluence of the global and the local) by taking part in the Climate Camp, in local resistances to the encroachments of the global neo-liberal logics of appropriation, or when climate justice or anti-nuclear activists like Trident Ploughshares shut power stations or disable Britain's nuclear capability. International politics happens in the realms of everyday life, we just have to see it like that and act accordingly. International politics impacts on us when multinationals make decisions to build environmentally dangerous pipelines or dams in our most cherished nature reserves, and we act in international politics when we resist them. As Uri Gordon has shown, the Israeli state may not be listening to anarchists, but anarchists can change the international politics of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict on the ground by building solidarities between social, political and ethnic groups and transcending the conflict in local communities.

To close then, first of all, anarchy is more intense and deeper than we previously assumed, and IR would be better placed as a discipline if it turned its analytical tools towards the global, social 'anarchy problematique'. Ironically, realist and liberal IR theorists are uniquely placed to help anarchists think about achieving order in anarchy. Realists and liberals have spent decades looking at the possibilities of cooperation in anarchy, how best to secure communities in anarchy, how to understand conflict, how

²⁷ Chris Rossdale, 'Anarchy Is what Anarchists Make of It: Reclaiming the Concept of Agency in IR and Security Studies', *Millennium – Journal of International Studies*, 39(2) (2010), 483–501; Uri Gordon, *Anarchy Alive: Anti-Authoritarian Politics from Practice to Theory* (London: Pluto Press, 2008).

to avoid it and so on. They just need to be *more* realistic about their social ontology and more consistent in their politics. What applies to one group ought to apply to all. Anarchists can learn from a large body of IR literature and IR theorists have much to learn from the anarchists. The challenge for political science and political theory is relatively clear: we need a wholesale return to anarchism now.

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Part III: Current Research in Anarchist Studies

7. Bridging the Gaps: Twentieth-Century Anglo-American Anarchist Thought

Carissa Honeywell

Introduction

A body of twentieth-century anarchist writing exists, comprised of the work of Herbert Read, Alex Comfort, Paul Goodman, Colin Ward and Murray Bookchin, which offers a rich but neglected source for historical and theoretical research into anarchism. I aim here to offer an analysis of the work of these authors that both points to a problem in anarchist historiography and also highlights flaws in the conventional treatment of anarchist political theory. In particular these flawed treatments obscure the intelligibility of anarchist claims about freedom. The position that is offered in this chapter views anarchism as both a more consistent and significant element of political thinking from the twentieth to the early twenty-first centuries in Britain and America than has been conventionally assumed to be the case. The writers who form the basis of the discussion offered here can thus be understood to effectively bridge the perceived gap between nineteenth-century classical anarchism and twenty-first-century expressions of anarchism. This is most apparent in their treatments of nineteenth-century anarchist commitments to freedom which develop distinctive twenty-first-century emphases on agency and direct action as part of an essential expression of self-development, individuality and solidarity. Twentieth-century anarchist political theory drew rich intellectual connections and influences into its theorizing of human freedom and applied itself to contemporary social and political experience. Understanding this also means that we can make more confident assessments of the relationship between later anarchist-inspired writers like Noam Chomsky and anarchist traditions of thought.

The treatment of anarchism in the study of political ideas has generally been unpropitious for the recognition of vibrant and stimulating twentieth-century deployments of the tradition and their contributions to social movements and political thought.¹

¹ As Peter Marshall notes: 'It is usual to dismiss its ideas of pure liberty at best as utopian, at worst, as a dangerous chimera', *Demanding the Impossible. A History of Anarchism* (London: Fontana Press, 1993), p. ix.

Anarchist theory has traditionally been charged with anachronism, incoherence and hostility to established ideological tradition. This sets up an understanding of anarchism as an esoteric anomaly, associated with isolated eccentric intellectuals on radically exterior ideological fringes. As a result, a rich current of anarchism has been overlooked leaving a series of gaps in the twentieth-century history of ideas, particularly between the assumed death of the anarchist political idea in the 1930s and its disembodied ‘revival’ towards the end of the century. The oversight is also manifested in an overemphasis on the differences between classical and modern approaches to anarchism. Furthermore, due to their assumption that anarchism is conceptually confused in its position on freedom, commentators have neglected the distinctive developments of thinking about freedom that have developed within anarchist political thought. If we challenge this assumption, we can appreciate the manner in which anarchist writers have challenged conventionally established dichotomies relating to the concept of freedom, notably the assumed tension between the individual and the community and between positive and negative versions of the concept. Problematic treatments of the anarchist tradition were presented in literature on political ideologies in the twentieth century which depicted anarchism as politically otiose and ideologically incoherent, or, as Marshall noted, as ‘puerile and absurd’.² Literature on anarchism as an ideological tradition in the twentieth century tended to characterize it as irrelevant to political practice or as conceptually inconsistent. E. J. Hobsbawm provides an example of the former and David Miller an example of the latter. In both these cases the assumptions that underpinned these assessments of anarchism were inadequate for the study of the history of ideas. These treatments led to the characterization of anarchism in the twentieth century as too irrelevant and conceptually inconsistent to be worthy of serious consideration as a living, dynamic ideological tradition. The main argument provided by Miller and others as to the conceptual incoherence of anarchism concerned the relationship between anarchism’s commitment to the freedom of the individual and its assertion of the spontaneous coordinative capacities of the social group. Miller assumes that the two commitments are mutually incompatible. Misunderstandings such as this contributed to the reduced visibility of twentieth-century Anglo-American anarchist thought, particularly its handling of freedom. In what follows below I will engage with both these critiques in order to clear the way for a more thorough understanding of the work of the authors addressed here and their place in anarchist debates.

Read, Comfort, Goodman, Ward and Bookchin were some of the most prominent, visible and engaged exponents of Anglo-American anarchism in the twentieth-century period. A focus on the thought of Read demonstrates how he utilized and developed the anarchist tradition of thinking about freedom in an attempt to renew the spirit of liberty in British political culture. Importantly, his political philosophy emerged in a variety of responses and reactions to political and cultural ideas and events that shaped British society in the first half of the twentieth century. Read saw anarchism in the early

² *Marshall*, *Demanding the Impossible*, p. *xiv*.

twentieth century as a source of political and cultural renewal, and part of the modernist movement in social, political and aesthetic forms. Comfort utilized anarchism to formulate a philosophy of autonomy and responsibility, which he turned against the mainstream political ideas of the mid-century period, particularly those regarding the notion of citizenship and democratic war. Comfort saw the pertinence of anarchism in the twentieth century in its powerful call for responsibility and interpersonal bonding in an irresponsible, atomized age. Goodman's anarchism was also formulated as a political theory of freedom-as-engagement in response to what he saw as the unnatural and unfree habits of work and leisure as American society moved into the post-war consumer era. Similarly Ward's challenge to British social policy and the influence of his ideas on new social movements framed anarchism as conducive for self-governing political behaviour in the later twentieth century. Deploying anarchist themes in a similar way, Bookchin theorized the relationship between ecology and anarchism to highlight the importance of the anarchist voice in modern political debates about the environment. Each of these figures was drawn to the anarchist tradition in order to perform the reassessment of values which they considered that twentieth-century social, political and environmental conditions called on committed intellectuals to make. The work of these thinkers consistently included concerns regarding the effects of late capitalism, state growth and urban society on individual freedom and community self-government. The central unifying commitment to freedom lying behind these modern themes took the form of a particular concern with the development of self and the sociological and psychological contexts of the free personality.

Significantly, these figures shared a particular concern to take multidimensional and interdisciplinary approaches to theoretical questions. In a number of respects their ideas were mutually reinforcing. They were also personally, historically and theoretically interconnected figures, working and reworking parallel themes in broadly similar contexts in a shared effort to apply anarchism to public political debate and areas of contemporary social practice. In their interconnection, Read played a particularly important role. His concerns about the rise of mass culture and homogenized collectivity in the mid-century era, as well as his pacifism and his focus on the inner qualities of self-creation, were also significant features of the work of the other figures addressed here. Comfort was directly and profoundly influenced by the philosophy and politics of Read, which he drew on and developed in his own work. The other anarchist intellectuals highlighted here understood Read to be a significant anarchist propagandist of the post-war era. Radian themes concerning education and art were prominent in the work of Ward in particular. Although Bookchin took a different intellectual path to anarchism, he also cited Read as a significant influence on his work. Goodman was more disconnected from Read, but he was brought into this intellectual grouping indirectly through Ward's work. In fact, the connection between the American and British theorists in modern anarchist writing is highlighted by the influence of Goodman's ideas on British anarchist Ward, who recognized his intellectual debt to Goodman in the dedication of his most prominent work of anarchist theory *Anarchy in Action*.

The ideas and biography of these anarchist writers demonstrate a number of qualities that are particularly conducive for highlighting twentieth-century anarchism. All these figures were clear about their commitment to anarchist political ideas. They were explicit about the anarchist themes and concepts that underpinned their intellectual endeavours and made public claims that their aim was to apply anarchism to twentieth-century politics. It is also significant that they addressed their ideas to both anarchist and non-anarchist public audiences. Their names were recognizable in relation to public debates in the fields of literature and art criticism. They took public positions in political controversies regarding war, democracy, pacifism and the environment. They were prominent contributors to currents of thought relating to education and social policy, and, in one case, associated with a notorious challenge to conventional codes of morality in sexual behaviour. Anarchism underpinned their intellectual endeavours in these fields. For these thinkers anarchism was a vital resource for the challenges they sought to make to British and American mainstream politics. They deployed the anarchist tradition in response to a number of features of the twentieth century. These included war and conscription. The anarchist theory presented by these figures also responded to concerns about mass society. It raised doubts over the benefits of state welfare and criticized the failures of mainstream socialism. It also formulated an anarchist political response to problems of environmental destruction.

This group of twentieth-century writers were self-conscious about the influence on their ideas of the work of classical anarchist thinkers, including William Godwin, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, Michael Bakunin and Peter Kropotkin, although the extent of this influence varied across the work of the five figures. Twentieth-century anarchism developed from the ideas of anarchism's eighteenth- and nineteenth-century progenitors and the intellectuals of the last century picked up their themes with the conviction that they were pertinent to the modern era. Kropotkin's influence was particularly marked in twentieth-century anarchism, most notably his emphases on mutual aid and spontaneous natural order, which had a key role to play in Ward's critiques of state-administered welfare and the Fabian bureaucratic socialist tradition with which it is associated, and in Bookchin's view of self-organizing organic forms. Godwin's influence was apparent in the emphasis placed on the importance of individual human reason and the capacity for independent judgement, traceable in Read's hostility to conscription, Goodman's objection to state education and Comfort's rejection of unquestioned moral norms. Proudhon's authority was evident in the stress twentieth-century authors placed on federation, localism and the decentralization of political power, and also the notion of independence. These themes were key in the decentralism of all the twentieth-century authors addressed here, and their assessments of the role of private property in free and equal social relations, for example Ward's support for private housing but hostility towards the policy of privatizing water. Bakunin's emphasis on spontaneity, emotion and his resistance to abstract revolutionary theorizing, particularly his rejection in theory of Marxist elitist political tactics, had a marked influence

on the writers addressed here. His influence was particularly evident in their emphasis on the congruity between the means and the ends of political change.

Anarchist writers in the twentieth century self-consciously adhered to the character and emphases of the tradition, but they also consistently emphasized their desire to apply the insights of anarchism to contemporary conditions. In their attempts to do so they presented a number of themes which demonstrated the intersection between their ideas and also highlighted their developments of the anarchist tradition. An interest in education was one such consistent theme. Another was a focus on the urban environment and its role as the site of radical forms of local self-governing democracy. Pacifism was a key characteristic of the twentieth-century deployment of anarchism. These writers were also inspired by their concerns for individual freedom to investigate the claims of various schools of psychology regarding the integrated personality and the causes and effects of developed selfhood. They also demonstrated a concern with de-problematizing the relationship between the free and unrestricted individual agent and his membership of cohesive and self-directing communities. A further conceptual development in the work of these writers was a cluster of values related to temporal and spatial concerns regarding revolutionary practice. Twentieth-century anarchism in the work of these writers was concerned with human engagement in the immediate spatial context and in the present; they rejected abstraction and argued for strict coherence between the ends and the means of revolutionary activity. In these ways the tradition developed in new directions.

The Twentieth-Century Treatment of Anarchism

Perfunctory contemporary treatments of the anarchist tradition led to oversights regarding these twentieth-century deployments of anarchism. These treatments cloaked the contribution to political thought made by twentieth-century British and American anarchists and it has left gaps in the intellectual account of some political ideas and movements in the twentieth century. These fissures are reflected in an inadequate and fractured account of the history of the anarchist tradition in British and American contexts both in terms of twentieth-century contributions to social movements and intellectual contributions to anarchist conceptualizations of freedom. For example, E. J. Hobsbawm stated that anarchism was the ‘Don Quixote’ of political movements, that it expired for good following the ‘tragic farce’ and ‘monumental ineffectiveness’ that was the Spanish movement.³ David Miller also consigned anarchism to the ‘historical dustbin’ as a ‘bizarre offshoot’ of other, more coherent, ideologies.⁴ Following these treatments, Gerald Runkle saw anarchist writers of the twentieth century as merely

³ E. J. Hobsbawm ‘Reflections on Anarchism’, in *Revolutionaries. Contemporary Essays* (London: Quartet Books, 1977), pp. 83 and 84.

⁴ David Miller, *Anarchism* (London: J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd, 1984), p. 181. Even George Woodcock, generally sympathetic to the anarchist movement, seemed to present anarchism as an ideological

‘reasserting the outdated challenges of their nineteenth century predecessors’.⁵ Apter added that anarchism ‘has no younger generation which arises explicitly out of the older one, as does Marxism, or liberalism’.⁶ These approaches, which saw anarchism as irrelevant to contemporary political practice, rested on the assumption that ideological relevance be measured according to the impact on institutional or official political behaviour.⁷ The traditional antipathy of anarchism to these mainstream forms of political engagement made it invisible to this kind of approach. Anarchism is concerned with politics outside the state and characteristically applies itself to subterranean movements and unofficial political behaviour. To look for the significance of anarchism within those forms of political behaviour with which it fails to identify is to build the marginality of anarchism into the evaluative framework which we apply to the study of ideology. Understanding tradition and development in the history of ideas requires that we adopt a more sensitive approach to ideas and their contexts. Once we note that, in the words of J. G. A. Pocock, ‘[i]t is of some importance to be able to interpret thought by placing it in the tradition of discourse to which it rightfully belongs’ it becomes imperative that we understand anarchism in relation to the social and intellectual contexts of radical, subterranean and dissonant movements to which it has addressed itself.⁸

Two further, and related historiographical problems perpetuated in the contemporary treatments of anarchist thought raised obstacles to a proper understanding of twentieth-century anarchism in Britain and America. Taken together they reflect an awkward historical fracture in the interpretation of anarchist traditions. As an example of the first historiographical problem, Runkle wrote that ‘new’ anarchist thought had nothing to do with the ‘old’.⁹ This view failed to recognize twentieth-century Anglo-American anarchist writing as a deployment of the historical anarchist tradition. Nonetheless, twentieth-century Anglo-American anarchism was based on the conviction of its major proponents of the continuing significance of the anarchist tradition. Not only did these anarchist intellectuals draw on the writing of figures in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries but they also developed these insights in distinctive directions in response to their cultural, intellectual and temporal contexts. The second,

relic when he claimed that ‘Lost causes may be the best causes – they usually are – but once lost they are never won again’. *Anarchism. A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1986), p. 407.

⁵ Gerald Runkle, *Anarchism Old and New* (New York: Dell Publishing 1972), p. 13. See also Alan Ritter, *Anarchism. A Theoretical Analysis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 5.

⁶ David Apter, ‘The Old Anarchism and the New – Some Comments’, in Apter and Joll (eds), *Anarchism Today* (London: Macmillan, 1971), pp. 2 and 7. See also Joll, ‘Anarchism – A Living Tradition’, p. 225, in the same volume.

⁷ Hobsbawm, ‘Reflections on Anarchism’, pp. 82–91.

⁸ J. G. A. Pocock, ‘The History of Political Thought: A Methodological Enquiry’, in Peter Laslett and W. G. Runciman (eds), *Philosophy, Politics and Society*, Second Series (Oxford: Blackwell, 1972), p. 200.

⁹ Runkle, *Anarchism Old and New*, p. 13

related, historiographical problem in the contemporary treatment of twentieth-century anarchism was perpetrated in the literature which identified an anarchist revival in late twentieth-century political behaviour. In this literature the neglect of twentieth-century anarchist writing persisted despite the identification in a number of sources of a discernible anarchist influence on political behaviour in British and American social movements. Thus, the conclusion of one writer, who, writing in the early 1970s, recognized the ‘recent revival of interest in anarchism’, was that this revival was unrelated to ‘the disappointing world of contemporary anarchists’.¹⁰ This is a superficial and inadequate approach to the historiography of anarchism that erroneously separated the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century anarchist sources of the tradition from some twentieth-century deployments of anarchism in political ideas and behaviour.

A number of authors claimed that anarchism was a component of twentieth-century political behaviour. A typical claim for the contemporary pertinence of anarchism in practice was Woodcock’s contention that ‘anarchism was among a number of influences on the student radicalism of the 1960s’.¹¹ Marshall noted that ‘[m]any of the themes of the New Left – decentralization, workers’ control, participatory democracy – were central anarchist concerns’.¹² Andrew Heywood reiterated this connection with the claim that the New Left ‘endorsed an activist style of politics that was based upon popular protest and direct action, clearly influenced by anarchism’.¹³ He recognized anarchist influence in ‘ecological and anti-roads protests, consumerism, urban redevelopment, the application of new technology and the re-examination of sexual relations’.¹⁴ In a typical example of this kind of argument, Runkle claimed that there was a 1960s revival of anarchism in youth protest movements and that these ‘new anarchists’ were entirely unconnected to the ‘old ideology’.¹⁵ Apter built on this fractured assessment of the anarchist tradition with the notion that ‘[a]s a matter of sheer continuity the new anarchism can have little in common with the old except in language’.¹⁶ Woodcock argued that ‘[w]hat we have seen in the last quarter of a century on an almost worldwide scale has not been the revival of the historic anarchist movement ... The significant contemporary phenomenon has been something quite different, an autonomous revival

¹⁰ R. B. Fowler, ‘The Anarchist Tradition of Political Thought’, *The Western Political Quarterly*, 25(4) (1972), 738.

¹¹ Woodcock, *Anarchism*, p. 400.

¹² Marshall, *Demanding the Impossible*, p. xi.

¹³ Andrew Heywood, *Political Ideologies. An Introduction* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), pp. 210–11.

¹⁴ Heywood, *Political Ideologies*, p. 211. See also Richard Sylvan, ‘Anarchism’, in Robert Goodwin and Philip Pettit (eds), *A Companion to Contemporary Political Philosophy* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), p. 215; William O. Reichert, ‘Anarchism, Freedom, and Power’, *Ethics*, 79(2) (1969), 145; Andrew Vincent, *Modern Political Ideologies* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), pp. 117–18; D. Novak, ‘The Place of Anarchism in the History of Political Thought’, *Review of Politics*, 20(3), July 1958), pp. 307–29; and Barbara Goodwin, *Using Political Ideas* (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 1997), p. 138.

¹⁵ Runkle, *Anarchism Old and New*, p. 13.

¹⁶ Apter, ‘The Old Anarchism and the New – Some Comments’, p. 5.

of the anarchist idea'.¹⁷ The claims that there was a discernible anarchist influence on political behaviour ran alongside parallel assertions that this influence was an ideologically disembodied phenomenon about which the anarchist tradition of political thought had nothing to contribute to our understanding.

The notion of a late twentieth-century 'anarchist idea' as something dissociated from the tradition is a distinctly unsatisfying notion in light of the work and influence of the writers and activists addressed here. The gap between the posited death of the anarchist tradition in the early twentieth century and the, apparently rootless, anarchist elements in new social movements in the later twentieth century is one of the most important paradoxes at the heart of twentieth-century treatments of anarchism. It is nonetheless the case that, drawing on anarchist focuses on individual reason, justice, coercion and social organization, the anarchist thinkers of the twentieth century worked out conceptions of freedom, national identity, tradition and development by which they arraigned modern states for their war-making and politically centralizing behaviour. They employed and utilized embedded discourses such as romanticism, ethical socialism, democratic theory, pragmatism and emerging fields of discourse such as psychology. In doing so, they engaged with conventional beliefs on the necessity, progress and democratic functions of war, state growth, centralization and industrialization and injected their anarchist challenges into contemporary debates.

Conventional treatments of the conceptual commitments of anarchism have tended to compound the misinterpretation of the tradition by imposing established interpretations of the notion of freedom on anarchism, such as the assumed tensions between the freedom of the individual and good of society, and between negative and positive definitions of the concept. Anarchism does not fit neatly into these conceptual dichotomies, and this has tended to render it incomprehensible to unsympathetic commentators. In one of the principal book-length discussions of anarchism, Miller characterized anarchism as 'amorphous and full of paradoxes and contradictions', and a 'jumble of beliefs without rhyme or reason'.¹⁸ Miller claimed to be 'perplexed as to whether the real goal of anarchism is individual freedom or communal solidarity'.¹⁹ As a result of this perceived inconsistency he wondered how 'such diverse views have come to share a political label at all'.²⁰ Even the more sympathetic Richard Sylvan argued that in terms of theoretical commitments in anarchism, '[u]sually something of a ragbag is offered'.²¹ Paul Thomas identified this as the 'problem of cacophony' in anarchism.²² James Joll commented that '[t]heir political theories are full of logical flaws'.²³ He

¹⁷ Woodcock, *Anarchism*, p. 409.

¹⁸ Miller, *Anarchism*, pp. 2 and 3.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

²¹ Sylvan, 'Anarchism', p. 231.

²² Paul Thomas, 'Review of Alan Ritter, *Anarchism: A Theoretical Analysis*' (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), *Political Theory*, 10(1) (1982), 143.

²³ Joll, *The Anarchists*, p. 12.

noted the ‘incoherent nature of anarchist philosophy and indeed the difficulty anyone who talks about anarchism has in defining just what it is he is talking about’.²⁴ The ‘ragbag’, cacophonous picture of anarchism which emerged from this approach led David Apter to identify it as a ‘piggy-back normative doctrine’ rather than an ideological tradition in its own right.²⁵ These treatments of anarchism applied a set of criteria for the judgement of political traditions that put a high value on conceptual consistency, analytical coherence and unity over time. This is an evaluative schema that most ideological traditions, which also consist of varying strands and changing emphases over time and in relation to differing contexts, would struggle to satisfy. In the case of anarchism, in particular, this approach marginalized its status as a living tradition of social and political thought. This dismissive treatment of the anarchist approach to freedom also misunderstands the distinctive position regarding freedom developed by anarchist writers in the twentieth century, which looks beyond conventional distinctions between both the individual and society, and between negative and positive liberty.

There is a point of contention between commentators on anarchism as to whether the anarchist view of freedom is positive or negative in character. Following from this, there is a debate over whether liberty is the underlying commitment of the anarchist position. Vincent demonstrates the traditional dichotomy between the positive and negative interpretations of the anarchist tradition of thinking about liberty. He notes that ‘[t]he orthodox view of anarchists is that they share a conception of negative liberty, virtually the same as that of many of the classical liberals’, he also remarks that ‘[o]n the other hand, some communist anarchists appear to be arguing more in the vein of positive liberty’.²⁶ Commentators on anarchism, including Fowler, and Paul Thomas, have assumed that anarchism necessarily conceives of freedom in an extremely negative sense, as limited to a strict lack of coercion or interference.²⁷ However, such a view leaves paradoxes and tensions concerning anarchism’s commitment to social solidarity and individual self-development as components of freedom. The conception of freedom orientated around a notion of self-development would appear to tie anarchism to a mode of thinking about freedom identified by Isaiah Berlin as positive liberty. As he argues ‘[t]he “positive” sense of the word “liberty” derives from the wish on the part of the individual to be his own master’.²⁸ As Vincent notes, the notion of ‘moral growth and self-development of the individual within a community’ is ‘better understood as a positive concept of liberty’.²⁹ Crowder also argues that ‘the anarchist idea is not

²⁴ Joll, ‘Anarchism – A Living Tradition’, p. 225.

²⁵ Apter, ‘The Old Anarchism and the New – Some Comments’, p. 3.

²⁶ Vincent, *Modern Political Ideologies*, p. 129.

²⁷ Fowler, ‘The Anarchist Tradition of Political Thought’, pp. 738–52; Paul Thomas, *Karl Marx and the Anarchists* (London, Boston and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980), pp. 7–11.

²⁸ Isaiah Berlin, ‘Two Concepts of Liberty’, in *Four Essays on Liberty* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 131.

²⁹ Vincent, *Modern Political Ideologies*, p. 120.

negative but positive'.³⁰ Given that Berlin argues that a commitment to a positive conception of liberty necessarily promotes the power of a regulatory agency such as the state for the fostering of the higher human capacities that constitute the self, the positive position on liberty would leave anarchism in a highly paradoxical position concerning its overarching commitment to human freedom. As Crowder remarks, Berlin's thesis puts anarchism in the 'anomalous' position of 'upholding a libertarian ideology on the basis of a concept of freedom that is logically or naturally authoritarian'.³¹ As such, Alan Carter counters the positive interpretation of anarchism with the claim that this conception of liberty is not consistent with the anarchist's exclusive concern with the political impositions of nation states.³² Other commentators go so far as to doubt anarchism's commitment to freedom altogether. Following Berlin's doubts over the liberty-engendering credentials of the positive conception, Vincent argues that freedom is an 'ambivalent issue' in 'communist anarchy'.³³ Alan Ritter also argues that anarchists 'cannot be called libertarians in the usual sense of seeking freedom above all else'.³⁴ This view of the place of liberty in anarchist thought leaves twentieth-century anarchism in a confused and paradoxical set of positions concerning its commitments to the free individual, his self-development and to the removal of political authority. This confusion can be addressed via closer attention to the twentieth-century anarchist figures addressed here.

The twentieth-century anarchist case highlighted here depends on the lack of restraint, conventionally characterized as negative freedom, as the background condition to developing the requisite habit of private judgement and independence from which the developed self and the capacity for autonomy grow, traditionally viewed as the positive conceptualization of freedom. As careful study illustrates, twentieth-century anarchism relied on both positive and negative conceptions of liberty in a manner which did not degenerate into an authoritarian code. This is notwithstanding Berlin's distinct dismissal of the possibility of a notion of liberty which relies on both positive and negative conceptions. To combine in one understanding of freedom the concern with coercive impositions on the individual and a concern with the development of the 'critical, original, imaginative, independent, non-conforming' character is, he argues, to confuse 'two distinct notions' and court inconsistency.³⁵ This is erroneous with regard to the modern anarchist conception of the freedom of the developed self. Reassessing the role of anarchism in the political ideas of the twentieth century requires that we re-

³⁰ *George Crowder, Classical Anarchism: The Political Thought of Godwin, Proudhon, Bakunin and Kropotkin (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 10.*

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

³² *Alan Carter, 'Review of George Crowder, Classical Anarchism. The Political Thought of Godwin, Proudhon, Bakunin, and Kropotkin', Political Studies, 43(1) (1995), 216.*

³³ *Vincent, Modern Political Ideologies, p. 120.*

³⁴ Ritter, *Anarchism*, p. 28.

³⁵ Berlin, 'Two Concepts of Liberty', p. 128.

examine this classic debate on liberty. For this, we can turn to the insights of Quentin Skinner.

Skinner has re-problematized the traditional debate concerning the characterization of liberty and in, *Liberty before Liberalism*, he highlights the problematic nature of the concept. His explicit ambition in this essay is to question the ‘liberal hegemony’ over the concept of liberty in the Anglophone tradition.³⁶ Skinner reopens the debate on liberty and self-government with this statement of challenge to Berlin’s thesis:

Berlin’s critique depends on the premise that negative liberty is jeopardised only by coercive interference. From this it certainly follows that dependence and lack of self-government cannot be construed as lack of liberty. But this only follows because the conclusion has already been inserted into the premise. What I have tried to show, however, is that the premise itself needs to be reconsidered. The assumption that individual liberty is basically a matter of non-interference is precisely what the neo-roman theory calls in doubt.³⁷

As Skinner notes, Berlin’s aim is to discredit the equation of liberty with concepts like equality or independence in an effort to avoid philosophical confusion. Berlin contrasts freedom with coercion and this distinction forms the basis of his characterization of liberty. As Skinner recognizes, this argument removes independence and self-government from the remit of liberty due to the fact that political or social dependence is not necessarily perpetrated by coercive interference.³⁸ He argues that the recovery of a neo-roman view of liberty as independence ‘reveals to us a conflict within our inherited traditions of thought’.³⁹ The input of the figures addressed here helps resolve this debate for anarchists. They formulated demanding models of freedom designed to regenerate vibrant human engagement with political and cultural environments. This required a model of freedom which stimulated both the sense of freedom as non-coercion and self-direction, and an understanding of liberty which drew the free individual into close contact with his community. The following analysis offers a clearer picture of the anarchist handling of freedom in the work of the authors addressed here, and it highlights the distinctive bridging of the conventional dichotomies which have obscured their ideas in this respect.

³⁶ Quentin Skinner, *Liberty before Liberalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. x.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 115–16.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

War and Selfhood: Five Twentieth-Century Anarchists

The critique of conventional treatments of the anarchist handling of freedom offered so far helps to revise misunderstandings of the tradition as conceptually incoherent, and it also helps to contextualize the work of the anarchist writers addressed here. State activity regarding war and post-war welfare saw increasing aspects of public life come under the control of national governments from the middle of the twentieth century in terms of organization, administration, bureaucracy and the expansion of industrial production. As Colin Ward stated: ‘The criticism of the State and the structure of its power and authority made by the classical anarchist thinkers has increased in validity and urgency in the century of total war and the total State’.⁴⁰ For Ward, the work of Kropotkin was particularly pertinent. Bookchin similarly proclaimed that ‘[i]n an era of ever-growing state centralization and bureaucratization, we demand that we democratize our republic and radicalize our democracy!’⁴¹ The formulation of anarchist conceptualizations of self-creation, diversity and community engagement as component elements of freedom was directly related to the development of a mass consumerist model of capitalism and social administration. Furthermore, rising concerns about the degradation of the environment, related to the acceleration of the era’s technological developments, were an important site of anarchist debate, through a specific focus on the environmentally destructive effects of hierarchy and the restorative effects of personal engagement and democratic civic culture. Thus, rather than emerging in the 1960s and after as a disembodied phenomenon, anarchist commentators engaged in ongoing commentary throughout the twentieth century, responding to events in Spain, World War II and the political culture of the post-war era. The first half of the twentieth century saw a dramatic change in warfare and an increase in social intervention by the state. In both Britain and America the state played an instrumental role in accelerating the development of mass social administration, and more socially benign forms of capitalism were reconstituted as combinations of state intervention and high-volume consumerism.⁴² A distinct intellectual space opened for anarchism in these conditions, reconfigured according to the dangers to freedom presented by large-scale political and economic administration. Components of the anarchist focus on the individual, their independent capacities, and the approach to freedom as independence and activity, were significantly developed in their work in the twentieth century. The anarchist emphasis on individual judgement or reason and the traditional commitment to private rational deliberation provided the basis for the twentieth-century response of anarchists

⁴⁰ Colin Ward, *Anarchy in Action* (London: Freedom Press, 1982[1973]), p. 22.

⁴¹ Murray Bookchin, ‘The Greening of Politics: Towards a New Kind of Political Practice’, *Green Perspectives: Newsletter of the Green Program Project*, no. 1 (January 1986), p. 5.

⁴² Richard Titmuss, *Problems of Social Policy* (CT: Greenwood Press, 1971[1950]), p. 506; Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumers’ Republic. The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Vintage Books, 2004), pp. 11, 70 and 100–2.

to modern social conditions. By addressing the work of Read, Comfort, Goodman, Ward and Bookchin in more detail, we can perceive more clearly the challenge it offers to the misinterpretation of anarchism that has been explored so far here.

The work of Herbert Read is a distinct response to the mid-twentieth-century context. His writing presented the anarchist tradition in a manner that made it more accessible to later twentieth-century thinkers who picked up on its themes. In this sense, and satisfying his agenda on this count, he gave anarchism ‘a place’ in ‘the political problems of our time’.⁴³ Read claimed that the combination of new fields of knowledge and a number of significant developments in the first half of the twentieth century made the era and the intellectual milieu strikingly ripe for an injection of anarchist philosophy. One field of knowledge particularly pertinent to anarchist debate and ‘significant for the rise of anarchism’ was psychology. Also pertinent for anarchist ideas were ‘certain historical events of the past fifty years which have fundamentally affected all systems of thought’. These included wars, which were ‘symptomatic of some deep social disorder’. Furthermore, anarchism was relevant to the changes in production and communication ‘which have transformed the economic basis of society’, and the invention of the atom bomb ‘which has decisive implications for revolutionary strategy’.⁴⁴

Read’s work highlights the development within the anarchist tradition of a sophisticated range of thinking about the inner and outer qualities of the free and developed self. He looked to aesthetic and psychological sources for the renewal and re-individualization of culture. Vital for Read’s approach was an emphasis on the unique experience of the human self and its inviolate subjectivity. Kropotkin’s ideas also supplied Read with an optimistic view of the socially cohesive possibilities of an un-coerced community of individuals. Later twentieth-century anarchist writers made broadly similar attempts to utilize various schools of psychology as part of their thinking about selfhood and its relationship to society. Read’s development of anarchism provided him with the view of the mind and the person as inviolable, the psychological and social value of subjectivity and the concrete biological uniqueness of human selves. As such, his anarchism rested on the desire to ‘secure a revolution in the mental and emotional attitudes of man’, discarding the conception of anarchism associated with ‘conspiracy, assassination, citizen armies, [and] the barricades’.⁴⁵ He argued for ‘a biological or organismic change’, ‘a new order of society’ with ‘a firm and enduring foundation within the physique and disposition of the human being’.⁴⁶ The means to cultivate freedom was the development of expressive, self-sufficient, self-creative and spontaneous char-

⁴³ Herbert Read, ‘Neither Communism nor Liberalism’, BBC talk, printed in *Freedom*, 4 January 1947, reprinted in David Goodway (ed.), *Herbert Read. A One-Man Manifesto and Other Writings for Freedom Press* (London: Freedom Press, 1994), p. 115.

⁴⁴ Read, ‘Anarchism: Past and Future’, *One-Man Manifesto*, pp. 117 and 119.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

acteristics.⁴⁷ Read claimed that it was the ‘unique sensational system’ that was the agent of values.⁴⁸ These ideas are a direct expression of the twentieth-century anarchist focus, found also in Alex Comfort and Paul Goodman in particular, on human physiological instincts as representing innate predilections for freedom. For all these authors the individual pursuit of freedom moved alongside the development of ‘social consciousness’ or ‘social initiation’ because ‘society can only function harmoniously if the individuals composing it are integrated persons, that is to say they are whole and healthy, and by that very reason competent to render mutual aid’.⁴⁹

Individual development was essential for cooperation because cohesion followed individuation: ‘What kind of education will promote social union?’ asked Read, ‘The answer is, of course, the same kind of education as that which promotes personal integrity.’⁵⁰ Murray Bookchin quoted Read at length, particularly emphasizing Read’s notion that the ‘measure of progress’ of a society was its degree of individuation and differentiation. Bookchin aligned himself with Read’s naturalistic conception of the unity achieved through the differentiation of the components of a whole: ‘*An expanding whole is created by the diversification and enrichment of its parts.*’⁵¹ The achievement of diversity and unity through spontaneity was an important set of concepts in later twentieth-century anarchism. It was one of the key clusters of ideas that for Bookchin fundamentally linked the politics of anarchism, against power and hierarchy, with understandings of nature. Read developed a vision of individuality as developed ‘personality’, a concept that encompassed both individual and social facets. His anarchist programme of revolution through education rested on complete congruity between the biological need for uniqueness and freedom and the social need for integration and solidarity.

Read’s mediation of individual integrity and social behaviour were reflected in Comfort’s notion of ‘responsibility’. Comfort used this term to describe both an inward looking conceptualization of developed selfhood and an outward looking imperative for social awareness. This reflected his reconciliation of traditional anarchist concerns with individual freedom and natural social order. The important point about the two senses of responsibility in Comfort’s work, responsibility for others and responsibility for self, social and individual imperatives respectively, was the connection between them. The notion of responsibility was the mode both of human individuality and human sociality. This illustrated the modern anarchist case, developed in the work of these twentieth-century anarchist writers, which is that only the developed individual self can enter into truly social interpersonal relationships and participate as part of a healthy func-

⁴⁷ Herbert Read, *Education through Art* (London: Faber and Faber, 1943), p. 6.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁵⁰ Herbert Read, ‘Education in Things’, in *The Redemption of the Robot* (London: Faber and Faber, 1970), pp. 79–80.

⁵¹ Murray Bookchin, ‘Ecology and Revolutionary Thought’ (1965), in *Post-Scarcity Anarchism* (San Francisco, CA: Ramparts Press, 1971), pp. 77–8.

tioning social unit. Motifs of his work included the political significance of personally responsible action, the insights of psychoanalysis and sociology and a marked evidence-based approach to the vindication of anarchist political theory. Comfort's argument, like that of Read, Paul Goodman and Colin Ward, was that morally functional group dynamics depended on individual relationships, direct contact, physical impressions and personal interaction. The politics of mass representation, collective abstraction and centralized power isolated individuals from these face-to-face dynamics. For these anarchists, anarchism was an ideology of gregarious, masterless and responsible men. This emphasis was starkly manifest in Comfort's interest in the social significance of human sexual behaviour, reflected in his publication *The Joy of Sex*.

In line with the developing emphases of anarchist writers in the twentieth century, Paul Goodman's inward- and outward-looking conceptions of individual freedom relied on psychological schools of thought, as did the ideas of Read and Comfort, for an active and engaged model of individual and community self-government. Like these authors, Goodman endorsed a distinctive, essentialist, biological conception of the freedom of the individual self. He constructed an image of human experience, growth and agency premised on essential drives and responses to environments, which formulated freedom as an inviolable human characteristic. For Goodman, psychological sources provided a justification for the self's resistance to adaptation to prevailing social and cultural structures. The essentialist image of the human self was consistent with Read's assertion about the importance of inner creative impulses and Comfort's call for individual moral responsibility. The importance of the lived environment for this conception of freedom highlighted the relationship between anarchism and utopian planning, also expressed in the work of Colin Ward and Murray Bookchin. Goodman utilized this developing dimension of anarchist thought in order to formulate his distinctive critique of contemporary American political culture, according to the principles of decentralization, participatory democracy, autonomy and community.

Goodman developed an ontology of selfhood which not only asserted the significance of the unique human sensational and cognitive processes for freedom but also located the experience of selfhood in the relationships between the individual and the human and material environment. The importance of direct human primary experience of the immediate physical and human environment for Goodman's anarchism tied his ideas to a significant feature of modern formulations of anarchism, a present-focused and context-centred approach to social change. His anarchism was grounded in the proposition that valuable behaviour occurred only by the free and direct response of individuals or voluntary groups to the conditions presented by the environment. As he stated: 'why not start here now with this man making, using, and experiencing this object'.⁵²

For Goodman, freedom rested upon the free act and the wilful appropriation of social and material contexts. Thus, according to Goodman, the crisis of modern society

⁵² Paul Goodman, 'Notes on Neo-Functionalism', *Politics*, December 1944, reprinted in Taylor

was rooted in the disengagement of the individual from everyday life. Since individual existence was bound to that of the group, genuine community consisted of individuals interacting openly with other. This rendered all human interaction political and the self as a concept was tied to the notion of the public and defined by the existence of others. In *Communitas* in the 1940s and *Gestalt Therapy* in the 1950s and the whole of his later body of work, Goodman asserted the direct relationship between individuals and communities engaging with and shaping their environments and individuals and communities making themselves free. He posited a direct unity between the energy of the organism and the possibilities of the environment. This theory of self tied together the inner life of the individual and the integrated social life of vibrant societies into a single notion of selfhood. For Goodman, the important focus in this respect was the emphasis on primary experience.⁵³ His interest in psychological thinking was rooted in, and consistently followed, an interest in the biological underpinnings it offered for a stable or essential notion of human nature. Goodman's anarchism was firmly orientated around a biological ontology of human individuality. As he stated: 'the freedom and spontaneity of men are natural, but the institutions have been made'.⁵⁴ The development of his thinking in this area brought him to the concepts and themes from which he formulated his 1960s critiques of the atomization and disengagement of life in modern societies, which powerfully influenced the youth movements of that decade. Maturing human nature, for Goodman, required significant social identities or vocations in an accessible community environment. In *Growing up Absurd*, Goodman argued that the American youth experienced disaffection, frustration and eventually apathy because they were forced to develop and mature in a society which lacked any useful or meaningful identities to which they could aspire and derive a sense of value and worth. They lacked the contact boundary between the organism and the environment that *Gestalt Therapy* had emphasized as the site of the development for the healthy self. Goodman's works offered one of the main routes between anarchism and the 1960s counterculture.

British anarchist Colin Ward was strongly committed to the sentiment expressed in the following quote from the work of Goodman: 'For me, the chief principle of anarchism is not freedom but autonomy, the ability to initiate a task and do it one's own way.'⁵⁵ Anarchism as an ideology embodied this principle for Ward because it advocated 'an extended network of individuals and groups, making their own decisions,

Stoehr (ed.), *Drawing the Line* (New York: Free Life Editions, 1977b), p. 49.

⁵³ Paul Goodman, Frederick S. Perls and Ralph F. Hefferline, *Gestalt Therapy. Excitement and Growth in the Human Personality* (London: Souvenir Press, 1971[1951]), pp. 227–35, especially p. 229.

⁵⁴ Paul Goodman, 'The Political Meaning of Some Recent Revisions of Freud' (1945), *Politics* (July), reprinted in Taylor Stoehr (ed.), *Nature Heals. The Psychological Essays of Paul Goodman* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1977a), p. 52.

⁵⁵ Paul Goodman quoted in Colin Ward, *Influences. Voices of Creative Dissent* (Devon: Green Books, 1991), p. 79.

[and] controlling their own destiny'.⁵⁶ Like Goodman, and recognizing this intellectual debt, Ward associated freedom with the type of personality fostered by engaged and dynamic activity rather than inertness, dependence and apathy. In a characteristic set of reflections, Ward mused:

Suppose our future in fact lies, not with a handful of technocrats pushing buttons to support the rest of us, but with a multitude of small activities, whether by individuals or groups, doing their own thing? ... making their own niche in the world of ordinary needs and their satisfaction. Wouldn't that be something to do with anarchism?⁵⁷

His advocacy of active engagement with social change and the immediate physical environment formed a central component of his ideal of individual freedom. This position corresponded with his belief, following Goodman, that freedom was achieved by actively liberating oneself through the conscious expression of one's own will in relation to current and immediate contexts. This understanding of freedom as agency was central to Ward's attack on the role of the state in directing and administering social relationships. Like Goodman's, Ward's anarchism was grounded in the proposition that valuable behaviour occurred only by the free and direct response of individuals or voluntary groups to the conditions presented by their environment. This emphasis on the virtues of engagement with the immediate environment is a significant element of the anarchist notion of the freedom of the self- and community-creating individual as it developed in the twentieth century. Expounding what he called the 'social psychology of Direct Action', Ward made the morally weighted distinction between: 'The state of mind that is induced by free and independent action, and that which is induced by dependence and inertia: the difference between people who initiate things and act for themselves and people for whom things just happen.'⁵⁸ In the 1980s and 1990s Ward's ideas in this respect helped shape a new approach in protest politics. The edited volumes *DiY Culture* (1998) and *Richer Futures* (1999) pay tribute to his influence on direct action and DiY approaches to social change.

In a contemporary and parallel argument American anarchist Murray Bookchin argued that a commitment to 'personal freedom to choose or to create the constituents of choice' necessarily means we are committed to the presupposition that 'there *is* such a phenomenon as the individual, and that he or she is competent and therefore capable of making rational judgments; in short, that the individual is capable of functioning as a self-determined, self-active, and self-governing being.'⁵⁹ Part of the significance of ecological politics and movements was that, according to Bookchin, the fact of impending ecological crisis put them beyond co-option. The state of the natural world and

⁵⁶ *Ward, Anarchy in Action, p. 26.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid., p. 17.*

⁵⁸ *Ibid., p. 72.*

⁵⁹ *Murray Bookchin, The Ecology of Freedom. The Emergence and Dissolution of Hierarchy (Palo*

its significance for human survival in mental and physical terms was ‘not redeemable by reforms, concessions, or modifications of strategic policy’.⁶⁰ This fact, along with the kind of human scaled modifications of human society that were necessary to avert crisis, meant for Bookchin that the essence of the ecological project was inherently radical, and incontrovertibly anarchist in ontological and normative terms. Bookchin’s project regarding ecological thought was to link human-centred concerns with freedom and equality with concerns about environmental destruction as parts of a unified ecological political project driven by anarchist values. In particular he was concerned to draw radical thinking about the environment away from stark dichotomies between the natural world and human social experience. Bookchin explored the shared concerns of ecology and the left in terms of the relationship between environmental degradation and political hierarchy. His work engaged with key themes of twentieth-century anarchist writers, notably the characteristic focus on the freedom of the developed self, emphasizing the experiential roots of that theme in his interpretation of anarchism as a ‘libidinal movement’⁶¹ and a ‘passion for the concrete’.⁶² As Bookchin stated, ‘Anarchists have probably given more attention to the subjective problems of revolution than any other revolutionary movement.’⁶³ This is expressed in the stress he laid on individual human will and purposive activity and the importance of design and imagination as acts of consciousness. This led to the formulation in Bookchin’s work of an anarchist-inspired commitment to a rigorous notion of individual freedom premised on the development of selfhood.

Bookchin’s philosophy emphasized the particular significance of the self and the character of human freedom. The revolutionary impetus for the attack on power had to come from ‘progressive individuation’ and the spontaneity that Bookchin associated with the individualized human self: ‘If we define “power” as the power of man over man, power can only be destroyed by the very process in which man acquires power over his life and in which he not only “discovers” himself but, more meaningfully, formulates his selfhood in all its social dimensions.’⁶⁴ One of the important features of developed selfhood was the capacity for spontaneity. Bookchin defined the concept of spontaneity as ‘a conception of praxis as an inner process’ that ‘does not fetishize mere undifferentiated “impulse”’.⁶⁵ Thus, spontaneity was not so much a mode of action that was unpredictable and impulsive as a form of activity that was authentically self-willed, actively chosen and generated from within the individual. As he noted in

Alto, CA: Cheshire Books, 1982), p. 323.

⁶⁰ Murray Bookchin, ‘Post-Scarcity Anarchism’[1968], in *Post-Scarcity Anarchism* (San Francisco, CA: Ramparts Press, 1971), p.38.

⁶¹ Murray Bookchin, *The Spanish Anarchists: The Heroic Years, 1868–1936* (New York and London: Harper and Row, 1978), p. 17.

⁶² *Bookchin, The Ecology of Freedom, p. 325.*

⁶³ Bookchin, ‘Introduction’, in *Post-Scarcity Anarchism*, p. 19.

⁶⁴ Bookchin, ‘The Forms of Freedom’ in *ibid.*, p. 167.

⁶⁵ Bookchin, ‘Introduction’, in *ibid.*, pp. 20 and 21.

his discussion of spontaneity, the spontaneous action of a responsible self required internal control, self-discipline and the capacity for self-directed social activity. This was related to notions of judgement and the importance of choice. Agency and judgement were for Bookchin the features of well-developed selfhood. Bookchin saw the development of the self as at the core of freedom and vital to healthy interaction between the free individual and his social environment.

The unified perspective that Bookchin found in anarchism's conception of the individual and the community reflected one of the key insights of twentieth-century anarchism. As he argued, 'Direct action is at once the reclamation of the public sphere by the ego, its development toward self-empowerment, and its culmination as an active participant in society.'⁶⁶ The individual and his social group received equal emphasis in Bookchin's image of freedom. This relied on a specific understanding of the development and health of human selves and human communities. Bookchin described himself as communitarian, but the notion of the individualized self was crucial to his conception of freedom: 'the formation not only of individuality but also of personality consists of being *actively* part of a permanent social group' for 'individuality involves not a struggle for separation but a struggle *against* it'.⁶⁷ In the work of Bookchin, individuality and communality featured together as coefficients in the development of human freedom. The nature of this relationship between the individual, society and the realization of the self was related to Bookchin's organic notion of the virtue of diversity, which he developed in part from his reading of Hegel. According to this reading, the self was an undifferentiated potentiality until it interacted with the real world; and it was in dealing with the world that the self was created. The notion of the differentiated self that emerged was fundamentally connected to the will for change and was thus inherently revolutionary in sensibility: 'Valid introspection turns out to be the conscious appropriation of a self formed largely by the world, and thus a judgment of the world and of the actions needed to reconstitute it along new lines.'⁶⁸ Bookchin argued that in political terms these notions of self-formation required a 'mode of administration which the self can possess'.⁶⁹ This recalls the fundamental importance of scale in the work of the anarchists discussed here. Bookchin's focus on human scaled organization encapsulated the anarchist emphasis on decentralization, resistance to political authority and belief in naturally emerging modes of social order. Large-scale organization implied the loss of freedom and community. It also entailed the imposition of systems of administration, abstract political power, environmental destruction and the loss of control over technology. Small-scale organization implied decentralization, community cohesion and personally directed self-development. It also facilitated ecological, human-controlled, ethically managed, beneficial technology. This politicization of scale is a fundamental contribution of anarchism to the field of political philosophy

⁶⁶ Bookchin, *The Ecology of Freedom*, p. 339.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 317.

⁶⁸ Bookchin, 'Desire and Need', in *Post-Scarcity Anarchism*, p. 280.

⁶⁹ Bookchin, 'The Forms of Freedom', p. 167.

and it resonates through the tradition. According to Bookchin, the ‘structural gigantism’ of the hierarchical modern metropolis had abstracted politics from persons to institutions, ‘from definable individuals to faceless bureaucracies’.⁷⁰

These five prominent and often controversial intellectuals made distinctive and recognizable contributions to cultural and political ideas. Each of these major twentieth-century anarchist writers engaged with what they understood to be impositions on the freedom of the socially and individually constituted self highlighted by their experiences of World War II and the post-war era. These thinkers saw themselves as responding to a political culture shaped by hierarchical political order, acquiescence to authority, the emergence of mass consumerist models of capitalism and the experience of war. They responded by formulating demanding models of freedom and agency designed to generate vibrant human engagements with political and cultural environments. These thinkers utilized and developed the anarchist tradition for their defence of thorough and dynamic conceptions of human freedom in what they perceived to be an era of increasing encroachment into individual and community capacities for self-government. They sought to inject vibrant ideals of freedom into contemporary political culture, formulating and defending a political philosophy of engaged and self-directed human life using the tenets of the historical tradition and their own developments of the theory. The ideas they advanced are parts of the connecting tissue between elements of the anarchist tradition and features of later twentieth-century new social movements in Britain and America.

There are a number of themes which illustrate these connections. One of these is the consistent pedagogical commitment to freedom. The anarchists of the twentieth century drew on and developed the historic anarchist concern with education. They transmitted these concerns to libertarian educational thinking of the later twentieth century. Read was the author of an influential book on the role of art in education. This led to the formation of a subsidiary UNESCO organization ‘The International Society for Education Through Art’. Goodman’s ideas are also one of the ways by which traditional anarchist concerns with education fed into libertarian pedagogical currents in the latter half of the twentieth century, particularly freeschooling and deschooling movements. Furthermore, Ward linked anarchism with the agenda for citizenship in education in Britain in the 1970s and after. He was one of the figures responsible for the setting up of the Town and Country Planning Association’s educational unit in 1971 in response to mainstream political concerns about public participation. A further connection between anarchism and social movements in the twentieth century is the link between pacifist and anti-nuclear movements in British and American contexts. Anti-militarist pacifist anarchism is one of the most important links between the anarchism of the 1930s and the renewal of interest in anarchism in the late 1950s and early 1960s. In the twentieth century it was also one of the key sites of anarchism particularly in debates around technologies of war such as aerial bombing and nuclear

⁷⁰ Murray Bookchin, *The Limits of the City* (New York: Harper and Row, 1974), p. 81.

weapons. Through these connections, anarchism has been a component of nuclear disarmament movements. The development of philosophies of direct action within the anti-nuclear movement over the post-war period was built at least partly on the firm pacifist links with anarchist traditions. Anarchism has also been a central component of later twentieth-century challenges to conventional morality.

There are a number of more explicit ways in which anarchism played a role in twentieth-century political movements. Goodman was an intellectual inspiration for the student political movements in 1960s America. Through his writing for these groups he attempted to place anarchism firmly within the family of political thought which supported radical American ideals of democracy. He helped give expression to the wave of libertarianism and pacifism in the 1960s that formed part of the early New Left in America. In Britain, Ward's anarchism influenced emerging styles of DiY politics in the 1990s, including direct action and mutualist approaches. Bookchin made an important contribution to radical environmental movements in the later twentieth century. Alan Carter notes in relation to the green movement that 'many of the strategies adopted by the "new social movements" are precisely those which anarchists have proposed with the aim of abolishing the state'.⁷¹ As anarchists have emphasized, the most significant example of state-maximizing behaviour in the twentieth century was war. War has also led to the development of most environmentally damaging technologies.⁷² Bookchin's work is important to an understanding of this relationship between ecology and anarchism. Through these movements and intellectual currents anarchism had been entwined with political behaviour in the twentieth century.

The anarchist writers addressed here emphasized uniqueness and personality, and supported these values with concrete biological conceptions of selfhood that they claimed were immune to institutional adaptation. According to twentieth-century anarchists, freedom was undermined by the modern habit of personal identification with a homogenous mass that resulted from the administration of society as a whole, in large numbers, and in uniform ways. In the twentieth century these five British and American social thinkers utilized and developed the anarchist tradition for their defence of a thorough and dynamic conception of human freedom in the face of the shifting boundaries of state function in the mid- and late twentieth-century era in the execution of the war, the provision of social goods and the coordination of economic growth. In this twentieth-century anarchist literature there are developments and additions to the political theory of anarchism that indicate ongoing engagements with contemporary developments. The figures examined here developed anarchism in response to what they saw as the failure of mainstream radical ideologies to cope with modern political challenges in an era of mature capitalism. For them, the vitality and pertinence of anarchism lay in its fusion of commitments to freedom, individuality and community. Their view in this respect cannot be understood from within a conceptual framework

⁷¹ Alan Carter, *A Radical Green Political Theory* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), p. 330.

⁷² Barry Commoner, *The Closing Circle* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1972), pp. 128–9 and 177.

which assumes that positive and negative conceptualizations of freedom are incompatible with each other, nor can it adhere to conventional assumptions about the inherent tension between the good of individuals and that of communities.

Twentieth-Century Anarchism and Freedom

The anarchist tradition thrived and developed in the twentieth century as a resource for political ideas and movements. As part of their deployments of anarchism, these intellectuals developed distinctive approaches for thinking about freedom. These figures looked beyond a number of the dichotomies by which the concept of freedom has been conventionally understood. In doing so they presented theories of freedom which formed the basis of a set of uniquely challenging responses to some of the most significant social and political developments of the era. The picture of freedom underpinning anarchist deployments of the tradition in debates regarding war, education, sexual behaviour, social policy and new social movements employed both a negative conception of liberty as a lack of external imposition on the decisions of individuals, and also a positive conception of liberty which rested on a concept of autonomy or self-mastery. The ideal of human freedom to which this perspective was directed featured in the work of all these five thinkers in their ideal visions of individuals as ‘masterless men’ for whom the future ‘is in their own hands’.⁷³ Free men were ‘gregarious animals capable of shaping our own destiny’.⁷⁴ The people who ‘initiate’ and ‘act for themselves’ were free, while those ‘for whom things just happen’ were not.⁷⁵ They claimed that ‘the individual is capable of functioning as a self-determined, self-active, and self-governing being’.⁷⁶ These initiating, sociable and self-creating individuals were capable, by virtue of their freedom, of ‘[s]tyle, power and grace ... that fire brought to focus by viable character and habits’.⁷⁷ These thinkers were concerned to inject this challenging conception of political freedom into the heart of twentieth-century debates.

Conventional dichotomies that are traditionally employed in thinking about freedom were blurred in these understandings of human freedom as uniqueness, independence and creativity but also sociability and empathy. Through these understandings of freedom this group of anarchist thinkers linked individual autonomy and social self-government. They saw the free self as comprised of inward and outward looking components. They posited a relationship between individual growth and social responsibility, freedom and mutual aid, and self-government at individual and community levels. Included in their thinking was a persistent mediation of the subjective and the

⁷³ Alex Comfort, *Art and Social Responsibility* (London: Falcon Press, 1946), p. 28; Alex Comfort, *The Pattern of the Future* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1949), p. 15.

⁷⁴ *Ward*, *Anarchy in Action*, p. 39.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p.72.

⁷⁶ *Bookchin*, *The Ecology of Freedom*, p. 323.

⁷⁷ Paul Goodman, *Communitas. Means of Livelihood and Ways of Life* (New York: Vintage books, 1960[1947]), p. 20.

objective, the internal and external components of human experience. The subjectivist interpretation of human freedom was formulated to counter the collectivization of the modern social order, not to deny the significance of community and sociability in the development of human freedom or the existence of objective or shared truths. In fact, the positing of natural solidarity and the potential for strong community ties were a central part of twentieth-century anarchist claims concerning the possibility of a self-governing order without government administration. Freedom was viewed as partly constituted by the capacity for personal responsibility and moral self-direction, but this understanding was combined with a permissive notion of liberation through spontaneity and desire. These thinkers also balanced reason with emotion in their picture of the free individual. Furthermore, in their image of the cultivation of free individuals they combined an idealistic view of the goal of liberation alongside a celebration of piecemeal and pragmatic activity in the development of individual and social freedom.

Twentieth-century anarchists developed conceptions of freedom which raise questions concerning the traditional distinctions by which the concept is conventionally organized. One of the distinctions which these theories challenge regards individually and communally orientated conceptions of freedom. These thinkers also presented both moral and permissive accounts of liberated behaviour. Furthermore, both spontaneity and considered judgement had roles to play in free action. These components of the twentieth-century anarchist view of freedom were parts of their attempt to deploy the anarchist case in critical responses to the twentieth-century war-making and politically centralizing behaviour of states and the homogenizing and competitive effects of mass consumer capitalism. In this way these intellectuals challenged conventional beliefs in the necessity, progress and democratic functions of World War II. They also looked to question the assumptions regarding the benign and socially progressive and egalitarian effects of interventionist and centralized state policy. The way these thinkers presented the concept of freedom also raised questions about the social effects of industrialization and economic growth through markets. The understandings of freedom employed by anarchists in these challenges to mainstream political ideas questioned the traditional dichotomy between positive and negative freedom. On the one hand, they drew on negative conceptions of liberty as a lack of external imposition on the actions of individuals. On the other, they utilized positive conceptions of freedom which rested on concepts of self-mastery and self-creation.

The anarchist thinkers considered here relied on an understanding of freedom as vulnerable to imposition. This concern with dangers to individual liberty is associated with the defence of freedom from interference and coercion. The heightened desire of anarchists to defend individual freedom from threat draws on a negative conception of freedom, as it is conventionally understood. The anarchists studied here were particularly concerned about the threats to freedom from the increasing socially interventionist role of the state. They were also particularly moved to strike up a defence of individual liberty in the face of wartime conscription. They perceived threats to freedom in conventional sexual morality and in social, political and economic hierarchies.

Alive in the anarchist responses in the twentieth century was a characteristic negative sensitivity to the threats to freedom presented by institutions, direct coercion, compulsion and impositions upon the independent choices of the individual. Also important to the anarchist thinkers of the twentieth century was a flavour of the negative view of the individual agent and his unrestrained choices and decisions with regard to his own actions. They added to this a conception of freedom that saw the managed and proscribed nature of social and political experience in centralized and heavily administered societies as violating the active creativity and unique sensational and cognitive processes of the individual. They placed activity and interaction at the core of their understanding of freedom in a manner that is more highly reminiscent of positive traditions of thinking about freedom.

The twentieth-century deployments of the anarchist tradition addressed here were primarily concerned to assess cultural and political developments in Britain and America according to the meanings of freedom developed from within the anarchist tradition. In these contexts anarchist intellectuals wrote and argued in defence of rigorous and challenging conceptions of political freedom. In the work of these figures the anarchist focus on freedom was developed and deployed in order to challenge the denial of social responsibility and individual conscience represented by war. The emphasis on freedom was also configured so as to challenge the limitations on individual and social self-government imposed by an increasingly centralized state. These thinkers were also concerned with the loss of individuality and the capacity for private judgement in consumer-driven economies. In applying the anarchist tradition to twentieth-century political debates, these writers developed and emphasized anarchist themes and concerns regarding freedom. This was most notably the case in the firm adherence of these thinkers to a non-violent and non-climactic notion of social change and their total rejection of war. This was related to the significant anarchist emphasis in the twentieth century on the development of the inner self and the healthy personality. This in turn was related to the rise of psychological sources of influence on the anarchist tradition. These anarchist writers also presented an integrated view of the social and individualist aspects of anarchist thinking in a manner not fully anticipated by the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century thinkers. This was reflected in their view of autonomy and individual freedom and marked by their focus on the human capacity for social responsibility and mutual aid. Their view of freedom reconciled individuality and social cohesion, seeing the developed self as the basic unit of a healthy society. This underpinned the twentieth-century anarchist attempt to resist modern mass systems of political representation and consumerism but to assert the responsibility of the individual to support well-integrated community life. Also evident in the modern developments of the anarchist tradition was a more integrated view of the reasoning and emotional capacities of individuals. This was evident in the fusion of permissive views of freedom with views of freedom as individual responsibility and considered choice.

Conclusion

The preceding discussion articulates the relevance of twentieth-century anarchist ideas to contemporary political movements and ideas. It offers potential avenues for exploring the anarchist influence which is taken to be implicit in late-twentieth-century anti-capitalist, anti-war and anti-globalization movements. David Graeber argues that anarchism, a tradition ‘hitherto mostly dismissed’, is an important component of the anti-globalization movement against neo-liberalization.⁷⁸ ‘Anarchism’, he contends ‘is the heart of the movement, its soul; the source of most of what’s new and hopeful about it’.⁷⁹ Amory Starr similarly notes that in 1999 in anti-globalization protests in Seattle it was ‘explicit’ and ‘obvious’ that ‘the entire event was organized according to anarchist principles’.⁸⁰ Seán Sheehan makes a similar case, linking anarchism more generally to an array of countercultural trends in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.⁸¹ The emphases of twentieth-century anarchism as identified here are relevant in this respect, including the privileging of temporally and spatially proximate values, an emphasis on agency and a theory of freedom which combines individual and social components. Also relevant are the philosophies of direct action, DiY politics and small-group organization which these anarchist concerns have helped to develop.

The presence of anarchism in the public intellectual agenda, especially as it is associated with figures like Noam Chomsky, should also be understood at least partly in terms of the anarchist authors who have been explored here. Anarchism’s input into the public agenda through the work of Chomsky exhibits elements of their ideas particularly as regards the significance of war. In common with the anarchists highlighted here, Chomsky argued that ‘predatory capitalism’, like the ‘autocratic state’, ‘militarized state capitalism’ and the ‘bureaucratized, centralized welfare state’, ‘is not a fit system for the mid-twentieth century’.⁸² There is a further connection between the ideas of Chomsky and the anarchism of these figures. This is the turn towards an inviolable, essentialist conception of individual human freedom as the basis for radical theory in the contemporary era. A connection between the ideas of twentieth-century anarchists and Chomsky’s thought which has been overlooked concerns the development of a physiological view of human nature as the grounding for a defence of individual liberty. Chomsky’s view is that ‘Those with some confidence in the human species ... will try to determine the intrinsic human characteristics that provide the framework for intellectual development, the growth of moral consciousness, cultural achievement, and participation in a free community.’⁸³ These essential attributes, he argues, ‘give

⁷⁸ David Graeber, ‘For a New Anarchism’, *New Left Review*, 12 (2002), 61.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

⁸⁰ Amory Starr, *Naming the Enemy. Anti-Corporate Movements Confront Globalization* (London and New York: Zed Books, 2000), p. 115.

⁸¹ Seán M. Sheehan, *Anarchism* (London: Reaktion Books, 2003).

⁸² Noam Chomsky, *For Reasons of State* (London: Collins, 1973), p. 184.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

man the opportunity to create social conditions and social forms to maximise the possibilities for freedom, diversity, and individual self-realization'.⁸⁴ In a view that recalls Goodman's perspective in particular, Chomsky argued that in the absence of 'intrinsic' 'properties of mind', there can be only 'shaping of behaviour' but no creative acts of 'self-perfection'.⁸⁵ This view is highly reminiscent of the essentialist defences of self-creative and biological formulations of the place of freedom in human development of thinkers like Read, Ward and Goodman. Like these thinkers, Chomsky argued that 'the essence of human nature is man's freedom and his consciousness of his freedom'.⁸⁶ Marshall, for example, overlooks the development of this idea within anarchist thought when he writes with regard to Chomsky's essentialism that anarchists exclusively view human character as a 'product of the environment'.⁸⁷ In fact, in the work of all the anarchists explored here, the powerful libertarian significance of the environment lies in the interaction between human and material contexts and the essential creative and organizing capacities of the human physiology. In the work of twentieth-century anarchists the notion of self-creation was fundamentally premised on the removal of political authority and other impositions on the free choice of the individual. One aspect of the synthesis between negative and positive conceptions of freedom offered by these anarchists was the highlighting of the direct link between the importance of un-coerced individual human agency and the celebration of the individual capacity for a rich inner life of moral and responsible judgements. This account presents a picture of human freedom composed of identified characteristics that celebrate action, participation, will, self-creation and self-government. This view of selfhood imbues the tradition with a highly charged sense of voluntarism and action. A focus on agency is an important feature of anarchism's contribution to political debate. This understanding of freedom forms part of their attack on the role of the state in directing and administering social relationships.

Anarchism did not die and fade away in the twentieth century. It thrived and developed in the work and political engagements of a number of twentieth-century intellectuals. These figures deployed the anarchist tradition in the formulation of responses to social, economic and political changes in Britain and America in the twentieth century. They associated these changes with the erosion of political ideals of vibrant individuality and social responsibility. The realities of war highlighted for these thinkers the urgent applicability of anarchism in the modern era. They were also concerned to demonstrate the intellectual calibre of the tradition. These intellectuals saw themselves as committed, responsible writers willing to call their political cultures to account for the transgression of civilized values demonstrated by the horror and violence of war, the growth of authoritarianism and the destruction of the environment. They saw anarchism as the system of thought which reflected these concerns. It equipped them

⁸⁴ Ibid., pp. 174–5.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 175.

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 171.

⁸⁷ *Marshall*, *Demanding the Impossible*, p. 578.

with the political focuses on individuality, freedom and community from which they formulated their responses to the twentieth century. Read, Comfort, Goodman, Ward and Bookchin presented anarchism as a pertinent and reasonable approach to the social and political realities of the twentieth century. They saw anarchism as a political theory appropriate for connecting with contemporary issues and audiences. This is demonstrated by their engagements with, and influence on, political discourse in both America and Britain. These authors demonstrate historical and conceptual continuities within anarchist thought as well as coherent developments. Their work and influence demonstrates the consistent accumulation of anarchist ideas in the twentieth century, especially regarding freedom.

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8. The Hitchhiker as Theorist: Rethinking Sociology and Anthropology from an Anarchist Perspective⁽²⁾

Jonathan Purkis

“I began to hitchhike in something akin to geological time: slow, ancient, vast ... I removed the freeway from its temporal context. Overpasses, cloverleaves, exit ramps took on the personality of Mayan ruins for me” Sissy Hankshaw.

Tom Robbins, Even Cowgirls Get the Blues, 1976

People spend more time at traffic lights than kissing.

Kieran Hurley, *Hitch*, 2010

Vagabond Views

In 1970 a young Danish photographer named Jacob Holdt decided to hitchhike around the North American continent, in search of adventure, friendship and what he later called a ‘vagabond sociology’. For five years he criss-crossed 48 states and provinces, stayed with 434 separate families or individuals, many of whom lived in a world that Depression-era hitchhiking counterparts would have seen and experienced: malnutrition, absence of health care, ramshackle houses more appropriate to a third world slum, indentured labour that barely differed from the slavery of the previous century, and of course alcoholism and prostitution. The poorer the people Holdt encountered, the greater their capacity for generosity; not only did he rarely sleep rough or go hungry, but guided by the belief that being on the road and having little is ac-

⁽²⁾ This chapter provides only a flavour of the intellectual shifts within sociology and anthropology that may interest anarchists, rather than comprehensive treatment or well-rounded answers. I am very grateful for the incisive observations and support from Ruth Kinna and my fellow hitchhiker-in-crime James ‘Bar’ Bowen.

tually a form of security, he managed to make his starting \$40 last the entire five-year journey.

The journal that he kept, accompanied by hundreds of photographs, eventually became the widely acclaimed book *American Pictures*¹ and Holdt the darling of the liberal media for producing ‘the new Roots’, according to some. The depiction of the brutality and violence experienced by the African Americans whom Holdt encounters does make uncomfortable reading, as does his attempt to understand the alienation of the white racists, who are also victims of a structured poverty. Gaining access to the underclass and thereby a more convincing portrait of America was, he believed, best gleaned through the experience of the hitchhiker. The constant negotiation of lifts with strangers at the roadside, being welcomed into threadbare homes and offered hospitality were unique in terms of their possibilities for encountering groups of people normally outside of one’s daily routine, and from which one could learn. These mini-ethnographies of the road were more potentially meaningful in terms of their exposure of existing hierarchies and alienation than could be inferred from more conventional research methods, based on formal interviews and surveys. Somehow the mode of transport assisted the method of research.

Holdt’s work defies categorization; part-journalism, part autobiography, it takes the classical anthropological position (white middle class visitor to a culture not his own) and offers insights about the brutal coexistence of two ethnically different communities that are primarily defined by poverty and exclusion from mainstream America. It was, as he illustrates all too poignantly when his presence probably causes a murder, a position no social scientist would ordinarily be brave enough to even enter let alone have to suffer for their ‘research’.

Unsurprisingly, Holdt felt a sense of responsibility for his research, which continued after publication. Leaving the fawning intelligentsia behind, he sets out thumbing with his 2-year-old son, retracing his steps, to show his presentation to some of the people in it and to check up on those whom he feels accountable to. Holdt’s slideshows facilitate a variety of responses: many of his subjects ‘get it’; others are bemused or perplexed; some are angry or feel so much pain that they wish to burn the book. Constantly optimistic, he hopes that *American Pictures* can be as influential as Jacob Riis’s 1890 collection of photographs of the urban poor *How the Other Half Lives*. Struggling to maintain a dialogue between two different worlds, Holdt lectures everywhere, visiting both academic and penal institutions, and after hearing some of his publisher’s marketing plans, decides to set up a number of alternative schemes whereby ‘his subjects’ can sell the book and make small profits for themselves and their communities.

Holdt’s book emerged at a time when considerable subject examination about *process* was occurring in sociology and anthropology; when feminist, environmental and postcolonial perspectives were politicizing even basic assumptions and purposes behind what were perceived as elite forms of knowledge. For many working in these disciplines

¹ Jacob Holdt, *American Pictures* (Copenhagen: American Pictures Foundation, 1985).

it seemed axiomatic that ‘process’ included acknowledging the power relationships that existed between academics and their ‘research subjects’, whether ‘in the field’ or in terms of how their ‘findings’ were collated and distributed. Although at this time anarchist influences as such were less visible in academia, they nevertheless paralleled and deepened these concerns, with a burgeoning mass of work in recent years linking questions of process to theoretical developments in post-structuralism and theories of complexity in particular.

What follows is an outline of the key issues for those attempting to construct anarchist forms of interpretations within the disciplines of sociology and anthropology, by way of a case study of hitchhiking. I suggest that ‘intentional’ hitchhiking by the roadside (as distinct from simply walking and occasionally being offered lifts) provides an ideal method for observing the workings of power and hierarchy, since these often define the respective positions and attitudes of lift seeker and giver. Moreover, hitchhiking provides an ideal theoretical touchstone for anarchists since it foregrounds informal (and frequently marginal) sets of social relations based on mutual aid, cooperation and trust, the qualities of which have often existed in the ‘primitive’ societies’ studied by anthropologists. Similarly, sociological studies of social cohesion in communities and political networks have led to a reappraisal of work around ‘the gift’ as a crucial element in the generation of cultural meaning. Given that both disciplines have often been premised on certain forms of inevitable historical progress and development, the hitchhiker offers us a glimpse of another kind of modernity; of alternative structures and associations beyond those defined by political, economic and social hierarchies, mobile or otherwise.

The hitchhiker therefore offers us a synthesis of theory and method; a traveller observing the landscapes of power through which they are moving, yet seeking alternatives to its hierarchies and formal economies through constant negotiation and exchange. Using the hitchhiker as an anarchist leitmotif, I suggest that (what we might tentatively call) ‘roadside ethnographies’ or ‘vagabond sociologies’ can help facilitate new ways of thinking about sociology and anthropology, thereby adding to existing attempts to devise more accountable forms of academic theory and practice. However, first it is important to re-familiarize ourselves with the history, assumptions and limitations of non-anarchist sociology and anthropology.

The Premises of Power

Holdt’s namesake hero Jacob Riis was one of many progressives of late-nineteenth-century America, who utilized photography to try and assist in the development of welfare schemes, better housing and urban facilities. Although a journalist, his concerns were similar to the contemporaneous investigations of the Chicago School of urban sociology, whose mapping of the different zones of cities was an attempt to understand the relationship between the expanding city populations, their immediate

physical environment and each other. Trying to theorize the pace of life and sense of alienation and anonymity that many individuals felt in the cramped conditions of the new metropolises defined early sociology, whether in America or in the minds of European theorists such as Emile Durkheim and Georg Simmel. These early enquiries into how human societies bonded, whether in urban or rural contexts were fuelled by a belief in the power of the rational intellect to identify and resolve contradictions within the society. Crucially, this combined a reformer's compassion with a clear epistemology of how the social world was ordered.

'Sociology', according to Auguste Comte who coined the phrase in 1842, employed a kind of 'social physics', to describe the component parts of an integrated whole. It is a description that defined its first and most enduring analytical perspective, Functionalism, a largely American school of thought most famously associated with Robert Merton and Talcott Parsons. Although wide ranging in terms of the concepts used to describe social actors' choices and rationalizations within a given situation, it nevertheless assumes the naturalness of the social roles, experiences and differentiated structures (economy, law, politics) within modern capitalist nations. Accordingly, the role of conflict and division were largely overlooked or seen to be a product of dysfunctions within the system rather than as a result of structured inequality. One of the intellectual responses to Functionalism, Symbolic Interactionism, did try to comprehend the ways that various marginalized groups negotiated their way within daily life, but as a perspective it focused more on sense-making rules, eschewing politics and power for more ontological questions (a trait that continued through Ethnomethodology). The big challenge to Functionalism came from Marxist sociological perspectives in the 1960s, refuting its post-war analysis that the new consumer societies had solved many basic social needs and therefore represented an end point of social cohesion. Marxist perspectives, dwelling on conflict, change and social division – on a global level – were both a reaction to inherent conservatism in sociology and the absence of a sufficient sense of agency or action to explain the dynamic nature of society. So, while Marxism recognized the structured nature of inequality, its willingness to analyse all situations from an economically determinist perspective (subsuming gender, ethnicity and different territorial contexts in the process) led to accusations of substituting one set of assumptions about the functions of the capitalist system with another set about historical materialist analysis.

Leaving issues of postmodernism and post-structuralism aside for now, it would be fair to say that the aforementioned assumptions of power and determination have also dogged anthropology, with more clearly recognized charges of racism, colonialism and sexism in its intellectual history. Anthropology has often been seen as an inextricable part of the era of colonial arrogance, even tacitly supporting slow genocide such as of the 'Aboriginals'² in Australia. Early anthropology took the view that the societies being studied were akin to pre-industrial communities, part of one's own past as opposed

² Bruce Chatwin notes in *The Songlines* (London: Pan, 1988) that this generic term is inappropriate

to highly organized communities with complex codes of behaviour and strong political frameworks that did not need to ‘evolve’. As with sociology, the dominant method of enquiry has been Functionalism, motivated to document ‘primitive’ cosmology and its impact on kinship systems, decision-making and trading. By the 1950s and 1960s Structuralist theorists such as Claude Lévi-Strauss were taking the classification systems of other cultures more seriously and comparing them to the kind of stories, taboos and morals that exist in our own cultures. Nevertheless these perspectives were often generalized and appeared to offer little sense of agency in terms of how individual cultures interpret, retell and resist these (allegedly universal) forms of communication. Furthermore, there was little idea about the dynamism that existed within primitive societies in terms of how they conducted their politics and avoided the need for State-like structures. Anarchist theorists on the other hand were already making headway in these areas with Élie Reclus’ book *Primitive Folk*³ considering the similarities of belief, ritual and organized brutality that underpinned both advanced and primitive cultures. One of Lévi-Strauss’ contemporaries Pierre Clastres, pushed this further in *Society against the State*,⁴ arguing that many of the Amazonian tribes which he had studied during the 1940s allowed certain figures to be temporary delegates and authority figures when key intertribal politics were concerned, but otherwise saw no need to develop formal systems of authority. Western ethnocentrism and its teleology was also challenged some years earlier by another French theorist, Marcel Mauss, in the context of so-called primitive economics, which he argued were far more socially complex than had been assumed. So, rather than there being a necessary movement from ‘barter’ (largely non-existent in fact) to mature capitalist market places, Mauss emphasized the centrality and endurance of the role of the ‘gift’, in the social life of many cultures. For some, Mauss’s work not only reveals a whole hidden dimension to any society, but also provides important examples of ‘counter-power’⁵ whereby anarchist enclaves and networks emerge and flourish unbeknownst to and outside of mainstream statecraft and its intellectual outriders, a central idea in the work of the English anarchist Colin Ward.⁶

These abridged versions of sociological and anthropological histories provide an indication of the different premises that underpin much non-anarchist theorizing, as well as indicating some of the likely institutional contexts and conflicts that may shape any research that stands apart from the norm. Of course, every academic discipline continually assesses its own tradition and critiques its own purpose, with the Marxist

and makes no conceptual sense, given the complexity of the different tribal cultures, range of dialects and cosmology.

³ Elie Reclus, *Primitive Folk* (Kessinger Legacy Reprints, 2010).

⁴ Pierre Clastres, *Society against the State: Essays in Political Anthropology* (New York: Zone, 1987).

⁵ David Graeber, *Fragments of an Anarchist Anthropology* (Chicago, IL: Prickly Paradigm Press, 2004).

⁶ Colin Ward and David Goodway, *Talking Anarchy* (Nottingham: Five Leaves, 2003).

and feminist accusations against sociology and anthropology having been particularly strident at times. Alvin Gouldner famously accused his peers of becoming part of the ‘military-industrial-welfare-complex’ in *The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology*⁷ yet it is a moot point whether this was ever not the case, and certainly research agendas in the post-1980s era appeared to drift towards neo-liberal economic agendas.

In his book *Captive State: The Corporate Takeover of Britain*⁸ the investigative journalist George Monbiot finds a string of examples of the firing or intimidation of academics who have dared to challenge the research and ethics of corporations who might just be assisting the bank balance of the universities in question. Others who have trodden the same path, such as corporate crime academics Steve Tombs and David Whyte,⁹ have found politically sensitive research findings not seeing the light of day, and themselves ‘warned off’ by company executives. This by no means exceptional series of political interventions in academia has been reinforced by the clampdowns in universities since the attacks on America on 11 September 2001, with a number of controversial or activist academics being expelled or excluded from their institutions for airing unpopular opinions.¹⁰ The shift from the social science philanthropy of Howard Becker’s classic advocacy of the downtrodden in ‘Whose side are we on?’,¹¹ to Joe Sim’s retort to the medical corporate world in ‘Whose side are we NOT on?’¹² has become all too real. Pity the idealistic anthropologist working with indigenous people opposing a dam or mine.

The influence of vested interests on academic research raises a fundamental question about the viability of some subject areas in mainstream institutional contexts, and anarchist academics can be made to feel complicit in their participation in institutions that structurally mirror the inequalities, hierarchies and philosophy that they the practitioner aim to alleviate. So, although few anarchists have managed to build their own institutions (e.g. Murray Bookchin’s Institute for Social Ecology in Vermont), nevertheless a healthy international anarchist academic milieu is now evident, with real and virtual associations (e.g. the Northern American Anarchist Studies Network, the UK-based Anarchist Studies Network), refereed journals (*Anarchist Studies*, *Anarchist Developments in Cultural Studies*), a few postgraduate programmes and resources such as the Spanish-hosted ‘Research in Anarchism’ website,¹³ which is non-affiliated. Some of these formations have been galvanized, according to Randal Amster et al.¹⁴ by the

⁷ Alvin Gouldner, *The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology* (London: Heinemann, 1970).

⁸ George Monbiot, *Captive State: The Corporate Takeover of Britain* (London: Macmillan, 2000).

⁹ Steve Tombs and David Whyte (eds), *Unmasking the Crimes of the Powerful* (New York: Peter Lang, 2003).

¹⁰ Spencer Sunshine, ‘The Divided Forecast for Academic Anarchism in America’, *Anarchist Studies*, 14 (2006), 92–4.

¹¹ Howard Becker, ‘Whose Side Are We On?’ *Social Problems*, 14 (1967), 239–47.

¹² Joe Sim, ‘Whose Side Are We Not On?’ in Steve Tombs and David Whyte (eds), *Unmasking the Crimes of the Powerful* (New York: Peter Lang, 2003), pp. 239–60.

¹³ <http://raforum.info>.

¹⁴ *Randall Amster et al. (eds), Contemporary Anarchist Studies: An Introductory Anthology of*

wave of anti-authoritarian social movements and projects since the anti-World Trade Organisation mobilization ('the Battle for Seattle') in November 1999. In addition, as the introduction to this volume indicates, the last decade has seen no shortage of assessments of the relative health of the anarchist tradition in terms of its activism, history and philosophy.

Self-identified anarchists within the academia, however, are harder to locate (Noam Chomsky excepted!) and their interventions in major disciplines sporadic. Owing in part to the high profile work of David Graeber¹⁵ and James C. Scott,¹⁶ the anthropologists have enjoyed more visible 'success' than the sociologists, probably because the subject matter is often 'non-Western' ways of living or 'stateless societies' and there is greater acceptability of non-State-driven or corporate-orientated explanations and proposed solutions. This has built on existing interest generated by Marshall Sahlins whose *Stone Age Economics*¹⁷ posed questions regarding the better work/life balances, skill sharing and levels of happiness that existed in earlier societies. Perhaps more importantly, these developments offer ways into rethinking one's basic philosophical assumptions.

Doing Theory unto Others

One reason why anarchists may have had less visible success in sociology than anthropology is that its theoretical assumptions have appeared to legitimate authoritarian structures and utilize concepts that are potentially as much of a problem as the problems that it proposes to investigate. Consequently, anarchists may find themselves unable to work within an academic context where even the concepts themselves appear to be oppressive. This is most easily seen in the influence of Max Weber's thesis of the growth of bureaucracy and its inevitable regimentation of everyday life. The dominance of this thesis has been such that subsequent attempts to understand the workings of bureaucracy have tended to interpret the model in such a way as to perpetuate a (hierarchical) way of thinking about the impact of modernity on people and the environment the world, with little room for 'agency'.

Weber himself was not unaware of this conundrum, through his attempts to understand the conceptual shift from a traditional/feudal mindset to the rational capitalist world view. In both the introduction to *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* and in *Essays in Sociology*¹⁸ Weber shows how this capitalist perspective utilized a 'purposive rationality' (*Zweckrationalität*) – the accomplishment of a task by its most

Anarchy in the Academy (New York: Routledge, 2009).

¹⁵ Graeber, *Fragments* (2004).

¹⁶ James C. Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009); James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998).

¹⁷ Marshall Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics* (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 1972).

¹⁸ Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1976); ed. H. Gerth and C. W. Mills, *Essays in Sociology* (London: Routledge, 1948).

efficient means, defined by the logic of the end goal. The triumph of this form of rationality (epitomized by his famous phrase ‘the iron cage of bureaucracy’) was made at the expense of ‘substantive’ forms of rationality (where one observed the consequences of one’s actions) and led to forms of ‘disenchantment’ as those values ebbed away or were crushed.

This position was later developed by the Frankfurt School of Critical Theory – first Adorno and Horkheimer, then Habermas and Marcuse – through the concept of ‘instrumental reason’, which stamped its mark on all human activities and wrought nature in the same manner. The prevalence of this sense of ‘dominance’ attributed to the structure (largely manifested in the culture industry) provided little sense of agency, a trait that Western Marxists shared with their Functionalist counterparts such as Talcott Parsons. Though some have tried to ‘solve’ the ‘duality of structure and agency’¹⁹ such models legitimate a view that individuals can only change society through pre-existing frameworks. This has even been true of progressive perspectives around ‘risk’,²⁰ ‘reflexivity’ and ‘ecological modernization’,²¹ which tend to focus upon the cultures of institutions not the structures themselves. So, when theorists assess the values of the institutions creating environmental damage for example, there is an implicit assumption that greater efficiency, new posts and more compassion will suffice.

That institutions can be reflexive in content but not in form reprises the critique levelled at Norbert Elias’s thesis developed in *The Civilising Process*²² (1982), which attributed the emergence of benign liberal democratic states to reduced levels of societal violence, new forms of cohesion and greater tolerance. Zygmunt Bauman’s response to this was to take an experience that both his and Elias’s family had lived through, the Holocaust, and suggest that this was *precisely* the rationalization that Weber had been talking about. For Bauman, the *Zweckrationalität* led to genocide; for if the process of rationalization distanced one from everyday life and deprived people of their capacity to be ethical beings, they would become automatons in a structure, helplessly obeying orders in a culture of *ambivalence*.²³

This critique of the fragility of the Enlightenment project is also evident in terms of research methods and the aforementioned issues of academic accountability. Since Marcus and Clifford’s collection on postmodern ethnographies *Writing Culture*,²⁴ Liz

¹⁹ See Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society: Outline of a Theory of Structuration* (Cambridge: Polity, 1984).

²⁰ Ulrich Beck, *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity* (London: Sage, 1992); Ulrich Beck, Anthony Giddens and Scott Lash, *Reflexive Modernization* (Cambridge: Polity, 1994).

²¹ Gert Spaargaren and Arthur Mol, ‘Ecological Modernization Theory in Debate: A Review’, *Environmental Politics*, 9 (2000), 17–49.

²² Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1982).

²³ Zygmunt Bauman develops these ideas over two books: *Modernity and the Holocaust* (Cambridge: Polity, 1989); and *Modernity and Ambivalence* (Cambridge: Polity, 1991).

²⁴ George Marcus and James Clifford, *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Berkeley, CA: University of California, 1986).

Stanley's *Feminist Praxis*²⁵ and Sasha Roseneil's activist positioning,²⁶ there have been plenty of attempts to avoid reifying one's research subjects, and situate the researcher in a more ambiguous, contestable role, opening actions up to self, subject and peer scrutiny.²⁷ Whether one can truly empower the 'subjects' is still open to question,²⁸ and it is entirely possible that in a subservient relationship to an academic institution or corporation, collaborative goals may not even be desirable. For the hypothetical anthropologist researching a culture whose world is about to be shattered by a dam or a mine construction, there is the additional issue of how to communicate that information and to whom, points recently raised by Thorpe and Welsh in their advocacy of more participatory knowledge systems.²⁹

Before moving onto my case study of hitchhiking as an analytical touchstone for anarchist theorizing, I need to spell out some of the potential ingredients of an anarchist sociology or anthropology.

In Search of the Great Paradigm Shift (Long Foretold)

When I was a young postgraduate, I was told that I could not graft anarchist principles on to 'sociology' to achieve a new kind of understanding of what I was studying at the time (the Earth First! direct action network), as this was (a) too political and (b) not methodical enough. In one sense this is not surprising, given the time that it took for feminist sociologies and anthropologies to emerge and suffer the same attacks, before finally becoming accepted. But, after inconclusive attempts to frame my data within various postmodern and social movement theories, I decided to 'invent' some of my own sociological 'variables'; to locate the theory and practice of my activists within a series of political traditions extending far beyond the supposed rise of the 'new' environmentalism of the last four decades and with different views about political lobbying.³⁰ These variables included: the presence or absence of concepts of 'cooperation'; 'anti-authoritarianism' as a marker of praxis and distance from other environmental groups; 'a politics of personal liberation' (through self-knowledge) and

²⁵ Liz Stanley (ed.), *Feminist Praxis* (London: Routledge, 1990).

²⁶ *Sasha Roseneil*, *Disarming Patriarchy: Feminism and Political Action at Greenham* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

²⁷ Wanda Pillow, 'Confession, Catharsis or Cure?: Rethinking the Uses of Reflexivity as Methodological Power in Qualitative Research', *Qualitative Studies in Education*, 16 (2003), 175–96.

²⁸ Dana Williams, 'Searching for an Anarchist Sociology', *Anarchist Studies*, 17 (2009), 105–8.

²⁹ Charles Thorpe and Ian Welsh, 'Beyond Primitivism: Towards a Twenty-First Century Anarchist Theory and Praxis for Science and Technology', *Anarchist Studies*, 16 (2008), 48–75.

³⁰ Jonathan Purkis, *A Sociology of Environmental Protest: Earth First! and the Theory and Practice of Anarchism* (PhD thesis, Manchester Metropolitan University, 2001). Also available from the author at jonathanpurkis@yahoo.co.uk.

the existence of ‘anarchist forms of campaigning’ (consensus-based forms of non-violent direct action; the creation of ‘temporary autonomous zones’ and so forth).

John Griffin proposes something similar in *A Structured Anarchism*,³¹ using a more generic set of variables with which one could examine the social composition, structures and libertarian tendencies of a society, but concepts that make sense from an anarchist point of view. So, cutting across the classical sociological premises of Marx, Weber and Durkheim on the grounds that their theories were bound up with class, economics, status or assumed hierarchies, Griffin proposes ‘anarchy’, ‘freedom’, ‘equality’, ‘community’ as the basis of any sociology. Such suggestions posit a way forward to revisit one’s own intellectual premises, most basically: ‘*what actually holds societies together?*’ Since so much of what one ‘should look out for’ is defined by existing intellectual traditions, it is time to stop mirroring their assumptions.

The anthropologist Harold Barclay, whose books *People without Government* and *The State* provide examples of how ‘primitive cultures’ deal with problems of authority, collective identity and participation without recourse to the emergence of states, notes the pervasive mythology that supposes the services and functions provided by the state are synonymous with what holds ‘societies’ together.³² Sociologists have often looked to the European Renaissance as being a key ingredient in the emergence of the modern state, which shows how recent the idea of territorial sovereignty actually is. Go back more than 6,000 years and there are no states of any sort, and ‘societies’ are based around local knowledge systems and forms of community building, many of which, according to James C. Scott, disappear or are subsumed by the gradual centralization of power.³³ At a time when many nineteenth- and twentieth-century states are breaking up as a result of political and ethnic tensions – in Europe, the former Soviet Union and in Africa – it is also worth remembering the regions of the world that have experienced forms of collective organization and self-governance and have been ‘outside’ the history of modern nation states. In *The Art of Not Being Governed*, Scott conducts a massive investigation into the history and culture of ‘Zomia’, an upland area of Southeast Asia like the size of Europe, where hundreds of generations have conducted their own social, economic and political affairs despite repeated attempts by states and landowners to coerce, tax or enslave them.³⁴

If the anthropological record tends to amplify the point that forms of anarchism always exist in some shape or form, then the sociological traditions that emphasize statecraft and *Zweckrationalität* can allow us to consider forms of association and action outside those frameworks. Such formations have been particularly visible in recent decades in terms of opposition to neo-liberal economics. In particular, the ‘global justice’ or ‘alternative globalization’ movement, formalized through the Seattle protests of

³¹ John Griffin, *A Structured Anarchism* (London: Freedom Press, 1991).

³² Harold Barclay, *The State* (London: Freedom Press, 2003); Harold Barclay, *People without Government: An Anthropology of Anarchy* (London: Kahn and Averill, 1990).

³³ Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, pp. 333–9

³⁴ Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed*, *passim*.

November 1999 but with its roots in the 1994 Zapatista uprising in the Chiapas region of Mexico, comprises of so many international networks, that traditional sociological theorizing in terms of state, class, party, ethnicity, gender, models of consumerism or new generic terms like ‘multitude’ does not really work. Neither do the strategies and rationales of these alliances of peasants, radical trade unionists, women’s groups and environmentalists easily align with sociological concepts premised on mobilization to influence governments. Instead, a different conceptual realm, based on the complexity sciences is evoked to discern the self-organizing, fluid and temporary associations of these movements, many of which coalesce around international trade summits and their alternatives (e.g. World Social Forum).³⁵

Here it is important not to proffer theoretical analysis that is misleading. The movements against neo-liberalism are not anarchist per se, although there are connections; the point being that its *process* reveals a different ‘order’ to the movements than one might suppose from either traditional analyses or elite ideology. Graeme Chesters and Ian Welsh utilize complexity theory in this way, to understand the emergence, composition and dynamism of these movements, thereby moving beyond the rigidity of Functionalism, Structuralism and Marxism as explanations which have more fixed reference points, analyses and teleology. However, for all of the language of flux and indeterminacy, complexity theories themselves will not necessarily identify new forms of oppression, or uncover anti-authoritarian or cooperative currents. All of which begs the question whether a ‘paradigm shift’³⁶ is a purely conceptual matter or whether it also implies massive social and political transformations?

In ‘Paradigm Crash, Paradigm Shift’ Thomas S. Martin takes the view that anarchism has always been better placed than most theoretical perspectives to realize the notion of a pivotal intellectual upheaval, since it understands the folly of dichotomous and hierarchical thought, and sees the self-organizing nature of the human and non-human worlds more clearly.³⁷ Echoing Petr Kropotkin³⁸ and Murray Bookchin,³⁹ Martin suggests that an anarchist philosophy of action is homologous with this more integrated notion of the natural and human worlds. Conversely, the dominant epistemologies of modernity – liberal capitalism and Marxist socialism – work against this, utilizing concepts that reify natural and human ecosystems, and view them from an agenda of control and governance. Anarchist epistemologies, by contrast, need to explain grass-roots self-organizing phenomena on their own terms, identify the myriad uses and applications of power within a society or group and investigate those things in a sensitive, accountable and mutually beneficial manner.

³⁵ These include ‘autopoiesis’, ‘rhizomes’, ‘webs’, ‘weak ties’, ‘swarms’, ‘strange attractors’ and so forth (see Starhawk 2002; Notes from Nowhere 2003; Chesters and Welsh 2006)

³⁶ Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1967).

³⁷ Thomas S. Martin, ‘Paradigm Crash: Paradigm Shift’, *Anarchist Studies*, 13 (2005), 130–46.

³⁸ Petr Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1939).

³⁹ Murray Bookchin, *The Ecology of Freedom* (Palo Alto, CA: Cheshire Books, 1982).

One way of accomplishing this is to return to our hitchhiker, who as a constantly persecuted figure in all kinds of historical and imaginative situations, can remind us just how many forms of power can exist concurrently within a society. Furthermore, hitchhiking also reveals the kind of aforementioned hidden cultures and networks that evade sociological eyes, and provides insight into the alternative economics of ‘gift exchange’.

A Hitchhiker’s Guide to Nomads and Gift Economics

Although the first identifiable ‘intentional’ hitchhiking of an automobile took place in the second decade of the twentieth century, probably in the United States,⁴⁰ historians of the activity play a surreal game among themselves to locate the earliest literary example of the activity. Amidst amusing claims for Jonah and the Whale and Sinbad the Sailor, through to examples from Charles Dickens and Mark Twain, there is a more serious point that relates to the historical relationship between modes of transport and instances of mutual aid. It is very easy to forget that before modern market economies and the heavily regulated, taxed and mass-produced forms of transport that have come to increasingly dominate the planet, humankind actually shared, bartered and negotiated all kinds of goods and services in exchange for passage across deserts and oceans for countless millennia. Even today, on a global scale, car ownership and plane travel are far from universal, and have limited use in many parts of the world. One might suggest that, as with the aforementioned work by Harold Barclay and James C. Scott on alternative societies outside the reach of states, so it is also possible to think about alternative mobilities that operate along different economic and cultural lines.

Peter Lamborn Wilson⁴¹ would agree with this, judging from his glamorized reflections on the small self-organizing ‘pirate utopias’ which existed in parts of the Caribbean, the Mediterranean and in Madagascar, during the ‘golden age’ of piracy (1660–1720) complete with their own trade networks and social structures. These associations of itinerant sailors, vagabonds and peddlers of (stolen) wares, possessed their own complex codes of reciprocity around transportation too, thus ‘working a passage’ from one pirate enclave to another, would entail the same kind of negotiating that stateless peoples had always done. The point here is that forms of mutual aid happen everywhere and ‘hitching a lift’ is just one point on an informal continuum of assisted movement, whether negotiated from quaysides, ‘staging posts’, truck-stops or via Twitter.

The long view from anthropology suggests the battles waged by modern states on migrants and nomadic peoples are in fact part of an age-old conflict between static

⁴⁰ Jonathan Purkis, *On Hitchhiking: A Cultural History of an Ideal* (forthcoming, 2013).

⁴¹ Peter Lamborn Wilson, *Pirate Utopias* (New York: Autonomedia, 1997).

communities, which are generally speaking relatively ‘recent’, and migratory cultures, which comprise the vast majority of human history. In his cultural history of North American nomads, *Ghost Riders*,⁴² Richard Grant’s list of those of who have struck out from civilization over the last 500 years is extensive: renegade conquistadors, trappers and mountain men, rodeo cowboys, indentured labourers who chose to live wild and free with the indigenous people, contemporary freight-riding hobos, hippy drifters and hitchhikers, lorry drivers who cannot settle down, alternative tribes such as the Rainbow People, even retired ‘Middletown’ couples in recreational vehicles constantly following the seasons. For Grant, the fact that nomadic existence is chosen contributes to a different vision of American history, belying the official mythology of America as a ‘fixed’ acquisitive society. It is only when an educated person ‘inexplicably’ ‘drops out’ and ends up becoming a cult figure such as hitchhiking wanderer Chris McCandless did after his death in the Alaskan wilderness in 1992, that mainstream society begins asking questions which have been in culture for a long time.⁴³

All folk traditions have their ‘vagabond’ figures and mysterious stranger archetypes from the medieval European folk tale of the ‘Wandering Jew’ (believed to be Cain) to modern urban myths around ‘vanishing hitchhikers’.⁴⁴ Some of these coincide with significant economic shifts or political upheavals, as in the case of the ‘master less men’ thrown off the land as feudalism gave way to early capitalism, with huge numbers of nomads creating fear in the ruling classes across seventeenth-century Europe.⁴⁵ These tales appear to fulfil a collective psychological function of determining social and geographical boundaries, yet probably assisted the development of anti-vagrancy legislation in many countries. The United States, which has a long history of applying vagrancy, has experienced many cultural anxieties about its itinerant freight-hopping agricultural workers (the word ‘hobo’ is literally ‘hoe-boy’) with an official Tramp Menace declared in 1873 by respectable society. Yet various periods of ‘happy hobo’ stereotyping and a spirited effort to recruit for World War I when it suited the government and press barons also followed. The reality of a substantial migrant populace created problems for the government during the Great Depression, with a Transient Bureau set up complete with hundreds of shelters and soup kitchens to cater for the million plus people regularly by the roadsides or in the freight yards; yet officials also bowed to rail and bus company pressures that had existed since the 1920s, and formalized anti-hitchhiking legislation. The longevity of the scourge of the mobile, particularly the young mobile, comes through in Jeremy Packer’s *Mobility without Mayhem*,⁴⁶ which

⁴² Richard Grant, *Ghost Riders: Travels with American Nomads* (London: Abacus, 2003).

⁴³ Jon Krakauer, *Into the Wild* (London: Pan Macmillan, 1998). A film of the same name in 2007 directed by Sean Penn also generated substantial media debate.

⁴⁴ Jan Harold Brunvand, *The Vanishing Hitchhiker* (New York: Norton, 1981).

⁴⁵ Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas during the English Revolution* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1982).

⁴⁶ Jeremy Packer, *Mobility without Mayhem: Safety, Cars and Citizenship* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009).

catalogues an 80 year history of moral panics in America, including hitchhikers, motorcycle gangs, CB radio-wielding anti-authoritarian truckers, African American Cadillac drivers, and, at various times, women drivers: all an indication of the complex anxieties of authority where mobility is concerned, most recently embodied in new surveillance of transport systems framed by the politics of the ‘War on Terror’.

Most transport systems historically *have* embodied the power relations of the societies that they have emerged from, with the emergence of modern states formalizing many of the aforementioned processes of ‘ambivalence’ and ‘purposive rationality’ (*Zweckrationalität*). Consider how one might interpret a given journey as indicative of power relations: most forms of mobility involve forms of social segregation along lines of ethnicity, class, gender and age; the rich frequently travel further and faster than the poor which often increases life chances; geographical zoning in cities has been known to actively prevent mobility and reduce social mixing, especially where public transport is concerned; solitary travel by one’s ‘personalized’ motor vehicle is not only an isolating experience that uses disproportionate amounts of resources than other modes of transport, but it is also the apex of ‘commodity fetishism’; similarly, the organization of mass leisure reifies both the environmental spaces and cultures that it transports people across or over. Here, if anywhere is the place to introduce the theoretical legacy of post-structuralism (alluded to earlier), which shares an anti-authoritarian heritage with anarchism, chiefly related to the premise that power resides everywhere, and, as Foucault et al. would have it, particularly through ‘discourse’ and our everyday embodiments of the power relations within ‘it’ (sometimes called ‘bio-power’).⁴⁷

So, if one considers the typology of representations of hitchhiking discussed by Packer in *Mobility without Mayhem*, one can map out the ways in which particular authoritarian ‘discourses’ of control, division, hierarchy or surveillance coalesce around it (and other forms of marginal mobility) at particular times. Packer suggests that first there is an early ‘Civic Samaritan’ phase which corresponds to the wartime/collective shortages of the 1930s/1940s evident in popular media, which in the 1950s consumer boom develops into the ‘Homicidal’ killer figure who has failed to keep up with the times. The 1960s becomes the era of the Kerouac beatnik and hippy, evoking the eternal ‘Romance of the Road’ before the countercultural dream sours in the 1970s with the ‘Asking for it’ phase, as conservative forces re-emphasized ‘stranger danger’ in the context of the greater numbers of women hitchhiking. Packer is one of a very small number of academics who have taken lift-seeking seriously,⁴⁸ noting that it is/was unique in terms of creating new forms of community and fostering a cultural idea of freedom not easily framed within the language of liberal ‘rights’.

⁴⁷ Post-structuralism’s relationship with anarchism is controversial. Some key texts such as Todd May’s *The Political Philosophy of Post-Structural anarchism* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994) demonstrates little knowledge of post-war anarchist theory. As Moore (1997) notes, a second wave of anarchism already existed (e.g. Debord, Perlman and Zerzan) by the 1980s without the ‘help’ of Foucault, Lyotard and Deleuze.

⁴⁸ The exceptions to this are: Mario Rinvoluceri, *Hitchhiking* (self-published in 1974) and accessible

It is in the dozens of ‘journey of a lifetime’ hitchhiking autobiographies, that one glimpses the possibility of a world where economics can be based on reciprocity, trust and the sheer adventure that sharing time with a complete stranger can sometimes bring. Prior to 1990, the Polish government used to regard hitchhiking as something to broaden young Communist minds⁴⁹ a position that no Western government has ever really come close to, even when encouraging car sharing during World War II. The realization of a culture based on different forms of exchange is evoked in the mainstream film *Pay it Forward*⁵⁰ – which starts with a character giving a car away – whereby any recipient of a good turn should instead of reciprocating it, advance a gift to three complete strangers (by implication transforming the society). As Lewis Call has noted in his work on the alternative economics in contemporary science fiction, there is incredible potential in the power of the gift to challenge the very fabric of capitalist reality, with the strongest blow coming from ‘the gift without return’.⁵¹

Weighed down perhaps by models of economic rationality, sociologists have been a little slow on the uptake in terms of gifts. What Ray Pahl’s much cited work on the ‘informal economy’ on the Isle of Sheppey (UK) revealed,⁵² perhaps more than a complex blurring of work and social roles during a recession, was something which anthropologists may well have called ‘primitive’ in other contexts, and which anarchists might just call another form of ‘gift economics’. The reluctance to see beyond one’s categories is also evident in the academic treatment of the ‘symbolic economy’ practiced by the Trobriand Islanders in the Western Pacific, long a favourite example for undergraduate teaching. ‘Discovered’ by Bronislaw Malinowski⁵³ this constituted a way for the indigenous peoples to maintain good relations within an extensive archipelago, through the circulation of a series of necklaces and bracelets by canoe (necklaces in one direction, bracelets in the other). Keeping the shells in circulation facilitated forms of kinship as well as enhancing trading networks.

Malinowski did not ascribe too much intelligence to these transactions, but Mauss preferred to interpret this and other forms of exchange as illustrative of a different order to that of the logic of the commodity within the free market West. His book *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*⁵⁴ charted a range of complex gift-giving practices across many small island societies, each with different notions of ‘obligation’, some of which required the receiver to reflect for a length of ‘time’ before reciprocating.

online at www.alumni.aitec.edu.au/~bwechner/Documents/Hitch/Mario; Graham Chesters and David Smith, ‘The Neglected Art of Hitch-Hiking: Risk, Trust and Sustainability’, *Sociological Research Online*, 6(3) (2001), available at www.socresonline.org.uk/6/3/chesters.html.

⁴⁹ Simon Calder (ed.), *Europe: A Manual for Hitch-Hikers* (Oxford: Vacation Work, 1985), p. 179.

⁵⁰ *Pay it Forward* (Warner Brothers, 2000).

⁵¹ Lewis Call, *Postmodern Anarchism* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2003), p. 99.

⁵² Ray Pahl, *Divisions of Labour* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984).

⁵³ Bronislaw Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (London: Dutton, 1961).

⁵⁴ Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. Ian Gunnison (New York: Norton, 1967).

Hitchhiking of course is rooted in the gift economy and largely bypasses formal monetary transactions or administration, with cross-generational reciprocity evidenced by the hitchhikers of one era becoming the lift givers of the next (the World War II hitchhikers later helped the ‘baby boomers’, etc.). Principally, the opportunity to assist a journey is being exchanged with a gift of conversation and company, but the range of actual gifts that may be exchanged in this potentially libratory arrangement are numerous and difficult to catalogue. As with the Polynesian cultures that Mauss investigated, hitchhiking also exchanges the gift of ‘time’, in that driver and hitcher deliberately chose to socially invest in moments outside of the everyday flow of ‘clock time’⁵⁵ Thus to embrace the notion of ‘hitching time’, as a way of experiencing other lives and cultures on their own terms, without reifying them as a result of speed (‘I don’t have time to talk to you’) or superior values (‘I have no interest in where you live or what you think’), is to position oneself within a different symbolic economy altogether.

These alternatives to the real and imagined workings of the (nascent) capitalist state have always existed, and it is the job of the anarchist theorist to get close to these cultures to posit sociological or anthropological opinions with a difference. During the Great Depression, self-organizing societies formed through a network of ‘hobo jungles’ on the edge of North American cities, and the trains themselves were safe spaces for outcasts, political radicals, homosexuals, as well as labourers. It was a difficult life and is often over-eulogized, but the strength of their codes of etiquette and depth of their own publications, songs and hieroglyphic language (to indicate the likely facilities of a town) is perhaps revealing of the ease within which societies can rediscover their migratory roots.

Closer in time, the hitchhiker of the last few decades is less visible than the freight-riding hobo, but an alternative culture has nevertheless always existed, from roadside ethics, dozens of guidebooks, do it yourself sociologies and photographic anthropologies portraying the ‘road’ from a point of view not usually realized in mainstream society. As hitchhiking has declined in Western countries so the ‘culture’ has sprung up elsewhere, with the centre of world hitchhiking now probably Lithuania or Latvia, and it is certainly well supported in Russia. International hitchhiker gatherings abound, as do various competitions and research organizations such as the Academy of Free Travel, assorted hitching historians and collections of oral history.⁵⁶ Despite the dearth of sociological or anthropological research, hitchhiking does creep into the cultural studies literature of ‘non-places’; those ordinary transitory spaces not thought of as ‘belong-

⁵⁵ Jay Griffiths, *Pip Pip: A Sideways Look at Time* (London: Flamingo, 1999), pp. 11–15.

⁵⁶ Recent examples include: the research archive of Bernd Wechner, available on the www.digihitch.com website, as well as his *Anywhere but Here: Memoirs of a Hitchhiker* at www.alumni.aitech.edu.au/~bwechner (available from 1997); Elijah Wald, *Riding with Strangers* (Chicago, IL: Chicago Review Press, 2006); Simon Sykes and Tom Sykes (eds), *No Such Thing as a Free Ride?* (London: Cassell Illustrated, 2005); Irv Thomas, *Derelict Days* (AuthorHouse, 2004); and Barbara Noske, ‘Thumbing it: A Hitchhikers Guide to Wisdom’ (not available in English).

ing’ to any particular groups: motorway service stations, roadsides and ‘interstices’ – isolated tracts of land around motorway stanchions, or beneath overpasses – which are used by communities who want to exist outside the usual perimeters of society.⁵⁷

In Search of Re-enchantment

Writing about his American hitchhiking experiences of the 1960s and 1970s, the evolutionary psychologist Steven Pinker doubted that such an era could exist now owing to the difficulties of maintaining such a clearly identifiable community.⁵⁸ Whether or not he was aware of hitchhiking’s new geographical centres or its thriving virtual culture (*www.digihitch.com*) is unclear, however, its continued low profile is still an interesting touchstone for a number of closing remarks regarding the theorizing of marginal communities.

The question of what is researched, for whom and how one might go about doing so, is as I have said, a profoundly political one, and there may well be institutional obstacles to the development of anarchist perspectives in sociology and anthropology. Beyond the practical barriers to anarchist epistemologies, dominant theoretical perspectives within the social sciences inevitably locate marginal cultures in terms of their own hierarchical assumptions about purpose, than as indicative of differently configured and intentional communities or associations.⁵⁹

As we have seen, some intellectual traditions reinforce this, with Structuralism, Functionalism (and some forms of Marxism) having constantly been accused of reifying marginal groups and ‘primitive’ cultures, by positioning them within dichotomous (either/or) categories or within a teleological model of assumed human progress. While many a non-anarchist theorist has likened modernity to a juggernaut, few have seen themselves as active participants in keeping it on the road through their own theoretical premises. A century or more ago, Max Weber mourned the disappearance of substantive human values, in the face of *Zweckrationalität*: yet his eventual hopes for a ‘re-enchantment of the world’ now show signs of emerging in feminist and ecological work in sociology and anthropology. Conceptually, some of these works reintroduce a sense of (emotional) agency within theory, but they also shape it in such a way as to recognize the dynamism, fluidity and non-deterministic nature of real human action and culture, as it develops according to its own needs. Here the current fascination with complexity theory has ensured the introduction of new concepts of interconnect- edness, autopoiesis, self-organization, as well as non-linear models of cause and effect. The notion that culture unfolds organically and that real and conceptual hierarchical

⁵⁷ Tim Edensor, ‘M6-Junction 19–16: Defamiliarizing the Mundane Roadscape’, *Space and Culture*, 6 (2003), 151–68; Joe Moran, *On Roads: A Hidden History* (London: Profile, 2009), pp. 139–41.

⁵⁸ *Sykes and Sykes*, No Such Thing as a Free Ride? p. 15.

⁵⁹ Graham Chesters and Ian Welsh, *Complexity and Social Movements* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 86–9.

structures merely brutalize the process, leading to tyranny, environmental degradation and bad philosophy, is something that anarchism has always tapped into, and is particularly evident in the cited work of Murray Bookchin. According to Thomas S. Martin this positions anarchism closer to a ‘paradigm shift’ in human consciousness, of the sort that will recognize the dominant Western paradigm (capitalist modernity) as being a paradigm rather than the objective truth.⁶⁰

The further one moves from instrumental rationality, and its eschewing of process in its drive for efficiency and results, the greater possibility to uncover sociological and anthropological data of the sort discussed above in the context of Barclay, Clastres and Scott. Here the adoption of alternative analytic variables is crucial, in order to examine the authoritarian configuration, assumed political boundaries and likely ecological impact of human societies on a much broader evolutionary scale. An anarchist anthropology or sociology must, according to David Graeber,⁶¹ be dynamic and activist driven, so that the researcher can think outside of the categories dreamed up by state intellectuals and also explore ‘sensitive’ cultural areas beyond the usual remit of the academic. Here the figure of the hitchhiker is the ideal anarchist theorist, actively engaged in social interactions at the point of least mediation through the normal structures of work, leisure, location and mobility – drifting easily between cultures and classes – yet also vulnerable to regulatory violence and social prejudice of those more conventional aspects of life. The hitchhiker is well placed to witness the full range of ideological forces as they vary over time, coalescing around the particular ‘needs’ of a society, be this to exclude or include mobile populations. The hitchhiker therefore constitutes one possible springboard from which to assess the relative levels of authority, liberty, equality and cooperation within a society, and to assist the uncovering of hidden social networks and forms of exchange outside the formal monetary economy.

There are also sociologies of ‘space’ at issue here, in terms of the relationship between power and location. In Bruce Chatwin’s accessible anthropology *The Songlines* one learns about the complex cultural meanings attributed to the wilderness by different tribes as they pass through Australia singing the landscape and their own sadly vanishing histories. Although very different, the social history of hitchhiking, even in the age of the internet, seems in danger of vanishing too, yet should someone choose to publish a global ‘atlas’ of hitchhiking, it would provide a visual representation of many of the concerns of anarchist anthropologists and sociologists. For instance, we would learn much of treatment of migratory peoples through details of how various states have provided for hitchhikers as contrasted with those that have anti-hitchhiking legislation or are notoriously racist, sexist or homophobic. Identification of all of the assorted clubs, associations, gatherings and more formal ‘lift-share’ schemes would trace out an alternative geography of transport gift economics, as would the journeys of

⁶⁰ Thomas, ‘Paradigm Crash: Paradigm Shift’, 132.

⁶¹ David Graeber, *Fragments*, pp. 93–5

various ‘world’ hitchhikers⁶² become ‘gift lines’, linking people and places of mutual aid despite the existing power relations. In addition, ‘hitching trails’ of the many hundreds of songs or books, to reference journeys by thumb might be etched across the continents and oceans: extra evidence that the question *what actually holds societies together?* is very much dependent on one’s starting premises.

Anarchists have frequently drawn inspiration from more visible moments of mutual aid and community self-organization than hitchhiking: for instance, those that occurred in response to the collapse of the Argentinean economy in 2001, saw people’s assemblies, worker occupation of factories, food distribution centres and so forth.⁶³ In the wake of the global financial meltdowns of summer 2008, a new discourse of frugality began to percolate through UK politics, some of it unhelpful, yet amidst the talk of allotments and credit unions, the hitchhiker reappeared as a motif of the times. Almost exclusively positive in tone, journalists interviewed hitchers on radio and television,⁶⁴ tried it again themselves⁶⁵ (Stephen Moss in *The Guardian*, 28 May 2009 and Josephine Moulds in *The Times*, 23 April 2009) and reported back to their readers, with considerable interest in online feedback. Other ventures such as the annual Link Community Development (charity) mass hitch from the United Kingdom to North Africa, and various individuals ‘twitchhiking’ for charity or finding an interesting way to get to the football World Cup also received decent coverage.

While I may be guilty of the usual overenthusiastic anarchist’s need to find evidence of mutual aid, what this brief moment of hope nevertheless represents is the fragility of the assumed belief that power necessitates division and conflict. Since so much social science research appears to be premised upon this notion, with governing structures acting upon their findings, stating evidence to the contrary must be done at every opportunity.

One of Jacob Holdt’s lifts, a playboy millionaire, was so impressed with the idea that ‘security is being on the road with no money’ that he parked his Jaguar on the interstate and hitchhiked off for seven years, ending up in Africa, where he made his first black friend. Holdt himself still tours his ‘vagabond sociology’ around the world, constantly updating his slideshow. According to his website we are all welcome to drop by his house (as many still do). Now equipped with a van, he says that he has no time for hitchhiking, but some people suspect he is desperate to get out there again.

⁶² André Bruginroux, *One People, One Planet: The Adventures of a World Citizen* (Oxford: One World, 1991); Kinga Freespirit, *Led by Destiny: Hitchhiking around the World* (Pelpin, Poland: Bernardinum, 2004).

⁶³ Ezequiel Adamovsky, ‘Pots, Pans and Popular Power: The Neighbourhood Assemblies of Buenos Aires’, in Notes from Nowhere (ed.), *We Are Everywhere: The Irresistible Rise of Global Anticapitalism* (London: Verso, 2003), pp. 422–8.

⁶⁴ BBC Radio 2, *Jeremy Vine Show*, 2 June 2009; Michael Smith’s *Drivetime*, BBC4 television, 26 March 2009.

⁶⁵ Stephen Moss in *The Guardian* (28 May 2009) and Josephine Moulds in *The Times* (23 April 2009) reported back to their readers, with considerable interest in online feedback. (A single letter from myself to *The Guardian* on 2 June 2009 generated 30 replies!)

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9. Genders and Sexualities in Anarchist Movements

Sandra Jeppesen and Holly Nazar

Our task as anarcha-feminists can be nothing less than changing the world and to do that we need to consult our heroic predecessors.

Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz

Radical queers have succeeded in harnessing erotic/sexual energy to enliven their activism in a unique way; ... perhaps in the future people of all genders and sexual orientations will be able to marshal this life-affirming force against the forces to death we confront in our struggles for justice.

Liz Highleyman

Introduction

Contemporary European and North American anarchist social movements are active on issues of gender and sexuality, influenced by and producing radical feminist and queer theories and practices. The purpose of this chapter is to map out a genealogy of several of these movements, providing resources for further research. This presents a challenge in terms of both methodology and sources. Anarchist practices are easily distorted by textual codification. Given the importance of experience and action, valuing different types and sites of knowledge, and examining multiply intersecting oppressions, anarchist feminists and queer anarchists have developed specific methodologies and writing practices which will be foregrounded here.

Early female anarchists challenged the patriarchal family structure, advocating bodily autonomy, access to birth control, gender equality and sexual freedom. While challenging male domination, they also rejected state rule, refusing to participate in women's struggles for the vote. In the early twentieth century, anarchist women increasingly engaged in a range of issues, from immigrant workers' rights to anti-war organizing. At the same time, anarchists played a role in the growing movement for LGBTQ¹ liberation, as these struggles emerged. Feminist and queer anarchists engaged

¹ LGBTQ= Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender/Transsexual and Queer. These are often not one movement but a loose grouping of related movements with their own solidarities and tensions.

in a multiplicity of strategies and tactics from underground publishing and leafleting to direct action and protesting, to quotidian practices such as housing communes and free love, often transgressing societal norms and the law. Emerging from this multiplicity of anarchist actions, contemporary anarchist queer and feminist movements have been developing an intersectional analysis and practice that considers the interlocking politics of sexuality, gender, anti-racism, (im)migration, imperialism, colonialism, (dis)ability, sex work, police brutality, the prison-industrial complex, capitalism and the state, among others.

Anarchafeminist and anarchaqueer movements,² as they have come to be known, have developed in articulation with both the broader straight-white-male-dominated anarchist movement, and radical feminist and radical queer movements. As such, anarchafeminists and anarchaqueers have succeeded in bringing more revolutionary outlaw practices and theories to each of the anarchist, feminist and queer movements, while acting in positions within these movements that were or are sometimes marginalized, alienated from or in tension with them. On the one hand, they challenge gender and sex oppressions both in the world at large and within the anarchist movement, pushing non-feminist and non-queer anarchists to consider what are often labelled feminist and queer issues including the body, parenting, sex work, (dis)ability, health and mental health. On the other hand they challenge feminist and queer movements to consider oppressions intersectional with sex and gender such as capitalism, class, poverty, labour and housing, where anarchist analysis and practice are particularly strong. Lastly, they challenge all of these movements to consider race and colonialism, prisons, borders, immigration, police brutality, etc. At the same time, anti-racist and anti-colonial movements are not always easy allies with anarchafeminist and anarchaqueer organizing methods or groups for a variety of reasons, which need to be explored further.

Just as queer and feminist anarchists have often experienced friction with and within anarchist, feminist and queer movements, they have also drawn on the separate literatures of these three somewhat disparate movements. This chapter therefore has the modest goal of guiding interested readers to a range of sources and topics, to create a ‘placeholder’ in conventional scholarship that will lead the reader to a diversity of anarchafeminist and anarchaqueer methodologies and sources. We will engage first with anarchafeminist movements, move on to anarchaqueer movements and then consider intersections of these with anti-racist anarchism and sex worker advocacy, to take two case studies of on-the-ground organizing. We will conclude by drawing some tentative conclusions about new directions for anarchist research in the light of anarchafeminist and anarchaqueer theories, politics and practices.

² The term anarchafeminist was first used in the 1970s, although anarchist feminists had been active much earlier. Similarly, anarchaqueer started being used in the 1990s to describe a growing movement. In this text we will use the terms ‘anarchist feminists’, ‘feminist anarchists’ and ‘anarchafeminists’ interchangeably, with anarchafeminist as an adjective; similarly ‘queer anarchists’ ‘anarchist queers’ and ‘anarchaqueer’.

Rethinking Anarchafeminist and Anarcha queer Histories

From the beginning of the anarchist movement, anarchist women have challenged male domination in the broader society, and ways in which it is replicated within the anarchist movement. Similarly, radical LGBTQ activists have challenged homophobia, heterosexism and heteronormativity³ within society in general and the anarchist movement in particular. However, this work has not always been documented or valued. Today, however, there is a growing movement to rethink and revalue these histories, including the current moment, a project that offers both benefits and challenges.

Judy Greenway suggests there are five methodologies adopted to retrieve anarchafeminist historiographies. The ‘additive approach’ aims to incorporate missing elements into existing histories; the ‘Emma Goldman Short-Circuit’ is the tendency to assume that ‘Emma said it all before’⁴; and the ‘women’s issues approach’ studies subjects such as sexuality, stereotypically considered the purview of women.⁵ The ‘inclusive approach’ studies well-known events to retrieve women’s roles in them⁶; while the ‘transformative approach’ looks critically at gendered histories, to critique male privilege and female erasure.⁷ Greenway demonstrates the promise and limitations of each approach. She argues that, as anarchists it is necessary not just to re-include erased histories, nor just to point to one or two important personae such as Goldman or Louise Michel, but rather to challenge the fundamentally hierarchical nature of the production of histories.⁸ Moreover, Greenway finds that ‘writing and fighting’ are seen as the important tasks in straight-white-male anarchist organizing, leaving female and queer voices out.⁹ However, she argues, ‘the most valuable kinds of histories speak in many voices; raise more questions than answers; provide cautionary and inspirational stories and analyses which feed the imagination, [and] suggest new possibilities’.¹⁰ As Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz argues, the valorization of anarchafeminists in histories is cru-

³ Homophobia is a term falling out of usage, as it implies a rationalized fear of homosexuality, which has been normalized in the United States, for example, in the legal defense of homophobic panic as an excuse for violent gay bashing. Heterosexism is the equivalent of sexism applied to sexuality rather than gender. Heteronormativity is the ideological assumption that all couples are heteronormative, with one partner being female and the other being male, around which the majority of our institutions are structured (marriage, movies, mortgages, parenting, prisons, schools, etc.).

⁴ J. Greenway, ‘The Gender Politics of Anarchist History: Re/membering Women, Re/minding Men’, presented at the Political Studies Association Annual Conference, Edinburgh, UK (2010), p. 4, available at www.judygreenway.org.uk/articles.html.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 4–5.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 5–6.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

cial.¹¹ Anarchist prefigurative politics suggest that the means of producing histories are as important as the histories produced. Anarchafeminist methodologies focused on re-framing content must also engage in critical anti-hierarchical epistemological practices. Our chapter attempts both.

In rethinking histories it is important to assess which political practices are valued in order to recover the texts and histories that reflect these value-based practices. An alternative system of values is practiced in anarchafeminist and anarchaqueer organizing that engages in cooperation, collaboration, inclusivity and consensus within non-hierarchical collectives. People who always speak to the media, people who take up too much space at meetings, those who consistently volunteer to do glamorous tasks and self-designated leaders are critiqued rather than awarded power. Queer and feminist anarchists will win recognition and approval from a group not by dominating but instead by skill sharing, resource sharing and practicing mutual aid. This important set of values therefore informs the present historical production process.

Reading anarchafeminist and anarchaqueer histories through this lens reveals the aim to share knowledge production collectively, with no individual taking credit. Kytha Kurin argues that in the 1970s bodily autonomy movement anarchist women were ‘[a]ware that authoritarian structures, whether of the State or radical political groups, retain the power of authority by hoarding and mystifying knowledge, [so] feminists tried to avoid becoming the “new experts”’.¹² Regular history sources, such as single-author books, academic journal articles and even dominant anarchist texts are thus inadequate to our purposes, as they reproduce the structures of epistemological domination called into question here. We thus need to research elsewhere, evaluate the texts we find differently, and ourselves refuse the position of experts.

Recently several anarchafeminists have decided to research in collectives, such as the Canadian CRAC collective which is documenting the feminist and pro-feminist antiauthoritarian milieu in Quebec. Anarchafeminists also collectively publish texts such as *Quiet Rumours*, originally a series of six pamphlets and now an anthologized book compiled by the Dark Star Collective (2002). Anarchaqueer groups such as Les Panthères Roses (LPR) and the Anti-Capitalist AssPirates (queer anarchist direct action groups in Montreal), Gay Shame (a global anti-capitalist queer banner group that challenges the corporatization of gay pride marches) and Queeruption (a global anarchaqueer gathering) also publish texts collaboratively, such as the various Queeruption zines and ezines, videos by Montreal anarchist video-activist collective Les Lucioles, or *Crée par Queers Made This*, the recent bilingual anthology of queer Montreal poster art produced by QTeam (2010).¹³ Balancing the need to excavate and archive our his-

¹¹ Dark Star Collective, *Quiet Rumours: An AnarchaFeminist Reader* (Oakland: AK Press, 2002), p. 1.

¹² Kytha Kurin, ‘Anarcha-Feminism: Why the Hyphen’, in Allan Antliff (ed.), *Only a Beginning: An Anarchist Anthology* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2004), p. 258.

¹³ Many of these examples are from Montreal, as that is where the authors are situated; however, it should be noted that there are innumerable similar groups in the Global North and South.

tories for present and future generations with a reticence to become the ‘new experts’ is one of the challenges we face, where we aim both to recover histories and to produce new critical methods for anarchist historical production.¹⁴

Anarchist feminist organizing and thinking has perhaps always manifested the valorized qualities of collective, open-ended exchanges of ideas linked to non-hierarchical knowledge production. However, mainstream methodologies of writing history obscure this. As Anne Lopes demonstrates in her case study on the historiography of the Berlin Women’s movement (2009), texts published by traditional publishers tend to be treated as more reliable than grass-roots productions.¹⁵ But these traditional texts are available because privilege (along race, class and gender lines) makes it systematically easier to have one’s work published. Moreover, these texts are understood as the exclusive product of the attributed author, even though members of anarchist groups work collectively on the exchange of ideas, and likely contributed to the development of thinking that was subsequently written down by a single author. Single-author texts may be critiqued within the anarchist milieu, based on mode of publication, political analysis, contradictions with anarchafeminist, anarchaqueer and anti-racist struggles and omissions of important histories, images and voices. These critiques do not, however, circulate with the book, so the text’s ideas and their attribution to individual authors will be propagated. Thus while traditionally published texts on anarchism can be valuable sources, the result is that the anarchist canon neither constructs nor reflects the diversity, contradictions and open, syncretic debate that characterizes the lived anarchist theorizing and practices of collectives. A fundamental contradiction is thereby created in which anarchist history and theory are produced, propagated and read in a way that is antithetical to their own politics. The implication of these texts in the hegemonic methodology of conventional history makes them an inherently poor vehicle for transmitting anarchist ideas.

While Greenway finds each approach to feminist methodology to be limited, she argues that, taken together they can aid in ‘rethinking the whole structure’ of histories by completely reopening histories and re-examining ‘Who counts as history?’, ‘What counts as history?’ and ‘Where do we look?’¹⁶ For example, historical accounts suggest that early anarchist groups were male dominated. It is possible, however, that the number of women in the anarchist movement in the pre-war and interwar periods has been grossly underestimated due to a historiographic bias that discounts women’s participation. Police records from 1920s Paris, for example, suggest that few of the anarchists

¹⁴ Certainly it is an uneasy feeling to be producing this book chapter, as we do not in any way claim to be ‘experts’ on anarchafeminist or anarchaqueer movements, and our writing here comes as much from experience as it does from books and academic research. We might also dispute this false binary experience/research, particularly as one of us is involved in participatory action research as part of the anarchafeminist movement.

¹⁵ Anne Lopes, ‘Feminisms, Foucault, and the Berlin Women’s Movement’, *Historical Reflections*, 35(1) (2009), pp. 114–36.

¹⁶ Greenway, ‘Gender Politics’, p. 7.

under surveillance by the authorities were women.¹⁷ However police forces are notoriously patriarchal and would thus tend to underestimate any real or perceived threat by anarchist women. Yet police records are often used as a primary source in researching anarchist groups. Common stereotypes held by male historians about politically active women – for instance that their groups were volatile, ‘unqualified’, especially prone to sectarianism or essentially ineffective – have affected the historiography of the movement,¹⁸ as Lopes has argued, and may also be to blame for misrepresentations and exclusions of women’s revolutionary movements.

To correct for this, Lopes (2009) used a Foucauldian genealogical methodology to study the 1880s Berlin women’s movement, which was heavily influenced by anarchism. She found that the movement was inaccurately historicized despite its relative importance for two reasons. First, fearing state repression, organizers destroyed many of their own documents. Second, most histories of this movement can be traced to an 1889 work heavily influenced by negative feminine stereotypes, treating many of the most interesting aspects of the groups dismissively.¹⁹ Lopes’ recuperation of these histories is perhaps additive, but it also leads toward a reopening and reordering of anarchist history distanced from male-oriented retellings. If the Berlin women’s movement was buried by lost documents and biased perceptions, and the estimates of female participation in nineteenth-century Parisian anarchist groups are similarly distorted, what does this mean for anarchist feminist histories? Beyond doing recuperative work, this finding calls into question other histories drawing on systemically gender-biased sources.

To think critically about historical sources and methodologies, we can look to co-operation, collaboration and consensus building as values espoused not just by anarchafeminists and anarchoqueers, but by all anarchists, calling into question the value of texts and actions by men ‘writing and fighting’ in ways that are not collectively non-hierarchically oriented. We are not positing a false binary between the individual and the collective, as the success of the individual and the success of the collective are mutually dependent. Nor are we fostering a division between anarchafeminists/anarchoqueers and anarchist men, as the majority of anarchist men are (pro)feminist, anti-heteronormative, perhaps queer or trans men themselves. Rather, we are calling into question the process through which greater value is attached to publications such as single-author books and academic articles than to zines, small press books, independent texts, posters, leaflets, patches, self-produced manifestoes, anthologies and other DiY material – by anarchists *and* by historiographers. Allan Antliff’s anarchist anthology, *Only a Beginning* (2004), is an excellent counterpoint to this, with sections on feminism, sexuality, patriarchy, the Vancouver Five and the Wimmin’s Fire Brigade,

¹⁷ Richard David Sonn, *Sex, Violence, and the Avant-Garde: Anarchism in Interwar France* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), p. 33.

¹⁸ Lopes, ‘Feminisms’, pp. 116 and 121.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 117–118.

each introduced by a different writer.²⁰ Therefore, as a partial corrective to the potentially skewed canonical sources of history, we will engage both academic work and DiY publications, recognizing that the DiY material is just as important to the content and methodology of this chapter. It does present other challenges, as it is harder to unearth, and is often specific to local cities or regions.

Anarchafeminist Publishing, Publics, Actions and Intersections

Interestingly, in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries many anarchist women did not consider themselves feminists. Nonetheless they were relatively prominent in anarchist publics – even at times when women were almost entirely shut out of public spaces more generally. In particular, publishing, radical public spaces and direct actions are three areas where anarchist women were influential. Furthermore, the early history of women fighting for the recognition of the intersectionality of oppressions, as described above, has had a lasting impact on the contemporary anarchafeminist movement.

Among pre-war anarchists, women occupied many active roles, particularly in writing, editing and publishing anarchist journals, and as popular public speakers. In the pre-war period, A. A. Davies was one of the publishers of the journal *Freedom*.²¹ The Rossetti sisters, Olivia and Helen, published the journal *The Torch* from the time they were teenagers,²² and co-authored the realist novel, *A Girl Among the Anarchists*, under the pseudonym Isabel Meredith (1903).²³ In the same period and into the interwar, Jeanne Humbert published *La Grande Réforme* with her husband Eugene, contributing many articles.²⁴ In the United States, Emma Goldman edited and published the anarchist journal, *Mother Earth* (1906–17), which has been collected in *Anarchy! An Anthology of Emma Goldman's Mother Earth* (Glassgold, 2000).

In her autobiography, Goldman mentions an active young organizer named Annie Netter and her mother. ‘Mrs. Netter kept open house’,²⁵ offering a space for meals and political discussions. Similarly, Charlotte Mary Wilson was a long-time anarchist leader in pre-war London, often hosting meetings at her home in Hampstead.²⁶ It is interesting that prominent anarchist women tended to transform the private domestic

²⁰ Allan Antliff (ed.), *Only a Beginning: An Anarchist Anthology* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2004).

²¹ *Hermia Oliver*, *The International Anarchist Movement in Late Victorian London (London: Croom Helm, 1983)*, p. 144.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 121.

²³ Isabel Meredith, *A Girl Among the Anarchists* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1992[1903]).

²⁴ *Sonn*, *Anarchism in Interwar France*, p. 24.

²⁵ Emma Goldman, *Living My Life* (Mineola, NY: Courier Dover Publications, 1970[1931]), p. 55.

²⁶ *Oliver*, *international Anarchist Movement*, p. 25.

space of their homes into quasi-public spaces, a particularly transgressive act at a time when the bourgeois household was structured around the privacy of the family.²⁷ Habermas described this domesticity as central to the patriarchal bourgeois family which differed from the aristocracy, who had a much less intimate family space, and ‘common’ people, who lived more communally.²⁸ By bringing political discussion into the domestic sphere from the public world, where women were unwelcome, middle-class anarchist women such as Annie Netter and Charlotte Wilson were blurring the public/private division, and consequently disrupting the patriarchal bourgeois family.

Anarchist women, beyond their roles in publishing and publics, were also known to engage in direct action and political violence. Did engagement with violent direct action suggest that women were emancipated from passive gender roles, or that female anarchists at the time had not had an opportunity to contribute stereotypically feminine approaches to anarchism? The involvement of anarchist women in public spectacles indicates that they were more accustomed to public roles than women in other movements. Assassination has long been a staple of anarchist caricatures, and in the late nineteenth century, not only anarchist men but also anarchist women did use this tactic. In Russia, for example, in 1878, prominent anarchist Vera Zasulich shot Trepov, the chief of the St Petersburg police²⁹; and in 1881 the seamstress Geza Gelfman was involved in the assassination of the Russian Tsar Alexander II.³⁰ In 1892, Emma Goldman was involved in a plan with Alexander Berkman to assassinate strike-breaking industrialist Henry Clay Frick, and afterward steadfastly refused to denounce violence. In 1923, Germaine Berton shot a French right-wing politician.³¹ These instances of politically motivated violence, however controversial, were supported by anarchist men, and demonstrated a willingness on the part of anarchist women to move beyond the passive, domestic roles assigned to them by society.

More recently, in the 1980s in Canada, Ann Hansen and Julie Belmas were part of a small guerrilla group called Direct Action, also known as the Vancouver Five, which bombed several environmentally harmful and military targets.³² They were also members of the Wimmin’s Fire Brigade, which fire-bombed three Red Hot Video stores which were part of a chain that sold ‘tapes that show wimmin and children being tortured, raped and humiliated’.³³ In this case we can see that what is portrayed as hardened violence in the media actually derives from a profound respect for human and animal life beyond a simple stereotypically feminine mode of nurture. Further-

²⁷ Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (trans. from 1962 edn by Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence; Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), pp. 44–5.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

²⁹ *Oliver*, *International Anarchist Movement*, p. 13.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

³¹ *Sonn*, *Anarchism in Interwar France*, pp. 27–53.

³² Ann Hansen, *Direct Action: Memoirs of an Urban Guerrilla* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2001).

³³ Antliff, *Only a Beginning*, p. 157.

more, these examples demonstrate the collapse of the gender binary defining action as masculine and nurturing as feminine – as these women did both.

In ‘Anarchism and Feminism’, Sharif Gemie engages in a historical reading of how the sexism and patriarchy of the broader society were reflected by male activists and writers in the European anarchist milieu between 1840 and 1940. Not surprisingly, he finds that from the late nineteenth century through to World War I in Western Europe, anarchist women were often at odds with some anarchist men who were resistant to feminist ideas. Anarchafeminists challenged stereotypical attitudes toward women, expanding the anti-state, anti-church and anti-capitalist analyses of anarchism to demonstrate the connections of these institutional oppressive forms to other forms of oppression such as sexism, heterosexism and racism. Gemie has found that this began near the beginning of the twentieth century, demonstrating ‘that anarchists were capable of learning from feminists’,³⁴ an odd formulation, as though feminists and anarchists are two mutually exclusive groups, when there were feminist women entrenched among the ranks and prominent in public roles in the anarchist movement. Gemie’s article, despite its promising title, in many instances reifies the position of men as the centre of the anarchist movement.

Emma Goldman was an outspoken anarchist feminist who linked her analysis of the state and free speech to what are often considered women’s issues, including sexuality, affect, sex work and marriage. According to Candace Falk, Goldman had an ‘instinctual sense that sexuality was a critical social force, inextricable from the political advocacy of free expression’.³⁵ Goldman’s analysis of gendered roles thus extends from class-based property relations to sexuality and marriage, and from free love to free speech, demonstrating how gender, class, free speech, sexuality and property rights exist in complex relation to one another. Gemie also suggests that Goldman ‘rejected the strategy of entering the structures of the state in order to reform them, seeing “the State as destroying or deadening libidinal impulses and the emotional side of life”’.³⁶ In other words, Goldman constructed an analysis of the state that pointed to its intersection with and control over sexuality and affect, everyday practices as important to men as to women. Gemie, however, interprets this as a confirmation that Goldman believed ‘women were to seek their liberation by growing more in tune with their own natures’,³⁷ a position that Goldman’s life work belies.

The picture that emerges of anarchist women in this important period from 1880 to 1930 is of a group of women who rose to prominence in the anarchist movement through their roles in publishing, public speaking and anarchist organizing in issue-based direct action groups, often without being part of organized feminist or anarchafeminist groups.

³⁴ Sharif Gemie, ‘Anarchism and Feminism: A Historical Survey’, *Women’s History Review*, 5(3) (1996), 433.

³⁵ Candace Falk, Barry Pateman and Jessica M. Moran (eds), *Emma Goldman: Made for America, 1890–1901* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003), p. 11.

³⁶ Gemie, ‘Anarchism and Feminism’, p. 435.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 435.

Contemporary movements continue to see tensions between feminist and non-feminist anarchists; some anarchafeminists, particularly in the 1970s and 1980s in North America, explicitly chose a separatist strategy. According to Kytha Kurin, ‘While there have always been women who considered themselves anarchists, the term anarcho-feminist is a product of the 70s’.³⁸ Her article in *Only a Beginning*, ‘Anarcho-Feminism: Why the Hyphen’, reproduced from the Canadian anarchist journal *Open Road*, 11 (1980), describes how women grew weary of fighting to be heard in anarchist and other leftist groups and began to organize in women’s-only groups. Late twentieth-century anarchafeminists such as Elaine Leeder, Lynne Farrow, Carol Ehrlich and Peggy Kornegger have written about the important connections between anarchist and feminist politics in articles anthologized in *Reinventing Anarchy, Again* (1996) and *Quiet Rumours* (2002). *Quiet Rumours* also reproduces a historic debate on informal power dynamics, with Jo Freeman’s ‘The Tyranny of Structurelessness’ and Cathy Levine’s response, ‘The Tyranny of Tyranny’.

Third-wave feminism, a radical grass-roots movement at times hand in hand with anarchism, foregrounded the intersectionality of identities and issues. In ‘Anarchy Girl Style Now: Riot Grrrl Actions and Practices’ (2009), Caroline Kaltefleiter reflects on her own formative political experiences as an anarchafeminist in an American anarcho-punk subculture that split from the male-dominated punk scene, reflecting anarchafeminist politics in its musical lyrics and organizing styles. The women who were activists on issues of peace, veganism, pacifism, racism and imperialism were also musicians in the anarcho-punk scene.³⁹ This movement got its start ‘in the summer of 1991 when a group of five young women in Washington, DC, came together in response to neighbourhood gentrification, racial profiling, and abortion clinic bombings’,⁴⁰ addressing three local intersecting issues: poverty and class (gentrification), race (racialized police profiling) and sexuality or gender (reproductive justice). Intersectionality is now a key approach in anarchafeminist theory.

Over this history, anarchafeminists have participated in and transformed both anarchist and feminist politics – by encouraging anarchist groups to challenge the gender binary and gendered group dynamics, and to take women’s issues seriously; and by challenging feminists to take action on issues of race, class, capitalism, the state, colonialism, prisons, police brutality and LGBTQ rights, among others, as they intersect with feminism.

³⁸ Kurin, ‘Why the Hyphen’, p. 257.

³⁹ Kaltefleiter, ‘Anarchy Grrrl Style’, p. 226.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 227.

Anarchaqueer Publics, Publishing, Actions and Intersections

Like the double approach of anarchafeminists, anarchaqueers are engaged in struggles against the heteronormativity of the world at large, as well as within the anarchist milieu, despite the fact that queer militants and artists, like women, have long been active among anarchists. Moreover, histories and concerns of queer theory and activism, while sometimes inter-pollinating, are not identical.

Although gay activism has its roots in the early 1900s, what might now be considered radical queer activism arose in or around the US civil rights movement in the 1960s and 1970s. This was well before queer theory arose in Europe in the 1980s out of the white-male-dominated field of post-structuralism (Foucault 1984) and even later in the 1990s in the United States, emerging out of radical feminist and gender theory.⁴¹ Contemporary anarchaqueer theories and actions trace other trajectories, drawing from grass-roots movements such as the riot grrrls, and the queer direct action protest group known as the pink bloc. Gender theory, transgender, gender queer and transsexual activism, largely the purview of queer activists, have permeated anarchist organizing since the mid-1990s. Queer theory and feminist theory also have different trajectories and roots albeit with some overlaps; furthermore, within feminist and queer spaces, theories and practices are not always coextensive. For example, while transgender theory might deconstruct gender binaries and performatives in society, culture and the media,⁴² transgender practices may focus on day-to-day needs such as health care, gender neutral identification and toilets⁴³ or negotiating challenges to the sex-gender binaries in the legal system.⁴⁴ Moreover, some feminist groups, such as the Michigan Women's Festival, do not support transgender rights, and some anarchist groups do not engage in queer activism or theory.

Candace Falk suggests that there have been tensions in bringing alternative sexualities to the fore in anarchist organizing, as 'there were always anarchists who either shared the biases of the mainstream culture in deeming sexuality a predominately personal matter, or for whom even the most compelling issues of private life remained secondary'⁴⁵ to struggles against the state and capitalism. Terrence Kissack traced the influence of early anarchists on what he calls 'homosexual' activism, using the historical

⁴¹ Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2008[1990]); Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990).

⁴² Jean Bobby Noble, *Masculinities without Men?* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004).

⁴³ Coco Riot, 'Artist Features', interview by Jenna Meyers, *Revel and Riot*, available at <http://revelandriot.com/news/revel-riot-artist-features-coco-riot-34041>, accessed 15 March 2010.

⁴⁴ Dylan Wade, 'Expanding Gender and Expanding the Law: Toward a Social and Legal Conceptualization of Gender that is More Inclusive of Transgender People', *Michigan Journal of Gender and Law*, 11 (2005), 253–316.

⁴⁵ Falk, Pateman and Moran (eds), *Emma Goldman: Made for America*, p. 13.

nomenclature. He found that nineteenth-century anarchists supported ‘homosexuality’ but nonetheless discourses on the subject did not often appear in anarchist publications. Magnus Hirschfeld was among the first anarchists to speak out publicly and take collective action in favour of ‘gay rights’.⁴⁶ His Scientific-Humanitarian Committee was founded in 1897 in Berlin as an activist group for ‘homosexuals’.⁴⁷ Kissack argues more generally that in the United States, gay rights activism had strong roots and support within the anarchist milieu. In its formative years at the time, the gay and lesbian movement was arguing for assimilation (i.e. gay people are just like straight people), whereas the growing anarchist and radical queer focus was liberation (i.e. sexuality should be liberatory, emphasizing queer visibility, specifically queer culture, gay pride and coming out).⁴⁸

During the sensationalized trial of Oscar Wilde in 1895 anarchists, queers among them, comprised the very few who opposed the public and legal condemnation of Wilde.⁴⁹ Anarchist publisher Benjamin Tucker was first in the United States to publish Wilde’s prison work *The Ballad of Reading Gaol*.⁵⁰ Moreover, Emma Goldman was an early defender of Wilde, and reprinted his work in *Mother Earth*⁵¹ after his arrest. Several prominent anarchists in the United States – from publisher Margaret Anderson to working-class activists such as Amelda Sperry, to Alden Freeman, a wealthy donor to Emma Goldman – joined the anarchist movement because of its progressive stance on sexual diversity.⁵²

Anarchist women, especially Goldman and Louise Michel, were regularly ‘accused’ of being ‘gay’ or ‘too masculine’ by their straight, gender-normative compatriots, demonstrating the tendency in anarchism, first to conflate non-normative gender performatives with non-normative sexualities, and second, to condemn both. Goldman and Michel were both annoyed by this policing of gender and sexuality norms, and spoke out against it.⁵³ Some nineteenth-century anarchists, built valuable ties to and within queer artistic and activist groups.

Historically and today, radical queer and gender-transgressive protests and other actions are frequently tactically anarchist. Famously, radical queers participated in the Stonewall Riots, which took place when police tried to raid a gay bar in New York City in late June 1969. The patrons fought back, an action that erupted into a 2-day stand-off between 400 riot cops and upwards of 2,000 queer militants and their allies. More recently, radical queer activist banner group Gay Shame has challenged the

⁴⁶ Terrence Kissack, *Free Comrades: Anarchism and Homosexuality in the United States, 1895–1917* (Oakland, Edinburgh, West Virginia: AK Press, 2008), p. 1.

⁴⁷ *Sonn*, Anarchism in Interwar France, p. 25; Kissack, *Free comrades*, p. 87.

⁴⁸ Nikki Sullivan, *A Critical Introduction to Queer Theory* (New York: NYU Press, 2003).

⁴⁹ Kissack, *Free Comrades*, pp. 15 and 67.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 140–2.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 149–50.

capitalist shift in Gay Pride parades, a shift that privileges the heteronormativity and homonormativity of bodies and relationships. Mattilda (Matt) Sycamore-Bernstein, whose self-renaming across gender lines might be read as disclosing a trans identity, has documented the history of the Gay Shame movement in the United States. For them,⁵⁴ it is this legacy of militancy that contemporary anarchaqueer movements hearken back to when they organize direct actions, including everything from squatted queer gatherings such as the globally nomadic festival Queeruption (*queerewind*), to Queer Nation mall zaps, kiss-ins and die-ins, to Gay Shame anti-capitalist Pride Day parade interventions.

Some academic feminist gender theorists such as Judith Butler and Eve Sedgwick, masculinity studies theorists such as Bobby Noble and Jackson Katz, and anti-racist queer feminists such as Audre Lorde have been influential in anarchaqueer thought. Furthermore, transgender theories and approaches have increasingly been taken up in anarchist organizing.⁵⁵ Deconstructing gender from an anarchist perspective also takes place in poetry, such as in Trish Salah's book *Wanting in Arabic*.⁵⁶ In fiction, trans and gender issues are an ongoing topic taken up by anarchist writers. For example, Ursula LeGuin's science fiction explores antiauthoritarian gender relations. Most famously, *The Dispossessed*⁵⁷ depicts an anarchist planet from which a decentralized gender-egalitarian society encounters its capitalist, patriarchal historical past in the form of the earth-like planet they were exiled from post-revolution. Somewhat differently, *The Left Hand of Darkness*⁵⁸ envisions a world where everyone has no gender, except when they wish to engage with someone sexually. These novels are not just read by queer anarchists, but by the broader anarchist milieu, as well as a science fiction audience. As such, these texts are able to challenge gender binaries and carve out a space in both anarchist and mainstream thought for radical gender and queer ideas, politics and actions.

To explore anarchaqueer theories and practices, we can look at several alternative texts. An example of a DiY text on transcending the gender binary is the zine *Gouixx* (2005), a French-language zine self-published by the Gouixx crew in Montreal. It deals explicitly with transphobia, which the authors define as 'hatred of persons who question the binary man-woman either by living a different gender than that assigned to them at birth, or by not being assimilated into the category man or woman'.⁵⁹ 'It can range from a look to murder',⁶⁰ a range that shows what is at stake here. In this zine we see

⁵⁴ The pronouns 'they' and 'them' are used as a third-person-single gender-queer or gender-neutral pronoun by some trans people.

⁵⁵ Noble, *Masculinities*; Leslie Feinberg, *Stone Butch Blues* (Ann Arbor, MI: Firebrand Books, 1993); Pat Califia, *Sex Changes: The Politics of Transgenderism* (Berkeley, CA: Cleis Press, 1997).

⁵⁶ Trish Salah, *Wanting in Arabic* (Toronto: Tsar Publications, 2002).

⁵⁷ Ursula Leguin, *The Dispossessed* (New York: Harper and Row, 1974).

⁵⁸ Ursula Leguin, *The Left Hand of Darkness* (New York: Ace Books, 1969).

⁵⁹ Crew Gouixx, *Gouixx* (Montreal: self-published, 2005), p. 5.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

queer politics of the body, bodily autonomy and sexual freedom explicitly articulated through specific information about practices beyond ‘the norms of hetero-patriarchy’.⁶¹ Other francophone Montreal zines that address transactivism and queer anarchism include: *personne n’est parfaitE*⁶² (nobody’s perfect) which is, according to its cover, ‘for all the people who want to modify their body, their appearance, change their sex, their gender, pass in one or the other, or just try to stay in between’, *Queer Beograd/Transpedegouine*, *Trans Couple* and *Le Mouvement de Liberation Transgenre* (the transgender liberation movement) which contains an excerpt of a Leslie Feinberg essay. These are just a few examples of radical queer DiY texts that proliferate in anarchaqueer communities.

In terms of queer- and trans-centred direct action, LPR, a queer anarchist collective active in Montreal (2001–7) challenged the heteronormativity of mainstream society; the middle-class, capitalist, white-male-dominated, cis-gendered and cis-sexed⁶³ homonormativity of the mainstream LGBT movement; and the failure of anarchism to adequately address LGBTQ struggles. Producing several video projects and a bilingual website that radicalized many anarchaqueers in Montreal, their activism pushed anarchists in Montreal and beyond to include queer struggles and intersectionality theories and practices.

Indeed intersectionality is one of the greatest challenges in the anarchist movement, and also, we would argue, one of the greatest successes. The CRAC research collective, mentioned earlier, has found that although each group within the anarchist milieu in Montreal might not be intersectional in its struggles, taken as a whole the antiauthoritarian milieu is. In fact, many workshop and interview participants suggested that this was one of their greatest frustrations – feeling the commitment to intersectional anti-oppression politics, but struggling with time constraints that meant they were unable to work on as many issues as they might like.⁶⁴

Trans and queer cultural productions have informed anarchist understandings of sexuality and gender, though non-normative sexualities and genders have not always been at the forefront of anarchist movements. Jamie Heckert argues that anarchists and other sexual dissidents need to move beyond identity politics and queer identities to find other forms of political organizing that can foster commonalities and community rather than tensions and division.⁶⁵ While he situates queer movements firmly within

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 4.

⁶² The capitalized E at the end of this term emphasizes the inclusion of women in the term ‘nobody’ which in French would normatively be gendered male, as the generic term that once was understood to include ‘everyone’ but is actually masculine.

⁶³ Cis-gendered refers to a person who lives with the gender they were called at birth; similarly, cis-sexed refers to a person who lives with the sex they were called at birth.

⁶⁴ CRAC, ‘Antiauthoritarians in Quebec: United by a Political Culture’, discussion paper submitted to a CRAC retreat, 12–13 February 2011, Québec.

⁶⁵ Jamie Heckert, ‘Sexuality/Identity/Politics’, in J. Purkis and J. Bowen (eds), *Changing Anarchism: Anarchist Theory and Practice in a Global Age* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), pp. 101–16.

anarchist politics, drawing links between heteronormative advertising's promotion of consumerism and the capitalist destruction of the environment, for example, he argues for a politics that might provide more opportunities for consent, active listening, mutual respect, self-respect, etc. within a militant politics of action.

Bodily Autonomy and Choice: From Birth Control to Reproductive Justice

In the late nineteenth century, women who were engaged in anti-capitalist and anti-state struggles took up issues such as bodily autonomy, sexual diversity, birth control, marriage laws and open sexual relationships, issues that still have currency today. Over time, the struggle for accessible birth control has transformed into a movement for reproductive justice.

Early anarchists were at the forefront of the birth control movement in the nineteenth century, when distributing birth control or even information about it was criminalized. Both Jeanne and Eugene Humbert, editors of *La Grande Réform*, and Ben Reitman, an American gynaecologist and long-term lover of Emma Goldman, were jailed for distributing birth control information,⁶⁶ as was Goldman herself. In the interwar years in France the newly invented vasectomy was promoted by anarchists who set up unofficial clinics in Paris cafés and apartments.⁶⁷ Thousands of men in France had vasectomies in one particular 1935 campaign until the doctor who was performing them was jailed.⁶⁸ Anarchist support for birth control stemmed from feminist opposition to the patriarchal family, but also from the controversial belief that overpopulation led to war.⁶⁹

For individualist anarchists specifically, activism for sexual reform was inseparable from anti-war activity. Manuel Devaldes, author of *Croitre et multiplier, c'est la guerre*⁷⁰ argued that overpopulation was the cause of war, because states were able to exploit the bodies of excessive numbers of men as soldiers, and women as reproducers of soldiers. Some states were very frank about this connection: after World War I, France outlawed birth control with the avowed goal of increasing the war-depleted population.⁷¹ In the United States, Roosevelt similarly opposed birth control and called large families 'a duty'.⁷² For Louise Michel, war was connected to a patriarchal capitalist demand by men for both men's and women's bodies reduced to their physical func-

⁶⁶ *Sonn*, Anarchism in Interwar France, p. 15; *Kissack*, Free Comrades, p. 97.

⁶⁷ *Sonn*, Anarchism in Interwar France, p. 129.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁷⁰ *Manuel Devaldès*, *Croitre Et Multiplier, C'est La Guerre! Préface De Victor Margueritte (Paris: Editions Mignolet et Storz, 1933)*.

⁷¹ *Sonn*, Anarchism in Interwar France, p. 24.

⁷² *Kissack*, *Free Comrades*, p. 31.

tion: ‘it pleases them to lead men in herds to the slaughterhouse and women in herds to the brothel’, she wrote.⁷³ Victor Margueritte expressed a similar view to Devaldes in *Ton corps est à toi*.⁷⁴ Thus, the birth control movement challenged state policies directly linked to war, gendered reproduction and sex work. Not all those mentioned above could be described as feminist; for some reproductive choice was not a good in itself, but rather a step towards some other goal. However, the integration of issues of sexuality and bodily autonomy with anarchist politics serves as evidence of a growing anarchafeminist understanding of interlocking issues. It also signals anarchist feminists’ willingness to take direct action, often in illegal ways, such as giving out birth control information or providing illegalized abortions, in order to make changes that would immediately benefit women.

Birth control in the United States became legal in 1965, but only for married couples. It was not until 1972 that single women were legally allowed to use contraception.⁷⁵ In 1964, Heather Booth, a woman active in the Civil Rights Movement in Chicago, started referring single women for abortions and went on to found an autonomous, illegal abortion clinic called Jane where women performed abortions for other women.⁷⁶ Shelby Knox refers to Jane collective members as ‘feminist outlaws’⁷⁷ as they did not wait for the law to change, but rather took the necessary initiatives, responding to the fact that ‘[m]ore than five thousand women a year died from botched “back alley” abortions’.⁷⁸ Although not explicitly anarchist, the Jane collective was an interesting example of anarchist tactics such as skill sharing and strategic autonomy from the medical profession. Moreover they recognized the interlocking oppressions of economic marginalization of women, as they also provided food and emotional care, and implemented a sliding pay scale making abortions accessible to all.

Since the 1970s, women’s bodily autonomy movements have shifted from an emphasis on pro-choice to ‘reproductive justice’,⁷⁹ led by women of colour who support the pro-choice movement, while prioritizing bodily autonomy and self-determination of women of colour and indigenous women in relation to reproduction and parenting. For example, SisterSong Women of Color Reproductive Health Collective has adopted three principles: ‘the right to have a child, the right not to have a child and the right to parent our children’.⁸⁰ The right to have a child is a demand that emerges out of

⁷³ Louise Michel, *The Red Virgin: Memoirs of Louise Michel* (Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1981), p. 125.

⁷⁴ ‘Your Body is Yours’. V. Margueritte, *Ton Corps Est À Toi: Roman* (Paris: E. Flammarion, 1927).

⁷⁵ Shelby Knox, ‘Jane: The Story of a Pre Roe v. Wade Underground Abortion Service’, in Melody Berger Spring (ed.), *The F-Word: A Feminist Handbook for the Revolution* (2008), p. 11. Online at www.pmpress.org/productsheets/pm_titles/fword03sheet.pdf, accessed 2 December 2010.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 12–13.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁷⁹ Melody Berger (ed.), ‘Featured Activist: Loretta Ross’, in *The F-Word: A Feminist Handbook for the Revolution*, p. 5.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

the historical situation of women of colour and indigenous women who have been subjected to Eurocentric and Amerocentric global programmes of population control. For example, indigenous women in Canada were often sterilized at a young age in attempts to reduce the indigenous population. Similarly Nawal El Saadawi writes that in the Global South, ‘Women are pushed to consume unsafe contraceptive methods such as the injectable contraceptive Depo Provera, and the contraceptive implant Norplant’.⁸¹

When women of colour and indigenous women do have children, their ‘parental rights are constantly interfered with’.⁸² In Canada and other countries, indigenous children were (and are in growing numbers today) taken away from their parents and placed in residential schools, forbidden from speaking their own languages and assimilated into the colonial education system, often also being subjected to sexual and physical violence. In the United States, children of colour are often put into ‘the foster care system that uses a standard for parenting that may not be applicable or culturally appropriate for communities of color’.⁸³ Loretta Ross uses an intersectional perspective to discuss the relationship between race, class and bodily autonomy. El Saadawi takes this one step further to analyse the impact of global location on women’s lives and reproductive options. The examples of Jane and the Reproductive Justice movement, covered in the anarchist zine *The F-Word*,⁸⁴ demonstrate that anarchafeminists draw inspiration from many radical movements that practice anarchist values, and that some radical feminist and anti-racist movements engage in anarchist practices without explicitly calling themselves anarchist.

Non-Heteronormative Sexualities: Consent, Free Love and Polyamory

The way anarchists conduct themselves in friendships, intimacies and relationships reflects ‘value-practices’⁸⁵, or social practices based on anarchist values, that differ from societal norms. Open-endedness, desire, freedom of expression and choice of partners are crucial. As non-coercive relationships are central to anarchist politics, consent also plays a critical role.

Historically this was not always so. E. Armand was an exponent of individualist anarchist sexual reform who equated promiscuity with generosity, and argued that any

⁸¹ Nawal El-Saadawi, *Women and the Poor: The Challenge of Global Justice; Women in Resistance: The Arab World* (np: Post nerd x PC THUGS for Feudal-Patriarchal Ideology Committee, nd), p. 7.

⁸² Berger, *Loretta Ross*, p. 5.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁸⁴ The zine itself is a good example of a non-canonical anarchist text – or guerrilla text – circulating within anarchist print culture.

⁸⁵ Sandra Jeppesen, ‘Creating Guerrilla Texts in Rhizomatic Value-Practices on the Sliding Scale of Autonomy: Toward an Anti-Authoritarian Cultural Logic’, in Jun and Wahl (eds), *New Perspectives on Anarchism* (Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2009), pp. 473–96.

member of an alternative conjugal unit ‘deserved’ sexual satisfaction.⁸⁶ John William Lloyd, an American anarchist, also believed that more diverse forms of sexuality were key to greater peace and justice in society; however, like Armand he believed that ‘selfish meanness’ was a large part of the reason that people were not more promiscuous.⁸⁷ Contemporary anarchists often have a similar critique of the popular mainstream paradigm of the scarcity of love, while also being critical of the pressure put on anarchists, particularly women, to make themselves sexually available. Richard David Sonn pointed out that masculine anarchist sexual utopias included ‘form(s) of constraint’⁸⁸ that were not always based on an ethos of caring, sharing, listening, respect and consent of all parties – value-practices that are key in anarchist relationships.

Despite countercurrents, sexual consent has held an important place in anarchist thought since the nineteenth century. Alexander Berkman’s *Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist* was notable for the author’s acknowledgement that he fell in love with men in prison, and more importantly, for its distinction between coercive, predatory sexual relationships and those that were loving and consensual. For Berkman, the stark unequal power relations of prison brought into focus the ugliness of non-consensual domination or submission in sexual relations, while equal intimate relationships between men were something he came to see as beautiful.

Voltairine de Cleyre condemned the lack of sexual consent for women within marriage,⁸⁹ as did Emma Goldman who famously equated marriage to prostitution with a single partner. The zine *Baby, I’m a Manarchist* provides a thorough definition of sexual consent taken from the Antioch College Sexual Offense Prevention Policy.⁹⁰ Although this is an institutional policy, it is an important point of reference for people in the anarchist scene, and indicates that consent to sexual conduct necessitates willing verbal agreement in a context of unimpaired judgement, which is necessary for each step of sexual conduct, and in each new interaction. It also states that silence indicates a lack of consent.

Historically, the anarchist practice of ‘free love’ was based on freely given consent, sometimes understood as monogamy without the need for recognition by state or religious authorities.⁹¹ To many anarchist women, ‘free love’ also implied challenging the normative social construction of sexuality that denied the possibility of female sexual pleasure and agency.⁹² Instead of marriage, ‘free love’ unions allowed partners to live together as equals by eliminating men’s legal authority over women. However, only some anarchists went beyond this legal frame to critique men’s cultural and

⁸⁶ Sonn, *Anarchism in Interwar France*, p. 107.

⁸⁷ Kissack, *Free Comrades*, p. 79.

⁸⁸ Sonn, *Anarchism in Interwar France*, p. 107.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁹⁰ Charlie Clements, ‘System, Sex, and Patriarchy’, in Tali and Laura (eds), *Baby I’m a Manarchist* (Boston: self-published, 2003) (unnumbered).

⁹¹ Sonn, *Anarchism in Interwar France*, p. 100.

⁹² Kissack, *Free Comrades*, pp. 20–1.

bodily authority over women.⁹³ According to Kissack, perhaps because of this, it was specifically women who were at the forefront of many ‘free love’ movements between 1870 and 1920.

Emma Goldman, quite famously, in *Living My Life*, describes her non-monogamous ‘free love’ relationships with both Alexander Berkman and Modest Stein or Fedya. She writes, ‘It had grown clear to me that my feelings for Fedya had no bearing on my love for Sasha. Each called out different emotions in my being, took me into different worlds. They created no conflict, they only brought fulfilment.’⁹⁴ When she tells Berkman about her love and sexual relationship with Fedya, he replies: ‘‘I believe in your freedom to love’’.⁹⁵ He nonetheless grapples with jealousy, an issue still much discussed by contemporary polyamorous anarchists, who might read *The Ethical Slut* for assistance in negotiating this.

Collective living practices may also play a role. Ann Hansen writes about the various households that she lived in, for example, in which large groups of anarchists sleep in loft beds together, sharing space with travellers, anarchists, feminists, lesbians and other activists.⁹⁶ These collective houses are important spaces not just for polyamory and free love practices, but also for engaging in the prefigurative politics of everyday life that are fundamental to anarchist organizing. As Laura Portwood-Stacer notes, collective houses provide ‘community support for queer sexualities’⁹⁷ including polyamory. ‘Intimate expressions of sexuality are on display for others to observe and emulate – everyone can see (and hear) how many people someone is bringing home on a regular basis, and who disappears with whom into whose bedroom.’⁹⁸ Portwood-Stacer found that, ‘[t]he system of monogamy treats the individual’s body, love, and sexual intimacy as if they are exclusive economic goods, whose values are degraded when they are accessible to multiple partners.’⁹⁹ Anarchists believe that these aspects of a person’s being are not rarefied artefacts that should be preserved in a museum (marriage) once ‘used’ but rather are free and open to play and expression through ethical practices with other individuals and collectivities. Collective houses thus provide, first, opportunities to hook up and discuss queer sexualities; second, examples of people who are engaged in the complex negotiations that can be queer polyamorous relationships; and third, a general open-mindedness about sexualities. These are three important elements of mutual support in developing what LPR and Jamie Heckert, among others, call ‘dissident sexualities’ based on radical anarchist ethics.

⁹³ *Oliver*, International Anarchist Movement, p. 53.

⁹⁴ Goldman, *Living My Life*, p. 61.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 61–2.

⁹⁶ *Hansen*, Direct Action.

⁹⁷ Laura Portwood-Stacer, ‘Constructing Anarchist Sexuality: Queer Identity, Culture, and Politics in the Anarchist Movement’, *Sexualities*, 13(4) (2010), p. 488.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 488.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 483.

Portwood-Stacer argues that community support is crucial for the development of queer anarchist sexualities. The anarchists she interviewed all identified with queerness and polyamory, whether or not they currently were engaged in queer or polyamorous relationships. ‘The practice of monogamy is particularly ideologically suspect to anarchists because of its ties to capitalism, patriarchy, and the state.’¹⁰⁰ This anti-heteronormative stance incorporates aspects of ‘free love,’ polyamory and queer sexualities to provide what Portwood-Stacer calls an ‘anarchonormativity’¹⁰¹ – a set of normative personal-as-political sexual practices and identity markers within the anarchist community.

Portwood-Stacer nonetheless critiques the pressure that anarchists sometimes feel to be in polyamorous relationships, which they might find unappealing or too difficult to negotiate. Unacceptable practices of male sexual coercion, or what one of Portwood-Stacer’s interviewees calls “‘guys who are players under the auspices of anarchism’”¹⁰² are called out by people in the anarchist community. These anarchoqueer cultural norms are very different than in the mainstream, supporting radical sexual practices and calling out normatively acceptable actions such as dating coercion, sexual aggression and competition, or non-consensual ‘cheating’. Dissident sexualities must therefore include the option to explore new expressions of desire, while at the same time respecting people’s boundaries around their own sexualities, affect and intimacies.

Anti-Racist and Anti-Colonial Feminist and Queer Struggles

Feminist and queer anarchist organizing has engaged in a range of struggles that intersect with feminist and queer issues for at least three or four decades, and arguably since the inception of anarchafeminist and anarchoqueer thought and practice. In addition to the reproductive justice movement discussed above, these struggles include anti-racism, prison support and abolition, confronting police violence and impunity, no-border campaigns, immigration and refugee casework and indigenous self-determination.

In the late nineteenth century, Louise Michel perceived, long before most of her French anarchist allies, the connections between class oppression and colonialism. Michel valued the peasant, oral culture of her provincial childhood, and while exiled to New Caledonia came to view the native New Caledonians, the Kanaks, as basically similar in situation to the French peasantry.¹⁰³ To the outrage of the friends and fellow

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 490.

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 491.

¹⁰³ Kathleen Hart, ‘Oral Culture and Anti-Colonialism in Louise Michel’s *Memoires* (1886) and *Legendes et chants de gestes canaques* (1885)’, *Nineteenth Century French Studies*, 30(1) (2001), p. 109. Online at <http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/ncf/summary/v030/30.1hart.html>, accessed 9 December 2010.

communards exiled with her, she supported the Kanaks in their rebellion against French colonial rule, even instructing them on how to advance their cause by cutting telegraph wires.¹⁰⁴

Examples of organized struggle exist in anti-racist (pro)-feminist organizations such as Cell 16 (active in the 1970s) and more recently No One Is Illegal (NOII). These groups may not explicitly identify as anarchist, but their publications, actions and discourses tend to be anarchist in practice. There are also many radical anti-racist feminist groups and individuals who have influenced anarchafeminism, such as the Mothers of the Plaza del Mayo, women in the Weather Underground such as Bernadine Doern, women in the Black Panther Party such as Angela Davis and Katherine Cleaver, radical lesbians who were incarcerated for political organizing such as Laura Whitehorn, Linda Evans and Susan Rosenberg, women in the Black Liberation Army such as Assata Shakur, and many others.

In her autobiography, *Outlaw Woman* (2002), Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz describes her work as an anti-racist anarchist feminist who immediately included class, anti-racism and indigenous rights in her analysis of feminism. Cell 16, a group in which she was active, produced many feminist anti-racist pamphlets that included anarchist discourses, and many of the women in Cell 16 were anarchists. Similarly, in the free Puerto Rico movement, women like Diana Block went underground and engaged in or were prepared to engage in illegal activities to support an anti-colonialist guerrilla liberation struggle, as described in her autobiography, *Arm the Spirit: A Story from Underground and Back*.¹⁰⁵

Today the group NOII, a banner organizing structure with many groups in different cities around the world, is also engaged in anarchafeminist anti-racist organizing albeit not explicitly labelled as such. NOII demands an end to all borders, so that people can travel freely between nation states which would also then be abolished in their current form. This is of course one of the central tenets of anarchism. As Harsha Walia argues, ‘antiracism arguments rarely incorporate demands for an end to discrimination in the immigration and refugee system. Nor do fights for immigrants’ rights include struggles to end discrimination in the lives of migrants beyond the immigration system’.¹⁰⁶ NOII makes these kinds of demands based on an anarchist analysis rooted in anti-statist discourses and struggles, pointing to ways in which the state intersects with gender and race in the immigration and refugee system. For example, while some advocates call for a relaxation of the laws governing Live-In Caregivers in Canada, NOII calls for ‘racial justice’¹⁰⁷ that incorporates an analysis of the racialization and gendering of global labour migration.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., pp. 107–8.

¹⁰⁵ Diana Block, *Arm the Spirit: A Story from Underground and Back* (Oakland: AK Press, 2009).

¹⁰⁶ Harsha Walia, ‘The New Fortified World: Colonialism, Capitalism, and the Making of the Apartheid System of Migration in Canada’, *New Socialist* (June 2006), 63.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 64.

In the past decade or so, anarchist anti-racist organizers have started to form more formal networks, as evidenced by the Anarchist People of Colour (APOC) caucuses that take place at anarchist bookfairs and gatherings; conferences such as the Detroit APOC gathering (2006); and zines such as *Our Culture, Our Resistance: Anarchist People of Color Speak out about Race, Class and Gender*, Mini Nguyen's *Race Riot* and Helen Luu's *How to Stage a Coup*. These anti-racist anarchist zines tackle issues of racism in the anarchist milieu and the punk scene in the context of sexism and heterosexism. In Montreal the Artists Against Apartheid cabaret series links anarchism and anti-racist, anti-colonial organizing through spoken word, music and other acts. Specifically queer anti-racist groups or queer people of colour (QPOC) groups, such as the Ste-Emilie Skillshare, and Fire, are non-mixed groups that attempt to provide safer spaces for self-identified anti-racist non-white queer folks to get together and organize struggles, or in the case of Ste-Emilie to produce art, put on workshops, screen films and hang out. Non-mixed groups may be one strategy among many in anarchafeminist and anarchaqueer anti-racist and anti-colonial networks, in which the tensions among the competing demands of organizing can be addressed, and these networks can grow and expand under their own leadership with the people most directly affected being at the forefront of the struggle.

Anarchism and Sex Worker Advocacy

Systemic injustice and economic necessity surrounding sex work create an intersection around which anarchafeminists, anarchaqueers and other theorists and activists congregate and advocate. Women anarchists took a leading role in nineteenth-century Germany and France in working to improve the situation of sex workers by decriminalizing sex work. Gertrud Guillaume-Shack began her political career by working to end mandated medical exams and other regulations imposed on sex workers on the basis that it penalized women while ignoring their male clients.¹⁰⁸ Louise Michel argued vociferously that far from it being a 'vice', gendered systemic economic injustice under capitalism gave many women no choice but to engage in sex work.¹⁰⁹ Michel blamed the bourgeoisie, who felt entitled to use their wealth to buy human beings,¹¹⁰ and she advocated an end to sex work through revolutionary rather than legal means. Both Guillaume-Shack and Michel defended sex workers and simultaneously called upper-class marriages a type of prostitution because of the inequalities of power within them.¹¹¹

Emma Goldman also supported sex workers, and considered taking up sex work herself at times, being critical of self-righteous middle-class prostitution abolitionists. She

¹⁰⁸ Lopes, *Feminisms*, p. 124; Oliver, *International Anarchist Movement*, p. 58.

¹⁰⁹ Michel, *The Red Virgin*, p. 141.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.176.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 141; Lopes, *Feminisms*, p. 125.

connected the oppression of heteronormative monogamy with the moral judgements inherent in systemic sexism, the class imperatives of middle-class reformers who were more loyal to their husbands than their feminism, and the criminalization of women's activities by the masculinist legal system. This advocacy demonstrates Goldman's attempts to challenge the mainstream feminist movement to think and act beyond its own middle-class privilege.

In Geneva, Switzerland, from 1960 to 1995, Grisélidis Réal was a sex worker, an anarchist activist and a writer. A series of interviews and her diaries have recently been translated into English by Semiotext(e) in: *The Little Black Book of Grisélidis Réal: Days and Nights of an Anarchist Whore*.¹¹² Her activism specifically focused on sex workers' rights, and her obituary in *The Independent* online refers to her as 'a unique woman who was a highly talented writer and also a revolutionary prostitute', as she wrote several books and engaged in direct action for sex workers' rights with a group of male and female sex workers. According to *The Independent*, 'It was their protest and occupation of the Chapelle Saint-Bernard in Montparnasse in 1973 that first involved her in defense of their human rights against the brutal controls of pimps, panders and the police.'¹¹³ She went on to set up a sex workers archive, *Centre Grisélidis Réal – Documentation internationale sur la prostitution*, an institute archiving information about the rights, laws and history of sex work.

The thread of anarchist women engaged in sex work and advocacy appears again in contemporary Canada, among other locations, particularly in several peer harm reduction sex worker advocacy groups, such as Stella in Montreal and Maggie's in Toronto. These groups are organized by and for sex workers, advocating not an end to sex work, but the promotion of educational materials and word-of-mouth knowledge about harm reduction. Stella, for example, provides floating legal clinics, and has trained police officers in dealing with sex workers who have been raped or targeted by violent men, so that the women coming forward about these crimes do not get arrested for sex work, but rather are treated as the survivors of crimes. They also organize the Red Umbrellas March each year protesting violence against sex workers, having declared an International Day to End Violence Against Sex Workers. Advocating safer practices, they compile a 'bad date' list that names and describes men who are known to be violent, and circulate it among sex workers. They have also recently been involved in a successful Supreme Court challenge aiming to have the anti-prostitution laws stricken down. Colloquially known as 'living off the avails' laws, they in effect criminalized anyone who was living in the same apartment with a sex worker, including their children and/or partners.

Maggie's in Toronto is another peer harm reduction group. According to their website, 'Maggie's mission is to provide education, advocacy, and support to assist sex

¹¹² Jean-Luc Hennig and Ariana Reines, *The Little Black Book of Grisélidis Réal: Days and Nights of an Anarchist Whore* (New York: Semiotexte, 2009).

¹¹³ James Kirkup, 'Griselidis Real – Virtuoso Writer and "Revolutionary Whore"', *The Independent*, 7 June 2005, available at www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/griselidis-real-493264.html.

workers to live and work with safety and dignity.’¹¹⁴ The group is founded on the anarchist principle that those most directly affected by a struggle should be the ones leading the struggle: ‘sex workers must take the power to control our own destinies’.¹¹⁵ On the International Day to End Violence Against Sex Workers in 2010, they hosted a presentation at the Native Canadian Centre, ‘Sharing, Celebrating and Decolonizing Indigenous Sex Work’. This demonstrates the intersectionality of issues that are connected to sex work. In Canada specifically indigenous women, particularly from among sex worker communities, are going missing in large numbers, often being murdered. A group called Missing Justice is drawing attention to this issue. While none of these organizations are anarchist in name, they are in their practices, principles and mandates. In addition, they have anarchist women working within them, something one might not discover from any of their publications. Their work, like a great deal of anarchist and other grass-roots organizing, sits in the uneasy position between being opposed to state interventions in people’s lives, and having to petition the state to change punitive laws against women.

Conclusion: Beyond Intersectionality, Beyond Identity, Beyond Anarchy[[http://www.christiebooks.com/ChristieBooksWP/?p=3003]]<verbatim>www.christiebooks.com/ChristieBooksWP/?p=3003</verbatim>]].

There are many issues that anarchafeminists and anarchoqueers have been active on over the past 100 years or more that we have been unable to cover in any depth here. Richard Cleminson,¹¹⁶ among others, has written about anarchist positions on eugenics, which have been at times quite problematic. There are also many zines on issues from herbal and other non-traditional approaches to physical and mental health, such as the *Hot Pants* zine, and *Nailbiter: An Anxiety Zine*. Sex-positive anarchafeminists and anarchoqueers have also produced a wide range of material on sexualities, from several issues of the sexually explicit *Lickety Split* zine to the SMUT radio show on CKUT.¹¹⁷ The zine *Get Your Squirt On*, distributed by all-girl Indie band Mountain Man from Bennington Vermont, USA, is about female ejaculation. Similarly the all-girl Indie band, Sleepover, from Austin, Texas, has produced a graphic novel zine about sexuality called *Juicy Steam*. These zines are distributed at their music shows,

¹¹⁴ aggie’s, *Sex Work is Real Work*, available at <http://maggiestoronto.ca>.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Richard Cleminson, *Anarchism, Science and Sex: Eugenics in Eastern Spain, 1900–1937* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2000).

¹¹⁷ www.ckut.ca/.

much like the anarchafeminist zines that came out of the riot grrrl scene in the 1990s. The website anarchalibrary¹¹⁸ archives short descriptions of hundreds of zines, many of which are anarchafeminist – including *Anarcha-Feminism zine* (2007), *Anarchism and Polyamory* (2010), *Anarchist Parenting* (n.d.), *Manifesto for the Trans-Feminist Insurrection* (2010) and *Consentzine* (n.d.) – and anarchaqueer or trans – including *Dismantling Hierarchy, Queering Society* (2010), *Queer Liberation, Class Struggle and Intersectionality* (2010), *Gay Shame Opposes Marriage in Any Form* and “*I am not a man or a woman, I am a transsexual*” – *Jamrat Mason Speaks at Hackney Pride* (2010) and *Transgender Day of Remembrance* (2010). The incredible range of these zines, websites and other contemporary anarchafeminist and anarchaqueer materials demonstrates how widespread these movements have become, and how important these texts are as anarchist historiographical sources. There is also a new book just out called *Anarchism and Sexuality*¹¹⁹ that addresses a range of topics covered here.

We hope that this chapter has demonstrated how anarchists, and more specifically anarchist feminists, anarchist queers and anti-racist and anti-colonial anarchists, have been among the first to argue for what we now call intersectionality or anti-oppression politics. Because anarchists believe that all injustices stem from the imposition of illegitimate systemic authority over human beings by one another, those who were ideologically consistent were able to recognize multiple forms of oppression.

At the same time, there is also some discomfort at the exclusion of various organizing bodies, individuals, theories, etc. in anarchist feminist and anarchist queer groups and movements. Further research might therefore include: (a) gaps in documentation of queers in anarchist movements; (b) gender transgression in anarchist movements and/or its relation to nostalgic gender roles from a particular era; (c) why anti-colonial and anti-racist movements and groups do not always label themselves explicitly anarchist; (d) transgender theory as it fits within an anarchist framework, as compared to the lived experience of gender transition outside of that; and much else.

Anarchafeminists and anarchaqueers have developed a growing understanding of the principle that each person’s liberation is intricately connected to the liberation of all people. For this to be actualized, there are perhaps as many contemporary intersections and tensions to be addressed as there are successes and histories to be inspired by.

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¹¹⁸ <http://anarchalibrary.blogspot.com/>.

¹¹⁹ Jamie Heckert and Richard Cleminson (eds), *Anarchism and Sexuality: Ethics, Relationships and Power* (London: Routledge, 2010).

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10. Literature and Anarchism

David Goodway

There is a long-standing affinity between literature, whether fiction, poetry, drama or other forms of imaginative, creative writing and anarchism. It never comes as a surprise to find a writer coming out for ‘the politics of the unpolitical’ (to use the expression of the anarchist poet and critic, Herbert Read). So in 1954, the novelist and playwright J. B. Priestley (1894–1984), author of *The Good Companions* and *An Inspector Calls*, otherwise known as a restive supporter of the British Labour Party and prominent in the launch of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament four years later, described himself as a ‘gentle anarchist’. ‘Gentle’ because he eschewed violence and criticized the state as ‘not only a war-planning but a war-risking organization’, ‘the war-making instrument, the machine that automatically creates dangerous situations’. He associated himself with those who ‘distrust and dislike the power systems, the immense machinery of authority, believing that men would do better to rely on mutual help and voluntary associations’.¹

The relationship between anarchism and literature has been manifested in three distinct but overlapping ways. First, some writers, whether or not professed anarchists, are natural contrarians, regarding it as their duty to act as grit in the machinery of government and to provide a voice for the voiceless. Second, many significant writers, again not necessarily consciously anarchist or libertarian, are humanists who see through the existing economic, political, social and (perhaps most frequently) legal orders, supporting the individual or group who comes into conflict with them. Lastly, there are the writers who do identify with anarchism or a more general left-libertarianism.

At the end of the nineteenth century and in the early years of the twentieth the unconscious anarchism manifested in the work of humanist writers was supplemented by the impact of formal anarchism at the height of its international influence. Kropotkin commented on a two-way exchange in his article, ‘Anarchism’, written in 1905 for *Encyclopedia Britannica*. He comments on ‘the penetration, on the one hand, of anarchist ideas into modern literature, and the influence, on the other hand, which the libertarian ideas of the best contemporary writers have exercised upon the development of anarchism’; and stresses ‘how closely anarchism is connected with all the intellectual movements of our own times’. In addition to mentioning John Stuart Mill’s *On Liberty*, Herbert Spencer’s *Individual versus the State* and Richard Wagner’s *Art and Revolution*, he lists the works of Multatuli (E. Douwes Dekker) – the Dutch author of the

¹ Colin Ward, ‘Priestley’s Belated Anarchism’, *Freedom*, 15 October 1994.

exceptional anti-colonialist novel, *Max Havelaar* – Friedrich Nietzsche, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, Alexander Herzen and Edward Carpenter, ‘and in the domain of fiction, the dramas of Ibsen, the poetry of Walt Whitman, Tolstoy’s *War and Peace*, Zola’s *Paris* and *Le Travail*, the latest works of [Dmitry] Merezhkovsky, and an infinity of works of less known authors ...’ The books of all these writers are, he says, ‘full of ideas which show how closely anarchism is interwoven with the work that is going on in modern thought in the same direction of enfranchisement of man from the bonds of the State as well as from those of capitalism’.²

I shall now say a little about each of the first and second types of the affinity, the contrarian and the humanist. I proceed to examine the interaction between explicit anarchism and intellectuals, more particularly literary intellectuals, before exploring the British situation, illustrating it with case studies of four writers – Oscar Wilde, Alex Comfort, George Orwell and Aldous Huxley – who each had entirely different relations with anarchism.

Contrarian and Humanist Affinities

The novelist Graham Greene was never an anarchist but was a left-wing maverick and Catholic. Awarded the distinguished Shakespeare Prize by the University of Hamburg in 1969, he deplored the fact that Shakespeare, ‘the greatest of all poets’, was at the same time the ‘supreme poet of conservatism’, contrasting him unfavourably with a contemporary Catholic poet, Robert Southwell, who was disembowelled on the scaffold for his opposition to the Elizabethan regime.³ Greene used the occasion to deliver an address, ‘The Virtue of Disloyalty’, which is a classic statement of the contrarian case:

It has always been in the interests of the State to poison the psychological wells, to encourage cat-calls, to restrict human sympathy. It makes government easier when the people shout Galilean, Papist, Fascist, Communist. Isn’t it the story-teller’s task to act as the devil’s advocate, to elicit sympathy and a measure of understanding for those who lie outside the boundaries of State approval? The writer is driven by his own vocation to be a protestant in a Catholic society, a catholic in a Protestant one, to see the virtues of the capitalist in a Communist society, of the communist in a Capitalist state. Thomas Paine wrote, ‘We must guard even our enemies against injustice’.

Greene stresses that he is not advocating propaganda, which is

² Roger N. Baldwin (ed.), *Kropotkin’s Revolutionary Pamphlets: A Collection of Writings by Peter Kropotkin* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1927), pp. 299–300.

³ Graham Greene, ‘The Virtue of Disloyalty’, in Philip Stratford (ed.), *The Portable Graham*

only concerned to elicit sympathy for one side, what the propagandist regards as the good side: he too poisons the wells. But the novelist's task is to draw his own likeness to any human being, to the guilty as much as to the innocent – There, and may God forgive me, goes myself.

'If only', he wishes, 'writers could maintain that one virtue of disloyalty ... unspotted from the world'. The ever-present dangers are that 'honours, even this prize-giving, State patronage, success, the praise of their fellows all tend to sap their disloyalty'. By enlarging 'the bounds of sympathy in our readers we succeed in making the work of the State a degree more difficult': 'That is a genuine duty we owe society, to be a piece of grit in the State machinery'.⁴

Gustave Flaubert similarly always sided with minorities, with (in his words) 'the Bedouin, the Heretic, the philosopher, the hermit, the Poet'. When 43 gypsies camped in Rouen, infuriating his fellow citizens, Flaubert was, in contrast, delighted and gave them money. In *Flaubert's Parrot* (1984) Julian Barnes provides a general statement of the contrarian position:

What is the easiest, the most comfortable thing for a writer to do? To congratulate the society in which he lives: to admire its biceps, applaud its progress, tease it endearingly about its follies. 'I am as much a Chinaman as a Frenchman', Flaubert declared. Not, that is, *more* of a Chinaman: had he born in Peking, no doubt he would have disappointed patriots there too. The greatest patriotism is to tell your country when it is behaving dishonourably, foolishly, viciously. The writer must be universal in sympathy and an outcast by nature: only then can he see clearly.⁵

Greene aspired to 'enlarge the bounds of sympathy' in his readers and for Barnes 'the writer must be universal in sympathy'. This crucial matter of sympathy is central to my second category of the writer as humanist. It is unusual for such a commanding a writer as Shakespeare – on whose 'unrivalled knowledge of the human heart' the Chartist Thomas Cooper lectured admiringly in 1845 – to be so socially conservative.⁶ The norm is rather for those writers who ultimately take their place within the bounds of literature – the entire range from the handful of geniuses through those who belong to the numerous second rank to the minor though well worth reading – to empathize with the individual (or the group to which he or she belongs) in conflict with domination, whether by nation, race, class, church, school, family, patriarchy, heterosexuality, employer or law. Charles Dickens, politically no more than a middle-class radical,

Greene (London: Penguin Books, 2005), pp. 524–5.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 526–7.

⁵ Julian Barnes, *Flaubert's Parrot; Talking it Over* (London: Quality Paperbacks Direct, 2000), pp. 153–4.

⁶ *Northern Star*, 25 October 1845.

dissected the oppression of education, mocked the legal system, had pronounced anti-parliamentarian tendencies and in *Hard Times* posited Sleary's circus as the human alternative to the rigours of the industrial culture of Bounderby and Gradgrind. His right-wing near-contemporary in France, Honoré de Balzac, a royalist, gave an unilluminated portrayal of business, law and high society, while launching a blistering assault on a society made rotten by money (Marx was an admirer).⁷

An extreme variant of the humanist writer as anarchist is offered by the literary critic Wayne Burns, who has developed a theory of parasitic anarchism. Burns believes that it is no longer possible (and clearly doubts that it ever was) either to overthrow or to modify significantly the capitalist system, which controls not only the minds of its citizens but also the choices open to their minds. All that those who somehow manage to avoid this enveloping control can do is to be 'parasites on the body social and the body politic', linking up with other 'parasitic anarchists' and attempting to enjoy life to the full, while shunning all positions of power and even work that contributes to the maintenance and legitimation of the system.⁸ This political theory, a version of individualist anarchism, is directly related to an arresting and highly original theory of the novel.

At the heart of the literature Burns most admires are characters who are parasitic anarchists, admittedly not self-aware but nonetheless parasitic and anarchistic: Moll Flanders (the eponymous heroine of Defoe's novel); Arabella, Jude Fawley's wife, in Hardy's *Jude the Obscure*; Jaroslav Hašek's Good Soldier Švejk; Ferdinand in Louis-Ferdinand Céline's *Mort à Credit* (originally translated as *Death on the Instalment Plan* and more recently as *Death on Credit*); Zorba the Greek (the hero of Nikos Kazantzakis's novel of the same name); and naturally Shakespeare's Falstaff. (I say 'naturally', since I subscribe to 'the modern cult of Falstaff', relishing his love of food, drink, women and his own skin, whereas for Shakespeare and his fellow Elizabethans he would not have been 'an object of admiration or of sympathy'.)⁹ Above all there is Sancho Panza, who perpetually refutes, with his bodily needs, materialism and realism, the delusions and idealism of his master, Don Quixote, and who gives his name to 'The Panzaic Principle' (1965), Burns's major statement of his literary aesthetic. Burns contends that Sancho's belly has not only burst the seams of Venus's girdle, it has given the lie to Dulcinea and in fact all of Don Quixote's ideals – much as Lady Chatterley's guts give the lie to Clifford and his ideals in *Lady Chatterley's Lover*:

My dear, you speak as if you were ushering it all in! [i.e., 'the life of the human body'] ... Believe me, whatever God there is is slowly eliminating

⁷ S. S. Prawer, *Karl Marx and World Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978 edn), esp. pp. 94, 181, 334 and 401.

⁸ Wayne Burns, *The Vanishing Individual: A Voice from the Dustheap of History; Or, How to Be Happy without Being Hopeful* (*special issue of Recovering Literature, XXI (1995)*), p. 17.

⁹ G. F. Bradby, *About Shakespeare and His Plays* (London: Oxford University Press, 1927), p. 93. For the anarchist case, see George Woodcock, 'The Rebel Falstaff', *Delphic Review*, I(1) (Winter 1949),

the guts and alimentary system from the human being, to evolve a higher, more spiritual being.

Why should I believe you, Clifford, when I feel that whatever God there is has at last wakened up in my guts, as you call them, and is rippling so happily there, like Dawn? Why should I believe you, when I feel so very much the contrary?¹⁰

Burns comments that ‘in life the rightness of the guts (as against the mind) will depend on one’s point of view’; but he believes that ‘in Lawrence’s as in all other novels, however, the guts are always right ...’¹¹ He had started out in 1951 by arguing that any ‘serious’ novelist was a revolutionary, ‘never at one with his society and its values’: ‘he has to be free to function as a “licensed madman and revolutionary” – the way all great novelists have, in fact, been obliged to function’.¹² In ‘The Panzaic Principle’ he went further, maintaining that

it is an axiom or principle of the novel that [the guts] are always right, that the senses of even a fool can give the lie to even the most profound abstractions of the noblest thinker. And this is the principle I have designated the Panzaic principle ... Idealistic critics ... generally recognize this principle, much as they hate and deplore it. They know or sense that, in fiction, the guts ... are always right; this is why they want to keep them out, or cover them up, or somehow bowdlerize them.¹³

Anarchism and the Intellectuals

Anarchism is a long-established political position and ideology, associated with a substantial body of necessary, radical thought. In other countries this is taken for granted and intellectual respect paid to anarchism, even if very much a minority tradition, but it has never been in Britain and the other Anglo-Saxon nations. Here anarchism continues to be shunned in polite circles, whether social or academic. Herbert Read tells of finding himself at a dinner sitting next to ‘a lady well known in the political world, a member of the Conservative party’, who ‘at once asked me what my politics were, and on my replying “I am an anarchist” ... cried, “How absurd!”’, and

23–30.

¹⁰ Wayne Burns, *The Panzaic Principle, Parts I & II* (special issue of *Recovering Literature*, V(1) (Spring 1976)), p. 8. The parenthesis is Burns’s.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹² Burns, *Vanishing Individual*, p. 134.

¹³ Burns, *Panzaic Principle*, p. 8. Wayne Burns, *A Panzaic Theory of the Novel* (Seattle: Howe Street Press, 2009), is his latest – and most probably final – literary statement.

did not address another word to me during the whole meal'.¹⁴ Things have been no better on the left and in the working-class movement for, as Read explained elsewhere: 'In calling [my] principles Anarchism I have forfeited any claim to be taken seriously as a politician, and have cut myself off from the main current of socialist activity in England.'¹⁵

Yet he continued: 'But I have often found sympathy and agreement in unexpected places, and there are many intellectuals who are fundamentally anarchist in their political outlook, but who do not dare to invite ridicule by confessing it.'¹⁶ There is truth in this, yet the argument should not be pressed too far (for it needs to be refined). While intellectuals frequently played very significant roles in the socialist and other radical movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, they were not especially attracted to anarchism: certainly not in the way they indubitably were to Marxism and democratic socialism. At least three factors need to be considered in attempting to account for this. Anarchism did not offer intellectuals the social and political rewards which the other forms of socialism did. No positions of power or influence were awarded by anarchism in the struggle for or would have been after the attainment of a free society. Secondly, anarchist movements have tended to be exceptionally hostile not only towards the middle classes in general, but also bourgeois intellectuals. Finally, anarchism does not afford the theoretical and mental satisfactions that Marxism especially, but also reformist socialism, have done. It does not fetishise theory or cleverness or intellectual ability. Its appeal has been as much, if not more, emotional than rational. Anarchism definitely did not recruit – maybe perhaps in Italy, for example, but not overall – the lawyers, economists, historians and academics which the other socialist movements did. It can be argued, as Paul Goodman does, on the other hand, that anarchism – or, at least, anarchist theory – has received disproportionate contributions from intellectuals trained or active in the life sciences, geography, progressive education and the like. The geographers Kropotkin and Elisée Reclus, anthropologist Elie Reclus and educationalists Louise Michel, Sébastien Faure and Francisco Ferrer come readily to mind.¹⁷

There can be no doubt that one type of intellectual has been consistently drawn to anarchism, placing a premium on absolute freedom and non-interference in their personal and social lives, and belonging, like Read himself, to the artistic and literary avant-gardes. Significant clusters of anarchist painters and writers existed in pre-1914 Italy, New York before and during World War I and, most impressively of all, the France of the 1880s and 1890s. The Neo-Impressionist artists – Camille and Lucien

¹⁴ Herbert Read, *Anarchy and Order: Essays in Politics* (London: Faber and Faber, 1954), p. 13.

¹⁵ Herbert Read, *Annals of Innocence and Experience* (London: Faber and Faber, 2nd edn, 1946), p. 134.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ For Goodman, see Colin Ward and David Goodway, *Talking Anarchy* (Nottingham: Five Leaves, 2003), pp. 147–8. For intellectuals and anarchism, see 'Interview' with Noam Chomsky, in James Peck (ed.), *The Chomsky Reader* (London: Serpent's Tail, 1987), pp. 19–21.

Pissarro, Paul Signac, most probably the enigmatic Georges Seurat – and the Symbolist writers, including one of the greatest poets, Stéphane Mallarmé, all consisted of militant anarchists or sympathizers. Of the writers Henri de Régnier, Rémy de Gourmont, Adolphe Retté and the Americans (who wrote in French) Stuart Merrill and Francis Vièle-Griffin were all actively anarchist at this time, while Mallarmé subscribed to Jean Grave's anarchist-communist *La Révolte* (as did Joris-Karl Huysmans, Anatole France and the elderly Parnassian poet, Leconte de Lisle). As Jean Maitron, the major historian of French anarchism, comments: ‘*On était symboliste en littérature et anarchiste en politique*’.¹⁸

In the geographical Bohemia the fact that Hašek had been a member of anarchist groups and worked on anarchist journals helps to explain the subversive genius of *The Adventures of the Good Soldier Švejk*. Similarly Franz Kafka had attended anarchist meetings in Prague, gaining considerable familiarity with anarchist writers and personalities, actually mentioning Bakunin and Kropotkin in his diary and remaining close to anarchist ideas for the rest of his life. This sympathy goes some way towards accounting for the nightmarish universe of ‘In the Penal Colony’, *The Trial* and *The Castle* in which the individual is the plaything of elusive, arbitrary authority, mediated through labyrinthine and irrational bureaucracy.¹⁹ The German actor, Ret Marut, fleeing from the suppression of the Bavarian Revolution in 1919, recreated himself in Mexico as the still insufficiently appreciated novelist, B. Traven. The short stories which Marut had self-published would in themselves seem proof that he and Traven were not the same man were it not for conclusive evidence to the contrary. The trauma of life on the run together with the experience of Brixton Prison and of Mexico enabled him to proceed to publish within 10 years of them his most remarkable books, *The Death Ship* and *The Bridge in the Jungle*, as well as the best-known, *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre*.²⁰

In Russia *War and Peace* and *Anna Karenina* were the products of Tolstoy's middle years when he was writing as a humanist novelist, although much influenced by Proudhon (whom he had visited in Brussels), and he expounded a thoroughly libertarian interpretation of history in *War and Peace*. He then became in effect a Christian

¹⁸ Jean Maitron, *Histoire du mouvement anarchiste en France (1880–1914)* (Paris: Société Universitaire d'Éditions et de Librairie, 2nd edn, 1955), pp. 131, 137–8 and 449. See also Richard D. Sonn, *Anarchism and Cultural Politics in Fin de Siècle France* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), esp. pp. 5, 15–16, 186 and 325–6; George Woodcock, *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements* (1962; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2nd edn, 1986), pp. 252–3.

¹⁹ Cecil Parrott, *The Bad Bohemian: The Life of Jaroslav Hašek, Creator of the Good Soldier Švejk* (London: Bodley Head, 1978), chaps 4–6; Michael Löwy, *Redemption and Utopia: Jewish Libertarian Thought in Central Europe: A Study in Elective Affinity* (London: Athlone Press, 1992), pp. 82–4 et seq. For scepticism concerning Kafka's connection with anarchism, although not Hašek's, see Willy Prochazka, ‘Kafka's Association with Jaroslav Hašek and the Czech Anarchists’, *Modern Austrian Literature*, XI(3/4) (1978), 275–87.

²⁰ Karl S. Guthke, *B. Traven: The Life behind the Legends* (New York: Lawrence Hill Books, 1991), is much the best study (for literary quality and ‘emotional shocks’, see p. 118).

anarchist (although never accepting the description of ‘anarchist’ on account of its violent connotations); and his third and final full-length novel, *Resurrection* (1899), little read in Britain but which has always been loved by Russians, is an anarchist work, memorable for its searing depiction and analysis of the manifold oppressions of Tsarist society. Yet the fictional mastery and expansive sympathy of *Resurrection* are increasingly disrupted by Tolstoy’s preaching and propaganda and most (non-Russian) critics have judged it an artistic failure. Furthermore, the misogyny of the late novellas ‘The Kreutzer Sonata’, rejecting women and sex – even within marriage – and advocating celibacy for Christians, and ‘The Devil’, in which the male protagonist is driven demented by the physicality of the titular female, makes for uncomfortable reading.

Anarchism and British Literature

In Britain anarchism as a social movement never amounted to much, except among the Yiddish-speaking Jews of East London. It was in countries with despotic or centralizing states that anarchism flourished: in France, Italy, Russia and Spain. The liberal, minimal statism of Britain was situated in a world apart from their turbulent and sanguinary histories. Libertarian ideas in Britain can be traced back to the English Revolution of the mid-seventeenth century – to not only the Diggers and Gerrard Winstanley but also the Ranters. Two eighteenth-century figures are even more obviously anarchist: William Godwin in his great *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice* (1793) and the essays of *The Enquirer* (1797), and William Blake (1757–1827) throughout his *oeuvre*. Unlike Blake, whose ideas made no impact on his contemporaries, Godwin exerted considerable influence, most markedly on his future son-in-law, Percy Bysshe Shelley, who went on to become, in Peter Marshall’s words, ‘the greatest anarchist poet by putting Godwin’s philosophy to verse’. Marshall goes far beyond this fairly conventional wisdom by claiming both Blake and Godwin as ‘founding fathers’ of British anarchism.²¹ Godwin was also the author of a major novel, *Caleb Williams*, its sense of anxiety an uncanny anticipation of Kafka’s over a century later.

It is, however, significant that Godwin was not recognized as an anarchist thinker until the very end of the nineteenth century (and Blake not for another 100 years). It was the Austrian anarchist scholar, Max Nettlau, who described *Political Justice* in 1897 as ‘the first strictly anarchist book’, leading Kropotkin to call Godwin ‘the first theorist of stateless socialism, that is, anarchism’, 4 years later in the Russian edition of *Modern Science and Anarchism*.²² Godwin could not be identified as an anarchist until after anarchism had come into being as a social movement, which it only did from the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Moreover it also needed to be named

²¹ Peter Marshall (ed.), *The Anarchist Writings of William Godwin* (London: Freedom Press, 1986), p. 10; Peter Marshall, *William Blake: Visionary Anarchist* (London: Freedom Press, 1988), p. 11.

²² Nicolas Walter, *The Anarchist Past and Other Essays*, ed. David Goodway (Nottingham: Five Leaves, 2007), pp. 38 and 48.

as such, as it first was by Proudhon in 1840 in *What is Property?*, where he not only calls himself an ‘anarchist’, but also attempts to appropriate ‘anarchy’ as a positive concept. Like many anarchists to come, he considered it to be the highest form of order, contrasting it with the disorder and chaos of the present.

Although mass, proletarian anarchism failed to erupt in the British Isles, there was therefore a distinguished minority intellectual, overwhelmingly literary, anarchist – and rather broader and still more distinguished libertarian – tradition, collectively the most varied and impressive body of libertarian literature anywhere. I shall examine in some detail the work of one explicit anarchist (Comfort), of a somewhat reticent anarchist (Wilde) and of two left-libertarians who rate among the most admired and read authors of the twentieth century (Orwell and Huxley).²³ Comfort exemplified a typically anarchist amalgam of humanism and contrarianism; Wilde was a humanist whose anarchism also owed much to the illegality of homosexuality in Britain and the anarchist politics of his fellow symbolists and decadents in France and Belgium; Orwell was a natural contrarian but with a strong admixture of humanism; and Huxley, after a breakdown in the mid-1930s, was thenceforward an uncomplicated humanist.

One of the most celebrated and widely read works of Oscar Wilde (1854–1900) is his political essay, ‘The Soul of Man under Socialism’; but its advocacy of both socialism and individualism, a basic anarchist formulation, has tended to be viewed as a prime Wildean paradox. This state of affairs is all the more surprising in that anarchists from the outset recognized – indeed acclaimed – ‘The Soul’ as an important anarchist statement, Kropotkin describing it as ‘that article that O. Wilde wrote on Anarchism ...’²⁴ A notable later example was the anarchist George Woodcock publishing an insightful book on Wilde in 1949, discussing the politics in his history of anarchism in 1962, and including an extract from ‘The Soul of Man under Socialism’ in a much-used anthology of anarchist texts in 1977.²⁵

Wilde’s opposition to government *qua* government is first expressed in 1890 when reviewing the writings of the Taoist philosopher Chuang Tzu:

All modes of government are wrong. They are unscientific, because they seek to alter the natural environment of man; they are immoral because, by interfering with the individual, they produce the most aggressive forms

²³ I discuss all four at greater length in David Goodway, *Anarchist Seeds beneath the Snow: Left-Libertarian Thought and British Writers from William Morris to Colin Ward* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2006; Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2nd edn, 2012).

²⁴ *Letter from Kropotkin to Robert Ross, 6 May 1905, in Margery Ross (ed.), Robert Ross, Friend of Friends: Letters to Robert Ross, Art Critic and Writer, Together with Extracts from His Published Articles* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1952), p. 113.

²⁵ George Woodcock, *The Paradox of Oscar Wilde* (London: T.V. Boardman, 1949) [reissued as *Oscar Wilde: The Double Image* (Montréal: Black Rose Books, 1989), with Woodcock’s 1948 edition of *The Soul of Man under Socialism* as an appendix]; Woodcock, *Anarchism*, pp. 378–80; George Woodcock (ed.), *The Anarchist Reader* (Glasgow: Fontana, 1977), pp. 72–4 and 381.

of egotism; they are ignorant, because they try to spread education; they are self-destructive, because they engender anarchy [i.e., chaos].

The ‘two pests of the age’, Wilde concludes, are ‘Governments and Philanthropists’; and by trying ‘to coerce people into being good’, Governments ‘destroyed the natural goodness of man’.²⁶

An essential dimension to understanding Wilde is to situate him in the context of France. In England he always appeared an outlandish figure: in his appearance, his behaviour, his writings and his politics. The French were accustomed to such flamboyant and larger-than-life personalities and he blended into the overall literary and artistic scene. In France his sexuality was not against the law and there his literary output fitted naturally into symbolism modulating into decadence. The French symbolist writers of the late 1880s and 1890s, as we have seen, were strongly committed to anarchism, not just in sentiment but often practically as well; and it was they who drew attention to Wilde’s anarchist position. From the viewpoint of Anglosaxony Wilde’s adherence to anarchism no doubt seems yet another bizarre characteristic of an extravagant career; but as a natural member of this French cultural milieu it would have been astonishing if he had not done so. Five months after the appearance of ‘The Soul of Man under Socialism’ in 1891 an abridged French translation entitled ‘*Individualisme*’ was published in *La Révolte*, Jean Grave, the follower of Kropotkin, agreeing that ‘art is the supreme manifestation of individualism’.²⁷

The next four years saw Wilde’s spectacular success on the London stage with his great series of plays, *Lady Windermere’s Fan*, *A Woman of No Importance*, *An Ideal Husband* and *The Importance of Being Earnest*. At first sight comedies set in aristocratic circles seem improbable products of a committed anarchist mind. There is just one expression of a mainline anarchist belief when Lord Illingworth remarks: ‘You can’t make people good by Act of Parliament ...’; although he also says (as in ‘The Soul’): ‘Discontent is the first step in the progress of a man or a nation’.²⁸ All the same, Wilde’s friend, the anarchist poet John Barlas was correct when he said that Wilde ‘half-conceal[ed] under an appearance of sportive levity unheard of profundity of perception and thought’ and equally that he exposed ‘with a sudden flash of wit the sheer cliff-like walls of the rift which has opened out, as if by a silent earthquake, between our moral belief and the belief of our fathers’.²⁹ In the first three of his society comedies Wilde subverts established morality, arguing for a more flexible and

²⁶ Oscar Wilde, ‘A Chinese Sage’ (*Speaker*, 8 February 1890), in Richard Ellmann (ed.), *The Artist as Critic: Critical Writings of Oscar Wilde* (New York: Random House, 1969), pp. 223–5.

²⁷ Paul Gibbard, ‘Anarchism in English and French Literature, 1885–1914: Zola, the Symbolists, Conrad and Chesterton’ (DPhil thesis, Oxford, 2001), pp. 164–5; Patricia Leighton, *Re-Ordering the Universe: Picasso and Anarchism, 1897–1914* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), p. 46.

²⁸ Oscar Wilde, *A Woman of No Importance*, in *Complete Works of Oscar Wilde* (London and Glasgow: Collins, 1966), pp. 437 and 456.

²⁹ David Lowe, *John Barlas: Sweet Singer and Socialist* (Cupar: Craigwood House Publishing Co, 1915), p. 9; John E. Barlas, *Oscar Wilde: A Study* (Edinburgh: Tragara Press, 1978), n.p.

a fully human code of conduct in place of the rigid rules and ungenerous spirit of Victorianism. His position is antipodean to the bourgeois mores of his own day or of our own – and with the latter we need to include the equally Procrustean prejudices of political correctness.

Imprisonment was to bring Wilde's career as a writer to an end, but not before it had enabled him to produce two of his finest works: the long letter to Lord Alfred Douglas, published posthumously as *De Profundis*, and his one great poem, *The Ballad of Reading Gaol*. His terrible experience, brutal and degrading, served only to confirm and deepen his libertarian social, political and ethical views, expressed in both of these as well as in other correspondence of his final years. In the resplendent prose and lucid thinking of *De Profundis* he rejects 'Morality': 'I am a born antinomian. I am one of those who are made for exceptions, not for laws'.³⁰

In *The Ballad of Reading Gaol* similarly it is not simply capital punishment which is rejected but prison in general:

. . . every prison that men build
Is built with bricks of shame, And bound with bars
lest Christ should see How men their brothers maim. With bars they blur the gracious
moon, And blind the goodly sun: And they do well to blind their Hell, For in it things
are done That Son of God nor son of Man Ever should look upon! <verbatim>* The
vilest deeds like prison weeds Bloom well in prison-air: It is only what is good in Man
That wastes and withers there ...³¹

As for law, while there is initially feigned hesitance:

I know not whether Laws be right,
Or whether Laws be wrong ...

there is regardless no doubting:

But this I know, that every Law
That men have made for Man,
Since first Man took his brother's life,
And the sad world began,
But straws the wheat and saves the chaff
With a most evil fan.³²

There are only two known occasions, however, when Wilde identified himself publicly as an anarchist. He told an interviewer in 1894: 'We are all of us more or less Socialists now-a-days ... I think I am rather more than a Socialist ... I am something of an

³⁰ Merlin Holland and Rupert Hart-Davis (eds), *The Complete Letters of Oscar Wilde* (London: Fourth Estate, 2000), p. 732.

³¹ Bobby Fong and Karl Beckson (eds), *The Complete Works of Oscar Wilde, I: Poems and Poems in Prose* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 213.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 212.

Anarchist, I believe; but, of course, the dynamite policy is very absurd indeed.’³³ The previous year he had stated less hesitantly: ‘*Autrefois, j’étais poète et tyran. Maintenant je suis artiste et anarchiste*’ (‘In the past I was a poet and a tyrant. Now I am an artist and an anarchist.’)³⁴

Alex Comfort (1920–2000), in contrast, was always ready to declare his anarchism. But his achievement initially as an acclaimed creative writer (as well as later as a pioneering gerontologist) has been obscured by the extraordinary international success of *The Joy of Sex* (1972). A reassessment of his best novels – *The Power House* and *On This Side Nothing* – and most distinctive poetry – *The Signal to Engage* and *And All But He Departed* – is much overdue.

Comfort’s literary talent was precocious. His first novel to be published, *No Such Liberty*, written as a Cambridge undergraduate, appeared in 1941; and *The Almond Tree*, produced in the summer after his graduation, followed the next year. Although his poetry had been printed since he was at school, he had to wait until 1942 for his first proper collection of poems, when Routledge brought out *A Wreath for the Living*. His admiring publisher now was Herbert Read, with whom he developed a close literary and political association. Comfort became the leading spokesman and theorist for the New Romantics of the 1940s, just as Read was acknowledged as these poets’ principal influence from the previous generation and acted as their patron.

It was while undergoing his clinical training to become a doctor that Comfort realized he was an anarchist. He was then working on *The Power House*, a long and accomplished novel widely acclaimed on publication in 1944, being praised by V. S. Pritchett as a ‘powerful, bitter, and Romantic novel’ and ‘an immensely exciting narrative’, ‘to be read ... by all who are interested in the talents of the future’.³⁵ His potential was regarded as very considerable as both a poet and, perhaps particularly, a novelist. He published *Letters from an Outpost*, his only collection of short stories, in 1947; and his next novels were *On This Side Nothing* (1949) and *A Giant’s Strength* (1952).

Comfort had become a pacifist while a schoolboy; it was pacifism which led him to anarchism; and it is his aggressive pacifism, emphasizing individual responsibility and direct action, which is one of the threads running through his superficially disparate career. He was never an advocate of Gandhian non-violence. ‘I do not believe it is evil to fight’, he explained in 1946: ‘We have to fight obedience in this generation as the French maquisards fought it, with the reservation that terrorism, while it is understandable, is not an effective instrument of combating tyranny.’³⁶ The French

³³ Percival W. H. Almy, ‘New Views of Mr Oscar Wilde’, *Theatre*, XXIII (March 1894), in E. H. Mikhail (ed.), *Oscar Wilde: Interviews and Recollections* (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2 vols, 1979), I, p. 232.

³⁴ Gibbard, p. 168.

³⁵ University College London: Alex Comfort Papers, clippings books, transcript of BBC broadcast, 26 June 1944.

³⁶ Alex Comfort, *Peace and Disobedience* (London: Peace News[1946]), pp. 2–3 (reprinted in David

Maquis provided Comfort during World War II with a major inspiration, affording him a model of popular resistance, by individuals not in association with any State. This is exemplified especially – indeed anticipated – in his novel *The Power House*, an intransigent anarchist novel.

Comfort was always a prolific writer and was spectacularly so during the ten years from the early 1940s to early 1950s. His anarchism was expressed and developed not just in explicitly political and polemical essays and pamphlets, but also in his fiction and poetry, as well as critical works (notably *The Novel and Our Time*), and the important sociopolitical treatises, *Barbarism and Sexual Freedom* and *Authority and Delinquency in the Modern State*. For Comfort ‘it is all one project’. That is how he reacted towards the end of his life (in conversation with me) to comments on the diverse spread of his activities; and he had been saying the same thing 40 years previously:

If the mixture of books and pamphlets which I have produced ... seems confused, I can only say that it represents a unified effort as far as I am concerned. While the suspicion of propagandist art is sound, it obscures the fact that all writing has content. The content of mine is what I think and believe about human responsibility, and accordingly everything I write is didactic, since I have tried to express my preoccupations both in action and in print.³⁷

In the post-war years it was American writers such as Kenneth Patchen, Henry Miller, e. e. cummings and Kenneth Rexroth whom he most admired. They wrote ‘as if they were citizens of an occupied country’; for them “‘victory” in the conventional sense amounted to a defeat’. It is to their blend of pessimistic humanism and libertarian individualism that Comfort’s own novels and poetry are most akin – rather than to any of his British contemporaries.³⁸ He also responded warmly to Kafka, Jean Giono, Ignazio Silone and, above all, Albert Camus (another major writer close to anarchism). In his view Camus was probably ‘the most important living novelist’ and he was so impressed by *The Plague*, published in Paris in 1947, that he was inspired to write *On This Side Nothing* (1949), which has a derivative North African setting, but is probably his most successful novel. For Comfort the key passage in *The Plague* is that in which the mysterious Tarrou explains his background, experiences and thinking to Rieux, the doctor. Tarrou says: ‘All I maintain is that on this earth there are pestilences and there are victims, and it’s up to us, so far as possible, not to join forces with the pestilences’ – a statement which Comfort kept repeating in his own political writings. He believed:

Goodway (ed.), *Against Power and Death: The Anarchist Articles and Pamphlets of Alex Comfort* (London: Freedom Press, 1994) [hereafter *APD*], p. 80).

³⁷ Stanley J. Kunitz (ed.), *Twentieth Century Authors: First Supplement* (New York: H.W. Wilson, 1955), p. 21.

³⁸ *APD*, pp. 88 and 90.

Very few readers who share anything of the insight of Tarrou will read this novel without being as profoundly influenced by it as Shelley was by *Political Justice*. Unesco should have it printed and sent free to every human being in Europe.³⁹

After 1952 Comfort published only four more novels and three volumes of poetry. Yet he continued to stress the centrality of responsibility and to adhere to a politics combining direct action with mutual aid. Very little, if anything, had altered, in spite of *The Joy of Sex* and his undoubted remoteness from the so-called anarchist movement. Nor had his combativity and subversiveness changed. His conception in his penultimate book and final novel, *The Philosophers* (1989), of cyber-terrorists employing non-violent dirty tricks was a return to the advocacy of forming a Maquis to resist the ‘Occupying Power’, although that was by now Thatcherism.⁴⁰

Comfort became a friend of George Orwell (1903–50) as consequence of their trading insults and Byronic verses in 1942–43, the one a pacifist, the other by now a revolutionary patriot. Orwell was not only knowledgeable about and sympathetic to anarchism, but a hardcore contrarian. In ‘Why I Write’ he explained in 1946:

What I have most wanted to do throughout the past ten years is to make political writing into an art. My starting point is always a feeling of partisanship, a sense of injustice. When I sit down to write a book, I do not say to myself, ‘I am going to produce a work of art’. I write it because there is some lie that I want to expose ...⁴¹

In a newly published letter from the following year he maintained: ‘I have never belonged to a political party [actually incorrect since he joined the Independent Labour Party in 1938 for fifteen months], and I believe that even politically I am more valuable if I record what I believe to be true and refuse to toe a party line.’⁴²

Orwell had arrived in Barcelona in December 1936: ‘The Anarchists were still in virtual control of Catalonia and the revolution was still in full swing.’ The experience was

something startling and overwhelming. It was the first time that I had ever been in town where the working class was in the saddle. Practically every building of any size had been seized by the workers and was draped with red flags or with the red and black flag of the Anarchists ...

³⁹ Ibid., pp. 117–19. Tarrou’s full exposition is to be found in Albert Camus, *The Plague* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1960), pp. 201–9. For Camus and anarchism, see Colin Ward, ‘Algeria and the Legacy of Camus’, *Freedom*, 15 November 1997; Peter Marshall, *Demanding the Impossible: A History of Anarchism* (London: Harper Perennial, 2nd edn, 2008), pp. 580–4.

⁴⁰ Alex Comfort, *The Philosophers* (London: Duckworth, 1989), esp. pp. 78 and 101–2.

⁴¹ Peter Davison (ed.), *The Complete Works of George Orwell* [hereafter *CWGO*] (London: Secker & Warburg, 20 vols, 1998), XVIII, p. 319.

⁴² George Orwell, *A Life in Letters*, ed. Peter Davison (London: Harvill Secker, 2010), p. xii.

He ‘recognized it immediately as a state of affairs worth fighting for’ and within a few days had joined the militia of the quasi-Trotskyist POUM.⁴³

In the ensuing *Homage to Catalonia* not only the Spanish people but also the anarchists emerge with great credit. He praises the Spaniards for ‘their innate decency’ which, combined with ‘their ever-present Anarchist tinge’, he considered would enable them to ‘make even the opening stages of Socialism tolerable if they had the chance’.⁴⁴ Dissatisfied with the inaction and stalemate of the Aragón front, Orwell had been preparing to leave the POUM and transfer to the Communist-organized International Brigades, even though ‘as far as my purely personal preferences went I would have liked to join the Anarchists’. He was even to say that had he had ‘a complete understanding of the situation’ when he arrived in Spain he would ‘probably have joined the CNT militia’.⁴⁵

Although Orwell displayed this empathy with Spanish anarchism and developed warm friendships with most of the prominent British anarchists of the 1940s, he was never in his maturity any kind of anarchist – although he had in the early thirties (and possibly before) offered the self-description of ‘Tory anarchist’. During the final ten years of his life he was a left-wing socialist and supporter of the Labour Party; yet at the same time he exhibited pronounced anarchist tendencies and sympathies, for he was a libertarian. Orwell’s version of socialism, as Colin Ward maintained approvingly, is ‘pretty anarchical’.⁴⁶ Bernard Crick’s incisive assessment is excellent: ‘He did not accept anarchism in principle, but had, as a socialist who distrusted any kind of state power, a speculative and personal sympathy with anarchists.’⁴⁷

Answering the concern of some readers of *Animal Farm* that he now rejected revolutionary change, Orwell explained in anarchist fashion that

I meant *that kind* of revolution (violent conspiratorial revolution, led by unconsciously power-hungry people) can only lead to a change of masters. I meant the moral to be that revolutions only effect a radical improvement when the masses are alert and know how to chuck out their leaders as soon as the latter have done their job ... What I was trying to say was, ‘You can’t have a revolution unless you make it for yourself ...’⁴⁸

And in a letter written a year before his death, Orwell maintained, just like any good anarchist: ‘The real division is not between conservatives and revolutionaries but between authoritarians and libertarians.’⁴⁹

⁴³ *CWGO*, VI, pp. 2–3.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 84.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 96; *CWGO*, XI, p. 136

⁴⁶ Interview with Colin Ward, 29 June 1997.

⁴⁷ Bernard Crick, *George Orwell: A Life* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1980), p. 308.

⁴⁸ *CWGO*, XVIII, p. 507.

⁴⁹ Peter Davison and D. J. Taylor, ‘Like Autumn in a Garden: New Light on the Friendship between

Orwell had been taught at Eton by Aldous Huxley (1894–1963), but while he admired his early novels he came to think increasingly poorly of him. Between 1920 and 1930 Huxley had established a commanding reputation as a writer of fiction with four novels – *Crome Yellow*, *Antic Hay*, *Those Barren Leaves* and *Point Counter Point* – and five collections of shorter fiction. Influenced by Thomas Love Peacock, Norman Douglas and Anatole France, with a dash of Ronald Firbank, these first novels were brittle, cynical, nihilistic and far too clever.

This phase of his output culminated in 1932 with *Brave New World*, the brilliant dystopian fable which must surely be his most accomplished work and which has certainly been – together with *The Doors of Perception* (1954), the account of his experiments with mescaline – the most influential. *Brave New World* is set many years in the future, by when conception and birth have been removed from human bodies to laboratories, and the eggs and embryos are so treated and the resultant children subjected to hypnopædic socialization as to produce a docile adult personnel; but promiscuous sexual intercourse is encouraged, along with frequent recourse to the drug *soma*, in order to effect total sedation. Faced with contemporary trends in the Soviet Union yet much more in the United States, Huxley's concern is not for the dehumanized masses, but for the handful of dissatisfied intellectuals. It comes as even more of a jolt to realize that Huxley, who in the late 1920s had become an admiring friend of D. H. Lawrence, considered existence in an Indian *pueblo* in a New Mexican reservation little more acceptable than that in the totally controlled and conditioned society. Throughout the twenties he had been espousing an aristocratic authoritarianism.

During 1934–35 Huxley suffered a breakdown, from which he was rescued by three oddball gurus who together with a new faith in pacifism made a new man of him, mentally, physically and spiritually. Thenceforward he was a left-libertarian and anarcho-pacifist. The greatest insight of his theoretical *Ends and Means* (1937) is that society must be reconstructed through radical decentralization: in effect, through the abolition of power, though this is not a term he employs. For the remainder of his life he was consistent in maintaining an anarchist critique of existing society and advocating thoroughgoing decentralization, the utilization of alternative energy sources and the formation of self-governing, voluntarily cooperating communities.

Huxley's final novel, *Island* (1962), is his utopia, a long-deliberated depiction of the good society and belated vision of the practical realization of 'philosophic anarchism' – for in 1937 he had informed his brother Julian (and Emma Goldman) that he was 'collecting whatever information I can pick up in regard to the technique for giving [it] a viable economic and social basis ...'⁵⁰

George Orwell and Malcolm Muggeridge', *Times Literary Supplement*, 30 May 2003; Peter Davison (ed.), *The Lost Orwell: Being a Supplement to 'The Complete Works of George Orwell'* (London: Timewell Press, 2006), p. 116.

⁵⁰ Grover Smith (ed.), *Letters of Aldous Huxley* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1969), p. 434; Goodway, *Seeds*, pp. 229–30.

Island was a book that meant a great deal to him. He regarded it as a serious contribution to social thought and viewed it as ‘a kind of pragmatic dream... And yet, if we weren’t all so busy trying to do something else, we *could* ... make this world a place fit for fully human beings to live in’.⁵¹

Pala, an island in the Indian Ocean, is a monarchy and has a government and parliament but it is also, and more importantly, a federation of self-governing units, whether economic, geographical or professional. We are told that the Palanese ‘found it quite easy to pass from mutual aid in a village community to streamlined co-operative techniques for buying and selling and profit-sharing and financing’.⁵² The tyranny of the traditional family, nuclear as well as extended, has been overcome by building on the Palanese foundations of ‘Buddhist ethics and primitive village communism’; and Mutual Adoption Clubs integrate each individual into a vast extended family of between 15 and 25 couples and all *their* relatives. Sexuality is not merely free and guiltless but fundamental to the Mahayana Buddhism of the Palanese: *maithuna* is the yoga of love – ‘When you do *maithuna*, profane love *is* sacred love’ – and therefore lovemaking is a form of enlightenment and contemplation. This entails that *maithuna* is part of the school curriculum.⁵³ The soma of *Brave New World* has become the consciousness-heightening *moksha*-medicine, producing ‘boundless compassion, fathomless mystery ... meaning ... [and] inexpressible joy’.⁵⁴ There is no army. The island has avoided industrialization by always choosing to adapt its economy and technology to human beings, not the human beings to ‘somebody else’s economy and technology’.⁵⁵ There is no division of labour between mental and manual workers: each professor or government official enjoys a couple of hours of daily agricultural labour. The teaching of and research into the sciences of life and mind – biology, ecology, psychology – are emphasized at the expense of physics and chemistry. Ecology is central to the social and global perspectives of the Palanese:

Never give children a chance of imagining that anything exists in isolation. Make it plain from the very first that all living is relationship ... ‘Do as you would be done by’ applies to our dealings with all kinds of life in every part of the world. We shall be permitted to live on this planet only for as long as we treat all nature with compassion and intelligence. Elementary ecology leads straight to elementary Buddhism.⁵⁶

⁵¹ Smith, p. 944.

⁵² Aldous Huxley, *Island* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1964), p. 150.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 77–82.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 219–20.

For his intending biographer, David Bradshaw, ‘*Island* exemplifies Huxley’s particular contribution to twentieth-century letters’.⁵⁷

Brave New World and *Island* are works of science fiction and SF is the literary genre most read and discussed by anarchists. Anti-authoritarian writers such as Philip K. Dick, William Gibson and Kim Stanley Robinson envisage social breakdown, explore parallel universes and future societies and discuss cyberculture, economic and social justice, and ecological sustainability. Ursula K. Le Guin is especially admired and the favourite novel by her is *The Dispossessed* (1975), with attention focussed (somewhat oddly) on her portrayal of the decaying anarchist utopia of Anarres. She acknowledges the importance of the early essays of a major contemporary utopian, Murray Bookchin, on her thinking, yet in a recent collection on utopianism and anarchism it is she who is easily the visionary most revered by the contributors.⁵⁸

The relationship between literature and anarchism is, then, deep and various. Not all writers have libertarian tendencies, but enough, whether they are humanists, contrarians or actually anarchists, do to make Priestley’s declaration a standard response: an identification, either implicit or explicit, with anarchism.

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⁵⁷ David Bradshaw, ‘Aldous Huxley (1894–1963)’ [the unpaginated introduction that prefaces all the Flamingo editions of Huxley’s works: e.g. *Point Counter Point* (London: Flamingo, 1994)].

⁵⁸ Email from Ursula Le Guin to Janet Biehl, 19 April 2009 (for which I am indebted to Janet Biehl); Laurence Davis and Ruth Kinna (eds), *Anarchism and Utopianism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009).

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11. Anarchism and the Future of Revolution

Laurence Davis

What is the meaning of revolution today, and how is practice-grounded anarchist political thought contributing to an ongoing process of imagining new forms of social transformation? Not since the 1960s has there been such global interest in the prospects and possibilities of revolution. From the Middle East to the metropolises of Europe, South Asia and the Americas, large numbers of people have taken to the streets in protest against the economic and political corruption that has become increasingly visible in the wake of a failed project of neo-liberal globalization. Many are also posing deeper questions not just about neo-liberal economics and the governments under its ideological sway, but about capitalism and the state system that sustains it.

Already at the forefront of the alter-globalization movement, anarchists are leading the way in providing creative, practice-tested answers to these questions relevant to our times. The answers they are providing are not monolithic, however, and are a source of sometimes heated debate within the movement. More specifically, anarchists are increasingly gravitating towards one or another of two broad orientations to transformative social change: one rooted in the anarcho-communist and anarcho-syndicalist class-struggle traditions, and premised on the belief that a vast movement of the oppressed must rise up and smash the capitalist state, and the other associated with a 'revolutionary exodus' strategy focused less (at least initially) on direct confrontation with the state and more on the construction of alternative institutions and social relationships that will ultimately render it and the capitalist market redundant.

In this essay I assess the validity of arguments made for the latter tendency in the light of criticisms levelled by partisans of the former. My chief aim in doing so is to elucidate some of contemporary anarchism's most important contributions to the creative reimagination of the revolutionary tradition. I develop the analysis, first, by systematically reviewing criticisms of the revolutionary exodus strategy advanced by class-struggle anarchists widely read in contemporary movement circles such as Michael Schmidt, Lucien van der Walt and Wayne Price. In the remainder of the chapter I test the validity of these criticisms through close analysis of key texts by three contemporary anarchists – David Graeber, Uri Gordon and Richard Day – whose efforts to rethink revolution on the basis of new and emerging activist practices have provoked an especially vociferous response. My argument is that the theory of revolutionary

exodus developed in their work reflects a very significant and growing tendency within the contemporary anarchist movement and beyond which is creatively redefining revolutionary struggle for our time.

Class-Struggle Anarchism and Revolutionary Rupture

The meaning of the term ‘class-struggle anarchism’ is itself the subject of vigorous debate. Some contemporary class-struggle anarchists define the term in a very broad and inclusive sense. Benjamin Franks, for example, sets out four ‘hesitantly proposed’ and context-specific criteria meant to distinguish class-struggle anarchism in contemporary Britain from both liberal anarchism and Leninism. These include a complete rejection of capitalism and the market economy; an egalitarian concern for the interests and freedoms of others as part of a process of creating non-hierarchical social relations; a complete rejection of state power and other quasi-state mediating forces; and recognition that means have to prefigure ends.¹

Other class-struggle anarchists define it in more restrictive, and exclusive, terms. Michael Schmidt and Lucien van der Walt, for example, contend that ‘there is only one anarchist tradition, and it is rooted in the work of Bakunin and the Alliance’.² Specifically, it is rooted in a form of syndicalist anarchism that conceives of transformative change in terms of a class struggle from below, assuming a radically democratic form and taking place outside of and against the state, and aiming to replace capitalism and the state with collective ownership of the means of production, collective and participatory decision-making, and an international, federal and self-managed socialist system. Among the defining characteristics of this revolutionary class politics are its resolute rationalism and scientific modernism, commitment to technological ‘progress’, and rejection of premodern social and cultural values.³ With respect to the questions of power and revolution, it is committed to a form of social revolution that entails forcibly replacing the existing order with a new one in a moment of ‘decisive revolutionary rupture’, followed by the determined armed defence of popular democracy against counter-revolution.⁴ Underpinning this conception of power and revolution is a theoretical distinction between illegitimate and legitimate forms of coercion. The former is associated with hierarchical power and exploitation, which exercises force to

¹ Benjamin Franks, *Rebel Alliances: The Means and Ends of Contemporary British Anarchisms* (Edinburgh & Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2006), pp. 12–13.

² Michael Schmidt and Lucien van der Walt, *Black Flame: The Revolutionary Class Politics of Anarchism and Syndicalism*, Vol. 1 (Edinburgh and Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2009), p. 71.

³ Schmidt and van der Walt, *Black Flame*, pp. 68–9 and 71–2.

⁴ Lucien van der Walt, ‘Detailed Reply to *International Socialism: Debating Power and Revolution in Anarchism*, *Black Flame* and historical Marxism’ (2011), available at <http://lucienvanderwalt.blogspot.com/2011/02/anarchism-black-flame-marxism-and-ist.html>, accessed 7 April 2011.

perpetuate a fundamentally unjust and inequitable society. The latter derives from collective and democratic decision-making used to create and sustain a libertarian socialist order.⁵ In short, according to Schmidt and van der Walt, anarchists believe that rights arise from the fulfilment of obligations to society and that there is a place in libertarian politics for a certain amount of legitimate coercive power, provided it is derived from collective and democratic decision-making.

Excluded from this restrictive conception of anarchism are a wide range of self-identifying anarchists – including Proudhon, who coined the term – and the traditions with which they are commonly associated, among them ‘philosophical anarchism’, ‘spiritual anarchism’ and ‘lifestyle anarchism’. Also excluded is the long prehistory of anarchism identified by Kropotkin (among others) and excavated by subsequent generations of historians, and – by implication, if not by name – the anarchists discussed in the remainder of this chapter. Indeed, for Schmidt and van der Walt, class-struggle anarchism of the sort propounded by Bakunin and the Alliance is not a type of anarchism. Rather, it is ‘the *only* anarchism’.⁶

Similar, if not quite so restrictive, definitional claims have been made by other contemporary class-struggle anarchists. Wayne Price, for example, acknowledges that ‘almost the only thing in *Black Flame* with which I disagree’ is the suggestion that anyone outside the anarchist tradition identified by Schmidt and van der Walt is not in fact anarchist.⁷ Concerned that such ‘pointless’ debate about labels makes class-struggle anarchists look like ‘sectarians and dogmatists’, Price opts instead to adopt the slightly less exclusionary position that those who subscribe to forms of anarchism other than class-struggle anarchist-communism are anarchists who fall outside the mainstream of ‘the broad anarchist tradition’ (the phrase is taken from *Black Flame*).⁸ In response, one might of course argue that this claim makes Price appear sectarian and dogmatic, insofar as it fixes rigid ideological boundaries on the basis of an essentially contestable label of its own, namely ‘the broad anarchist tradition’. In any case, having at the very least effectively *marginalized* those with political views alien to his own understanding of the movement, Price proceeds to isolate them further by drawing a normatively weighted dichotomous distinction between revolutionary anarchism (i.e. anarchism of the sort advocated by Schmidt, van der Walt and himself) and reformist anarchism. Among the defining characteristics of the former is the studied conviction that the ruling class is extremely unlikely to give up power without resistance, a resistance which will centre on the state. It follows that a vast movement of the oppressed and exploited must rise up and smash the state and dismantle the capitalist economy and

⁵ Schmidt and van der Walt, *Black Flame*, p. 67.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁷ Wayne Price, ‘The Two Main Trends in Anarchism’ (2009), p. 5, available at www.theanarchistlibrary.org/HTML/Wayne_Price__The_Two_Main_Trends_in_Anarchism.html, accessed 15 June 2011.

⁸ *Ibid.*

all other forms of oppression.⁹ These, in turn, must be replaced by new forms of popular self-organization and self-management. In short, revolutionary anarchism is revolutionary in its methods and goals, radically democratic in its means and prefigured ends, centred on the working class but also supportive of every other struggle against oppression, and committed to the creation of a libertarian socialist (i.e. communist) society. By contrast, reformist anarchism is non-revolutionary in its methods and strategies, undemocratic (at least in theory) and it downplays class issues or ignores them in practice.

Price targets two allegedly reformist anarchists in particular, David Graeber and Uri Gordon. With respect to the former, the essence of his argument is that Graeber's influential book *Fragments of an Anarchist Anthropology* (2004) is fundamentally anti-revolutionary, and thus naïve and misguided in its exploration of possible paths to transformative social change. Lacking in any analysis of the modern state and the class structure of capitalist society, the book inevitably 'sneers' at popular uprisings and promotes the 'cynical' belief that 'the oppressed are unable to get rid of the old rulers and manage society for ourselves'.¹⁰ In place of revolution, Price contends, *Fragments* advocates a non-confrontational policy of gradual, peaceful change by incremental steps, building up alternative institutions around the state and the market. Ignoring the fact that even the most consistent fight for peaceful and democratic reforms will ultimately provoke a confrontation with a ruling class determined to protect its wealth and power, *Fragments of an Anarchist Anthropology* thus demonstrates conclusively that 'whatever he thinks of himself, Graeber is, at most, a reformist'.¹¹

Comparable charges are levelled at Uri Gordon and his book *Anarchy Alive!: Anti-Authoritarian Politics from Practice to Theory* (2008). Like Graeber, Price contends, Gordon neglects to offer any class analysis of the anarchist trend he is describing. Unlike Graeber, who at least defends a form of democracy associated with consensus decision-making, Gordon is fundamentally anti-democratic in his advocacy of movement leadership by a hidden organizing elite. Indeed, according to Price, 'few anarchists of his trend are as outspoken in rejecting democracy'.¹² For these and other reasons, his work has nothing to offer millions of working people around the globe. On the contrary, it can only mislead potential revolutionaries by channelling popular struggle away from demands on, or confrontation with the capitalist state, and towards a futile reformist policy of constructing alternative social relations. This 'reformist cop-out', or 'abdication of the struggle', is particularly pernicious in Gordon's case inasmuch as

⁹ Ibid., p. 6.

¹⁰ Wayne Price, 'Fragments of a Reformist Anarchism' (2007), pp. 5 and 7, available at www.theanarchistlibrary.org/HTML/Wayne_Price__Fragments_of_a_Reformist_Anarchism.html, accessed 15 June 2011.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 10.

¹² Price, 'The Two Main Trends', p. 7.

it is cloaked in language that makes it ‘sound radical’ when it in fact demonstrates only that his tendency has ‘given up’ on revolution.¹³

In the remainder of this chapter I assess the validity of these charges with a view to illuminating some of contemporary anarchism’s primary contributions to the revolutionary tradition. I do so by analysing in turn Graeber’s *Fragments of an Anarchist Anthropology*, as well as his more recent essay ‘Revolution in Reverse’ (2007); Gordon’s *Anarchy Alive!*; and *Gramsci is Dead: Anarchist Currents in the Newest Social Movements* (2005), by Canadian anarchist Richard Day.

David Graeber: Revolution in Reverse

At first glance, it appears that there is some truth in the charges levelled by Price against David Graeber. He does at times seem to favour a ‘non-confrontational policy of gradual, peaceful change by incremental steps, building up alternative institutions around the state and the market’. Moreover, he is critical of the currently dominant paradigm of revolution as a single, cataclysmic break with past structures of oppression achieved by means of a violent seizure of state power. However, a more careful reading of *Fragments of an Anarchist Anthropology* reveals that it is simplistic and misleading in the extreme to characterize the book as anti-revolutionary. I will argue, on the contrary, that it is an unusually imaginative and creative effort to broaden and deepen our understanding of revolutionary possibilities.

As evidence for this argument, consider for a moment the anthropological thought experiment that informs the book’s treatment of revolutionary theory. Graeber explains as follows: ‘What if, as a recent title put it, “we have never been modern”? What if there never was any fundamental break, and therefore, we are not living in a fundamentally different moral, social, or political universe than the Piaroa or Tiv or rural Malagasy?’¹⁴ The purpose of this thought experiment, it quickly becomes apparent, is not to suggest that nothing important has changed over the last 500 years of human history, or that cultural differences are unimportant. Rather, it is intended to ‘blow up’ the arrogant, unreflecting assumption that we have nothing in common with ‘98% of people who ever lived’, and so have nothing to learn from them.¹⁵

Having thus challenged one of the sacred axioms of dogmatically modernist-oriented thought, Graeber proceeds to apply the insights gleaned from his thought experiment to a wide variety of fields of study, among them modern state theory; theories of political entities that are not states; theories about the nature of capitalism and its relationship to ancient slavery; class, race and gender relations; the relationship between violence and the imagination; globalization; democratic theory and practice; theories of

¹³ Ibid., pp. 6–7.

¹⁴ David Graeber, *Fragments of an Anarchist Anthropology* (Chicago, IL: Prickly Paradigm Press, 2004), p. 46.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 47.

alienation, desire and political happiness; and, most extensively, revolutionary practice and theory.

Focusing for the moment on this last dimension of human experience, we can see why Graeber's project so exercises those militant class-struggle anarchists most influenced by modernist paradigms of thought. Whereas they tend to conceive of revolution as a singular, totalizing and cataclysmic break with past structures of oppression (Schmidt and van der Walt's 'decisive revolutionary rupture'), Graeber encourages us to reimagine revolution as an ongoing historical process. Insofar as there is no absolute rupture between the world we live in, and the world inhabited by those we arrogantly and ignorantly tend to categorize as 'primitive', it follows that history (and revolutionary history in particular) is a much richer resource than those wedded to theories of modern exceptionalism allow.

For instance, just as we, in industrial societies, still have kinship systems and cosmologies, they (in pre-industrial societies) have social movements and revolutions.¹⁶ And we can learn from this experience, rather than simply poring 'endlessly over the same scant two hundred years of revolutionary history'.¹⁷ We can learn, for example, that most successful forms of popular resistance have historically taken the form not of challenging power head on, but of 'slipping away from its grasp', whether by means of flight, desertion or the founding of new communities.¹⁸

In response to this argument, Price objects that more industrialized and centralized nations, closer to the centre of world imperialism, with highly militarized states, will not so easily give up power. This is a legitimate point, deserving serious discussion and debate (Graeber would no doubt reply that it is precisely because of the tremendous military power at the disposal of modern, industrialized states that a revolutionary strategy focused first and foremost on challenging this power head on would almost certainly prove to be counterproductive). What is neither reasonable nor defensible is the further claim that Graeber's position is somehow anti-revolutionary, defeatist, reformist or in any way opposed to popular uprisings and the view that the oppressed might 'get rid of the old rulers and manage society for ourselves'.¹⁹ On the contrary, he is chiefly concerned with encouraging us to *reimagine* revolution by questioning the modern habit of regarding it as a singular event – 'the' revolution, the great cataclysmic break – rather than a type of action that is already starting to happen all around us. From this perspective, revolutionary action need not entail – though it may do so – the toppling of governments. It may also refer to 'any collective action which rejects, and therefore confronts, some form of power or domination and in doing

¹⁶ It is perhaps worth noting that there is a slightly confusing jump in Graeber's argument here from a focus on the distinction between modern and premodern societies to one on the differences between industrial and pre-industrial societies.

¹⁷ *Graeber, Fragments of an Anarchist Anthropology, p. 54.*

¹⁸ *Ibid., p. 61.*

¹⁹ Price, 'Fragments', p. 7.

so, reconstitutes social relations ... in that light'.²⁰ Whether or not one accepts this particular definition, the important point to bear in mind is that Graeber is attempting to dismantle conceptual walls in order to open up a space for the development of what he describes as 'an infinitely richer conception of how alternative forms of revolutionary action might work'.²¹

Building on these anthropological insights, as well as the practical experiences of feminist movement since the 1960s, Graeber offers one plausible sketch of how revolutionary action might work (and is in practice already working) in his subsequent essay 'Revolution in Reverse' (2007). The essay begins by posing the question of what revolution might mean once one no longer expects a single, cataclysmic break with past structures of oppression. The currently dominant conception of revolution is, he contends, insurrectionary in the sense that it is based on the assumption that one must *first* overcome existing realities of violence by overthrowing the state, thus opening the way to an untrammelled outpouring of revolutionary creativity, following which comes the sober business of creating new institutions, councils, decision-making processes and ultimately the reinvention of everyday life.²² By way of an alternative, Graeber points to the tradition of direct action, with its emphasis on consensus decision-making and other directly democratic procedures. The model of transformative social change suggested by this experience, he contends, proceeds in the opposite direction of the insurrectionary one. It begins with the creation of new forms of collective decision-making – such as councils, assemblies and careful attention to process – and uses them to plan the street actions and popular festivities. The typical result is a dramatic confrontation with the state, but not of the sort envisaged by those who expect a single, millenarian break with past structures of oppression. Instead, the confrontations serve as 'foretastes' of a 'much slower, painstaking struggle' to create a world without states and capitalism – a struggle in which insurrectionary moments will likely be but one element in a 'far more complicated and multifaceted revolutionary process' the outlines of which cannot at present be fully anticipated.²³

²⁰ Graeber, *Fragments*, p. 45.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

²² In fairness to the authors of *Black Flame*, they explicitly criticize the insurrectionary anarchist tradition in favour of what they term 'mass anarchism'. What chiefly distinguishes the two traditions, they suggest, is the role that violence plays in their respective revolutionary strategies. For insurrectionist anarchists, propaganda by the deed is seen as a means of *generating* a mass movement. For mass anarchists, by contrast, violence operates as a means of self-defence for an *existing* mass movement. Thus, it would appear that both Graeber and Schmidt and van der Walt reject insurrectionary anarchist strategies in favour of a prefigurative politics. They differ on the preferred nature of that prefigurative politics, and in particular on its relationship to the capitalist state.

²³ David Graeber, 'Revolution in Reverse (or, the Conflict between Political Ontologies of Violence and Political Ontologies of the Imagination)' (2007), pp. 7 and 9, available at www.news.infoshop.org/article.php?story=2007graeber-revolution-reverse, accessed 22 September 2011.

Interestingly, this model of revolutionary change corresponds in many respects²⁴ with the one defended in more open and inclusive class-struggle anarchist texts such as Benjamin Franks' *Rebel Alliances*. In Franks' interpretation of British class-struggle anarchism, the anarchist conception of revolution requires 'multiple successful confrontations of [sic] oppressive powers, rather than a single determining conflict'.²⁵ From this perspective, revolutions are not unique acts, being indistinguishable, except in scale, from more localized anarchist tactics from which revolution materializes. Whereas orthodox Marxists typically regard 'the revolution' as having a temporally specific location, differing in its social relations from the movements which create it and the emancipated society that comes after, the anarchist model elucidated by Franks conceives of revolution as emerging from 'escalating, diversely-located acts that interact and interweave'.²⁶ The size and frequency of these libertarian actions, rather than any millennial trait, characterizes anarchist revolutionary change in which wide-scale subversive tactics so disrupt the existing social and communicative order that existing categories of explanation and understanding dissolve and new forms of communication appear.²⁷

Uri Gordon: Peace, Love and Petrol Bombs

If Price's criticisms of David Graeber's *Fragments of an Anarchist Anthropology* fall wide of the mark, they miss the target altogether in the case of Uri Gordon's *Anarchy Alive!: Anti-Authoritarian Politics from Practice to Theory*. Far from being the manifesto for reformist and elitist anarchism that Price makes it out to be, *Anarchy Alive!* is, I contend, an exceptionally clear, rigorous, nuanced and well-argued example of the type of anti-vanguardist anarchist revolutionary theory advocated by Graeber in the opening pages of *Fragments of an Anarchist Anthropology*. Equally importantly, it is a faithful representation of, and sympathetically critical engagement with, emerging trends in the anarchist movement that have creatively redefined revolutionary struggle for the twenty-first century. As evidence for these arguments, I will consider first the

²⁴ There are important differences between the models as well, most notably on the question of whether such forms of resistance to oppressive powers as hiding or fleeing from them may contribute to an anarchist revolutionary project. Graeber clearly responds in the affirmative. Franks is equivocal. On the one hand, he argues that 'the subjects of change have many different identities and that methods will correspondingly take disparate forms. These methods can be confrontational as well as evasive, while it is their continuity and frequency that constitutes revolutionary change' (Franks, *Rebel Alliances*, pp. 267–8). On the other hand, he contends that Hakim Bey's influential (even among some class-struggle anarchists) concept of the Temporary Autonomous Zone differs from anarchist conceptions of revolution because 'it does not confront oppressive forces, but hides or flees from them' (p. 266). It is unclear to me how these apparently contradictory claims may be logically reconciled.

²⁵ Franks, *Rebel Alliances*, p. 263.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 265.

²⁷ For a more extensive analysis of Franks' text, see my review of the book in *Anarchist Studies*, 16(2) (2008), 186–8.

book's methodological innovations, and then proceed to discuss more substantive issues such as movement leadership and democratic power, class analysis and revolutionary strategy and imagination.

One of the most innovative features of *Anarchy Alive!* is its methodology. In contrast to those anarchist writers – among them, Price, Schmidt and van der Walt – who offer heavily prescriptive and purportedly authoritative accounts of who is and is not an anarchist, or a revolutionary, or a member of 'the broad anarchist tradition', Gordon explicitly distances himself from those who 'affix anarchism with a given meaning and deny the genuineness of other variations', and instead takes seriously the idea that it is a 'necessarily heterogeneous and heterodox phenomenon-in-process'.²⁸ He does so by analysing the contemporary anarchist movement through the prism of political culture, understood as 'a set of shared orientations towards "doing politics", in a context where interaction takes on enough regularity to structure the participants' mutual expectations'.²⁹ Such an approach, he maintains persuasively, provides a useful and appropriately flexible way to talk about anarchism without implying theoretical unity, ideological conformity or linear movement structures. It also helps to avoid the sectarianism which, while not especially prevalent in the anarchist movement, occasionally surfaces in the wake of more rigid and exclusionary attempts to establish anarchist orthodoxies.

Impressively, Gordon adheres to this un-dogmatic method of analysis in his scholarly interventions into a wide range of frequently emotively charged and ideologically polarized debates within the movement, making good use of a firmly practice-grounded method of theorizing to advance anarchist discussions of leadership, violence, technology and nationalism. By contrast, Price offers a crude caricature of Gordon's arguments meant primarily, it would appear, to shore up precisely those rigid ideological barriers between the major trends in anarchism that Gordon wants to break down in the interests of solidarity and cooperative movement practice. This element of caricature is particularly evident in Price's accusations of elitism, failure to engage with issues related to social class, and defeatist abdication of revolutionary struggle.

With respect to the first charge, it is deeply misleading to claim, as Price does, that Gordon advocates leadership by a hidden movement elite. On the contrary, in the chapter concerned he argues strongly for an egalitarian redistribution of political resources and access to influence within the movement. Indeed, one of the starting points of his argument is a critique of Jo Freeman's claim that inequalities in groups are inevitable, from which premise she concludes that the only alternative is to formalize the hierarchies generated by such inequalities in order to constitute them democratically. Citing the work of anarcho-feminist Cathy Levine, among others, Gordon endorses the counterargument that formalizing elites within the anarchist movement would constitute

²⁸ *Uri Gordon, Anarchy Alive!: Anti-Authoritarian Politics from Practice to Theory (London and Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press, 2008), p. 27.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

an unacceptable concession to the ossified and exclusionary patterns of the traditional left.³⁰ He also notes the impracticality of Freeman's proposal in the context of today's fluid movement political culture, characterized as it is primarily by decentralized and networked forms of organization.

It is true that in the course of his argument Gordon draws back from fully embracing the principle of radical democracy, but only insofar as it entails collectively binding decisions that are enforceable. In other words, Gordon objects not to the idea of popular empowerment which lies at the core of radical democracy, but to the element of coercive enforceability which he associates with the term. The logical basis of his argument is that the concept of enforcement is a particular variant of coercion – that is, the extraction of compliance through a threat of deprivation – which has two additional features that are objectionable from an anarchist point of view. First, it is coercion which is rationalized and institutionalized through formal procedures and guidelines attached to a legal/rational form of authority. Second, it is coercion where the threat is permanent, inasmuch as the means and protocols of enforcement are constantly available to the enforcer.³¹ In lieu of such rationalized and permanent coercion, Gordon (like Graeber) points approvingly to the experience of consensus decision-making in movement organizing.³² He also explores one of its little examined implications, namely the development of a political culture of *solidarity* instead of one of *accountability*. Only the former, he suggests, offers a way to resolve anarchist anxieties regarding the wielding of invisible power in movement organizing, because it modifies behaviour as a positive motivation rather than a limiting duty. Gordon elaborates as follows:

A culture of solidarity would encourage activists to wield power reflectively rather than tripping on empowerment; to make actions participatory and/or easily copyable whenever possible; and to encourage consideration for the anticipated needs and desires of those whom one's actions will inevitably impact unaccountably.³³

Whatever one may think of such an argument, it is certainly not elitist.

With regard to Price's second charge, while it is fair to say that class analysis is not a central focus of the book, it is untrue and again deeply misleading to suggest that it has nothing to offer millions of working-class people throughout the globe. On the contrary, to focus on but one salient example, the especially well-constructed chapter on anarchism and the politics of technology draws on contemporary ecological thought to offer a class-sensitive critique of industrial capitalist modernity and its unsustainable drive towards technological 'progress' that goes well beyond the uncritically modernist

³⁰ Ibid., p. 63.

³¹ Ibid., pp. 67–8.

³² Ibid., pp. 70–1.

³³ Ibid., p. 76.

perspectives represented in the work of Price and Schmidt and van der Walt.³⁴ Like the latter two, Gordon clearly recognizes that capitalism and hierarchy shape the design of technologies and the ends towards which they are deployed. He is well aware, for instance, that inequalities of power and wealth in society thoroughly bias the process of technical development in ways that favour certain social classes and interests and facilitate the exploitation of others:

Workplace technologies from the robotised assembly line to the computerised retail outlet subordinate workers to the pace and tasks programmed into them, reducing the workers' opportunities to exercise autonomous judgement and to design and run the production process by themselves.³⁵

However, unlike Schmidt and van der Walt and others who believe that 'the problems lay in the economic and social relations under which technology was used, not with the technology itself',³⁶ he also understands that many technologies have 'an *inherent* political nature', whereby a given technical system itself requires or at least strongly encourages specific patterns of human relationships.³⁷ Just as some technologies (e.g. nuclear power) require centralization and hierarchical control, others (e.g. solar and wind energy) may encourage decentralization and localism.

Developing this anarchist critique of technology in strategic terms, Gordon argues persuasively that in the final analysis a choice must be made between decentralization and large-scale industrial modernity. In the shorter term, he embraces neo-Luddite campaigns, a range of ecological approaches associated with permaculture, and the revival of traditional plant knowledge, artisanship and craft. In sum, far from being the class-'ignorant'³⁸ reformist Price claims he is, Gordon may in this respect be regarded as far more prescient (and 'revolutionary', if one wishes to play the intellectually unrewarding and politically pernicious game of categorizing individuals hierarchically according to their radical credentials) than the aforementioned class-struggle syndicalists, who speak eloquently of the injustices and inequalities of capitalism but have little or nothing to say about the ravages of industrial modernity.

This leads us, finally, to Price's third major criticism, which consists of the charges of 'defeatism' and 'abdication of the struggle'. With imaginative effort, one can understand why he might make such accusations. From his perspective, the principal object and guiding light of revolutionary struggle is the overthrow of the capitalist state, and instrumental political violence by the organized working-classes the only realistic means by which this end may be achieved. Thus those who articulate different

³⁴ See, for example, Schmidt and van der Walt, *Black Flame*, pp. 47, 50, 68–9 and 72.

³⁵ Gordon, *Anarchy Alive!*, p. 117.

³⁶ Schmidt and van der Walt, *Black Flame*, p. 50.

³⁷ Gordon, *Anarchy Alive!*, p. 118.

³⁸ Price, 'The Two Main Trends', p. 8.

anarchist revolutionary strategies must be acting in bad faith,³⁹ and ought to be called to account accordingly. Unfortunately, this style of argument tends to encourage a ‘you’re either with us, or against us’ mentality, insofar as it depicts political positions as being polarized between two irreconcilable extremes, and pressures bystanders to become allies or risk losing favour in the relevant activist communities.

In contrast, Gordon recognizes and wishes to promote solidarity and cooperation between those he refers to as ‘old-school’ and ‘new-school’ anarchist groups. He notes, for example, that while his book is concerned primarily with the latter kind of anarchism, ‘this is not to place it on one side or the other side of an artificial division’.⁴⁰ Instead, he emphasizes that the crucial differences between the two schools derive from their distinctive political cultures. Hence the possibility of non-sectarian mutual aid: ‘While the distinction of genres is by itself valid, it should not be taken to mean a sectarian attitude. There certainly exists solidarity and cooperation between many old-school and new-school groups, and in some local milieus anarchists of both orientations work together regularly and smoothly.’⁴¹ Hence, also the possibility of intelligent and respectful dialogue which recognizes common ground.

Consider, by way of a substantive illustration of this last point, Gordon’s admirably balanced position on the respective roles of ‘confrontational’ and ‘constructive’ prefigurative direct action⁴² in anarchist revolutionary struggle. Price’s misrepresentations notwithstanding, Gordon does not categorically reject political strategies that entail direct confrontation with state power. Nor, on the other hand, does he fetishize the state by focusing on it in a blinkered fashion, at the expense of a wider awareness of the need to construct alternative institutions and social relationships that will ultimately render it (and many other institutions through which domination is administered, including the capitalist market) redundant. Rather, he recognizes the crucial importance of both confrontational and constructive revolutionary activity. In a discussion of contemporary prefigurative politics as direct action, for instance, he notes that

the effort to create and develop horizontal functioning in any collective action setting, and to maintain a constant awareness of interpersonal dynamics and the way in which they might reflect social patterns of exclusion,

³⁹ The following quotation illustrates this *ad hominem* style of argument: ‘*To sound radical* [my emphasis – LD] Gordon and other anarchists insist that it is un-anarchist to make demands on the state, to try to win benefits by threatening the state or the capitalist class’ (Price, ‘The Two Main Trends’, p. 6). Rather ungenerously, Price calls into question Gordon’s sincerity and intellectual honesty. He also fails to consider the possibilities that the point was made in good faith, and that Gordon’s position may indeed be radical.

⁴⁰ Gordon, *Anarchy Alive!*, p. 25.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 25. Gordon references Franks’ work (*Rebel Alliances*, 2006) for empirical evidence of this proposition.

⁴² Gordon conceives direct action as action without intermediaries, whereby an individual or a group uses their own power and resources to change reality in a desired direction, intervening directly in a situation rather than appealing to an external agent such as the state for its rectification. He defines the

are accorded *just as much* importance as planning and carrying out campaigns, projects and actions.⁴³ [my emphasis]

Later in the same discussion, he quotes Gustav Landauer's influential observation that 'the state is a condition, a certain relationship among human beings, a mode of behaviour between men; we destroy it by contracting other relationships, by behaving differently toward one another', and comments as follows: 'If this is the case, then for social change to be successful, the modes of organization that will replace capitalism, the state, gendered divisions of labour and so on need to be prepared *alongside* the attack on present institutions (though *not instead*, as Landauer may seem to imply)⁴⁴ [my emphasis]. Earlier in the book he observes that the political culture of contemporary anarchism is distinguished in part by 'a shared repertoire of political action based on direct action, building grass-roots alternatives, community outreach and confrontation', and later he emphasizes the point that 'both confrontational and constructive direct action is by itself a site of liberation'.⁴⁵

Part of the reason why Price finds it difficult to engage with this line of argument is because he ascribes at most only instrumental value to the constructive prefigurative project of cultivating non-hierarchical movement structures and modes of behaviour ('revolution in everyday life') in the here and now. From his point of view, in other words, such activities have political value only insofar as they promote the overriding anarchist revolutionary goal of building a popular movement with the power necessary to overthrow the capitalist state. For contemporary 'small-a' anarchists, by contrast, these here-and-now alternative institutions (e.g. consensus decision-making) and social relationships (non-hierarchical, cooperative, etc.) *are* the essence of anarchism. They constitute its practical ethical core, and are the living embodiments of the anarchist dream of a world qualitatively different from and better than our own.

Far from signalling an abandonment of revolutionary and utopian hopes and dreams, the current resurgence of interest among anarchists in prefigurative politics suggests instead the absorption of these aspirations into the present tense. As Gordon accurately observes, anarchists today who use the term 'revolution' tend to regard it not as a future event, but as a present-day process and a potential dimension of everyday life.⁴⁶ Sceptical of the idea of revolutionary closure – that is, the promise of a perfected society of the future to be realized once and for all 'after the revolution' – and eager to realize their utopian dreams in the here and now rather than serve as caryatids supporting a

term 'prefigurative politics' as follows: 'Prefigurative politics thus represents a broadening of the idea of direct action, resulting in a commitment to define and realise anarchist social relations within the activities and collective structures of the revolutionary movement itself' (Gordon, *Anarchy Alive!*, p. 35).

⁴³ Ibid., p. 35.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 38.

⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 4 and 40.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 41.

floor that others may one day dance upon,⁴⁷ many contemporary anarchists insist that ‘the revolution is now’ and attempt to inhabit, to the greatest extent possible, social relations that approximate their ideals for society as a whole.

Gordon traces this paradigm shift in anarchist conceptions of revolution (and utopia) to a number of practical historical developments in recent decades, among them the increasing and converging influence on anarchist ideology of a range of social movements whose beginnings were never consciously anarchist – including radical ecology and feminism, black and queer liberation, and the anti-neo-liberal internationalism initiated by movements in the global South. He also attempts to draw out some of the theoretical implications of changes in movement composition and discourse, two of which are particularly relevant to the argument of this chapter. First, the generalization of the anarchist target of resistance from the state and capitalism to all forms of domination creates an ‘unanswerable’ conceptual challenge to the ideal of revolutionary closure, since it must necessarily allow for the possibility of forms of domination that are hidden from us today and that will only become apparent in the future.⁴⁸ Second, the rise of diversity to the status of a core anarchist value, and the resultant endorsement of pluralistic and heterogeneous paths to human liberation, creates a ‘practical’ challenge to the ideas of revolutionary closure and utopian perfectibility since it raises the possibility of stagnation and renewed hierarchies even in a society where present structures of inequality have been abolished. In other words, any anarchist theory which anticipates the absence of law and authority, and the maximum autonomy of individuals and communities, must also take into account the possibility that patterns of domination may re-emerge within and/or among them.⁴⁹ It follows that revolution is a never-ending process in which the idea of a single, cataclysmic break with past structures of oppression is rendered meaningless. It also follows that anarchist agency is something that has meaning and value at all moments of time – past, present and future – and not simply during periodic moments of revolutionary crisis and confrontation with the state.⁵⁰

The ramifications of this last point for revolutionary theory and practice are profound, as Gordon appears to appreciate to at least some extent in the chapter of his book devoted to the difficult question of anarchist attitudes towards violence. In this

⁴⁷ I draw this metaphor from Herzen’s *From the Other Shore*, composed in response to the revolutions of 1848: ‘Do you truly wish to condemn all human beings alive to-day to the sad role of caryatids supporting a floor for others some day to dance on ... or of wretched galley slaves, up to their knees in mud, dragging a barge ... with the humble words “progress in the future” inscribed on its bows?’ Alexander Herzen, *From the Other Shore and The Russian People and Socialism*, trans. M. Budberg (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. 36–7.

⁴⁸ While this point is implicit in the argument of chapter 2 of *Anarchy Alive!*, Gordon articulates it more clearly and explicitly elsewhere. See Uri Gordon, ‘Utopia in Contemporary Anarchism’, in Laurence Davis and Ruth Kinna (eds), *Anarchism and Utopianism* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2009), p. 261.

⁴⁹ Gordon, ‘Utopia in Contemporary Anarchism’, p. 268.

⁵⁰ I develop this particular point in much greater depth in my essay ‘The Dynamic and Revolu-

chapter he confounds any simplistic association between revolutionary exodus strategies and absolute pacifism, both by recognizing the tremendous (normalized and legitimized) violence of the modern world order and by developing arguments against the claim that violence by anarchists can *never* be justified.⁵¹ However, he also acknowledges that the onus is still on anarchists to argue that violence *can* ever be justified, and to specify what that justification would entail. Having examined critically a number of arguments that anarchists typically use to justify violence, he concludes that none of them (including the claim of self-defence) are entirely free of problems, and that continuing debate on the question ought therefore to be undertaken in a serious and constructive fashion that takes full account of the gravity of violating human beings.⁵²

The final two pages of the chapter are especially interesting, and illustrative of the ways in which *Anarchy Alive!* helpfully shades the rigid, black and white distinction between ‘revolutionary’ strategies focused on the violent overthrow of state power through popular revolts from below, and ostensibly ‘reformist’ and ‘defeatist’ strategies focused less (at least initially) on direct confrontation with the state and more on the construction of alternative institutions and social relationships that will ultimately render it and the capitalist market redundant. Here, in the course of a speculative discussion of the possible role of lethal violence in armed insurrection in the global North, Gordon notes that ‘the state’s utterly disproportional military might, and powers of surveillance and social control, mean that it simply cannot be defeated in outright battle’.⁵³ The only conceivable scenario in which a mass insurrection might succeed would be one in which large numbers of the police and armed forces desert or defect, and this in turn would be plausible only in the context of a very broad-based and militant popular mobilization. As no such mobilization exists at present, armed struggle would seem to be for now a self-defeating prospect. However, this needn’t preclude the possibility of anarchists working to create the appropriate conditions for its future success, either in defence against a final and violent attempt by the state to crush oppositional forces or as part of a scenario of social collapse triggered by peak oil and climate change. Moreover, and this is the most provocative element of the argument, such preparations would blur the distinction between violent and non-violent direct action, insofar as activities like community-building and the development of skills and infrastructures normally associated with the ‘hollowing out’ of capitalism might from

tionary Utopia of Ursula K. Le Guin’, in Laurence Davis and Peter Stillman (eds), *The New Utopian Politics of Ursula K. Le Guin’s The Dispossessed* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2005), pp. 3–36.

⁵¹ Gordon, *Anarchy Alive!*, pp. 83–4 and 96–9. Though in doing so he unfortunately perpetuates another caricature, namely, one that associates non-violent struggle with liberal pacifism. For intelligent discussion of the distinctions between the two see George Lakey, ‘Nonviolent Action as the Sword that Heals: Challenging Ward Churchill’s “Pacifism as Pathology” ’ (2001), available at www.trainingforchange.org/nonviolent_action_sword_that_heals, accessed 3 October 2011; and George Lakey, *Powerful Peacemaking: A Strategy for a Living Revolution* (Philadelphia, PA and Santa Cruz, CA: New Society Publishers, 1987), pp. 59–65.

⁵² Gordon, *Anarchy Alive!*, pp. 99–102.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

another perspective *also* be regarded as the creation of a sustainable social base for more militant activity.

Richard Day: Hegemony, Affinity and Democracy

On the basis of the evidence considered thus far, it would appear that the case for revolutionary exodus – at least in the nuanced and practice-grounded form articulated by activist scholars such as David Graeber and Uri Gordon – is quite strong. Contrary to the claims of class-struggle anarchist critics such as Wayne Price, there is no good reason to believe that such a strategy for achieving transformative social change is necessarily elitist, defeatist or anti-revolutionary. It is also misleading to characterize it as ‘un-anarchist’ or a marginal deviation from the ‘broad anarchist tradition’. Rather, it reflects a very significant and growing trend within the contemporary anarchist movement and beyond which is creatively redefining revolutionary struggle for the twenty-first century.

Having said this, I will now argue that there are some potentially very serious problems with the emerging trend of thought/practice we have been discussing. These are perhaps most apparent when we consider one of the other most theoretically sophisticated treatments of the topic published in recent years, Canadian Richard Day’s *Gramsci is Dead: Anarchist Currents in the Newest Social Movements*.

Like Graeber and Gordon, Day is highly critical of the millenarian conception of revolution as a singular and absolute break from past structures of oppression. Unlike them, he is also highly critical of revolutionary politics *per se*. What is more, his understanding of the process by which an exodus from the current global order might unfold is, I contend, deeply anti-democratic.

Day’s critique of millenarian conceptions of revolution is theoretically well informed and vigorously argued. Inspired by the radical impulse of post-1968 French social theory, and what he characterizes as a small but growing body of work in postanarchist and autonomist Marxist thought that seeks to recover this influence, Day draws together a variety of strands in political theory to formulate a trenchantly critical account of what he terms ‘the hegemony of hegemony’. By ‘hegemony’ he means a simultaneously coercive and consensual struggle for dominance, a process in which various factions struggle over meaning, identity and political power.⁵⁴ By the ‘hegemony of hegemony’ he means to refer to the assumption that ‘effective social change can only be achieved simultaneously and *en masse*, across an entire national or supranational space’.⁵⁵ In two of the chapters of the book, Day traces the history of this dominant political discourse from classical Marxism and liberalism to post-Marxism and the ‘new social movements’ theories of the 1970s and 1980s. In the course of doing so he notes

⁵⁴ Richard Day, *Gramsci is Dead: Anarchist Currents in the Newest Social Movements* (London and Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press, 2005), pp. 6–7.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

the statist assumptions inherent in the concept as it was first deployed in a socialist revolutionary context, and the related assumption that the class that ‘led’ a revolution would become the ruling class in a new order to be established. He highlights Lenin’s belief that no social order could exist without top–down control – which in practice meant the hegemony of the proletariat over all other social classes, and the hegemony of various professional cadres over the proletariat – and Gramsci’s assumption that the goal of any successful social transformation was to allow a group with a set of particular interests to prevail over others and propagate itself throughout society.⁵⁶ Both Lenin and Gramsci, he contends, theorized hegemony primarily as a mode of political revolution totalizing in its intent, and reliant upon an authoritarian and state-centred model of social change ultimately of use only to those who seek power over others.⁵⁷

By way of an alternative to the hegemony of hegemony, Day points to the example of direct action currents in contemporary radical activism that display a tendency for what he refers to as an ‘affinity for affinity’. By this he means a propensity for non-universalizing, non-hierarchical, non-coercive relationships based on mutual aid and shared ethical commitments.⁵⁸ What chiefly distinguishes such activist practices from hegemonic ones, Day suggests, is that they are not oriented to allowing a particular group or movement to remake a nation state or world in its own image, and are therefore of little use to those who seek power over others. Rather, they are appropriate to those who ‘are striving to recover, establish or enhance their ability to determine the conditions of *their own* existence, while allowing and encouraging others to do the same’.⁵⁹

As in the case of his analysis of the hegemony of hegemony, Day approaches his subject genealogically by tracing what he refers to as an ‘ever-present undercurrent of affinity-based theory and practice’,⁶⁰ from classical anarchism to utopian socialism to contemporary postanarchism and autonomist Marxism. Along the way he discusses the development of the ideas of revolution as a process rather than a singular break, social rather than political revolution, open-ended utopian imagination, the search for the future in the present, prefigurative politics, changing micro-relations as a means of changing macro-relations, power as a dispersed and enduring process and the recurring theme of structural renewal guided by a logic of affinity. He also emphasizes the crucial practical importance of building, linking and defending autonomous communities of those striving to reverse the colonization of everyday life by taking control over – and responsibility for – the conduct of their own affairs.⁶¹

In many respects, Day’s account of the theory and practice of revolutionary exodus complements the work of Graeber and Gordon, and contributes in particular to

⁵⁶ Ibid., pp. 58, 61 and 64.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 65.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 9.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 13.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 15.

⁶¹ Ibid., pp. 203–4.

scholarly understanding of the textual and theoretical genealogies of present-day debates. However, it also diverges from their work in important respects. In doing so it highlights serious problems with insufficiently self-critical, democratic and politically astute variations of revolutionary exodus strategy.

First, Day criticizes not only the millenarian conception of revolution as a singular and absolute break from past structures of oppression, but revolutionary politics *per se*. Having rejected the Bolshevik model of revolution as a violent seizure of state power through class-based revolts from below, he repeatedly emphasizes the point that he is advocating on behalf of a non-reformist, non-revolutionary politics that can lead to progressive social change.⁶² From his perspective, shaped as it is by a critical genealogical analysis of Marxist revolutionary politics, revolutionary struggles necessarily seek totalizing effects across all aspects of the existing social order, to be achieved by means of the violent seizure of state power. What he fails to consider is the possibility of a non-totalizing and genuinely democratic revolutionary movement that seeks not to seize power or break it once and for all, but to create the conditions that facilitate its dispersal throughout the population as a whole.

Second, and relatedly, Day's understanding of the (non-revolutionary) process by which an exodus from the current global order might unfold is deeply anti-democratic. Day is quite clear on this point. From his point of view, the possibility of popular democratic social change is nil: 'On this score I believe that Jean Baudrillard is quite correct: the revolution has in fact occurred, the masses of the First World have chosen quiescence, and nothing we can do will change their behaviour for the better.'⁶³ He elaborates as follows in the concluding chapter of the book:

After a few hundred years of experience ... it is starting to become obvious that what used to be called the masses have, in the G8 countries at least, imploded into what Jean Baudrillard calls the mass ... If Baudrillard is correct – and I think he is – no amount of irradiation can rid the social body of its cancerous tumours – the energy will simply be absorbed by the mass.⁶⁴

And more simply: 'neither the masses nor the mass have any political potential'.⁶⁵

It follows, Day argues, that those who wish to build a better world must abandon the utopian socialist urge to 'save' everyone at once. Instead, 'we' the avant-garde minority ought to become more fully minoritarian by building autonomous communities of resistance and reconstruction in the gaps between, and on the margins of, the institutions of 'sedentary' society. These communities need not be, and indeed cannot be, either entirely linked or delinked. Rather, Day suggests, they will establish their

⁶² See, for example, *ibid.*, pp. 10, 45, 123–4, 128, 176 and 214.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 214.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

own links in the process of building decentralized networks of alternatives. His contribution to this process consists in the elaboration of what he refers to as ‘an amoral, postmodern ethics of shared commitments’⁶⁶ based on groundless solidarity driven by infinite responsibility.

Having acknowledged the elitist overtones of his argument,⁶⁷ Day nevertheless defends it on the grounds that since ‘we’ cannot wait for ‘everyone’ to choose to live in non-statist, non-capitalist relationships, those of us who desire to live differently have no choice but to begin to do so ourselves.⁶⁸ But this argument is flawed in several respects. First, it postulates a false dichotomy between an enlightened minority committed to progressive social change – Day includes himself in this category – and the vast majority of the population who are hopelessly conformist and quiescent. Second, it sets the standard for what would count as a genuinely popular democratic revolution so high (‘everyone’ must simultaneously be committed to it) that it becomes a ludicrously impractical proposition. Third, it precludes without any consideration the possibility that popular democratic revolutionary organization might catalyse a process whereby large numbers of those who are currently dispossessed and disempowered would come to see that they are capable of managing their own collective and individual affairs, without any need for ruling elites. In short, having ‘giv[en] up on “the people”’,⁶⁹ Day is content to settle for a minoritarian politics⁷⁰ in which (r)evolutionary exodus may mean nothing more than fleeting escape by a privileged few.

Conclusions

The significant and continuing anarchist influence on the revolutionary movements of the early twenty-first century is manifest in two distinct revolutionary tendencies. The first eschews the seizure of state power in favour of popular democratic class struggle intended to smash the capitalist state once and for all, and replace it with a collective and participatory socialist system. The second is associated with a revolutionary exodus strategy focused less (at least initially) on direct confrontation with the state and more on the construction of alternative institutions and social relationships that will ultimately render it and the capitalist market redundant.

In this chapter I assessed the validity of arguments made for the latter tendency in light of criticisms levelled by partisans of the former. My primary aim was to elucidate some of contemporary anarchism’s most important contributions to the creative reimagination of the revolutionary tradition. Perhaps the greatest such contribution,

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 177.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 214.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 126.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 213.

⁷⁰ See, for another good example of an anarchist-inspired minoritarian politics, Simon Tormey’s *Anti-Capitalism: A Beginner’s Guide* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2004).

I found, is the recognition that revolution can no longer plausibly be conceived as a singular, totalizing break with past structures of oppression, but must instead be regarded as an ongoing and indeed never-ending historical process.

Anarchists of different political persuasions legitimately disagree about the respective roles in revolutionary struggle of ‘confrontational’ and ‘constructive’ prefigurative direct action. Some insist that the movement prioritize overcoming existing realities of violence by overthrowing the state, following which will come a period of reconstruction and armed defence of the revolution. Others envisage a process which begins with the creation of new forms of collective decision-making, and a ‘revolution of everyday life’, followed by a slow and painstaking struggle to create a world without states and capitalism in which insurrectionary moments will likely be but one element in a far more complicated and multifaceted revolutionary scenario the outlines of which cannot at present be fully anticipated. Whereas the former ascribe at most only instrumental value to the constructive prefigurative project of cultivating non-hierarchical movement structures and modes of behaviour in the here and now, the latter regard these alternative structures and social relationships as anarchism’s practical ethical core.

Contrary to the claims of the class-struggle anarchists examined, we found there is no good reason to believe that a revolutionary exodus strategy is necessarily elitist, defeatist or anti-revolutionary. Rather, it reflects a very significant and growing trend within the contemporary anarchist movement and beyond which is creatively redefining revolutionary struggle for our time. Particularly noteworthy in this regard is the rejection of the hegemonic assumption that the goal of any successful social transformation is to allow a group with a particular set of interests to prevail over others and propagate itself throughout society. By contrast, those direct action currents in contemporary radical activism with an affinity for affinity display a propensity for non-universalizing, non-hierarchical, non-coercive relationships based on mutual aid and shared ethical commitments. That is to say, they strive not to remake a nation state or world in their own image, but to recover, establish or enhance the ability of people to determine the conditions of their own existence, while allowing and encouraging others to do the same.

There are potentially serious problems with insufficiently self-critical, democratic and politically astute variations of revolutionary exodus strategy. There is, in particular, an urgent need for more sustained reflection about the role of violence in defending the exodus movement against state repression, and the question of whether it aspires to be a majoritarian or minoritarian movement. These efforts need not begin from scratch, thanks to the nuanced, undogmatic and practice-grounded theoretical spadework already undertaken by activist scholars such as Gordon and Graeber. Ultimately, however, the crucial discussions and debates that need to be held will take place not in the pages of academic books and journals, but on the streets in the general assemblies of a genuinely democratic and global revolutionary movement. As the activists of the exodus-oriented, contemporary ‘Occupy’ movement have repeatedly underscored both in word and deed, this is what real democracy looks like.

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12. Social Ecology

Andy Price

Introduction

Social ecology has played an important role in late twentieth-century anarchist political thought. In the first instance, this is in large measure due to the work of Murray Bookchin, the radical, autodidactic and one time self-proclaimed ‘eco-anarchist’, who spent the last four decades of his life theorizing a philosophical and practical response to the social and ecological crises of our time under the name of social ecology. In the second instance, the importance of social ecology in contemporary anarchism has been reinforced by the work of others: groups such as the deep ecologists, the primitivists associated particularly with John Zerzan, and most recently, anarchist anthropology of writer-activists like David Graeber.

Two historical forces fostered the pre-eminence of social ecology: (1) the failure of the revolutionary projects of the Marxists to offer a convincing challenge to the hegemony of Western capitalism; and (2) the growing awareness of the ecological degradation of advanced industrial societies, which stimulated the development of a nascent environmental (and later ecology) movement. In response to the former, the newly re-energized anarchist movements of the late 1960s attempted to fill the revolutionary space left vacant by the Marxists. Moreover, in the process, important strands within this movement began to offer a response to the latter: as will be discussed in more detail below, these anarchist-inspired attempts to provide an alternative political project were, in many cases, identified as necessarily green. These parts of the radical left turned to address the question of revolution and defined it as being both a *social* and *ecological* project.

This chapter, offers an examination of this shifting focus of the radical left in the latter half of the twentieth century and investigates the emergence of these ‘social ecologies’. It starts with what is undoubtedly the most significant contribution here – that of Bookchin and the theoretical/philosophical parameters of his social ecology. It then outlines other significant theoretical contributions to this timely and important strand of radical thought, assessing their place in the emergence of the movement of social ecology. Finally, it returns to the most clearly defined political programme to have emerged in social ecology – again, that outlined by Bookchin – to offer a detailed

examination of the ways in which these different types of ecological philosophy might be transformed into an anarchistic programme of social change.

The Social Ecology of Murray Bookchin

As a researcher in anarchism generally, when one comes to tracing the history of the re-emergence of anarchist theory and practice in the second half of the twentieth century, it is almost impossible to ignore the presence of the American social and political theorist, Murray Bookchin. A former Marxist activist and writer, Bookchin was one of the first radical writers of the 1960s – part of the peer group who were looking for alternatives to the theory and politics of Marx, which had brought both the Gulags of the Soviet Union and a stranglehold of the Left in the West – who turned to examine *anarchism* as a possible way out of the Marxist denouement. As such, Bookchin would formulate many works on the concept of a decentralized, non-statist, non-party form of radical politics.¹ In doing so, he consciously drew on the work of the classic anarchist tradition, reintroducing the thinkers and ideas found therein to the radical left of the 1960s. Bookchin's contribution here was significant: as Peter Marshall confirms in his anthology of anarchism, Bookchin is 'the thinker who has most renewed anarchist thought and action since the Second World War'.²

What makes Bookchin so important to the present discussion is the particular way he approached this renewal of anarchism: through an explicit focus on ecological problems. Indeed, over the same period that Bookchin was revisiting the central tenets of anarchist thought and practice, he was also formulating a robust ecological critique of industrialized society, which would ultimately lead him to building his own ecological philosophy. As early as 1952, Bookchin turned his attention to the emerging instances of dangerous ecological practices in contemporary society. In his lengthy article, 'The Problem of Chemicals in Food' (1952), he discussed the effects on the natural and social environment of the move to large-scale industrial agriculture, and offered an early statement of ecological principles. 'It can never be too strongly emphasised', Bookchin argued, 'that every tract of soil and every acre of countryside comprises a relatively unique ecological situation. Just as climate, land, vegetation, may vary greatly from one part of the country to another, so every square mile presents in some degree a distinct balance of natural forces.'³

This distinct balance of natural forces was being at best ignored and at worst consciously reduced in the move to large-scale industrial agriculture, wherein the land

¹ Murray Bookchin's most fully developed political work is *From Urbanization to Cities: Toward a New Politics of Citizenship*, 2nd edn (New York: Cassell, 1995).

² Peter Marshall, *Demanding the Impossible: A History of Anarchism* (London: Fontana, 1992), p. 602.

³ Murray Bookchin [under the pseudonym Lewis Herber], 'The Problem of Chemicals in Food', *Contemporary Issues*, 3(12) (June–August 1952), 206–41. Interestingly, Bookchin's article would precede Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1962), often held as the launch pad for

was now ‘to be exploited like any other resource’.⁴ This was having profound effects on both society and nature, Bookchin maintained; effects, as we shall see, that he would use as a starting point for his transformative social and political programme. Indeed, a decade later, Bookchin would flesh out his studies of ecology and the ecological crisis into his first full-length book on the subject. In *Our Synthetic Environment* (1962), and in his essay, *Ecology and Revolutionary Thought*,⁵ published 2 years later, he established *diversity* as an essential ingredient in the distinct balance of natural resources. ‘From an ecological viewpoint’, he argued in 1964, ‘balance and harmony in nature’ is achieved through ‘organic differentiation’.⁶ He pointed to processes of modern industrial production that were undermining this diversity: the ‘mechanical standardization’ of modern society, he argued, was reducing this differentiation, regulating nature as well as society as an ecosystem. ‘If we diminish variety in the natural world’, he continued, ‘we debase its unity and wholeness. We destroy the forces for natural harmony and stability ... If we wish to advance the unity and stability of the natural world ... we must conserve and promote variety’.⁷

From this dual focus on ecological principles and modern society’s effects thereon, Bookchin began to formulate a notion of ecology as a possible ground for a new ethics: an ethics for both the natural and social worlds. Bookchin argued that understanding the natural world as a set of complex, balanced forces, and understanding also that present society is attacking these forces, rendered the discipline of ecology an ‘integrative and reconstructive science’, a science which, properly understood, can help to underpin and inform a transformative and reconstructive *political* programme.⁸ ‘Broadly conceived’, he continues, ‘ecology deals with the balance of nature’, and therefore ‘inasmuch as nature includes man [sic], *the science basically deals with the harmonization of nature and man*’.⁹

Before turning to consider the political manifestations of this harmonization, it is important to note that, for Bookchin, the key part of harmonization lies in understanding what the investigation into ecological principles tells us about both ecology and society. That is, understanding and appreciating the ‘distinct balance of forces’ of the natural world affirms ‘that diversity and spontaneous development are ends in themselves [in the natural world], to be respected in their own right’.¹⁰ Insofar as issues of political agency and change are concerned, the most important aspect of social ecology

contemporary environmental thought, by a full decade. Indeed, Bookchin would expand his 1952 article into a book-length treatment of this and related matters in his 1962 work *Our Synthetic Environment* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962), which would also precede Carson’s work by 6 months.

⁴ Bookchin, ‘Chemicals in Food’, p. 10.

⁵ Murray Bookchin, *Our Synthetic Environment* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962); Murray Bookchin, *Ecology and Revolutionary Thought* (New York: Times Change Press, 1964).

⁶ *Bookchin*, *Ecology and Revolutionary Thought*, p. 17.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁹ *Ibid.*, emphasis added.

¹⁰ Murray Bookchin, *Toward an Ecological Society* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1980), p. 271.

is the idea that both humanity and the society it creates *are themselves a vital part of* this diverse natural world.

Indeed, for Bookchin, human society is linked to the natural world through a ‘natural dialectic’, a process of evolution characterized by the move from the most simple of life forms to the most complex. The same is true for individual ecosystems: the most complex, which contain the most diverse life forms, are those which are the most balanced and stable. Evolution shows for Bookchin that the importance of diversity to the success of ecosystems reflects a ‘dialectical development of ever-variegated, complex, and increasingly fecund *contexts* of plant–animal communities’.¹¹ These ‘contexts’, more properly, these ecosystems, via the differentiation of the life forms therein, become increasingly complex and in doing so, ‘open a greater variety of evolutionary pathways due to their increasingly flexible forms of organic life’.¹²

Moreover, Bookchin argues, through the opening of this greater variety of evolutionary pathways, individual life forms within an ecosystem, beginning with the very simplest, are presented with ‘a dim element of choice’, from which, they begin to ‘exercise an increasingly *active* role in their own evolution’.¹³ That is to say, as life in general becomes more differentiated within an ecosystem, the individual life forms begin to *participate* in their further differentiation by ‘choosing’ the newly opened evolutionary pathways: life forms become increasingly complex as a result of their increased participation in their own evolution.

From this, the two key concepts of natural evolution for Bookchin now become ‘*participation* and differentiation’.¹⁴ Rather than the ‘competition’ or the ‘survival of the fittest’ – an idea that has historically permeated mainstream conceptions of the natural world – Bookchin sees ecocommunities first and foremost as ‘*participatory communities*’. He argues that in ‘the compensatory manner by which animals and plants foster each other’s survival, fecundity, and well-being surpasses the emphasis conventional evolutionary theory places on their “competition”’.¹⁵ No matter what form it takes ecological participation automatically posits a compensatory manner between species of an ecosystem. Even the relationship between prey and predation falls into this pattern.

Bookchin believed that this awareness of participation and differentiation in natural evolution helps us to see that ‘*Life is active, interactive, procreative, relational and contextual ... Ever striving and always producing new life-forms, there is a sense in which life is self-directive in its own evolutionary development.*’¹⁶ However, the most important conclusions he drew for his conception of the dialectic of evolution were that the continuous striving towards diversification and complexity instils stability

¹¹ Murray Bookchin, *The Modern Crisis* (Philadelphia, PA: New Society Publishers, 1986), p. 57.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 57.

¹³ *Ibid.*, emphasis in original.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 25, emphasis added.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 57, first emphasis in original, second added.

into individual ecosystems, and that it can also be seen to be the general thrust of evolution *as a whole*. That is, biological evolution as a whole can be seen to be united by the very ‘logic of differentiation’ and increasing complexity of life forms.

For Bookchin, the ‘striving of life toward a greater complexity of selfhood – a striving that yields increasing degrees of subjectivity – constitutes the internal or immanent impulse of evolution toward growing self-awareness’.¹⁷ This evolutionary dialectic, moreover, ‘constitutes the essence of life as a self-maintaining organism that bears the potential for a self-conscious organism’.¹⁸ Here, ultimately finding its (current) most complex expression in humanity, the thrust of natural evolution can be seen at the same time to be a thrust towards a nature that is rendered increasingly self-reflexive and self-conscious. Ultimately, then, for Bookchin, the application of dialectic to ecology, freed of any earlier interpretations, ‘explains, with a power beyond that of any conventional wisdom how the organic flow of first into second nature is a re-working of biological reality into social reality’.¹⁹

Such is the way that we arrive, then, at the first central pillar of what Bookchin meant by social ecology: that human society is as much a product and part of the natural world, as inherently *natural*, as any other life form. Under the Bookchin schema, not only does this provide humanity with an important understanding the workings of evolution, and the ecological principles found therein, but it also makes clear that human society now had to think (and later act) in terms not only of human needs and concerns, but the needs of the natural world as a whole (a much more novel position, it should be noted, when Bookchin first formulated his theory than it seems to us now). And, as will be discussed below, this would have particularly anarchistic conclusions for social practice, a social practice that Bookchin outlined in depth.

However, before we turn to Bookchin’s social practice, a second central pillar of the Bookchin school of social ecology needs to be understood: namely, the fact that as much as human society *is a part of nature* and a part of evolution as a whole, it is, in equal measure, *distinct* from the rest of the natural world. That is to say: ecology understood dialectically shows that ‘[t]he universe bears witness to an ever-striving, developing’ drive towards an increased ‘capacity for self-organization into increasingly complex forms’²⁰ and that it is this very process that produces that most complex of forms – the human brain and the societies that humans create. This very complexity also makes *human society different* from the rest of the natural world. As such, evolution as a whole for Bookchin, can be seen to have produced ‘*one nature that consists of two differentiations*: first, or biotic nature, and second or social nature’.²¹

¹⁷ Murray Bookchin, ‘Thinking Ecologically: A Dialectical Approach’, *Our Generation* (18) (Spring/Summer 1987), 3–40.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

²⁰ Murray Bookchin, ‘Towards a Philosophy of Nature: The Bases for an Ecological Ethics’, in M. Tobias (ed.), *Deep Ecology* (San Diego: Avant Books, 1984), p. 229.

²¹ Murray Bookchin, *Social Ecology and Communalism* (Edinburgh: AK Press, 2007), p. 29.

This differentiation is crucial, as it identifies social and natural interests as one, yet still provides space to treat human society as somehow different. Crucially, it assigns human society a particular role in combating ecological degeneration on the grounds that humans are the most complex expression of evolution as a whole. It cannot be overemphasized how important this assignment of human society is in Bookchin's social ecology: for, in the final analysis, everything that we have outlined thus far, all of the characteristics that Bookchin identifies as being intrinsic to evolution as a whole, have somehow been, and continue to be, transgressed in contemporary society, as evidenced by the current ecological crisis. And this transgression lies in these differentiations of nature – or more properly, in the product of these differentiations: that is to say, in human society. Somewhere in the move through natural evolution, human society has taken on what Bookchin refers to as 'highly aberrant forms'²² that have transformed it from an expression of the striving for complexity and differentiation inherent to natural evolution into a terminal threat to evolution as a whole.

Finally then, we arrive at Bookchin's fully developed notion of social ecology: that ecology teaches us that society is an important part and expression of the thrust of natural evolution towards increasingly diversified and complex forms of life but that at the very same time, investigating ecology in such a way shows that second nature, human society, is currently undoing this thrust, undoing the very processes that *have created it*. The move towards industrialization and the state, towards *massification*, where forms of food production, living arrangements, forms of the generation of ideas, forms of government and decision-making are by-and-large reduced to the one distant, non-participatory model of centralized political management (be it under advanced, corporate capitalism or under the planned economies of the failed project of communism) are in the same instance undoing the conditions necessary to continued social and ecological stability. And again, crucially, these have emerged from within a human society that is, potentially at least, the very expression of ecological balance and diversity. Therefore, the cause of the current ecological crisis is not human society per se, but the particular form of *present* human society.

As such, for Bookchin, the central lesson of his *social* ecology is his famous leitmotif: *all ecological problems are first and foremost social problems*.²³ That is, they stem from social problems: or to be more precise, ecological problems stem from problems that have emerged in society once it began to develop along its highly aberrant forms. Bookchin suggests that these forms stem in the first instance from the emergence of hierarchy in society, and the resulting centralization and domination which reaches its apex in the state. As such, we can now begin to see how and why Bookchin's version of social ecology has been strongly associated with anarchism: in the moment he posits that the emergence of the social forms of hierarchy and centralized domination are the root cause of the ecological crisis, in the same instance he posits the solution to that

²² Bookchin, 'Thinking Ecologically', p. 33.

²³ Bookchin, *passim*.

crisis: the very *social* process of overcoming hierarchy and domination is the solution to the crisis of *ecology*. And of course, this overcoming has anarchistic conclusions, which we turn to examine in the final part of this chapter.

Ecology: Social, Deep and Primitive

With a clear understanding of the Bookchin schema in place, it must be noted here that this is the *definitive* version of social ecology.²⁴ If the term is to have *any* meaning, it is this: that the ecological crisis is of social making and as such requires social solutions – requires, to be clear, a radical programme of social change. However, in the same furrow ploughed by Bookchin – that is, the intersection between anarchist political theory and practice and the emerging body of green political thought – other key contributions to understanding society *ecologically* have emerged that also provide insights into the workings of the natural world and of the place of human society therein. These too, therefore, can be thought of in this sense at least as social ecologies. However, closer inspection allows us to see both the ways in which they differ from the idea provided by Bookchin and to evaluate the strength of that understanding.

We start here with deep ecology, which, although explicitly not *social* ecology, is essential to understanding social ecology as a whole, as it was against the emergence of this ecological approach that Bookchin fully elucidated his conception of social ecology. In the first instance, deep ecology emerged from the work of Norwegian philosopher Arne Naess, who in 1973 argued that, in light of the growing ecological crisis, there was a need for ecological understanding of the relationship of society to nature based on ‘a rejection of the man-in-environment image in favour of a relational, total field image’.²⁵ This ‘total field image’, in short, was premised on a rejection of humanity as the marker of value in the human and non-human world: in this image, Naess argued, the deep ecologist did not place human beings at the centre of the world of life, but saw them as only one part of a wider community, stemming principally from ‘an awareness of the equal right of all things to live and blossom into their own unique forms of self-realization’.²⁶

In enshrining the right of every life form to live and blossom, Naess called for a ‘biospherical egalitarianism’ between society and nature, where the ‘inherent value’ of all life would be acknowledged, irrespective of the use of these life forms to humanity.²⁷

²⁴ See Andrew Light (ed.), *Social Ecology after Bookchin* (New York: Guilford, 1998) for developments in social ecology post-Bookchin. Despite natural differences, the definition of social ecology by Bookchin still broadly stands. Furthermore, although he was not the first to use the term, he was the first to give it full development. See Janet Biehl, *Munford, Gutkind, Bookchin: The Emergence of Eco-Decentralism* (Porsgrunn: New Compass Press, 2011).

²⁵ Arne Naess, ‘The Shallow and the Deep, Long-Range Ecology Movement: A Summary’, *Inquiry*, 16 (1973), 95.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

As he would later write, '[e]very living being has a right to live', and 'nature does not belong to man'. Furthermore, not only was the intrinsic value of all beings to be drawn out in defiance of their usefulness to humanity: they were valuable even if harmful to humanity. 'Nature is worth defending' wrote Naess, '*whatever the fate of humans*'.²⁸

What Naess's theorizing about nature and humanity and the equal value of all living beings attempted to do was to reverse the 'man-in-environment image' of nature: in short, to rid ecological thinking of the *anthropocentrism* – of the human-centeredness – which had characterized human society thus far. Under this rubric, the natural world had forever been viewed by humanity as a store cupboard, existing solely to satisfy human need. Accordingly, all other life forms were evaluated in relation to this need. That is, all value in the natural world is relational only to human value, is subordinate and weighed against human need. What Naess proposed is an ecological philosophy that shifted this view of the natural world towards a *biocentric* interpretation. Here, as noted, value in the natural world was uncoupled from human need, and all living beings were said to have their own 'inherent value' or 'intrinsic worth'.²⁹

Later deep ecology would be given its full theoretical elucidation in an anthology of essays by two US academics, Bill Devall and George Sessions, *Deep Ecology* (1985).³⁰ In this collection the authors outlined the 'platform principles' of deep ecology, put together in conjunction with Naess. The principles that form the basis of social ecology were shared by deep ecology: as Devall-Sessions-Naess argued, the '[r]ichness and diversity of life forms [in the biosphere] contribute to the realization of these values and are also values in themselves' and, in line with social ecology, human society was now reducing this richness and diversity.³¹ However, where deep ecology differed from social ecology was its explanation of this negative effect and the role given to human society to reverse the problem.

For the deep ecologists it was not Bookchin's 'highly aberrant' social forms – the emergence of hierarchy, centralization and domination – that had led to the damaging relationship between society and nature but rather, society *itself*. In particular, it was the rapid population growth in society that was the problem: as the deep ecologists outlined in their fourth platform principle, 'the flourishing of human life and cultures is compatible with a substantial decrease of the human population. The flourishing of nonhuman life *requires such a decrease*'.³² As such, the question of human population becomes a central one in deep ecology, and Devall-Sessions-Naess warned that although 'the stabilization and reduction of the human population will take time ... the extreme

²⁸ Arne Naess, 'Identification as a Source of Deep Ecological Attitudes', in M. Tobias (ed.), *Deep Ecology* (San Diego: Avant, 1984), p. 268, emphases added.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 267–8.

³⁰ Bill Devall and George Sessions, *Deep Ecology: Living as if Nature Mattered* (Utah: Gibson Smith, 1985).

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

³² *Ibid.*, emphasis added.

seriousness of our current situation must be realised', and 'the longer we wait' in dealing with the population problem, 'the more drastic will be the measures needed'.³³

The idea that human society lay at the root of the ecological crisis, coupled with the commitment of the need to move beyond anthropocentrism towards biocentrism, dominated the ecology movement of the early 1980s, and many activist groups and writers would emerge to elucidate this position. However, by the mid-1980s, thinkers like Dave Foreman and the radical, direct action group he led, Earth First! took the commitment to population reduction and ecocentrism to its logical conclusion: in 1987, Foreman described the famine in Ethiopia that year as 'nature taking its course'. The people there, he argued, should 'be left to starve' to facilitate the natural rebalancing of the human population.³⁴ Others made similar arguments.³⁵ And partly as a result of those exchanges and the problematic conclusions they drew, deep ecology declined in popularity during the 1990s. This form of ecological thinking has since been consigned to the margins of green thought.

Against the emergence of this kind of ecology, we can see the importance which Bookchin attached to drawing out the clear parameters of a *social* ecology, which, as noted above, was based on the fact that humanity is not intrinsically antithetical to the natural world but rather is its most complex expression; and that the reasons for its current destructive stance to the natural world are to be found not in the rise of population but in the development of particular social forms. As such, it was the reversal of these destructive social forms that allowed an ecological approach to understanding the ecological crisis to become *social* – that is, for ecological principles, ecological concerns to be realized in a social programmatic of social change. Deep ecology did not offer this – nor did it claim to – but in the exchanges between social and deep ecology of the late 1980s, a more fully developed picture of what social ecology meant would emerge.³⁶

However, the same kind of approach to the notion of society itself being the problem would endure beyond the contribution of the deep ecologists and take shape in the slightly different form of primitivism. Stemming in large part from the writings of John Zerzan, primitivism emerged over the same period as the ecologies of Bookchin and Naess et al. but began to take off seriously in the mid- to late-1990s. Indeed, it is not entirely inaccurate to say that as deep ecology declined that primitivism stepped into the space it left vacant. As the name suggests, and as Zerzan outlined

³³ Ibid., pp. 71–2.

³⁴ See Bill Devall, 'A Spanner in the Woods: Dave Foreman talks with Simply Living', *Simply Living*, 2(12) (1987), pp. 2–4; Dave Foreman, 'Around the Campfire', *Earth First!* (21 June 1987c), 2–3; Dave Foreman, 'Whither Earth First!' *Earth First!* (1 November 1987a), 20–2; Dave Foreman, 'Is Sanctuary the Answer?', *Earth First!* (1 November 1987b), 21–2.

³⁵ See 'Miss Ann Thropy', 'Population and AIDS', *Earth First!* (1 May 1987), 32.

³⁶ For a full discussion of the mid-1980s relationship between deep and social ecology, see my forthcoming Andy Price, *Recovering Bookchin: Social Ecology and the Crises of Our Time* (Posgrunn: New Compass Press, 2012).

in works such as *Elements of Refusal* (1988a), *Questioning Technology* (1988b) and *Future Primitive* (1994), primitivism was a claim for the superiority of pre-civilization society. For primitivists, the move to agriculture, and later to a civilization based on technology, had ultimately been one long process of self-alienation and self-enslavement on the part of humanity.

Indeed, technology – stemming from the emergence of the division of labour as prehistoric society moves first to hunter-gather society and eventually to agriculture – has been the principal forebear of this alienation and enslavement, which of course has reached its apex in the large-scale industrial technology of twenty-first-century society. Technology is in fact understood as the division of labour: as the emergence of specialization, separation and competition, between the sexes originally, and ultimately between different groups in society, which led to private property, greed and expansion: again, the very processes that have helped build the industrialized developed world. Of course, the argument here is that these did not exist in pre-civilized primitive society.

The ecologically destructive side-effects of this move to technology and the civilization it has fostered are plain to see but, for Zerzan, there is a more subtle effect at play too – this *division* of society into competing factions, and the technology and growth this has brought, create what Zerzan calls the ‘symbolic life’. Drawing on the classical philosophic discussion of representation, of the symbolic, and of the other, Zerzan argues that everything that civilization has brought is in fact symbolic: it is a representation of the civilized world that prevents (or tries to prevent) us from seeing the world for what it is. Through technology, the contemporary world makes itself real. Yet deep down, the argument goes here, the rise of unhappiness, of depression and of mental illness generally points to the fact that something is deeply wrong here, a rare shining light on the symbolic nature of the civilized world.

As such, in terms of a political programme or solution, the implication of the primitivist position is to call for a return to the pre-civilized world of the hunter-gatherer (or more accurately, what Zerzan calls the ‘gatherer-hunter’). Technology, from the most advanced form of industrial production to the simplest division of labour between the sexes, must be undone. Indeed, Zerzan at various times has called for the forceful reduction of technology: for attacks on technology, on machinery, often through violent means. Furthermore, Zerzan and others have at times entered into condemnations of science: this too, is a symbolic form of language, a way of understanding civilization, but not of understanding the true needs of the human community, which are rooted, for primitivists, in the pre-division of labour prehistoric world.³⁷

In their antipathy towards civilization, towards the anthropocentrism of civilized society, technology, the large populations they in part engender and, of course, to the central unit of political organization in the world of anthropocentric industrialized

³⁷ For a good overview of Zerzan’s work, and his thoughts on revolutionary tactics, see the collection of his work at Primitivism.com: ‘Author Index’, available at www.primitivism.com/author-index.htm, accessed 12 July 2011.

civilization – *the state* – we can see that primitivism, like deep ecology, is almost by default *anarchistic*. But in what sense can we refer to it as social ecology? Primitivists provide ecological analyses of society and its place on the world of life as a whole, but they lack that essential ingredient: a clearly defined political programme of *social* action to bring about the necessary changes for avoiding the ecological crisis. Despite the individual aims and tactics of these strands of ecological thought, there is no detailed plan of how to get from the present anti-ecological society to the future ecological society.

The Political Programme of Social Ecology

We are left, then, with the one version of social ecology that does provide a clear *social* programme, returning, of course, to the social ecology of Bookchin. And again here, it is important to remind ourselves why this particular version of ecological thinking is important to the researcher in anarchism. To recap, and to put it somewhat formulaically, we can posit the lessons Bookchin takes from his ecological reading of nature and society in the following way: (1) an understanding of ecology shows, according to Bookchin, that participation, diversification and complexification are key to a successful, stable ecosystem; (2) the existence of these characteristics in the ecosystem of nature-as-a-whole have led, through evolution, to human society, the most complex and successful of ecosystems; and finally, (3) this human society has developed along lines that cut against the grain of natural evolution, and is as such causing its own ecosystem and the ecosystem of nature as a whole to unravel. Here then, the full implications of Bookchin’s ecological analysis become clear: in the first instance, we are presented with an understanding of ecological growth, and in the second, we are presented with the very developments within human society that are hindering this growth (and ultimately, with a way to overcome them).

These developments, are of course, the emergence of hierarchy, centralization, the state – the very things that cut against participation and differentiation of the individual in society and of society-as-a-whole in nature-as-a-whole. In order to undo these things in the name of protecting ecological diversity, human society needs to become more like the thing it wishes to protect: balanced, diversified, and perhaps most importantly, *participatory*. It is here where social ecology is at its most anarchistic. Indeed, as Bookchin himself argued, the understanding provided by ecology has ‘explosive implications’ and leads ‘directly *into anarchic areas of social thought*’, as the ‘anarchist community would approximate a clearly definable ecosystem – diversified, balanced and harmonious’.³⁸

Bookchin outlined a programme of bringing this society, a society that reflects his central ecological principles of participation and differentiation, into being. To do this,

³⁸ Bookchin, *Ecology and Revolutionary Thought*, 6, 26–7, emphasis added.

he provides a detailed, two-pronged programme of political change: the minimum and maximum programme of ‘communalism’, the final name he would give to the social programme of social ecology.³⁹ The ultimate aim was to create a balanced, diverse and above all *participatory* society – which in political terms, meant decentralized and self-managed – that would eventually replace the state. This would be done by local citizens taking control of their communities through direct democratic self-management. Of course, this was a long way off, and would be a long drawn out process: there would be no revolutionary moment in the Bookchin project, but the slow, rebuilding of participation at the local level until it grew to such significance to be able to change the state. Naturally, the question of mobilization would be crucial here. How and why would people in local communities join such a project?

Well, in answer to this question Bookchin argued that a minimum programme of communalism is possible *now* in local communities: a programme that could serve to provide a vision of the future society *today*; a project of social and political organizing in local communities that could expose citizens to political participation. The will, the desire for involvement of citizens existed, he argued; indeed, it is ever present and evidenced by the actions of groups across the political spectrum which organize regular protest movements, large and small, across a wide range of social justice issues. What citizens lack, however, are avenues through which they might express or organize themselves. In a treatment of the fleeting nature of the anti-war movements of the early 1970s, Bookchin consequently argued that the momentum of such movements could be captured into more permanent forms, into ‘popular assemblies, and Local Action Committees, each rooted in a community, campus, school, professional arena, and, if possible, a factory, office, and research establishment’.⁴⁰ Such bodies must be completely rooted in areas in which they are located, and their appeal ‘must be wide and embrace the sexes, professions, vocations, and age-groups of the community’ – again, must be *diverse*.⁴¹

But more than this, in this minimum programme, in a further attempt to foster the notion of participation, Bookchin also calls for people to ‘mobilize themselves to *electorally* engage in a potentially important centre of power – the municipal council – and try to compel it to create legislatively potent neighbourhood assemblies’.⁴² A novel position indeed for a radical anarchist thinker. But again it must be borne in mind that Bookchin was concerned, in the first instance, not with immediate revolution, but with overcoming the lack of participation in contemporary society by inculcating social participation in the realm most accessible to the people: the local community. Therefore, although calling for local electoral politics in the local community is indeed a call for involvement in the local arm of the state, it is also conceptualized by Bookchin

³⁹ Bookchin originally referred to the transformative political and social programme of social ecology as *libertarian municipalism*, but settled ultimately, on *communalism*.

⁴⁰ Murray Bookchin, ‘Spring Offensives, Summer Vacations’, *Anarchos* (June 1972), 56.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

⁴² Bookchin, *Social Ecology and Communalism*, p. 109, emphasis added.

as a project to reintroduce the contemporary citizen to the role of a participatory member of the ecosystem (the local community) in which s/he dwells, transposing, ‘potentially at least’, the ecological principles ‘*beyond* organic evolution into the domain of *social* evolution’.⁴³

It is at the level of the local community, the neighbourhood – even at the level of blocks, in densely packed cities like New York or Madrid⁴⁴ – that the process of civic (re)engagement should take place for Bookchin. Here, citizens can learn to initiate and institutionalize their own empowerment: they can form a local community group in their neighbourhood; draw up a platform of principles to which they are committed, of aims and goals. They can educate themselves through reading groups, meetings and local campaigns. Then, and only then, do they turn to electoral attempts to gain control of local structures. As Bookchin argues, in the present climate, this communalist project ‘will more likely lose electoral races today rather than win even slight successes’, and further more that modest success ‘might take years’.⁴⁵ However, ‘in a very real sense’, this is to be welcomed, and the educational processes involved in local electoral activity will be substantial, as communalists enter the public sphere, expose their ideas to public rigour and interact with many more people in their communities.

Here, the process is as important as the endpoint: for Bookchin, means and ends here ‘meet in a rational unity’.⁴⁶ Even though a project to recover control of a local community is initially likely to fail, there is a dual transformation at work: first, there is a transformation in the citizen’s conception of future physical decentralization and the notion of a new citizenship: the very notion of a rational, ecological society is posited in the campaign to try and attain local office. The process of local electoral engagement therefore produces ‘a *changing and formative perspective*’ in those involved and those exposed to the campaign: a new concept of politics and citizenship emerges that raises the idea of transformation, both politically and spatially, ethically as well as physically.⁴⁷

Secondly, the members of local neighbourhood groups and nascent assemblies and their push for local office are themselves transformed by the process. They are educated about the possibilities for a future society, as just noted, but also as to their own roles therein, their own responsibilities and creative potential in an actively self-run community. ‘No one who participates in a struggle for social restructuring’, Bookchin argued, ‘emerges from that struggle with the prejudices, habits, and sensibilities with

⁴³ Ibid., p. 99, emphases in original.

⁴⁴ Indeed, in the particular case of Madrid, the emergence in Spring 2011 of the movement known as ‘15-M’ provide a timely example of just how this type of decentralized organization can emerge in a large metropolis. For further details in both Spanish and English, see the manifesto of 15-M at their website: ‘Manifesto’ at <http://madrid.tomalaplaza.net/manifesto-2/>, accessed 12 July 2011.

⁴⁵ Bookchin, *From Urbanization*, p. 229.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 261.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 223.

which he or she entered it'.⁴⁸ Rather, the participants in a communalist project 'are transformed by education and experience into active citizens'.⁴⁹ Moreover, as the means and ends continue to conflate, the dual aspect of this type of social transformation is mutually reinforcing and continuous, as in the continuing education of the participant as an active citizen, 'the issue of humanly scaled cities can hardly be avoided as the "next step" toward a stable and viable form of city life'.⁵⁰

As Bookchin argued, the above steps are first steps in attempting to establish 'new rules of engagement between the people and capital'.⁵¹ Even if they are at first faltering, they are an absolutely vital part of the radical remaking of society and a central part of Bookchin's overall political programme. However, rather than being an end point, they are solely the initial steps, representing the minimum programme of communalism. Bookchin imagined that they would start from local meetings and reading groups. They would direct their action towards immediate local issues, such as 'adequate park space or transportation' and other such issues that would 'aim to satisfy the most elemental needs of the masses, to improve their access to the resources that make daily life tolerable'.⁵²

All of these activities, though not in themselves revolutionary, are part of the slow process of transforming not only the local community but also the individual into an active citizen. However, according to Bookchin, this minimum programme does not render communalism a reformist programme, wherein a communalist *society* 'can be legislated into existence'.⁵³ Rather, they are part of the process as a whole, the 'transitional programme in which each new demand provides the springboard for escalating demands that leads toward more radical and eventually revolutionary demands'.⁵⁴ Here, the 'maximum programme' of communalism comes into view, a programme with the ultimate aim of the full institutionalization of these early forms of community self-management.

Ultimately, for Bookchin, these developments would eventually lead to permanent local groups, to permanent forms of organizing, and even to local electoral success at the municipal level. Once local office was actually attained, the new power of the office, rooted in the community organization, would be used 'to legislate *popular assemblies* into existence' – not the new society, it should be noted, just its institutional starting point – as the newly active citizens start to envision and create 'lasting organizations and institutions that can play a socially transformative role in the real world'.⁵⁵ This maximum programme then, for Bookchin, 'seeks to radically restructure cities' along

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 264.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 223.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ *Bookchin*, *Social Ecology and Communalism*, pp. 114–15.

⁵² Ibid., p. 114.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 115.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 114.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 115.

the lines of popular assemblies which would run ‘community affairs on a face-to-face basis, making policy decisions in a direct democracy, and giving reality to the ideal of a humanistic, rational society’.⁵⁶

However, the localism in social ecology should not be overplayed. Perhaps the most important final step in Bookchin’s maximum programme is that these municipalities must confederate. That is to say, that these new, directly democratic communities should *never* be conceptualized as self-sufficient. The notion of a community’s self sufficiency is, for Bookchin, regressive: the ultimate aim of social ecology, as we have seen, is the transformation of society along ecological and social lines. This, of course, means that the power of the state must ultimately be confronted by a project to build a social ecological society. However, the power of the state could never be opposed by myriad individual and unconnected local communities; indeed, the state could happily exist with these under its orbit. For Bookchin, therefore, ‘localism should never be interpreted to mean parochialism; nor should decentralization ever be interpreted to mean that smallness is a virtue in itself’.⁵⁷ That is, the reinvigorated local assemblies should never be conceived as the end point of social change: rather a large confederation of assemblies, a commune of communes, is the vital final part of the programme that makes the building of a viable alternative institutional structure – a dual power in society – that can oppose the nation state a real possibility.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 101.

⁵⁷ Bookchin, *From Urbanization*, p. 237.

⁵⁸ It should be noted here that there are two areas of Bookchin’s maximum and minimum programme that have been open to strong critique (and remain so). First, as John Clark argued in 1998, there is a danger of an idealization of the local realm in the Bookchin schema, an idealization of the *municipality* as a transformative realm, where, via simple democratic interaction, the vision of a new society can emerge. For Clark, the municipal realm is no different, because of its localism, to the larger realm of the nation state. Or, rather, he asks: if it is different, then why? For Clark, Bookchin fails to provide any material basis for this difference. Second, a similar line of critique is offered here by David Watson, who, stemming from the same commitment that the municipality (broadly conceived) signifies nothing more than a further subdivision of the state, argues that the commitment from Bookchin to the overtly political project of the re-engagement of the citizen in local forms of democratic participation is woefully lacking an *economic* or *productive* analysis. Although Bookchin argues that after the municipal realm is re-democratized that there will be a ‘municipalization’ of the economy, what, asks Watson, of the role of technology here? In particular, what of the role of industrial technology, given its historic role in the centralization of power under the modern state? In fairness, this *is* missing from the Bookchin schema, as is a more fully developed split between the local realm and the state realm on which his communalist project is based. However, although a full defense of the Bookchin project in relation to these criticisms is beyond the remit of the present chapter, it is in the conflation of means and ends that we must view the absence of a fully developed notion of how the municipality and technology must be transformed: Bookchin argued that only in the *practice* of renewed democratic engagement at the local level will the answers to how to fully transform that realm, and transform the way it produces and reproduces itself, begin to emerge. For a fuller discussion of these criticisms and then a fuller defence of the Bookchin position, see David Watson, *Beyond Bookchin: Preface for a Future Social Ecology* (Detroit: Black and Red, 1996); John Clark, ‘Municipal Dreams: A Social Ecological Critique of Bookchin’s Politics’, in Andrew Light (ed.), *Social Ecology after Bookchin* (New York: Guilford, 1998), pp. 137–91; and Price, *Recovering Bookchin*.

Finally, to finish here on Bookchin's political programme and its place in his overall social ecology, we can see his work finds a more contemporary resonance in the one other area of social ecology noted at the outset: in the concept of an anarchist anthropology. Stemming largely from the work of David Graeber, anarchist anthropology, based on anthropology's position as the one science that spends more time embedded in studies of premodern society, contains two very broad conclusions which reflect the central methodological approach of social ecology's holistic look at both society and ecology.

The first, more straightforward conclusion is that the anthropological tradition is replete with examples of anarchist-style organization in premodern societies, societies that were organized 'horizontally', perhaps even operating on the basis of consensus, containing forms which have nothing like the hierarchy we see in centralized nation states today. The second conclusion is that anthropology also allows us to see that despite the move to the industrialized nation state of modernity, despite the vast quantitative differences in society today than with our premodern ancestors, there is much that we do that is exactly the same. Indeed, Graeber claims that there has been no real 'fundamental break' with the societies of the past, but rather, continuity between premodern social forms and modern social forms.⁵⁹

By rejecting the notion that current society has experienced a 'fundamental break' with the past, Graeber argues that we can divest social thought of the idea that 'we have nothing in common with 98% of people who ever lived, so we don't really have to think about them', and that we can posit the notion that perhaps we 'are not living in a fundamentally different moral, social, or political universe' to our premodern ancestors. For Graeber, there is no such period so distinct from the present that it can be labelled 'primitive', or 'simple' – that is, there is no such leap in scale or size that marks earlier periods as so different from the present.⁶⁰ And again, the moral, social and political universes found in earlier societies often point to more direct involvement and cooperation of their members.

From the viewpoint of social ecology, the focus on the continuity in social evolution and the existence of anarchist forms in premodern societies lends itself to a social ecological outlook in two key ways. First, it overcomes the opposition between society and the natural world – overcomes the notion that contemporary society itself is the problem, and, as the primitivists' position holds, that there is a need for some kind of return to a primitive, more ecological society. This society both exists and does not exist: there is no return to an idealized past, but there is a rich, potential *present* set of practices and social beliefs that come from the notion that we can learn from ancestors, that their stage on the road to social evolution is perhaps as important as ours (and of course, ours as theirs).

⁵⁹ David Graeber, *Fragments of an Anarchist Anthropology* (Boston: Prickly Paradigm Press, 2004), p. 46.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

Second, viewing the evolution of the human community on one continuum, as its relationship with the natural world – just as the Bookchin’s version of social ecology holds – this approach also allows us to not only draw on the examples of ecological and social balance of earlier periods to point to what might be possible in terms of approaching the remaking of society today: further, through the prism of continuity, based on the anarchist anthropological literature, it may also be possible to view hierarchy, centralization and the state very differently, as an historical interregnum between the horizontal, cooperative forms found in earlier societies and those necessary for the decentralized society along the lines of Bookchin today. There is a real commitment to an ecology of society here, in the name of understanding the position (and potential) of the society in the crises of the present day.

Conclusion

In the shifting terrain of radical political thought and practice of the second half of the twentieth century, the re-emergence of anarchism, and anarchistic forms of organization was a natural reaction to the *giganticism* of the leftist movements of the modern period: a reaction to the creation by the Left of forms that mirrored the state. Huge political parties and bureaucracy, armies to fight the revolution, rock-solid international consensus on ideology quite naturally resulted in a call for a more decentralized form of organizing for social change. But simply calling for smaller, less centralized forms of organization to challenge the overbearing state has always been easily dismissed as naïve or utopian by the movements committed to creation of a behemoth equal to the state in the name of being able to compete with it in terms of organization (and violence).

Therefore, what made the emergence of ecologically inspired versions of radical social change so different, some of which we have touched upon here, was that they appealed to something wider than simply social concerns: they appealed to something outside of the parameters of political concerns, questions of who gets what and when, of the distribution of wealth *in society*. And perhaps most importantly, that to which they appealed would, from the moment these theories emerged gain increasing weight and pertinence, as the science of ecology pointed us not only to the incredibly complex and ingenious workings of the natural world, but also to its fragility; and of course, to the very real danger that human society in its current form was testing this fragility to the limit.

Social ecology, largely outlined by Bookchin, but drawn from the milieu of radical ecological thought generally, is perhaps the most vivid example of the effects of the growth in ecological awareness and the lessons learnt for social change: lessons of both a philosophical nature, which allow us to wonder at the natural world and our place in it, but lessons too of a deep political urgency of the need to create a form of society to protect that nature at which we wonder. Social ecology too, provides a programme to

create these forms, to put the lessons of ecology to political practice, today. In doing so, the type of society it calls into being would be by necessity anarchistic: decentralized, diverse, and perhaps most important of all, *participatory*.

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13. *Leyendo el anarquismo a través de ojos latinoamericanos*: Reading Anarchism through Latin American Eyes

Sara C. Motta⁽³⁾

In this piece, I consider the resonances and dissonances between post-left anarchy and post-representational social movements in Latin America by reading these particular articulations of anarchism through the eyes of the colonial underside – the enacted knowledges of the absent ‘other’¹ in critical thought: the poor black women, the displaced peasant, the unemployed factory worker. The current problematics facing post-left anarchy activist movements are how to escape the activist ghetto and transgress capitalist relationships and subjectivities within activist communities. The experiences of post-representational social movements in Latin America can raise questions that help to productively explore these problematics. My positionality in this dialogue is existing in the borderlands between and across both experiences and traditions.

I therefore hope to contribute to the development of self-reflexive practices within post-left anarchy about their site of enunciation, understood as the positionality within capitalist modernity from which they speak and theorize, to open up questions about the extent to which they reproduce *and* rupture the epistemological and political logics of such an organization of social relations and subjectivities. I aim to begin a two-way translation² that decentres the imperial subject of knowledge of capitalist coloniality by shifting the geography of knowledge and knowledge construction to the exteriority

¹ The ‘other’ is understood as in critical feminist, post-colonial traditions and theories as the silenced underside of processes of capitalist modernization and colonialism; be that the working-class man, the landless peasant, the unemployed worker, la negra, the migrant in North and South (see Anzaldúa (2007) and Talpade Mohanty (1986) for examples of the former and Mignolo (2000) for an example of the latter).

² Here I can only begin the first steps of this two-way translation, reading post-left anarchy through Latin American eyes.

⁽³⁾ I would like to thank Andy Robinson, Sarah Amsler and Jon Mansell for journeying with me through the borderlands and helping me to create contributions that are ethically grounded, politically useful and healing for me as a person. I would also like to thank Ruth Kinna for her supportive and rigorous engagement with this piece as its editor. This engagement greatly improved the final result.

of modernity. Such decolonizing critique opens up the possibility of the development of a universalism beyond the monologue of the imperial subject and towards a plurality of networked projects and practices, a form of borderless *mestizaje*.³

In the epistemological politics of capitalist coloniality, the letter and word become the anchor of knowledge which entails a divorcing of the word from the world.⁴ This posits a particular type of knowledge (the written and conceptual), particular form of knowledge creation (abstract, individualized and often masculinized) and particular content of knowledge as the pinnacle of epistemological development. The result is to situate the European epistemological bourgeois monological and individualized subject as the centre through which all other contents and forms of epistemological practice would be judged and devalued. Such epistemological politics has historically and systematically devalued and invisibilized the epistemological practices of those on the exteriority of capitalist modernity. Thus, to read post-left anarchism, itself originating as an *internal* critique of capitalist modernity, through the eyes of the absent other in Latin America – intensely local embedded enacted knowledges that are often premised in oral, cultural and spiritual traditions and collective practices of knowledge-making – is destabilizing. Such engagement hopes to foster a critical reflexive practice within this orientation to anarchist praxis, about the possibilities and limitations it has to rupture and transgress the epistemological politics of capitalist coloniality. This reading suggests that while developing a decolonizing critique of the content of such a politics and organization of social relationships, the form through which knowledges are imagined, and the types of knowledges visibilized, often remain within the confines of the epistemological politics of capitalist modernity. The destabilization that results from this reading raises questions about the ways in which post-left anarchy might not only negate the content of this politics of knowledge and being, but also its form.

The Problematic Post-Representational Politics

As we understand society, it is based on domination relationships, so anything coming from its institutions will be based on this same principle of domination. Education is education for domination. Same as the family. So when we propose social change we have to begin at the beginning and devise new relationships. I think this is the challenge. When we decided that we have to produce our own foods to struggle against the monopoly of food production, we understood that new relationships are born of this practice,

³ Not to be mistaken for a reference to a biological or racialized understanding of *mezitza* often used as a state strategy for creating the nation on the basis of a monological subject that excluded all others be that *negras* or *indiginas*. Rather *mestizaje* refers to the active and political process of creating identities, practices and subjects from an experience of the margins of capitalism that move beyond fixed categories of being and instead are in a constant process of construction and openness.

⁴ Walter D. Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, & Colonization* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1995), p. 105.

through discussing all these issues. Also horizontality and autonomy, and all these things that are not abstract ideas or theories, but a practical issue and a process.⁵

Neka expresses the significance of asking questions about what is considered to be knowledge, how knowledge is made, whose knowledge is made visible and how this relates to processes of social and political transformation. Such questions are of central importance at this political conjuncture. This is because for many in the global south and increasingly the global north, ‘the sphere of political representation has come to a close’.⁶ People are no longer content for things to be done for them, feelings to be felt for them, politics organized for them, theory and strategy produced for them, life lived for them.

Much of the twentieth century was a political and historical terrain in which representational understanding and practices of social and political transformation were hegemonic. Such understandings and practices of radical change were found in the epistemological underpinnings and practice of critical social theories such as Marxism and anarchism. In different ways, each posited and reinforced an essentialized humanist subject of transformation and a conceptualization of the role of theorists/intellectuals as guides of the political activities of movements. Within traditional anarchist thought, power was often viewed as an object centralized in the state, humanity understood as having an essentialized nature that was oppressed by such power; and an anarchist utopia and strategy were proposed. Such ontological assumptions, while opposed to a politics and epistemology of representation (because of the tradition’s mistrust of all forms of power), nevertheless fell into an epistemology of representation which often resulted in a closed and monological politics (of knowledge).⁷

Thus, theory was assumed to take the form of conceptual and theoretical knowledges, invisibilizing other forms of knowledge such as the oral, emotional and spiritual. Theory was conceptualized as a practice occurring through a process of abstraction perfected by individual thinkers who analysed the nature of power and of resistance, inevitably speaking for the oppressed. Such a paradigm of theoretical production was embedded within the monological closure of the politics of coloniality and capitalist modernity as it reproduced a representational praxis of epistemology (and politics) in which there was a division labour between doers and thinkers, intellectual labour and practical labour and an invisibilization and de-legitimization of ‘other’ forms of knowing and creating knowledge.

This terrain is now collapsing due to the failures of monological, closed and universalist forms of revolutionary and radical politics to bring about social transformation. Cri-

⁵ Neka, 2003, n.p.

⁶ The Invisible Committee, *The Coming Insurrection* (Los Angeles: Semiotext (e), 2009), p. 23.

⁷ Todd May, *The Political Philosophy of Poststructuralist Anarchism* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), pp. 54–66; Saul Newman, *The Politics of Postanarchism* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), pp. 52–8.

tiques stemming from traditions of Western critical theory such as post-structuralism, highlight the dissonance between these types of representational politics and the existential and political desires of contemporary political movements, which are fuelled by the failure of liberal democracy and liberal markets to bring about meaningful inclusion and a concurrent increase in those on the margins inside and on the exteriority of capitalism.

The shift towards non-representational understandings and practices of social transformation and politics has implications for anarchist academic theorists and movement intellectuals/voices. It indicates a desire and need for the development of post-representational epistemological practices and the inclusion and embrace of other forms of knowledge. It brings the politics of knowledge to the heart of the praxis of social and political transformation. It poses difficult questions and suggests the need for self-reflexivity about 'our' complicity as much as our rupture with capitalist subjectivities, alienated practices and hierarchical divisions of labour in our epistemological practices.

These questions and problematics will be addressed in relation to an exploration of the resonances and dissonances between post-left anarchy and Latin American post-representational social movements. The former is a contemporary articulation of anarchist critique and practice which is concerned with the creation of a post-representational epistemology, ethics and politics. It asks questions about what is to be done and what needs to be known in order to enter into processes of social and political transformation. Its objective is to negate and transcend a politics and epistemology of speaking for and about the oppressed. In many ways, its desires and motivations are concerned with a critique and negation of the universalizing monologue of capitalist modernity and logics of coloniality, as are Latin America's post-representational social movements.

Yet the site of post-left anarchy's enunciation is on the margins of an individualized, alienated and hyper-commodified post-industrial experience. The internal critique focuses on escape as transformation, often framed as nomadic lines of flight. For post-representational social movements in Latin America, the experiences are different: experiences of collective exclusion and invisibilization from capitalist modernity. Their critique of exteriority is often one of a knowingly impossible inclusion whose politics will rupture and transgress that modernity through the creation of subjectivities and social relationships which create place-based self-governing communities.

These resonances and dissonances will be explored through a close reading, through the eyes of the Latin American epistemological praxis, of Latin American social movements – the *Movimiento de Trabajadores Desocupados de Solano* (MTD Solano, Unemployed Workers' Movements Solano) of Argentina, *Comité de Tierra Urbana* (CTUs, Urban Land Committees) of Venezuela, *Movimento Sem Terra* (Landless Workers' Movement) of Brazil and the *Universidad de la Tierra*, Oaxaca – and of one important text, the *Coming Insurrection* by the Invisible Committee (IC) from within post-left anarchy.

Post-Representational Movements in Latin America

The MTD is an autonomous unemployed movement in Argentina formed in the late 1990s in response to the increasing social, political and economic exclusions, which resulted from radical programmes of neo-liberal restructuring. They were also reacting against the failures of representational politics of formal liberal democracy and the traditional left.

While known for their use of the piquete – the blocking of roads to disrupt the smooth flow of the economy as a means to make demands on the state – the majority of their political work occurs in their communities. The MTD builds spaces in which there are no great leaders speaking, acting and thinking on behalf of the majority. Such reconstruction of democracy and politics happens through politicizing everyday social relationships and subjectivities and in the construction of collective organized projects of collective childcare, popular education and cooperative production. This also involves a politics of affect (or *politica afectiva*) in which family, community love, solidarity and community are reimagined beyond relationships based on competition, hierarchy and inequality. As they argue, ‘... our goal is the complete formation of the person in every possible sense’.⁸

Brazil’s MST is a social movement, born through the actions of families occupying *latifundios* (large landed estates) in the early 1980s. Through their organizing, these families push for schools, credit for agricultural production and cooperatives and access to health care. Currently, there are approximately 900 encampments holding 150,000 landless families in Brazil.

The MST believes that education of rural communities – in rural communities – involves taking ownership of their history and becoming agents of change able to transform their reality. Accordingly, they develop forms of popular education premised upon a dialogue between knowledges, including ‘traditional’ academic knowledge, oral histories, spiritual traditions, affective knowledges and popular histories and culture.⁹

The CTUs formed in 2002, as the result of a presidential decree, constitute one of the most powerful and autonomous popular social movements in Venezuela with over 6,000 CTUs nationally. The original decree concerned the legalization of individual land titles to shanty town dwellers. However, they extended their strategy to develop a notion of ‘city democratization’, in which access to decent living conditions, democratic participation in the organization of community relations, a dignified life and decent

⁸ Neka, 2003, n.p.

⁹ Sandra M. de Carvalho and J. Ernandi Mendes, ‘The University and the Landless Movement in Brazil: The Experience of Collective Knowledge Construction through Educational Projects in Rural Areas’, in Sara C. Motta and Alf G. Nilsen (eds), *Social Movements in the Global South: Dispossession, Development and Resistance* (London: Palgrave Macmillan Press, 2011), pp. 131–49.

infrastructure within communities were seen as integral to the question of housing and environment.¹⁰

The methodology that informs their politics is not based on the idea of a leadership which has a model or ideology. Rather, it is based on the precepts of populist educationalists such as Freire, in which the creation of collective knowledge is guided by the needs of communities in their struggle for emancipation.

Universidad de la Tierra in Oaxaca is an organization dedicated to learning, study, reflection and action. Their orientation is focused on actions of social transformation, ‘aimed at rooting, strengthening and expanding the convivial way of life and radical democracy’. The development of this popular ‘university’ originates in the formation of APPO, the *Asamblea Popular de los Pueblos de Oaxaca* (The Popular Assembly of the Peoples of Oaxaca), which began as a revolt and rebellion against the corrupt state and concurrent concentration of political, social and economic power, until it crystallized into a social and political movement.

Unitierra works to strengthen and enhance autonomy, freedom and democracy, particularly in indigenous communities and *barrios* through transformative initiatives and actions. The group practises intercultural dialogue and adopts a learning style which emphasizes practice learning by doing and self-directed and collectively organized paths of learning. As they argue:

We attempt to contribute to the cultural regeneration of indigenous communities and barrios. We believe in the statement that indigenous peoples use: ‘They tore off our fruits, they broke off our branches, they burnt our trunks but they could not kill our roots.’ We know that the foliage is damaged – the visible dimension of the culture: language, clothing, food ... That the trunk has also been affected – the partially visible, dimension: medical or religious practices, forms of governance, social organization ... But we witness the vitality and vigor of the roots the mythical dimension of the culture, the cosmovision, the notion of being, the perception of time or space.¹¹

Thus, all four movements develop praxis of decolonizing critique which ruptures and transgresses the epistemological logics of capitalist coloniality. Their embrace of collective forms of knowledge, which overcomes representation not merely in the content of the knowledge produced but in the ways in which knowledges are collectively constructed, decentres the imperial and monological subject of knowing. Their development and cultivation of a multiplicity of forms of knowing and being decentres the letter and the word separate from life as the pinnacle of epistemological and human development.

¹⁰ Comité de Tierra Urbana, *Democratización de la ciudad y transformación urbana (2004)*, available at www.banap.gov.ve/ctu/ctu.pdf.

¹¹ Universidad de la Tierra, *Universidad de la Tierra* (Oaxaca: Ediciones Basta, 2009), p. 4.

The reading of *The Coming Insurrection* through the eyes of these movements' praxis cannot, of course, capture the diversity and plurality within post-left anarchy but it does illustrate certain trends and tendencies within these voices of contemporary anarchism and enable the beginnings of a dialogue which reveals and tries to understand the resonances and dissonances between post-left anarchy and practices of decolonizing critique as found in the margins of exteriority.

Border Thinking

To explore these questions and to contribute to this politics of knowledge, I develop a methodological framework of border thinking. This methodological practice focuses on the geography of knowing and on the site of enunciation of theory and critique, in relation to the silences, elisions and invisibilizing of epistemological practices and epistemologies placed on the exteriority of the periphery by theories (including critical) produced as auto-critiques from within modernity.¹² As Mignolo argues '[b]order thinking, [is] a consequence of the colonial difference: the relocation of thinking, geo- and corpo-politically, in order to be epistemological disobedient and to claim epistemic self-determination.'¹³ It is a methodology of critique that shifts the geography of knowing, the knower and knowledge and argues that the epistemic privileges endowed to Western categories of thought and knowing subjects can no longer be sustained without recognizing their imperial force and logic. This creates the framing for the type of disruptive and productive dialogue that I am seeking to foster in this piece.

Border thinking as developed by Latin American subaltern and Chicana thinkers seeks to break down closed conceptual and theoretical categories of producing knowledge by speaking from the borders and margins of modernity, be that within the margins of the West or on its margins in the global south. It encourages dialogue and pluridiversity¹⁴ between and within places but also reminds us to take seriously the politics of coloniality¹⁵ and therefore the place of enunciation of a theory/concept. A place of enunciation is not to be conflated with a geographical space, that is, the West

¹² Walter Mignolo, 'Introduction', *Indigenous and Popular Thinking in America*, ed. Rodolfo Kusch, trans. Maria Lugones and Joshua M Price (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2010), pp. xiii–lv.

¹³ Mignolo, 'Introduction', p. xxxv.

¹⁴ An attempt to re-articulate a universalism based on networked pluralities and becomings as opposed to homogenizing models (see Walter Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000) and Ramon Grosfoguel, 'Transmodernity, Border Thinking, and Global Coloniality Decolonizing Political Economy and Postcolonial Studies', *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*, 80 (2008), available at <http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2008-07-04-grosfoguel-en.html>.

¹⁵ Coloniality refers to the continuation of colonial relations between the West and the global South despite the formal independence of nation states. As we go on to explain these unequal relationships of power are articulated representationally in a discourse of development and modernity, epistemologically, political, economically, culturally, psychologically and spiritually.

or Latin America, rather it is a positionality in relation to capitalism and coloniality which frames and shapes who can speak, how one is able to speak, what is heard and how it is heard (in terms of the subjects and nature of knowledge and the possibilities and limits of social transformation).

Anarchist critiques from within modernity and subaltern critiques from the exteriority of modernity share a common experience of being displaced in relation to the dominant order.¹⁶ They also share a desire to delink from the imperial concept of the subject and from any pretence to uni-versality. Yet there are also differences within the nature of critique between those produced as an auto-critique of modernity and those produced as an exterior critique from the periphery.¹⁷ These differences concern the form and content of critique developed. Those produced as an auto-critique of modernity move beyond the imperial subject, monotopic consciousness of this subject and claims to universality in the content of the theoretical and strategic knowledge produced. However, the form of the knowledge produced often remains within the logic of this monotopic consciousness in how knowledge is conceptualized and created. For the subaltern on the exterior of modernity, the consciousness is specifically decolonial in character in both form and content; therefore, we see an embrace of ‘other’ types of knowledges and ‘other’ ways of creating knowledge. As Mignolo argues, ‘La negación en el pensamiento popular [negation in popular thinking] is an epistemology that starts by negating imperial epistemic supremacy and affirming an-other way of thinking and living, affirming, in other ways, the epistemic rights violated by imperial epistemology.’¹⁸

For border thinking, therefore, the history of modernity and capitalism cannot be understood as separate from that of coloniality as a political, economic, cultural and representational project. Power, the legitimization of power and inequality and naturalization of capitalist social relations of exploitation and alienation, has been framed by the construction of a particular way of thinking/approach to knowing which situates ‘the West’, the individual rational subject, theory as conceptual abstraction and a project of homogenizing universalism as/at the pinnacle of development.¹⁹ These practices and representations have framed a particular way of generating knowledge which is understood to be a practice of the individual, involving conceptual and theoretical knowledge. Thus emotional, embodied and spiritual knowledges are delegitimized, invisibilized and denied. Such a conceptualization leads to a practice of knowledge-making that separates that which is known (the object of knowledge) from that which knows (the knowing subject). This in turn legitimizes representational norms which disempower the object of knowledge – the subaltern – who might be an impoverished

¹⁶ Mignolo, ‘Introduction’, p. xv.

¹⁷ Mignolo, *Local Histories*, pp. 91–126.

¹⁸ Mignolo, ‘Introduction’, p. xxx.

¹⁹ Enrique Dussell, *Ética de la liberación en la edad de la globalización y de la exclusión* (Mexico: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, 1998) and Boaventura De Sousa Santos, ‘Beyond Abyssal Thinking: From Global Lines to Ecologies of Knowledges’ (2007), pp. 1–33.

unemployed person in post-industrial Nottinghamshire or a dispossessed peasant in Colombia. It creates relationships of ‘power-over’ between the knower and the known.²⁰ A particular form of knowing, knowledge-generation and knowledge has thus become transformed into the universal epistemology. When translations between knowledges takes place, these work to delegitimize, hide and infantilize ‘other’ knowledges and ‘other’ ways of making knowledge. Moreover, they are generally one-way translations, even if they are informed by critical theory, as the translation remains that of a homogenizing universal framing of its ‘outside’ (in Latin America, for example). Such a unidirectional translation reproduces the epistemological politics of coloniality and therefore implicit within in its practice is the silencing of subaltern knowledges, cultures and ways of life.²¹

Border thinking suggests that there are no essentialized subaltern cultures and knowledges of the West and its colonial underside. It challenges unidirectional translation from a site of enunciation bound by the epistemological logics of modernity. This contestation is not a rejection of translation but rather a reimagining of translation as a two-way (double) or dialogical process.²² The translation between the intensely locally embedded epistemologies (and their logics) of the subaltern exteriority of Latin America and the critical epistemologies which emerge from within the periphery of modernity transforms both. This opens the possibility of pluriversity, creating not a retreat into closed and essentialized localism but rather a universalism of networked localities; of a plurality of forms of knowing which break through and rupture the epistemological politics of capitalist coloniality. The engagement between post-left anarchy and with locally embedded ‘subjugated knowledges’ that speak from the exteriority of modernity thus challenges both the content and form²³ of colonial and capitalist epistemology. As Dussel argues, such a relationship is premised on an ethics of liberation, in which the subaltern is not *given* the ability to be included in ‘what is’ but rather works on a logic that disrupts the bounds of the known, knowing and being.²⁴ This pushes critical epistemologies from within modernity to their own borders, opening up the possibilities of planetary transformation.

What does this mean for the objectives of this piece? First, it helps clarify that while ‘Western’ anarchist traditions are practical theorizations that come from the margins, their critique has developed from within modernity. Their intellectual content speaks against capitalist modernity, but often fails to conceptualize other forms of

²⁰ Mignolo, *Local Histories*, pp. 3–48; Sara Motta, ‘Notes Towards Prefigurative Epistemologies’, in Sara C. Motta and Alf G. Nilsen (eds), *Social Movements in the Global South: Dispossession, Development and Resistance* (London: Palgrave Macmillan Press, 2011b), pp. 178–99.

²¹ Walter Mignolo, ‘The **Zapatista**’s Theoretical Revolution: Its Historical, Ethical, and Political Consequences’, *Review*, 25(3) (2002), pp. 245–75.

²² Mignolo, *Local Histories*, pp. 217–38; Grosfoguel, *Transmodernity*, pp. 3–23.

²³ The use of form here refers to both what is considered knowledge, and how that knowledge is made.

²⁴ Dussel, *Etica*, pp. 5–14.

knowledge and reproduces a form of knowledge-creation and the knowing subject which are consistent with capitalism's epistemological logic. Conversely, while the praxis of a clear strand of Latin American social movements on the exteriority of modernity engages with Western critical traditions, it transforms them, giving them a form and content which extends beyond the epistemological politics of coloniality and imperial subject. The dialogue between subaltern traditions from within modernity, on the one hand, and those from the exteriority of modernity, on the other, *cannot* begin by trying to frame and capture praxis by adopting closed conceptualizations such as Marxism or anarchism. It cannot begin from a unidirectional translation which re-enacts the politics of epistemological coloniality. A double translation is necessary, one which is bound by a search for resonances and dissonances and committed to self-reflexivity.²⁵ This identification of resonances and dissonances is not a way to read these movements through 'Western eyes' but to enable those eyes and frames to reread and decentre, perhaps enabling a self-reflexive questioning that opens up ways of moving beyond the remaining logics of capitalist coloniality in their praxis.

Centrally, then, this engagement can be seen as a space for opening up anarchist traditions to self-reflection about their site of enunciation and the paradoxical role they play in rupturing and yet reproducing an epistemological politics of coloniality. To map or conceptualize Latin American politics in any other way is impossible because Latin American social movements seek to break the dualism between theory and practice and between conceptualizations of radical politics, and pluralize what we understand knowledge to be through an emancipatory epistemology as *lived practice*. While developing in relation to Western socialist and anarchist traditions, they are in many ways moving beyond them in the epistemological logics developed and the knowledges embraced. This dissonance with anarchist praxis has implications for what we imagine emancipatory theory to be and how we conceptualize the knowing subject. Crucially, this moves 'us' beyond questions of the content of theory/critique to questions of the process of theorizing and the nature of knowledge, knowing and the knower. This methodological orientation opens up possibilities for moving towards the type of double-translation suggested previously which results in the potential transformation and creation of *mestizaje* that breaks down borders between local epistemologies, disrupts categories of epistemological subjectivity and ruptures a production and conceptualization of knowledge as an object separate from life.

²⁵ There are many ways to explore how the subjugated knowledges from the place of external exteriority rupture not only the content but also the form of epistemological practice from within capitalist modernity; these may be exploring other forms of creating knowledge be that oral, artwork, other subjects generally invisibilized from knowledge production such as shanty town women and indigenous groups, etc. The focus on this piece is on collective knowledge practices as the overcoming of the epistemological politics of coloniality. However, this exploration will also touch on the themes of 'other' ways of representing/enacting knowledge and 'other' subjects that create and enact knowledge.

Post-Left Anarchy

Post-left anarchy (the ‘ism’ is usually avoided) is a grouping of perspectives within anarchist theory which in addition to rejecting the state, capitalism and social hierarchies (hence being ‘post-left’ rather than simply ‘anti-left’), also rejects a number of hierarchical aspects and dispositions alleged to exist in leftism (socialist and communist movements) and in leftist anarchism (e.g. anarcho-communism, anarcho-syndicalism, platformism). While opposed to theoretical classifications and the imposition of definitional categories, post-left anarchists tend to understand liberation in terms of desire, difference and immediacy, rather than the fixed essence of a particular group/entity represented in ideology and bureaucratic political forms.

For this grouping, such epistemological and political practices are representational, closed and monological that become ways of reinforcing divisions of labour between thinkers and doers and institutionalizing political activity into rituals of power as opposed to liberation. The point is made in ‘your politics are as boring as fuck’ by Nadia C: ‘[w]hen you separate politics from the immediate, everyday experiences of individual men and women, it becomes completely irrelevant. Indeed, it becomes the private domain of wealthy, comfortable intellectuals, who can trouble themselves with such dreary, theoretical things.’²⁶

Wolfi Landstreicher’s *From Politics to Life* indicates how post-left anarchists distinguish themselves from the traditional leftism of both anarchist and Marxist kinds. He notes: ‘revolutionary struggle is not a program’ but a struggle for re-appropriation of ‘the totality of life’. It is ‘anti-political’ and against alienation of struggles from day-to-day life; it rejects representational organization; emphasizes quality over quantity – for example, it focuses on the capacity of individuals to realize happiness in everyday life rather than on the needs of thousands, borrowing tired slogans and rituals of politics that are separate from everyday life – radical rupture instead of political demands. It rejects historical teleology and related ideas of progress; it is prefigurative not utopian; it rejects ‘identity politics’ (the reduction of people to identities) and ‘collectivism’ defined as ‘subordination of the individual to the group’ and ‘ideology’.

Post-left anarchy’s orientation therefore rejects party lines, fixed ideologies and revolutionary leaderships focusing on unmediated desire (individual and collective) as a form of constructing alternative ways of living and loving in the now rather than a distant future. For the IC, the old politics of left and right represents ‘the same nothingness striking the pose of an emperor or a savoir, the same sales assistants adjusting their discourse according to the findings of the latest surveys ... Nothing we’ve been shown is adequate to the situation ... the breach between politics and the political has widened.’²⁷

²⁶ C. Nadia, *Your Politics Are Boring as Fuck*, CrimethInc Ex-Workers’ Collective, available at www.crimethinc.com/texts/selected/asfuck.php.

²⁷ IC, *Coming Insurrection*, p. 13.

Often the focus of this group of perspectives is on movement, escape, rupture and flight from fixity and institutionalization. The figure of the nomad is associated with this orientation to life and politics, as opposed to a focus on the building of collective communities in particular places. In 'Desire is Speaking',²⁸ this is expressed in the following way:

What we see here is not a community, nor solidarity groups, but configurations of desire; networks of friendship and expression which undermine the prevailing relations of production, society, politics, family, the body, sex and even the cosmos ... there is no utopian tree from which readymade ideas about another world can be picked, but endless rhizomes on which unexpected moments flowers appear.

Post-left anarchy is therefore suspicious of representational forms of knowledge construction such as critical intellectuals and academic critical theorizing. As Alfredo Bonanno argues,

But propulsive utopia, the life blood of the real movement, cannot be found in books or even in the avant-garde theses of the elite philosophers who clock in to the fact of pre-wrapped ideas like clever shift workers. It feeds off a hidden but burning collective desire, increasing its flow in a thousand ways ... go beyond rights to the full reality of the deed.²⁹

Bonanno problematizes the separation between those who create theory and those who practise politics. As he continues, '[w]e thereby deduce that there is no absolute correlation between "abstractness" and theory.'

These types of temporalities and flows of desire are often conceptualised as rhizomes which,

can be connected with any other at any point. A tree can be cut down, whereas rhizomes are much less subject to destruction. Rhizomes can grow again along another line if broken at some point. Rhizomes are abundant; if weeded out in one place, they will definitely show up somewhat else. Rhizomes are endless, as are desire and the imagination.³⁰

Such temporality of flow, movement and rupture is also manifested in Hakim Bey's concept of the Temporary Autonomous Zone, which

²⁸ Anon., 'Desire is Speaking', *Do or Die*, 8 (1999), 140.

²⁹ Alfredo Bonanno, *Propulsive Utopia* (London: Elephant Editions), n.p.

³⁰ Anon., 'Desire', p. 140.

is like an uprising which does not engage directly with the state, a guerrilla operation which liberates an area (of land, of time, of imagination) and then dissolves itself to reform elsewhere/elsewhen ... The TAZ is an encampment of guerrilla ontologists strike and run away. Keep moving the entire tribe, even if it's only data in the Web.³¹

Post-left anarchy is therefore wary of utopias and blueprints of social change. As Andy Robinson and Simon Tormey explain: 'In general, post-left anarchy can be seen as a radical critique of the idea of the separation of future and present and a critique of the idea of orientating to the future.'³² There is a desire to overcome separations between means and ends and present and future with a focus on immanence and immediacy. The embrace of 'living the change you wish to see' suggests an affirmative politics of everyday life as well as a negative critique of, and rupture with, practices of power.

The Coming Insurrection

The Coming Insurrection is a recent collective document, almost a manifesto that is paradigmatic of the anarchist turn in radical social movements in the Global North and in the theorizing of radical politics. It is a manifesto from below, representative of post-left anarchy's desire for a multiplicity of experiments in collective and individual self-organizing without centralized authority in the form of institutions, ideas or practices.

The place of enunciation and locus of thinking in this practical theoretical tradition is related to the particular problematics of alienation and individualism, and experience of hyper-commodification of sections of post-industrial European society. It is theoretically and politically related to post-autonomous and post-situationist currents.³³ The separation of thought and action and of ourselves from our creative capacities is a constant theme. It suggests that domination cannot be understood merely as an external but an internal relation which manifests itself in alienation. As IC argues,

I am what I am. My body belongs to me. I am me, you are you, and something's wrong. Mass personalisation. Individualisation of all conditions – life, work misery. Diffuse schizophrenics. Rampant depression ... We treat ourselves like a boring box office. We've become our own representatives in a strange commerce, guarantor of a personalisation that feels, in the end, more like an amputation.³⁴

³¹ Hakim Bey, *T.A.Z.: The Temporary Autonomous Zone, Ontological Anarchy, Poetic Terrorism* (London: Autonomedia, 1991), pp. 116–17.

³² Andrew Robinson and Simon Tormey, 'Utopias without Transcendence? Post-Left Anarchy, Immediacy and Utopian Energy', in Patrick Hayden and Chamsy el-Ojeili (eds), *Globalization and Utopia: Critical Essays* (London and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 159.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

³⁴ IC, *Coming Insurrection*, p. 18.

Similarly, movements such as the MTD Solano and *Universidad de la Tierra* understand capitalism as produced through subjectivities, social relationships and everyday practices, desires and orientations. They too share a conceptualization of power as not merely out there but reproduced in the micro-practices of everyday life.

The IC critique is embedded in individual feeling and in the experience of separation from society and, in particular, the social processes which commodify life; experiences which result in a feeling of externality from the ‘normal’ world. These experiences are profoundly personal, with critique constructed in ways which try to make sense of existential isolation. The individual internalization of processes of alienation and subjugation of our selves to the machine of capitalist reproduction results in

Sickness, fatigue, depression [which] can be seen as the individual symptoms of what needs to be cured. They contribute to the maintenance of the existing order, to my docile adjustment to idiotic norms, and to the modernisation of my crutches ... But taken as facts, my failings can also lead to the dismantling of the self. They tend to become acts of resistance in the current war. They then become rebellion and a force against everything that conspires to normalise us, to amputate us.³⁵

The aim of post-left anarchists is to create a movement from personal alienation to affective break and community-building, political not territorial, with others who have gone through similar experiences. Post-left anarchy’s intensely felt ‘negation of’ and alienation from mainstream society infuses a rapidity and urgency of rhythm and pace to its experience of displacement within modernity. This fosters a critical thinking/practice that negates with great energy, force and passion the ‘what is’ of capitalism, in many ways contributing to a rupturing of the binaries between life and politics, thought and emotion upon which the epistemological subject of capitalist modernity and the politics of coloniality is built.

The IC’s understanding of social transformation as a process of liberating desire argues for the organization of communes in which the division between ends and means, between the ideal society and the present is ruptured in collective doing and being. As IC argues

the past has given us far too many bad answers for us not to see that the mistakes were in the questions themselves. There is no need to choose between the fetishism of spontaneity and organisational control; between the ‘come one, come all’ of activist networks and discipline in hierarchy; between acting desperately now and waiting desperately for later; between bracketing that which is to be lived and experimented in the name of a paradise that seems more and more like the hell the longer it is put off,

³⁵ Ibid., p. 19.

and repeating, with a corpse-filled mouth that planting carrots is enough to dispel this nightmare.³⁶

The rejection of representational politics to be found in traditional anarchist and Marxist-orientated organizations, ontologies and epistemologies and the division of labour between thinkers and doers that accompanies such an understanding are manifested in a clear rejection of organization but not self-organizing. As IC argues,

organisations are obstacles to organising themselves. In truth there is no gap between what we are, what we do, and what we are becoming. Organisations – political or labour, fascist or anarchist – always begin by separating, practically, these aspects of existence. It's then easy for them to present their idiotic formalism as the sole remedy to this separation.³⁷

This focus resonates clearly with the practices of many social movements in Latin America as they also reject/or are suspicious of the practice of representational politics. This rejection comes from the collectively shared political experience of representative politics of both traditional political elites and the revolutionary left. For such communities, these experiences were disempowering and associated with continuity in elite control of economic, social, cultural and political power. As Neka from the unemployed movement in Argentina explains,

I think there was a very important break with traditional politics and political issues, and it is precisely related to all this. We've been through a lot of different organisational practices, lots of experience and what we've finally learnt is that we can build up better projects without leaders.³⁸

Similarly, Maria Teresa, coordinator of an education programme in a shanty town in Caracas says: 'We don't want to be politicians in the old sense ... we don't want political leaders of parties; we want to create our own popular power from below.'³⁹

Yet problematic in the IC's conceptualization of communes is the setting up of a dualism between the subjugated and the liberated, which remains opaque about how we get from one to the other. The implication is that there is a non-subjugated essence that needs to be freed,

... we have been expropriated by our own language through education, from our own songs by reality TV contest, from our flesh by mass pornography, from the city by the police, and from our friends by wage labour.⁴⁰

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Neka, 2003, n.p.

³⁹ Cited in Sara Motta, '“Populism's Achilles” Heel: Popular Democracy beyond the Liberal State and the Market Economy in Venezuela', *Latin American Perspectives*, 38(1) (2011a), 28–46.

⁴⁰ IC, *Coming Insurrection*, p. 27.

This dualism of the IC between the subjugated and liberated can result in an idealization and romanticization of the ‘free’ to be found in rioting *banlieues* or the organization for survival of shanty town dwellers. As IC⁴¹ argues,

Whoever knew of the penniless joy of these New Orleans neighbourhoods before the catastrophe (Hurricane Katrina), their defiance towards the state and the widespread practice of making do with what’s available wouldn’t be at all surprised by what became possible there. On the other hand, anyone trapped in the anaemic and atomised everyday routine of our residential deserts might doubt that such determination can be found anywhere anymore.

Conversely, it can result in a condemnation and exclusion of the duped subjugated lifeless pawns of the spectacle and in the formation of a moral critique of the subaltern ‘other’. Both condemnation and romanticization can paradoxically create barriers to concrete engagement with the everyday forms of domination and resistance in the lived experiences of the excluded. Such an abstracted engagement with new forms of politics and popular organization is also not strategically engaged, as it disenables reflection about the contradictions that arise in the construction of ‘communes’.

A dualistic conceptualization of domination and resistance which avoids the question of *how* we construct communes has dissonances with the ways in which political community is formed, theorized and constructed in post-representational Latin American social movements. These movements’ critique is formed through communal experience, with a collective subversion of exclusion and domination enacted as moments of politicization. This collective subversion can occur around demands for water, housing and education (as in the case of the CTUs), or through collective acts of reoccupation of space (such as the MST in land occupations and MTD Solano through piquetes).

Thus, while these movements recognize the nature of power as constructed through our everyday social relationships and subjectivities, they have built their culture of resistance *collectively* in place-based communities based on the politicization and engagement with these everyday social relationships and subjectivities. Central to this is a collective experience of delegitimization, silencing and material marginalization from ‘modernity’ as constituted in their societies. This practice and experience has meant a focus on the recovery and transformation of the dignity, voice, knowledges and cultures of subaltern communities. These cultures and practices of resistance are embedded therefore in the experiences, traditions and histories of communities understood as forms of knowledge that have been subjugated and denied and which are reconstructed through collective political practices. As Pedro Pablo Contreras, a cultural activist from La Vega, Caracas, explains

We had forty, fifty years in which our community was full of individualism, consumerism, delinquency. These are not things that happened to us but

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 55.

were the ways in which our relationships with each other were made. It is not surprising that within me, within my comrades, much of the fight for change is from within, is about changing the way we think and act, is about the development of a social responsibility, a new consciousness.⁴²

Their articulation of desire is not so much a rejection of society but rather a struggle for visibility and inclusion which seeks to transform the structures of power themselves as this is the only way such visibility, dignity and inclusion could be achieved. It reflects and is embedded in the particular rhythm and experiences of the multiple forms of exclusion from periphery capitalism that these communities have contested. It embraces, therefore, the contradictory nature of everyone's consciousness and conducts much of its political work in the interstices of domination and resistance in the body and mind of the community. This overcomes dualisms between the liberated and the duped, instead suggesting that the struggle to build political community and subjectivity is as much an internal, as it is an external, struggle.

The building of a political culture of horizontalism has been heavily influenced by politicization of culture and religion, particularly liberation theology and popular education in the 1970s and 1980s and heritages of indigenous knowledges and cosmologies in the Brazilian and Mexican contexts. The religious, cultural and spiritual are experienced and conceptualized as sites and sources of knowledge, and political inspiration. They are engaged with collectively and experienced as integral elements in the construction of other ways of being, knowing and living.

For example, from the outside looking in, Catholicism could be viewed as an alienated belief system. Yet the practice of liberation theology as a lived belief system has led to a left articulation which stresses that paradise must be created on earth, that Catholics should choose the poor to manifest their godliness and that the word of god was open to all and need not be mediated by a caste of priests. Such articulations have resulted in place-based politicization, in conjuncture with bible study in Comunidades de Base (base communities) but with a focus upon the knowledges and godliness of ordinary Catholics (people) and the ability and desirability of developing all as agents in the struggle for paradise on earth. As Elizabeth, a CTU organizer in La Vega, illustrates,

Francisco Wuytack, the 'Padre de la Vega' was key in organizing the community in the late 1960s. He and other comrades began a series of bible readings and then social projects that motivated the community to organize autonomously and have faith in their capacity to lead and make decisions ... We began to fight for water rights, for health, for education, and for recognition.⁴³

⁴² Cited in Motta, 'Populism's Achilles Heel', p. 37.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

These experiences and cultures of resistance have coloured both the structures of feeling and the ways of organizing in many urban shanty town and rural peasant movements combining a language that re-articulates modernity's concepts of democracy and equality with articulations beyond this language around liberation and dignity, articulated through biblical language and Christian beliefs.

It has also meant that the spiritual and the cultural become inherent elements to be intertwined in the form and content of revolutionary transformation, integral elements in the struggle for social and political change. Thus, for example, the MST has developed 'mística' as a part of the process of constructing equal and participatory communities. A mística is an artistic/cultural event to open and close any MST activity, whether that is a workshop, a meeting, an occupation or a march. It can take the form of poetry, a dramatic representation of popular struggle and history, dance, song and often ends with all participants touching each other either by holding hands or a collective embrace. Mística combines elements of liberation theology with other spiritual beliefs and builds upon them as integral parts of what it means to construct a new man and women and a new culture. In the case of *Universidad de la Tierra*, Mexico, the spiritual articulation is often intertwined with indigenous heritages recovered and reconstructed to shape the construction of a radically different present from that of periphery capitalism. They are considered knowledges that are not mere instruments in social transformation but inherent elements of what it means to construct self-governing and autonomous anti-capitalist communities.

There are no clear divisions: no black and white; good and bad; duped and liberated. The process of constructing self-governing communities is seen to be contradictory and tension ridden. Elements that may be considered to be part of capitalist ideology and thought are engaged with as contradictory lived beliefs and practices that contain elements of good sense – beliefs, reflections and experiences that escape the normalization and internalization of alienated practice and thought. This brings processes of radical education and collective knowledge practices to the heart of the praxis of many of these movements.

Conversely, theorization within IC, reflecting perhaps the intensely individualized struggle against alienation often imagines knowledge and the construction of communal practice and knowledge as if produced by individuals and conceptualized as an object (often produced in textual form) separate from life. In this sense, the imperial knowing subject who produces knowledge in isolation and outside of practice is reinscribed. Additionally, the forms of theoretical knowledge imagined remain within the confines of the dominance of the written and spoken word removed from life reinforcing the epistemological politics of coloniality. Yet at the same time, the embrace of pragmatic knowledge in terms of skills or information can also be characterized as a local knowledge embracing a form of decolonizing critique which attempts to dethrone the imperial subject of knowledge of capitalist coloniality. The ambiguities of this engagement with the politics of knowledge are expressed in the richness of this citation:

Street kitchens require building up provisions beforehand; emergency medical aid requires the acquisition of necessary knowledge and materials, as does the setting up of pirate radios. The political richness of such experiences is assured by the joy they contain, the way they transcend individual stoicism, and their manifestation of a tangible reality that escapes the daily ambience of order and work.⁴⁴

There is almost a transcendental understanding of the nature of the non-alienated subject, as if the very act of ‘doing together’ will enable the reappearance of the (essentialized) silenced subject. This removes an engagement with the role of struggle, political and collective construction of ‘communes’ and from the construction of the new popular subjectivities and practices that are the basis of such ‘other’ ways of doing and living politics.

When the subject of political knowing and knowledge is mentioned, it is if by the very nature of ‘freed’ people coming together they will spontaneously produce a new way of understanding themselves, their relations with others and with the world. This expectation can perhaps be made sense of in relation to the locus of thinking of this tradition which is often intensely personal and which struggles to make sense of alienation through an embrace of separateness from the norm. As IC states,

As for deciding on actions, the principles could be as follows: each person should do their own reconnaissance, the information would then be put together, and the decision will occur to us rather than being made by us. The circulation of knowledge cancels hierarchy; it equalises by raising up. Proliferating horizontal communication is also the best form of coordination among different communes, the best way to put an end to hegemony.⁴⁵

In their problematization of representational and universal homogenizing forms of politics, Latin America’s post-representational social movements also embrace local tacit and instrumental knowledges, thus dethroning the universalism of the colonial knowledge and knowing subject. Yet they also problematize (to differing degrees) representational forms of knowledge construction, or the very logic of epistemological practice as embedded within capitalist modernity. Thus, we find urban social movements such as MTD, *Universidad de la Tierra*, Oaxaca, and the CTUs share with rural movements such as the MST of Brazil a focus on the importance of participatory democracy and the construction of utopias in the present.⁴⁶ This emphasizes the practices and processes of constructing social and political change as much as the ends of these processes. At the heart of these understandings is a questioning of the need

⁴⁴ IC, *Coming Insurrection*, p. 71.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

⁴⁶ **Comités de Tierra Urbana**, *Democratización de la ciudad y transformación urbana* (2004); *Universidad de la Tierra*, Universidad de la Tierra.

for intellectual vanguards and an engagement with ideas of mass intellectuality, in which all developing their creativity and intellectuality is a central building block of the construction of a revolutionary change. Thus, all these movements use and develop popular education as key to the process of creating intellectual and political autonomy.

Pedagogies of Practice

The CTUs seek to develop their theorization and strategization of a CTU project(s) by the development of a methodology of democratic practice, in which it is understood that immanent within the concrete experiences of communities, are the global practices of capital and the state. Therefore, popular education is used as a tool for challenging common sense by building on the good sense of communities, but collectivizing and thereby systematizing such knowledge.⁴⁷ In the process, the content of such knowledge is qualitatively transformed. As Nora (a community educator of the CTUs) explains,

If we want to talk about projects coming from below, then we can't take the role of leaders who come in and tell communities what, how, and why they should do things. We have to create the conditions in which communities develop, in equality and together, their understanding of their situation, their analysis, their solutions. It is only in this way that we will break the old way of doing things.⁴⁸

Such a methodology illustrates the epistemological form of knowledge-production that is emancipatory. The methodology works from the precept that communities are knowledge producers and that the role of the CTU facilitator is to create an environment for the creation and development of such knowledge. The ultimate objective is that all will be facilitators and able to generate the conditions for the production of emancipatory subjectivities, knowledges and practices.

The steps in this process involve a facilitator, either from within or outside of a particular community, linking with a CTU and organizing a local meeting in which to begin a process of collective reflection about the community's political struggle. In the meeting, a facilitator will begin with a number of questions which are discussed in groups; these involve talking about the achievements of the CTUs, the biggest barriers or problems that are faced locally and nationally and ideas about how to overcome such problems. Points from each group are put up on sheets around the room and are then discussed so that a consensus is formed around the most important strengths and weaknesses and ideas about how to address particular problems and so on. The process of facilitating this meeting is an example to community members interested

⁴⁷ Discussions with Andres (CTUs), August 2007; Motta, 'Notes Towards Prefigurative Epistemologies'.

⁴⁸ Cited in Motta, 'Notes Towards Prefigurative Epistemologies', p. 90.

in becoming facilitators themselves. The facilitators then work separately with these individuals in a process of critical reflection about the role of a facilitator, how the particular meeting progressed and how to conceptualize and understand why it is important to have facilitators. The meeting in the local community is ideally the first of many in which the particular CTU can develop a conceptualization of its political struggles and strategic understanding of how they wish to proceed. This process ideally occurs within and between communities to try and develop a scaled up CTU project and practice. The aim is to create the conditions for a systematization of experiences and the development of emancipatory subjectivity within the participants so that they can understand the causes of the impoverishment they face, the problems and the successes that a CTU community has confronted and ways forward.

For the MTD Solano, popular education pedagogies are central in moving from a negation of all forms of representational politics to the creation of new forms of living and being. The methodologies of practice developed help us think through how we construct a non-representational, horizontal knowledge that enables the construction of new rebel subjectivities and practices. As Neka (2003) explains:

In the production units we discuss the type of relationships we wish to develop, in this way a form of organisation develops from the collective ... the way we move ahead is based on agreement, before doing anything we work out together what we want to produce, for where and how we wish to achieve this. Only after all of us are clear we begin to work. We then reflect, in weekly meetings, whether we are achieving our objectives.

This suggests that knowledge for social transformation is collectively constructed through critical reflection in the moment of political struggle. It suggests that such a living epistemology is embedded at the heart of struggle as opposed to orientating and making sense from the outside of that struggle. However, this does not amount to the making of 'revolution in solely empirical or pragmatic terms'. Rather, as the MTD explains,

We do have a project ... but our project occurs at the neighbourhood level with the people. Our analysis is more comprehensive precisely because we work in this manner ... our goal is the complete formation of the person, in every possible sense.

Although different movements place different emphases and have different assumptions about the ways in which they articulate popular education, they share a commitment to collective knowledge processes and to breaking down the division between thinkers and doers in order to validate the histories, experiences, cultures and knowledges of subaltern communities. Their focus on the process as much as the product or subject of social change means that their practice of the 'how' we create commons and

autonomous communities of resistance develop such collective knowledge practices and theorizations of these practices.

Such processes, experiences and practices enact a politics of knowledge that transgresses capitalist modernity and the epistemological politics of coloniality. The pedagogies and methodologies developed visibilize and practise other forms of knowledge, bringing the affective, spiritual and psychological to the heart of the praxis of subaltern critical negation. Pedagogies and methodologies based in popular education do not therefore merely engage with intellectual and theoretical production as if these were disembodied and objective processes. There is a questioning of the alienation of human experience and development through which capitalist social relations are reproduced and an attempt (sometimes explicit, sometimes implicit) to unite and de-alienate our capacities and creativity. Thus, the process of collective knowledge construction also seeks to overcome the dualisms between intellect and emotion, mind and body and thought and action that characterize capitalist one-dimensional man.

Thus, the affective becomes an element in pedagogies of social transformation. The affective enters in terms of creating open and safe (yet often uncomfortable in terms of the questions discussed and addressed) spaces of collective thinking, doing and learning. The affective also enters into the relationships that are formed and transformed between movement members as they build 'other' ways of creating knowledge and taking control over their lives. The role of the affective is perhaps most explicitly discussed in the ideas of some of the autonomous piquetero movements, particularly the MTD Solano in their reflections on how new forms of solidarity and love, not premised upon ownership, competition and power over others, are formed and how the construction of other subjectivities and social relations is a continual process. However, they are also articulated in the praxis of *Universidad de la Tierra*. Here the affective and the emotional are central elements to the collective processes of knowledge construction, be that the development of sustainable urban food production systems or the recapture and reinvention of cultures of resistance and creation with youth through song, dance and theatre. All involve different ways of being and relating to each other and to the earth. They develop and are premised upon another way of seeing and feeling each other and oneself. The overcoming of alienation, the embrace of the totality of community and individual experience and potentiality brings the subject (in all its complexity) to the heart of processes of social transformation through the construction of mass intellectuality.

In sum, the post-left anarchy of the IC places non-alienated practices at the heart of social transformation. It rejects a separation between doers and thinkers, between means and ends, and between politics and life. It thus brings the human subject in her entirety into our understanding of resistance and social transformation. In this sense, there are clear resonances with the praxis of many Latin American social movements which also theorize power by looking beyond a structural understanding and towards its internal dynamics of alienation and subjugation. Accordingly, they too reject the separation between doers and thinkers, means and ends and politics and place. They

contribute and participate in a process of internal decolonization and the forming of place-based intensities that contribute to the construction of a universalism of pluriversity.

However, post-left anarchy's conceptualization of domination and resistance at times falls into a dualism that could become a barrier to the realizing of its concrete political and strategic engagement with new forms of living and making politics in the north and south. Its site of enunciation from within the periphery of modernity challenges the content of epistemological practice and in its embrace of local knowledges and critique of alienated educational practices, it challenges the logic of an epistemology of representation. Yet in its framing of the construction of worlds and subjectivities beyond capitalism, it falls back into an epistemological logic bound by capitalist modernity. There is no bridge from here to there, neither in empirical narrative nor in theoretical understanding and so we are left with a pure free 'us' and an alienated limbless 'other'. The essentialized subject of resistance removes political struggle from the creation of such other forms of living and making politics which can disable strategic discussion necessary for us to share, reflect and move forward with the creation of this type of post-representational politics. Post-left anarchy's passionate poetry therefore misses a strategic and concrete fleshing out of the practice of post-representational politics and social transformation. It remains on the borders between a politics of internal decolonization and one within the borders of capitalist modernity.

However, many social movements in Latin America open a window on what such practice of creating post-representational revolutionary subjects and politics might look like. Perhaps, their context of politicization – place-based collective struggles over decades on the external periphery of capitalism – meant that critique was collectively constructed on the basis of a recovery and reinvention of knowledge practices and political experiences. Their politicization thus shares clear resonances yet also clear dissonances and differences with post-left anarchism. Such dissonances stem from the different locus of enunciation; individual alienation and struggle to overcome alienation in a post-industrial society versus collective experience and struggles on the periphery of capitalist logic. The constructive dialogue I have hoped to begin suggests that it is unwise and would constitute a misrepresentation to frame the praxis of autonomous social movement as a form of post-left anarchy; to construct a unidirectional translation. It does suggest however that as both speak from the margins, they do therefore share clear resonances and points for dialogue; they are intensely embedded local knowledges that are the grounds from which universalism of pluriversity can be imagined that transgresses not only the content of the epistemological politics of capitalist modernity but also the logic and form of such an epistemological practice. It also suggests that as they speak from different sites of enunciation, their emphasis, orientation and practices differ in their form and content. These dissonances also open up the possibility of learning about 'how' to construct anti-capitalist horizontal communities of mutual translation; of how post-left anarchy can engage with and absorb the subjugated knowl-

edges of the exterior and in so doing reach its borders rupturing the logic of modernity that criss-crosses its theorizing.

Into the Borderlands ...

It is therefore imperative not merely to theorize an overcoming of dualisms between thought and practice, life and politics, mind and body as post-left anarchy, but to practise this overcoming, construct the ‘how’ of these processes moving beyond the limits of the epistemological politics of capitalist coloniality. It is also imperative not only to speak of the necessity of making subjugated knowledges visible but to practise post-representational ways of making knowledge that dethrone the imperial subject of knowing from his epistemic privilege. This involves moving beyond abstract negation to concrete negation and the creation of a living epistemology that can be a basis of the construction in struggle of a post-representational politics. It is, I contend, in the praxis of Latin American social movements that the first step towards a two-way translation can be enacted which creates the grounds for rupturing both the content and the form of the epistemological politics of coloniality that criss-cross in differing ways the practices of post-left anarchy. This is because it can open up closed conceptual categories and break down dualisms between traditions, practices and places. This reading through Latin American subaltern eyes of these groups of perspectives begins the double-translation, on the basis of dialogue, which decentres the West as the site of critical theorizing. Opening up the possibility of *mestizaje*, of an intermingling of traditions, ways of knowing and being which are intensely place based but which are in an open process of self-construction which neither reduces one to the other, nor the other to the one. Such networked pluriversalism breaks geographical borders, conceptual categories and essentialized identities taking us into the borderlands, into the unknown beauty of worlds beyond capitalism.

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14. Geographies and Urban Space

Ian G. Cook and Joanne Norcup

Geography as an academic subject was established in the nineteenth century, being particularly strong in Prussia, Germany. There were close links between the state and the emerging discipline, with the development of subject areas like military geography that studied terrain as an aid to military strategy or commercial geography that sought to identify the resources of different countries, often to support the colonization projects of European powers. But the links between geography and anarchism also began in the nineteenth century with the major contributions of Elisée Reclus and Peter Kropotkin. However, the work of both men was largely ignored or distorted in the histories of geography¹ until their rediscovery in the 1970s, when Richard Peet (1975) and David Stoddart (1975), separately, introduced them to the discipline.²

By the 1970s, a radical geography had emerged, in large part because many in the subject felt that the then dominant spatial analysis approach to geography had nothing to say about such major contemporary situations such as the Vietnam War and the Civil Rights Movement. It was Marxism, and to a lesser extent humanism that came to dominate radical geography but one of the leading radical geographers, Richard Peet, called himself an anarcho-Marxist and dedicated his edited volume on *Radical Geography* to Kropotkin.³ By the time that Ian Cook and David Pepper edited *Anarchism and Geography* in 1990, most of the contributors to that volume acknowledged their debt to Kropotkin especially. The first half of this chapter will therefore explore the immense contribution of Peter Kropotkin and, for urban studies, that of Colin Ward who died in 2010, to radical geography.⁴ The second half of the chapter will show how such legacies are still pertinent today.

¹ For example, both Richard Hartshorne's influential *Perspective on the Nature of Geography* (London: John Murray, 1959) and David Harvey's equally influential *Explanation in Geography*, (London: Arnold, 1969) make no mention of either. T. W. Freeman's *A Hundred Years of Geography* (London: Cox & Wyman, 1961) does, but refers to Kropotkin's later work as being 'on humanism and nihilism' (p. 315) and to Reclus's 'temporary political banishment' with no explanation as to what had caused this.

² Richard Peet, 'For Kropotkin', *Antipode*, 7(2) (1975), 42–3; David Stoddart, 'Kropotkin, Reclus and "Relevant" Geography', *Area*, 7 (1975), 180–90.

³ Richard Peet, *Radical Geography* (London: Methuen, 1977).

⁴ John P. Clark and Camille Martin (eds) *Anarchy, Geography, Modernity: The Radical Social Thought of Elisée Reclus* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2004). Gary Dunbar 'Elisée Reclus, Geographer and Anarchist', *Antipode*, 10(3) and 11(1) (double issue) (1979), 16–21. Gary Dunbar, 'Elisée Reclus, An Anarchist in Geography', in David R. Stoddart (ed.), *Geography, Ideology and Social Con-*

The Contribution of Peter Kropotkin and Colin Ward

We suggest that Kropotkin has appealed to geography not just because of his output as the ‘leading’ figure in anarchism following Bakunin’s death, but also because he was a geographer himself who carried out important work on the physical geography of East Asia. He received the gold medal of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society and was later offered the full-time secretaryship of this society. But he rejected this with the words that were to become famous: ‘What right had I to these higher joys when all around me was misery and struggle for a mouldy bit of bread.’⁵

He therefore rejected a safe and secure life working for the Russian establishment (he was born into an aristocratic family) in favour of taking up a career as a revolutionary. And it is the example of his life that appeals to geographers among others: His daring escape from the infirmary of the Peter-Paul fortress, helping to found revolutionary journals in Switzerland, the United States and the United Kingdom,⁶ and wrongful imprisonment in France, from which he was eventually freed, supported by the international petition signed by such eminent Victorians as William Morris and Patrick Geddes. His personality has also proved inspiring.

Every description of him which I have read refers to his personal qualities – he was modest, had great personal warmth, a saintly nature and a sincerity which endeared him to those he encountered via his writings, lectures, discussions and friendships ... It seems that moves were made to establish him as Professor of Geography at Cambridge but that he declines for reasons similar to those behind his previous rejections of high office.⁷

Kropotkin propounded the concept of anarchist communism (also known as anarcho-communism, communal anarchism and communist anarchism). This is based on the precept ‘from each according to his means, to each according to his needs’, the principle of voluntary decentralized communal federation and the abolition of private property ownership. Kropotkin’s communism also had an ethical dimension. In his book, *Mutual Aid*, Kropotkin argued that humankind is not essentially competitive but has a capacity

cern (Oxford: Blackwell, 1981), 154–64. For those who wish to find out more about Reclus, we recommend studies by Gary Dunbar and more recent work by Clark and Martin. Murray Bookchin, too, is another key figure but the chapter by Andy Price in this volume examines his work and legacy and we shall not therefore discuss it here.

⁵ Peter Kropotkin, cited in George Woodcock, and Ivan Avakumovic, *The Anarchist Prince* (New York: Schocken Books, 1971), p. 94.

⁶ *Le Revolte* in Switzerland, *Freedom* in the United Kingdom and *Solidarity* in the United States.

⁷ Ian G. Cook ‘Kropotkin and a Better Tomorrow: Still Relevant in the 1990s’, in Caroline Cahm, Colin Ward and Ian G. Cook (eds), *P.A. Kropotkin’s Sesquicentennial: A Reassessment and Tribute*, Working Paper 6 (Durham: Centre for European Studies, 1994), p. 21.

for cooperation.⁸ These ideas had a long history and were grounded in his experiences in Siberia, where he went on a geographical expedition, having joined the Cossacks of the Amur rather than the elite regiment that was open to him as a result of his success in the Corps of Pages. It was during his time in Siberia that he encountered the anarchist ideas of the exiled poet Mikhailov, who introduced him to the work of Proudhon. But his own fieldwork played a significant role in the development of his thought. In Siberia, he witnessed societies of exiles and others who were effectively self-governing in the face of an inefficient and inept Russian state. It was via their example that he lost his faith in the state and was ready to become an anarchist.⁹

Other relevant ideas for geography and urban space are illustrated in the prescient work *Fields, Factories and Workshops*, first published in 1899 and presented to the modern world by Colin Ward in the 1974 and 1985 editions (with the significant addition of the word ‘Tomorrow’ to the title of the latter).¹⁰ It begins from the proposition that ‘the present industrial system, based upon a permanent specialisation of functions, already bears in itself the germs of its proper ruin’.¹¹ Kropotkin argued against what we would now term the doctrine or law of comparative advantage, in which regions/countries specialize in whichever product/s best suit their situation. Instead, he suggested that industrialization would extend outwards to different parts of the world and that:

The monopoly of the first comers on the industrial field has ceased to exist. And it will exist no more, whatever may be the spasmodic efforts made to return to a state of things already belonging to the domain of history. New ways, new issues must be looked for: the past has lived, and it will live no more.¹²

Today we would call this process globalization, or global shift.¹³ The details are different, but the outcomes are similar to those he predicted. As an alternative to producing for overseas markets, he firmly believed that ‘[p]rogress must be looked for in another direction. It is in producing for home use ... The true consumers of the produce of our factories must be our own populations.’¹⁴ Today, ecologists and environmentalists of various hues would concur with this view, being concerned about the wastefulness and damage of long-distance transportation of goods across the globe.

⁸ Peter Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution*, second edition, reprinted with a foreword by Ashley Montagu (Boston, MA: Porter Sargent, n.d. [1914/1902]).

⁹ Woodcock and Avakumovic, *The Anarchist Prince*, p. 60.

¹⁰ Peter Kropotkin, *Fields, Factories and Workshops* (London: Freedom Press, 1899). Reprinted with a foreword by Colin Ward as *Fields, Factories and Workshops of Tomorrow* (London: Freedom Press, 1985). Citations are to this edition.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 32.

¹³ See, for example, various editions of the book by Peter Dicken, *Global Shift: Mapping the Contours of the Global Economy* (London: Sage).

¹⁴ Kropotkin, *Fields, Factories and Workshops*, p. 39.

Kropotkin's belief in the possibility of industrial self-sufficiency was also found with respect to agriculture. In a detailed analysis, Kropotkin highlighted the drift from the land that had been under way in Britain for a century or more, and contrasted this with the situation in Belgium, France and elsewhere. Indeed, he went so far as to argue that if all the productive land of Britain was properly cultivated, then a population of 90 million could be sustained from it. Such a figure is breathtaking today and seemed outrageous in 1899, when Malthusian assumptions were entrenched. And yet, as we now see British farmers encouraged to produce less via 'set-aside' of land, it is still the case that the United Kingdom's land is under-utilized and that much more could be produced from it instead of relying upon imports from overseas.

Kropotkin's view was not parochial. Nor did he envisage the end of global interaction:

Not to seduce, I mean, the world exchange: It may still grow in bulk; but to limit it to the exchange of what really must be exchanged, and, at the same time, immensely to increase the exchange of novelties, produce of local or national art, new discoveries and inventions, knowledge and ideas.¹⁵

Interaction would still be important but it would be ecologically sound. Instead of goods being transported for their own sake, they would only be transported according to need for stimulus, variety or distinctiveness.

If Kropotkin was *in favour* of the concept and practice of mutual aid, as noted above, then he was most certainly *against* the concept and practices of the state. Anti-statism is a key feature of anarchist writing, and Kropotkin adhered to this perspective.

And there are those like ourselves who see in the State, both in its present form, in its very essence, and in whatever guise it might appear, an obstacle to the social revolution, the greatest hindrance to the birth of a society based on equality and liberty, as well as the historic means designed to prevent this blossoming.¹⁶

In his essay *The State: Its Historic Role*, he showed how states did not invent social practices and institutions, the jury system for example, and how they crushed the communal spirit of the mediaeval cities by the organization of the 'triple alliance' – military chief, Roman judge and priest.

In the commune, the struggle was for the conquest and defence of the liberty of the individual, for the federative principle, for the right to unite and to act; whereas the States' wars had as their objective the destruction

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 103.

¹⁶ Peter Kropotkin, *The State: Its Historic Role*, reprinted in a new translation from the original French version of 1897 by Vernon Richards (London: Freedom Press, 1969), p. 9.

of these liberties, the submission of the individual, the annihilation of the free contract, and the uniting of men into a universal slavery to king, judge and priest – to the State.¹⁷

Kropotkin shows how difficult it is for us to think critically of the state, for the education system itself is shaped by it, and history written in such a way as to minimize the role of events – such as the French Jacqueries of 1358 in France or the English Peasants' Revolt of 1381 – in which ordinary people sought to challenge the growing power of centralized statist institutions. Similarly, processes rooted in the actions of the state – such as the enclosures in England for example – are presented as 'the action of natural economic forces', which even revolutionaries and 'scientific socialists' accept as fact. And attacks on the communal tradition of customary law, linked to the centralization of legal power are presented as progressive reforms, essential to justice.

Kropotkin notes that many radicals and socialists also support the central control of the state over the individual, believing that social revolution can be accomplished by means of the state's conquest. As he comments, with prescience 'What a sad and tragic mistake!'¹⁸ For Kropotkin, the choice is stark.

Either the State for ever, crushing individual and local life, taking over in all fields of human activity, bringing with it its wars and its domestic struggles for power, its palace revolutions which only replace one tyrant by another, and invariably at the end of this development there is ... death!

Or the destruction of the States, and new life starting again in thousands of centres on the principle of the lively initiative of the individual and groups and that of free agreement.

The choice lies with you!¹⁹

Today, we see a world in which the state is still a key factor politically but is arguably anachronistic economically. On the one hand, the state seems unable to cope with the neo-liberal globalization of the capitalist system in which state regulatory power becomes insignificant in the face of the investment/disinvestment power of transnational companies and dealers in international currency markets or hedge funds for example. On the other hand, states are incapable of being fully responsive to the needs and desires of those in the localities and regions who are at the sharp end of such decisions and who feel betrayed both by this incapability and the unwillingness of states to either act on their behalf or to devolve power to the local level where it is most effective in aiding coping strategies.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 30.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 54.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 56.

Kropotkin's critique of the state and the system of international trade and his ideas about self-organizing are still highly relevant, but geographers looking for inspiration from the work of a modern anarchist might also look at the work of Colin Ward. Ward was one of the foremost anarchist thinkers of the late twentieth century and the author of many articles and books. Born in 1924, he died in 2010. He was from 1947 to 1960 one of the editors of *Freedom*, the London anarchist paper founded by Charlotte Wilson and Peter Kropotkin in the late nineteenth century, and from 1961 to 1970, the editor of *Anarchy*. He subsequently joined the Town and Country Planning Association (TCPA), editing the Bulletin of Environmental Education, *BEE* (Ward 1990, 31). Although his appointment with the TCPA seems somewhat strange, there was an anarchist influence here: Kropotkin's influence on Ebenezer Howard and the Garden City movement led to the founding of the TCPA in the early 1900s. Patrick Geddes, another of Kropotkin's collaborators, was influential in the early decades of the Association. We focus particularly on three of Ward's books, *Housing: An Anarchist Approach*, *The Child in the City* and *Welcome Thinner City*, but he also wrote with others on such topics as arcadia, the history of the British holiday camp, allotments and on sociable cities (which takes up Howard's Garden City ideal in the modern era).

Housing: An Anarchist Approach is a collection of articles and lectures delivered over a 30-year period, on such topics as direct action, self-help and dweller control as alternative solutions to modern housing problems. The book is full of inspirational examples of people coming together in order to meet their own housing needs. Ward took as one example the Glasgow Rent Strike of 1915 during World War I when landlords sought to take advantage of wartime conditions of high employment to increase rents dramatically. Women led the way:

All over the city, when rent increases were made, the housewives banded together street by street, refusing to pay, and forming the Women's Housing Council. They spied on the movements of bailiffs and rent-collectors, barricaded their homes, put the furniture of evicted people back into the houses as soon as it was pitched out, and even had actual fights with the factors. The men came out from the big shipyards and works and the government, finding that their promises of inquiries and legislation did not satisfy the workers, or prevent more men from stopping work, were forced to pass the first Rent Restrictions Act, while the landlords had to withdraw the increase. As one of the workers' delegates said, 'The country can't do without 8,000 workers, but the country can do without the factors.'²⁰

In similar vein, Ward tells how wounded soldiers and others in Vienna responded to government refusals to provide decent housing for them by taking up picks and shovels in order to build foundations for housing within the ex-Emperor's Hunting Park, beginning the *Kriegsinvaliden* settlement. These and other grass-root activities

²⁰ Colin Ward, *Housing: An Anarchist Approach* (London: Freedom Press, 1976), pp. 15–16.

forced the Austrian Government to legalize land takeover and to begin the Vienna Municipal Housing and Town Planning Scheme.²¹

Then there is Christiana, in the Christianshavn area of Copenhagen, where squatters took over a vacated army barracks in late 1971. They fought off the bulldozers and set up an alternative community in which, for example, drug addicts were treated (the community paid to send 30 on a cure to Egypt and according to Ward's friend Stefan Ott, in a letter dated April 1975, 'they have returned with good chances for most of them to be cured').²² Squatters self-policed the community and drug pushers began to realize that they could not sell drugs there any longer. As of 2011, Freetown Christiana still exists. Although the area became notorious for selling cannabis (until the authorities cracked down in 2004), hard drugs were still rejected by the community, according to web searches.

Colin Ward also discusses the work of his friend John Turner and others in Latin America to assist in, and regain from notoriety, shanty-town dwelling, which Turner calls 'the un-aided self-help solution: a demonstration of the common people's initiative and the potential of their resources'.²³ Ward relates the tale of new urban dwellers Blas and Carmen who joined a Squatters' Association that took over empty land outside Lima:

They drove out to the new *barriada*, pegged out a plot fifteen by thirty metres, and built a wall of straw mats around it. They camped for the night inside their wall, and next morning the police came and pulled it down. So they built it up again, and this time the police did not come back.

In the next few months, with the help of friends, they replaced the straw mats with a wall of concrete blocks, strong enough to support a floor above, and Blas put down the payment of \$45 for a big, beautiful front door of cedar wood. Gradually, he and his neighbours built a sewer and put in water pipes and wired up the house for electricity which they bought from another squatter who ran a diesel generator. A few years and several children later, Blas built an upstairs for his house. By this time it was no longer a squatter shack, but a fully equipped family house.²⁴

Across the countries of Latin America, Africa and Asia, shanty-town dwellers seek to construct alternative forms of housing, often in the face of opposition from the authorities and the police, who often do return. Both governments and private enterprise lack the resources to provide housing on the scale required by the migrants from the rural

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 32.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

areas, and therefore the authorities often turn a blind eye to these self-help initiatives, or in the most enlightened cases, grant title to the land that the squatter settlements have taken over. Ward cites Turner to the effect that the *barriada* is the product of three freedoms, freedom of community self-selection, of budgeting one's own resources and shaping one's own environment.²⁵ In this, there is a marked contrast with migrants to North America or Europe, who do not have these freedoms and, as John Turner notes, must

rent only tenements, from slumlords or from public housing authorities. There they must stay until they can make the far higher grade of suburbia in one leap – unless, of course, they are an ethnically discriminated minority in which case the environment will hold them down for ever, or until they burn it down.²⁶

Today, the failure of major mortgage lenders such as Freddy Mac and Fanny Mae in the United States means that even many of those who did make the 'leap' to suburbia are also facing problems in the threat of repossession of hard-won homes.

Ward's *The Child in the City* is in many ways based on the fact that urban life is designed by adults, especially adult males, for adults, especially adult males. Specifically, the responsibility for urban design devolves to white-collar professionals, commuters, who strive to meet the needs and wants of other professionals. Studying children in the urban environment provides salutary findings about both the limitations and also the possibilities of urban design. Some children become acutely street wise, and in contrast with many of today's children who are ferried from point to point by their conscientious yet anxious parents (anxious over the exaggerated threat of 'stranger danger' or heavy traffic), can negotiate urban society with wit and ease. But there are others, often from families living in poverty, who become isolated from the very city itself, with little contact with areas beyond the narrow confines of their home territory:

The poor child, who is usually the most isolated from the life of the city *as* a city, is also, paradoxically, the child who is denied the solace of solitude. He is seldom alone; he is the child who is least likely to have a bedroom or a bed to himself. In many cities of the world, the very concept of privacy for the child is meaningless.²⁷

Such a child has little space for self-development in comparison with his middle-class peers, and learns to expect little from society, again in contrast to the better-off child whose family has expectations of society in general and for him/herself in particular.

Ward's findings are not uniformly gloomy. The city can be rich with opportunity for the young, even in the high-rise blocks that became increasingly common in UK cities

²⁵ Ibid., p. 79.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Colin Ward, *The Child in the City* (London: Architectural Press, 1978), p. 47.

during the 1960s, until the Ronan Point disaster of 1968. One of the present authors, Cook, led student surveys of high-rise flats in Liverpool, Glasgow and Bradford in the 1970s and 1980s and respondents almost universally commented that they were ‘bad for children’. But where there is a will, there is a way, and Ward tells of children’s games as told to Jenny Mills in South London:

... in one London housing estate the boys have actually found a way of travelling on the roof of the lift car, both imperilling their own lives and terrorising the occupants of the lift below their feet. There are several other adaptations to the new urban environment of ancient pranks. One trick is to collect all the doormats from outside a row of front doors along the access balcony of a block of flats and to pile them outside one particular door, or to exchange a worn mat for a new one, waiting to see what the inhabitants will do about it. Another is to tie a length of cotton around a milk bottle and suspend it over the access balcony from some-one’s door knocker. Yet another brief and sensational delight is to buy and assemble a plastic model aeroplane, fill it with cotton wool and paraffin, ignite it and launch it from high up in a block of flats!²⁸

Nevertheless, Ward concludes from his wide-ranging global analysis that ‘the city has failed its children’, a conclusion that found an echo in the song by Cat Stevens [Yusuf Islam], *Where do the children play?* Ward wanted children’s preschool and nursery education to be prioritized and combined with provision for ‘relevant’ educational experiences for older children, through mentoring. He also wanted to integrate the children into the city, to enable them to rear chickens, be involved in recycling activities and other productive pursuits in order to combat their development primarily as consumers, something that is even more a problem today, more than three decades after Ward wrote this fascinating book.

Some of the above might seem a long way from anarchist geography, but it points towards alternative forms of cities, cities which have a richer fabric, a depth and variety of street life that is based in vibrant and active communities at the local or neighbourhood level, one that is child- and adult-friendly. *Welcome Thinner City* came out in 1989 more than a decade after *The Child in the City*, by which time forces of deindustrialization and counter-urbanization, associated with Thatcherism, had reaped havoc in Britain’s cities. People left the cities in droves, leaving an increasingly residual population of the young or the old, many with a low skill base and high levels of poverty. Cook has worked in Liverpool since 1974, can bear personal testimony to the many problems that beset the city in the 1980s especially, and Ward was critical of the many government-led initiatives that meant that ‘Liverpool, in particular, has suffered from the imposition of every kind of “bring in the task force” rhetoric for many

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 101–2.

decades, whatever the flag flying from local or national government, whatever the political colour.’²⁹ The Toxteth Riots of 1981 led to the setting up of the Merseyside Development Corporation, and to Michael Heseltine’s appointment as ‘Minister for Merseyside’, in which he brought businessmen to the city in order to stimulate inward investment. By 1988, however, such investment was minimal, and Ward cites Yvonne Roberts’ observation *inter alia* the lack of investment from Leeds Building Society, ICI and The Prudential, and that the Midland Bank set up a loan scheme in the Albert Dock, not Toxteth. In contrast, Ward also notes the success of Liverpool Community Action in the Weller Street, Hesketh Street Cooperatives and the Eldonian Community led by Tony McGann in providing homes for local people (about which, more in the next section below). In all, this led Ward to the following checklist for urban citizens to improve the urban situation:

1. Do Something about Land Valuation.
2. Help People House Themselves, Inside and Outside the City.
3. Give Real Encouragement to Small Enterprise.
4. Make the Cities Green Again.
5. Find New Ways of Engaging the Young.
6. Give Access to Tools and Technology.
7. Change the Terms of the Debate.

These might seem self-evident but in the light of the corporate initiatives that are assumed in current regeneration schemes, they are still worthy of consideration today. Point 7 refers to the necessity to focus on the needs of poor city dwellers, ‘whether they are for locally accessible work, decent housing, cheap public transport or schooling that really engages their children’.³⁰ The next section shows how the legacy of Ward’s work and that of other authors remain pertinent to geography and urban space studies today.

Anarchist Geography Today: The Legacies of Kropotkin, Reclus and Ward

Since the publication of *Anarchism and Geography* in 1990, which brought together the work of geographers and urbanists such as Myrna Breitbart, Ian Cook, Dennis Hardy, David Pepper and Colin Ward himself, geographers have pursued a number

²⁹ Colin Ward, *Welcome, Thinner City: Urban Survival in the 1990s* (London: Bedford Square Press, 1989), p. 41.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

of themes that reflect the diversity of the subject itself, and the multiplicity of approaches open to geographers. Just as Richard Peet called himself an anarcho-Marxist, groups of contemporary geographers also seek to fuse traditions, labelling themselves eco-feminists or anarcho-feminists. Some of the interest in Kropotkin and Reclus is very much rooted within the academic discipline of geography itself, in terms of its historiography. In political geography courses, for instance, Kropotkin might be studied as an alternative to mainstream geographers of the late nineteenth century. As Kearns for instance has shown that Kropotkin's paper *What Geography Ought to Be* is used as a starting point to stretch geographical education and the geographical imagination.³¹ Within the general history of the subject, the place of Kropotkin and Reclus's work now seems to be firmly established. Blunt and Wills' book, *Dissident Geographies*, devotes a 40-page opening chapter to anarchism and geography, which draws substantially on their work.³² Similarly, in a recent article in the *Journal of Historical Geography*, Ferreti examines the extensive correspondence between Kropotkin and Reclus in order to explore the links between geography, politics and public education and the role both played in the construction of geographical knowledge.³³ Another recent work, apart from that discussed below, also includes a study of bioregionalism in the United States that draws upon Kropotkin's legacy.³⁴

Yet the real influence of anarchism in geography can be seen in the ways in which geographers have sought to follow Kropotkin's and Ward's examples and apply their ideas practically. Those interested in anarchistic alternatives often seek to work with, rather than on, the community in order to support community endeavours. Ward's influence is detectable here. For example, Cook and colleagues in the geography section of Liverpool Polytechnic [John Moores University] worked with others in Liverpool in the 1990s to found Community Works.

Community Works was set up in 1991 as a joint initiative of Liverpool Community Rights, Liverpool Polytechnic, and the Community Liaison Section of City Council, to provide a Forum and a Network for Community Groups involved in economic development in their neighbourhoods. Community Works aims to encourage and support Community Based Economic Development (CBED) by organising conferences and seminars on key issues, by running study visits to projects in other parts of the coun-

³¹ Gerry Kearns, 'The Political Pivot of Geography', *The Geographical Journal*, 170(4) (2004), 337–46. Gerry Kearns, *Geopolitics and Empire: The Legacy of Halford Mackinder* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). See final chapter.

³² A. Blunt and J. Wills, *Dissident Geographies: An Introduction to Radical Ideas and Practice* (Harlow, Essex: Prentice Hall, 2000), chapter 1.

³³ F. Ferreti, 'The correspondence between Elisee Reclus and Piotr Kropotkin as a source for the history of geography', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 37(2) (2010), 211–22.

³⁴ J. A. Dolezal, 'Literary activism, social justice, and the future of bioregionalism', *Ethics and the Environment*, 13(1) (2008), 1–22.

try, by linking in with relevant professionals working in this field and by representing the interests of its members in relevant forums.³⁵

Between 1991 and 1994, Community Works and its partners ran a range of activities: meetings to provide input into the Liverpool City Council Economic Development Plans, information-gathering for applications to the European Social Fund and networking visits to Glasgow and South Wales. It also established working groups on Employment, Childcare and how to bid for European (Objective One) funding that was available at the time. A *Community Works Directory* and a *Liverpool Community Atlas* were also produced, and, with the Eldonians (mentioned by Ward above), the first Job Link Survey in Liverpool (the *Vauxhall Job Link Survey*), in which local interviewers were trained to interview local people to find out about employment needs in the locality, and how these needs could be met through CBED activities. Today, the legacy of such initiatives lives on in Liverpool Community Spirit and the Liverpool Community Network, which have a wide reach across the city.³⁶ In all this work, the influence of Colin Ward was implicit and this was recognized in the obituaries published in the international journal *City*, and the work by Chatterton.³⁷

Another geographer from Liverpool John Moores University, Sara Parker, has also worked closely with a local community, but in her case, it is in Sikles, Nepal. She has engaged in action research to improve literacy levels of local women in particular. Her engagement with local people began nearly 20 years ago and it has resulted in a photography project in which local people have taken many stunning and meaningful photos of their locality.³⁸ There is a link here to the work of Linda Peake discussed below.

A related interest of geographers and others lies in cooperative endeavours and cooperative values – principles of mutual aid – as an antidote to capitalist and statist behaviours. Cook and Jenny Clegg have worked on a study of China's Gung Ho (*Gong He*) Cooperative Movement, which developed during the period of the war against Japan in 1937. The Japanese takeover of the industrial bases along the coast, especially Shanghai, meant that China's industrial capacity was reduced to a minimal level. Foreign expatriates and their Chinese colleagues worked together (the meaning of Gong He) to ensure that worker's cooperatives sprang up across the interior of China,

³⁵ Community Works, *Are You Up to Date with Community Works?* (Liverpool Community Rights: Community Works Leaflet, 1994), p. 2.

³⁶ Liverpool Community Network (2010), at www.liverpoolfirst.org.uk/community-partners, accessed 30 November 2010. Liverpool Community Spirit (2010) available at www.communityspirit.org.uk/, accessed 30 November 2010.

³⁷ There were obituaries in *City*, 14(3) (2010), by Dennis Hardy (pp. 326–7) and David Goodway (pp. 328–330), while Paul Chatterton wrote 'The Urban Impossible: A Eulogy for the Unfinished City', in the Colin Ward tradition, pp. 234–44.

³⁸ *Our Village, Our Life* is produced by the Sikles Development Concerned Group, a local community-based organisation to which all the profits will go. Dr Sara Parker is the editor, and the book is printed by Jagadamba Press (Kathmandu, 2011).

in locations where little industry existed. Baoji, a railway terminus in the North West became a ‘cooperative city’ similar to Barcelona in the 1930s. Further details of this inspirational experiment are provided in the sources listed in this note.³⁹

The legacy of such cooperative endeavours lives on today, for the movement was resurrected in the late 1980s, with the International Committee for Chinese Industrial Cooperatives (ICCIC), the body that raised funds overseas for the cooperatives in the late 1930s and 1940s. ICCIC has recently provided training in the Sichuan earthquake zone, ‘helping people to set up cooperatives to regenerate the local economy’ and aiming for ‘a more balanced and participatory development path for China’.⁴⁰ Molly Scott-Cato too has examined social and cooperative models of economic activity, in her case in the Kropotkinite tradition.⁴¹

As we have shown above, legacies of engagement with anarchist ideas promoted by Kropotkin and Ward continue to weave directly and indirectly through the praxis of a wide number of geographical researchers, writers and educators. In the final section of this chapter, we will illustrate the scope and diversity of work undertaken through the contemporaneous activities of geographical practitioners who have variously adopted and adapted anarchism in their work to stimulate social, environmental and spatial justice with communities both within and beyond urban locations. By looking at exemplars that do not label themselves explicitly as anarchist (avoiding all the political ‘baggage’ that ‘ism’s’ involve), this section begins by looking at the praxis of anarcha-feminists in planning and envisioning urban spaces, particularly the work of Myrna Breitbart and Linda Peake. Such praxis has indeed encouraged reflection on research processes, and the role of participatory action research (PAR) will be explored. Exemplars of this approach to geographical engagement will be illustrated when looking at the role of popular education initiatives in negotiating and reclaiming imagined, actual and knowledgeable spaces through the work of the Trapeze Collective, and finally looking at the work of the Lammas Project, the community of Tir Y Gafel, Pembrokeshire, and the motivations of the Ecological Land Cooperative. The chapter will then conclude by raising questions about future areas of engagement with regard to anarchism, anarchisms and the making of spaces which transect and transgress urban and rural definitions.

³⁹ Rewi Alley, *Rewi Alley: An Autobiography*, third edition (Beijing: New World Press, 1997). Jenny Clegg and Ian G. Cook, ‘Gung Ho in China: Towards Participatory Cooperatives’, *Journal of Cooperative Studies*, 42(3) (2010), 4–13. Ian G Cook and Jenny Clegg, ‘Shared Visions of Co-operation at a Time of Crisis: The Gung Ho Story in China’s Anti-Japanese Resistance’, in A. Webster et al. (eds), *The Hidden Alternative* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011). Lu, Guangmian (Lu Kuang-mien), *Co-operatives* (Nanjing: Chinese Ministry of Information Pamphlet 6, 1946). Nym Wales, *China Builds for Democracy: A Story of Cooperative Industry* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, [1941] 2004).

⁴⁰ Cook and Clegg, ‘Shared Visions of Co-operation at a Time of Crisis: The Gung Ho Story in China’s Anti-Japanese Resistance’.

⁴¹ M. Scott-Cato, ‘Did the Earth move? Social and Co-operative Models of Economic Activity’, *Development*, 53(3) (2010), 333–7.

Anarcha-Feminism, Feminist Geographies and PAR

In the anarcha-feminist reader *Quiet Rumours* (2002), the Dark Star Collective brings together a range of case study exemplars of actions of anarchist-feminists or anarcha-feminism and their myriad potentials and possibilities. Feminism as a political ideology is described by Lynne Farrow as being inherently anarchistic because:

Feminism practices what anarchism preaches. One might go as far as to claim feminists are the only existing protest groups that can honestly be called practicing anarchists ... because as essentially apolitical, women for the most part refuse to engage in the political combat terms of right or left, reformism or revolution, respectively.⁴²

In other words, political parties and the formal spaces of political power, be they part of government or of formal cultural institutions often give little regard to the everyday casual discriminations of women in space. Virtual and real spaces prove reductive and prescriptive to particular cultural notions of the role or roles of women, mostly without giving women themselves the necessary social and political frameworks through which to speak for themselves. Formal accounts of anarchism often bypass women in favour of the better-known, more fully archived accounts of their male counterparts, in turn often silencing the voice of women, and so, like the ‘little red hen’ of children’s stories, feminists simply tend to get on with it and do it for themselves. As Sheila Rowbotham⁴³ has noted, the challenges presented by this approach can be a threadbare archive. Although there are examples of histories that take account of significant anarchist women, such as Dennis Hardy’s⁴⁴ account of radical anarcha-feminists like Nellie Shaw, who co-established and transformed the Whiteways colony in the Cotswold, the ‘her-stories’ of the small-scale everyday transgressive anarchistic actions of women often get written out of history.⁴⁵

When geographers examine each other’s activities in radical political praxis, a similar situation often results. The politically radical work of female practitioners often gets overlooked in favour of the work of their male counterparts. Moreover, the interpretation of ideological motivations often serves to label and exclude a range of progressive, transgressive and transformative initiatives that work across communities

⁴² L. Farrow, ‘Feminism as Anarchism’, in Dark Star Collective (ed.), *Quiet Rumours: An Anarcha-Feminist Reader* (Edinburgh: AK Press, 2002).

⁴³ Sheila Rowbotham, *Threads Through Time: Writings on History and Autobiography* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1999).

⁴⁴ Dennis Hardy, ‘The Anarchist Alternative: A History of Community Experiments in Britain’, in Ian G. Cook and David Pepper (eds), *Anarchism and Geography*. Issue 3.2: *Contemporary Issues of Geography and Education* (London: Association for Curriculum Development, 1990), pp. 35–51.

⁴⁵ This is particularly noteworthy in the historiographies of academic subjects such as geography. For further discussions, see Avril Maddrell, *Complex Locations: Women’s Geographical Work in the UK 1850–1970* (Oxford: Royal Geographical Society/Blackwell-Wiley, 2009).

to change the way people live and inhabit both urban and rural spaces. The remainder of this chapter will attempt to redress the balance by looking at a number of projects that have taken their lead from a desire to make social and environmental justice more accessible and visible in community planning and development; projects across time and space that are enabling and inspiring communities in their envisioning of the world and ways of living and being beyond a neo-liberal discourse. The praxis of geographers Myrna Breitbart and Linda Peake are particularly important exemplars.

Both Breitbart and Peake have made significant and sustained academic and pedagogic commitments to work in collective self-governing spaces that transect urban and governmental planning structures and both have attempted to effect changes by working alongside communities, rather than keeping them at arm's length and treating them as subjects for research. Working in this way gives practical and tangible force to anarchist aspirations without demanding compliance with explicit political dictates, while also potently and fundamentally transforming the ways in which knowledge and ideas, and the structures that perpetuate them, can be transgressed and altered to allow those who would otherwise be excluded to make space for themselves. Central to their feminist praxis is the commitment to work in a longitudinal time frame, sharing knowledge and ideas about the development of urban space and creating places in and through which those disconnected are able to engage on their own terms.

Since completing her PhD on the geographical spaces of anarchism and the Spanish Civil War,⁴⁶ Breitbart has spent her subsequent academic career engaging with the ways anarchist practices facilitate community activity with local urban spaces and environmentally sustainable approaches to planning.⁴⁷ Breitbart described this approach as social anarchism, taking inspiration from Kropotkin, and the idea of the 'popular struggle to articulate a totally new way of life'.⁴⁸

The nature of Breitbart's work, in particular with young peoples' engagement with urban planning and regeneration in Holyoke, Massachusetts, is worthy of detailed note. Here, Breitbart became a founding member of the Holyoke Planning Network, a collective of 'community organisations, activists, academics, professionals and students who are working to build mutually beneficial partnerships between local institutions of higher education and the community of Holyoke' to promote 'social, political, and economic equality in the city of Holyoke through a participatory community-driven approach to sustainable development'.⁴⁹ Their mission statement gives a clear lead to

⁴⁶ M. M. Breitbart, *The Theory and Practise of Anarchist Decentralisation in Spain 1936–1939: The Integration of Community and Environment (PhD thesis, Clark University, MA, 1978)*.

⁴⁷ Breitbart has variously published in the geographical journal *Antipode* since 1978 concerning social anarchism and theory that critiques existing social structures while working towards a non-authoritative future. For further Breitbart articles, see the *Antipode*, 10(3) (1978).

⁴⁸ Peter Kropotkin, *Selected Writings on Anarchism and Revolution*, ed. Martin Miller (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1970), cited in Breitbart, 'Introduction', *Antipode*, 10(3) (1978), 1–5.

⁴⁹ Holyoke Planning Network website: www.holyokeec3.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=18:holyoke-planning-network&catid=12:background&Itemid=13, accessed 21 September 2011.

the residents and community based in Holyoke, stating that local institutions ‘will take the leadership from the residents and community-based organisations of Holyoke’.⁵⁰

The diverse range of initiatives developed in the three decades of the Holyoke Planners Network illustrates an anarchist commitment not simply to education, but also in connecting educational space – in this instance, students and institutional colleges with a network of different community groups across the Holyoke community. Such connections have facilitated planning debates, bringing improvements to bus networks and changes in the school curricula. Educational programmes have become more reflexive of the needs of the community. Not only have they made space for the development of sustainable economic activity in the area, and provided scholarships to help youth navigate ways through the education system, they have also challenged institutional racism and inequalities through curricula design and assessment procedures that cut across five colleges in the area. The Network has also supported ongoing environmental justice programmes.

Breitbart’s role in co-founding the Holyoke Planning Network and working with the project, the people and the location, has facilitated affective changes in the inhabitants and environment. It has also offered up practical space useful for her work. As a result, her geographical thinking has developed, and done so in a non-hierarchical fashion.

In a different way, Linda Peake⁵¹ has similarly worked for nearly three decades on issues of gender, race and sexuality in urban and rural spaces across Guyana, South America. In co-founding Red Thread⁵² in 1986, Peake has worked with local female activists to explore spaces of feminism from spaces within a country in the Global South. She has been able to detail and document the progress of anti-racist and anti-sexist campaigns that have highlighted domestic violence, the international sex trade, issues of reproductive health and of young people, gender and sexuality (creating spaces for teaching, discussion and safe community spaces). Her project might easily be overlooked by anarchist writers since it is not explicitly tied to anarchism and it does not draw on the writings of anarchists from the Global North. Yet the essence of what is being done – the attention given to lives lived rather than to documentation, the engagement with local researchers, skill-sharing and campaigning to engender sustained spaces for open dialogue and new ways of being – is most certainly part of a broader anarchistic sensibility that challenges oppressive power structures and replaces them with community-based alternatives.

Working with community groups over a sustained or long-term time frame allows academic researcher-activists and community groups to experiment with ways of work-

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ For more information about Linda Peake, see www.yorku.ca/lpeake/. For more about Peake and her work with Red Thread, read Linda Peake, *The Lost Amerindian Girls, The Tooth Fairy, and the Whore of Babylon* (Department of Geography Paper 190, University of Reading, 2009), available at www.reading.ac.uk/web/FILES/geog/GP190.pdf.

⁵² For general background on Red Thread, see www.unitedcaribbean.com/redthread.html as well as Peake, *The Lost Amerindian Girls*.

ing and communicating with each other in developing sustained praxis. The longitudinal nature of both Peake's and Breitbart's work is indicative of the fundamental shift that has taken place in geographical theorizing in the adoption of methodological approaches appropriate to research practice. In her 2004 methods chapter on PAR,⁵³ Breitbart explains how trends emerging in social justice campaigns and from the research undertaken by Bill Bunge in 1971⁵⁴ led the way for geographers to re-engage with urban space, especially in areas where development and redevelopment were being discussed in a manner that facilitated the voices of those otherwise removed from the structures of power regulating planning procedures. Breitbart defines PAR thus:

PAR is not a specific methodology with exact procedures, nor is it about data-collection alone. In a participatory data collection process, however, great value is placed on the knowledge that 'ordinary' people possess ... The most basic and distinguishing principle of participatory research is sustained dialogue between external and community researchers ...⁵⁵

Breitbart's sustained involvement with the Holyoke Planners Network provides a living illustration of a fundamental anarchistic belief about access to knowledge production and the place of education as part of everyday social and spatial interactions, rather than a system set apart from them. In particular, it highlights the way that knowledge production frames and shapes ideas and visions of future geographical developments such as access to and uses of resources in the making of urban and rural landscapes.

The first decade of the twenty-first century has seen increasing numbers of geographical researchers embracing participatory approaches when researching and investigating some of the big global issues.⁵⁶ At the heart of these issues is a concern with environmental sustainability in the use of resource materials for habitable living: in the planning and development of places, and especially the processes of communication, discussion and debate in ensuring social and environmental justice for inclusive community living.

⁵³ Explored more fully in Breitbart's chapter 'Participatory Research Methods' in the popular undergraduate textbook *Key Methods in Geography*, ed. N. Clifford and G. Valentine (London: Sage, 2004), 162–178.

⁵⁴ W. Bunge, *The Geography of the Children of Detroit*, Detroit Geographical Expedition and Institute Discussion Paper no. 3 (East Lansing, MI, 1971). See also Bunge, W., 'The First Years of the Detroit Geographical Expedition: Personal Report', in Peet, *Radical Geography* (London: Methuen, 1977), pp. 31–9.

⁵⁵ Breitbart, 'Participatory Research Methods'. Chapter 11 in *Key Methods in Geography*, p. 164

⁵⁶ See D. Fuller and R. Kitchin, *Radical Theory/Critical Praxis: Making a Difference Beyond the Academy?* (Epress, 2004), available at www.praxis-epress.org/rtcp/RTCP_Whole.pdf. The Participatory Geographies Research Group (PGRG) of the Royal Geographical Society with Institute of British

Do-it-yourself geographies: Communities and popular education – The Lammas Project and the Ecological Land Cooperative

The importance of the do-it-yourself (DIY) movement that first emerged in the 1980s to radical geography was noted by Blunt and Wills in 2000. More recently, the Lammas Project⁵⁷ provides an illustration of a more focused attempt to create a community, using the desires of its members rather than the controls of the planning system as its starting point. Established in 2005, the Lammas Project began with three founding members, united by a shared desire to create a community in which people could live and work in a long-term carbon-neutral, ecologically sustainable way. Focusing on an old village model, the development builds on what Simon Fairlie⁵⁸ has defined as low-impact-living: where the community is bound by a wish to live off the land, carbon-neutrally, using local resources and local knowledge of craft and agricultural practices – not by ideological commitment. In 2009, after working through the planning system, the Lammas Project gained permission to build Tir y Gafel, an ecovillage consisting of nine eco smallholdings on the 76-acre site in Pembrokeshire, Wales. This first ecovillage of its kind, set up by the community that lives in it, provides a hub space to inspire visitors to establish similar initiatives not just in Wales, but through use of the internet, on a national and international scale. While the network of the Lammas Project is based primarily in Wales, the Ecological Land Cooperative is a network that campaigns for greater awareness and promotion of cooperative land developments in rural regions in an effort to repopulate and offer up affordable and sustainable alternatives to living in a way that facilitates a holistic relationship between people and the land.⁵⁹

Another similarly inspirational example of a DIY initiative is the Trapeze Collective.⁶⁰ As Colin Ward noted in his Institute of Education address on anarchism and education in 1970,⁶¹ anarchists have always held a deep and close interest in pedagogies and understood that the spatial practice of education can stimulate people to think about themselves, their geographical imaginings and conceptions of society, the world at large and the power structures therein. William Godwin's attempt to take education out of the hands of social and cultural elites was a benchmark of anarchistic thinking, which has since been echoed in challenges to classroom discipline, attacks

Geographers was established during this time. Last accessed 23 September 2011.

⁵⁷ www.lammas.org.uk/. Last accessed 23 September 2011.

⁵⁸ S. Fairlie, *Low Impact Development: Planning and People in a Sustainable Countryside* (Chipping Norton, Oxfordshire: Jon Carpenter, 1996), first edition.

⁵⁹ Primarily, these ideas relate to living sustainably within a small holding and connect with ideas of permaculture endorsed by Bill Mollison and John Seymour. For further details, see www.ecologicalland.coop/about-us-our-mission. Last accessed 23 September 2011.

⁶⁰ www.trapeze.org.

⁶¹ See Colin Ward, *Anarchism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

on the dogmatism of curricula and the systemic valuing of particular knowledge and skills over others. As Paulo Freire, Michael Apple and Noam Chomsky have argued, education needs to be rooted in communities if societies are to engage properly with social construction and reconstruction. Moreover, if social and indeed spatial justice is to be achieved and sustained, it is necessary for people to define systems of education that support their future desires.

One of the most recent iterations of this call for free and empowering education has come from the popular education movement, which not only supports the establishment of community-led education initiatives, free of charge, but which also aims to motivate increased community engagement with environmental and social justice initiatives. Popular education is designed to provide training for people to learn how to think independently, critically and creatively, and to engage with and construct their own ways of making sustainable places. These initiatives are central to the work of the Trapese Collective. The Trapese ('Taking Radical Action through Popular Education and Sustainable Everything!') Collective engage practically with community initiatives and tackle the big questions facing twenty-first-century society. Rather than imposing ideas, the collective works with young people and adults across local, national and international spaces to share practical skills, and to inspire and enable people to develop their own workable solutions to issues of social and environmental injustice. Working through the semi-structures of alternative international climate change networks, the group offers its insights and knowledge as a form of skill-share. For those unable to meet in person, the collective has created a number of multimedia publications, including its *Do It Yourself: A Handbook for Changing Our World*, as well as online films and a website through which visitors (or those with internet access at least) are able to gain access to the contents of the book, films and their mission statement.⁶²

Such cases indicate that geographies of spaces; how they are envisaged ideologically, how they would be made methodologically and how they would function practically, reveal a hybridising of ideas and praxis in efforts to reconnect people with places, be they urban or rural, and the transitional spaces between; how people view each other, and how they learn about the world.⁶³

In all such endeavours, within and outside the discipline of geography, and within and outside the explicitly urban space of action, we see the continuing relevance of anarchist ideas and concepts – first expounded in the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries – for twenty-first-century living.

⁶² www.trapese.org.

⁶³ *Do It Yourself: A Handbook for Changing Our World*, ed. the Trapese Collective. First published by Pluto Press, London, 2007. Also licensed under creative commons, available at www.handbookforchange.org.

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15. There Ain't No Black in the Anarchist Flag! Race, Ethnicity and Anarchism

Süreyya Evren

Although anarchists have a central interest in problems of domination and oppression, concepts of race and ethnicity have not been subject to sustained analysis in anarchist literatures. This failure can be explained with reference to the priority that has been given to the great ideas of a few dead white men in the historical analysis of anarchism. Recent shifts within anarchist movements provide a new impetus to challenge this approach and to draw on traditions of thinking about racism, ethnicism, internationalism and colonialism to explore the possibility of developing an alternative. Looking first at the eurocentrism of standard histories and then at the eurocentric assumptions that underpin them, I explore the limitations of dominant anarchist historiography and suggest the possibility of an alternative.

Eurocentrism and Anarchist History

How are Third World anarchisms represented in orthodox accounts of anarchism? The answer is in one of two ways: either they appear as mere expressions of the core European anarchist ideals – the europeanization thesis – or as imitative of Western traditions. Both are captured perfectly in Daniel Guérin's claim that 'Russia had no libertarian traditions ... it was in foreign lands that Bakunin and Kropotkin became anarchists'.¹ How is it that the history of a genuinely anti-colonialist movement came to be shaped like this? And why do these ideas continue to dominate? To understand why, we have to consider the ways in which canonical thinking has prioritized particular histories of the movement and then consider the assumptions which underpin this prioritization. There are a number of examples of the orthodox approach – the accounts by Irving Horowitz and James Joll rank among the most important.

Irving L. Horowitz's *The Anarchists* is a reader on anarchism.² The structure of the book suggests that anarchist ideas precede anarchist practice, and that practice

¹ D. Guérin, *Anarchism* (London and New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970), p. 94

² Nirmal I. Horowitz, *The Anarchists* (New York: Dell, 1964).

is just an application of that idea.³ It has two parts: the first is titled ‘The Theory’, and the second ‘The Practice’. Part one includes three sections. The first, ‘Anarchism as a Critique of Society’, has writings by Dennis Diderot, Errico Malatesta, Pierre Joseph Proudhon, William Godwin, Michael Bakunin, Peter Kropotkin, Benjamin R. Tucker and Rudolf Rocker. The second, ‘Anarchism as a Style of Life’, has pieces from Joseph Conrad, Fyodor Dostoyevsky, Leo Tolstoy, Albert Camus, Emma Goldman and Sacco and Vanzetti; and the third, ‘Anarchism as a System of Philosophy’, contains work by Max Stirner, Henry David Thoreau, Josiah Warren, William Ernest Hocking, Herbert Read and Paul Arthur Schilpp. The part ‘The Practice’ is made up of two sections. The first ‘The Historical Dimension’, has pieces on anarchism in Spain, Italy, the United States, France, Russia, Kronstadt, Northern Europe and Latin America, and the second, ‘The Sociological Dimension’, has pieces from Georges Sorel, Paul Goodman, Robert Presthus, Philip Selznick and Karl Schapiro.

By this arrangement, Horowitz creates a picture of anarchism as a European idea and European movement. In his extensive introduction, he mentions only Gandhi, representing him as an exponent of pacifist anarchism together with Tolstoy.⁴ There are no non-Western names in his postscript at the end of the book.⁵ Admittedly, the book includes a piece on anarchism in Latin America.⁶ But this is actually a reprint of a chapter in George Woodcock’s *Anarchism*⁷ and it includes a very, very short summary of anarchist movements in Latin America suggesting that anarchism in Latin America was known, but thought irrelevant or uninteresting.⁸ Perhaps Horowitz was also aware of anarchist movements in Japan and China as well and excluded them because he thought them even more irrelevant. This makes sense from a eurocentric point of view,

³ Osugi Sagae formulates the anarchistic perspective perfectly: ‘In a movement there is direction. However, there is no “ultimate purpose.” The ideal of a movement is not something that discovers itself in its “ultimate purpose.” Ideals usually accompany the movement and advance with it. Ideals are not things that precede the movement. They are in the movement itself. They cut their pattern in the movement itself.’ T. Stanley, *Osugi Sakae, Anarchist in Taisho Japan: The Creativity of the Ego* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1982), p. 71.

⁴ Horowitz, *The Anarchists*, pp. 15–64. The only other non-Westerner Horowitz refers to is Francisco Juliao and his Peasant Leagues in Brazil, but he does not refer to them as anarchists.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 581–603.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 482–95.

⁷ Woodcock’s *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1986) includes a chapter titled ‘Various Traditions: Anarchism in Latin America, Northern Europe, Britain and the United States’. Horowitz included that chapter in his volume but omitted sections on Britain and the United States.

⁸ In the 1950s, Woodcock travelled to Mexico and Peru and wrote travel books on these regions. *City of the Dead* (London: Faber and Faber, 1957) and *Incas and Other Men* (London: Faber and Faber, 1959). Woodcock begins his chapter on anarchist traditions by suggesting that ‘anarchism has thriven best in lands of the sun’ and it was the ‘men of the South who have flocked in their thousands to the black banners of anarchic revolt, the Italians and Andalusians and Ukrainians, the men of Lyons and Marseilles, of Naples and Barcelona’. Horowitz, *The Anarchists*, p. 482. For M. W. Lewis and K. E. Wigen, this is a clear example of environmental (or geographical) determinism, though in the Anglo-American academy, environmental determinism ‘tended to support the self-serving notion

because if it is already clear that what happened in these countries makes no difference to our understanding of what anarchism and the anarchist movement is, then of course experiments in these countries are only relevant for scholars who work on these cultures, not those working on anarchism.

In *The Anarchists*, James Joll notes that ‘the anarchist movement in the 1880s and ’90s was genuinely international’.⁹ He adds: not only was it ‘to be found in Europe. Anarchists from Europe brought anarchist ideas to the United States and, for a short time at least, influenced the development of the labour movement there’.¹⁰ Having made the point about the international and non-European dimension of anarchism, Joll makes no further reference to non-European anarchism other than that in the Americas.¹¹ This is quite striking: although he calls the movement international, virtually all the countries (and nations) he discusses and which count in ‘anarchist internationalism’ are Western European. Moreover, anarchism in the United States and Americas is depicted as the *anarchism of immigrants*.¹²

To complete the analysis, when he talks about anarchism in Argentina, he talks about *Malatesta*. Malatesta he says ‘went to South America and spent four years in Argentina, where he spread anarchist ideas among the Italian immigrants and left an anarchist stamp on the organized working-class movement ...’¹³ The Italian immigrants and refugees who played an imported role in developing anarchist ideas through the global linkages that extended from France, Switzerland, England, Spain, to the United States, Argentina, Brazil, Egypt and Tunisia, are not mentioned.¹⁴ One sentence on Malatesta is sufficient to cover Third World anarchisms in Joll’s study.

The consequences of a eurocentric anarchist canon are explicit in David Miller’s *Anarchism*. Miller claims that his work is not a history of anarchism but a discussion of

that temperate climates alone produced vigorous minds, hardy bodies, and progressive societies, while tropical heat produced races marked by languor and stupefaction’. Lewis and Wigen, *The Myth of Continents, A Critique of Metageography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), p. 42.

⁹ James Joll, *The Anarchists* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1964), p. 138. In his essay, ‘Anarchism – A Living Tradition’, he still insists that anarchism is an ‘international phenomenon’ and that these (international) nations are the same European nations referred to in his book *The Anarchists*. See D. Apter and J. Joll (eds), *Anarchism Today* (London: Macmillan, 1971), p. 212.

¹⁰ Joll, *The Anarchists*, p. 139.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 139–48.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 141.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 175. In another passage on syndicalism, Joll mentions Latin America but not specifically its anarchists ‘... in Latin America, for instance, where the labour movement was weak and the class struggle bitter, militant leaders were able to direct working-class organizations along syndicalist lines’. There is just one more place in the book where Joll extends the geographical scope: In the conclusion, Joll says that the ideals of the anarchists might be more appropriate in industrially underdeveloped countries, and there he gives the example of India and Gandhi, Narayan and Bhave, but only then to assert that Narayan’s non-parliamentary alternative is unlikely (p. 278). He does not describe Gandhi as an anarchist.

¹⁴ N. Pernicone, *Italian Anarchism, 1864–1892* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 3.

anarchist philosophy and the anarchist movement as it is depicted in existing histories. He cites Joll's *The Anarchists* as one of the 'excellent histories of anarchism that are currently available'.¹⁵ In the whole book, the only reference to a non-Western thinker that he makes is to Gandhi. That is all. Consequently while he claims to discuss 'anarchism', he is in fact only discussing Western anarchism. Imagine someone discussing only African anarchism, who failing to say so, pretends that he or she is discussing anarchism in general. George Crowder's *Classical Anarchism* does something like this.¹⁶ Like Miller, Crowder discusses anarchist theory and the anarchist movement without any reference to a non-Western thinker or movement because he, too, also absorbs a particular idea of anarchism without questioning it. Crowder does not even have a reference to Gandhi.

The Flow of Anarchist Ideas Around the Globe

Malatesta's role in Joll's work is highly instructive and illustrates an understanding of the movement of ideas. On the one hand, the movement is described in a simple linear form. When he turns to Spain, Joll thus describes the movement of ideas through the travels of Giuseppe Fanelli, an Italian anarchist, who, as is well known, created important links with Spain.¹⁷ Yet the movement of ideas rarely follows such a simple process and other flows are traceable, though importantly missed out.¹⁸ Second, when an idea moves from Italy to Spain, it is considered as an *internal* flow, or treated as a development of 'the idea' within the (European) body. Joll describes this as a missionary process. Fanelli's 'first audiences' were 'first converts'.¹⁹ In contrast, when the idea moves to Argentina, it is considered as a transfer from one body to another, or a migration. A person or group spreads 'the idea' to another environment, to somewhere it does not actually belong. The idea is at home when it is in Western Europe, even when it is new (as in the Spanish case in 1868). But when the idea appears in Japan or in Argentina, it is in a foreign environment and immigrants are its carriers. Even more

¹⁵ D. Miller, *Anarchism* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1984), p. 2.

¹⁶ G. Crowder, *Classical Anarchism: The Political Through of Godwin, Proudhon, Bakunin and Kropotkin* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

¹⁷ Fanelli arrived in Spain in October 1868. 'The tale of Fanelli's arrival and initial tour through Spain makes a fascinating story, one that quickly became part of the folklore of the (Spanish anarchist) movement.' M. Ackelsberg, *Free Women of Spain, Anarchism and the Struggle for the Emancipation of Women* (Edinburgh & Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2005), p. 67.

¹⁸ The flow of Proudhon's work is evident in the Proudhonism of Pi y Margall and his federalist campaign in Spain. Nevertheless, Fanelli had previously been a follower of Carlo Pisacane 'former chief-of-staff of Mazzini's Roman republican army of 1849 and martyr of the Sapri expedition of 1857'. And Pisacane is 'generally considered the precursor to Italian socialism, and he was chiefly influenced by the French anarchist Pierre-Joseph Proudhon' (Pernicone, *Italian Anarchism, 1864-1892*, pp. 11-12). There were many other flows: of Jewish exiles, anti-colonial solidarity movements, artistic radicalism and queer activism.

¹⁹ Joll, *The Anarchists*, p. 226.

importantly, when ‘the idea’ is carried by certain individuals from Italy to Spain, when native Spaniards are recruited to practise the idea, this development is not described as the practice of ‘Italian anarchism in a Spanish political environment’, but instead as the practice of anarchism. It is described as part of a history of anarchism because it is another instance of the idea ‘at home’. This is not the case in Brazil or China.

What is referred to as the anarchist movement, founded in nineteenth-century Europe as an idea practised and applied in Europe and then imitated in other parts of the world, is a construction based on a geographical mode of thinking. Wigen and Lewis call this the ‘myth of continents’. Europe, they argue, is not a spatial term, but an ideological structure, just like Asia.²⁰ Unfortunately, anarchist histories are bound to it. Among the decisive notions one can point to is the ‘notion that the West is coincident with modernity and that the non-West can enter the modern world only to the extent that it emulates the norms established in Europe and northern North America’.²¹

The idea that anarchism was a European phenomenon that spread to the rest from the West is an example of what J. M. Blaut calls ‘geographical diffusionism’, where progress is seen to flow endlessly out of the centre (Europe) towards ‘the otherwise sterile periphery’. Blaut also calls this ‘the colonizers model of the world’.²² The eurocentric assumption that anarchism was ‘fundamentally a result of Europe’s internal qualities’ and the idea of anarchist diffusion reflect common beliefs buried deep within Western scholarship which have only been recognized and criticized quite recently. As ‘world history thus far has been, basically, the history of Inside’, so too, has the history

²⁰ Lewis and Wigen, *The Myth of Continents*, 1997; J. M. Steadman, *The Myth of Asia* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1970).

²¹ Lewis and Wigen, *The Myth of Continents*, p. 7.

²² J. M. Blaut, *The Colonizer’s Model of the World* (New York and London: The Guilford Press, 1993). Blaut uses this term because of the crucial role the model plays in the legitimization of colonialism. The main thesis is that ‘Europe was more advanced and more progressive than all other regions prior to 1492, prior, that is, to the beginning of the period of colonialism, the period in which Europe and non-Europe came into intense interaction.’ When someone believes ‘this to be the case ... then it must follow that the economic and social modernization of Europe is fundamentally a result of Europe’s internal qualities, not of interaction with the societies of Africa, Asia, and America after 1492’ (p. 2). Against this, Blaut argues that ‘European colonialism initiated the development of Europe (and the underdevelopment of non-Europe) in 1492’ and ‘that since then the wealth obtained from non-Europe, through colonialism in its very forms, including neo-colonial forms, has been a necessary and very important basis for the continued development of Europe and the continued power of Europe’s elite ... the development of a body of Eurocentric beliefs, justifying and assisting Europe’s colonial activities, has been, and still is, of very great importance’ (p. 10). As an anti-colonialist movement from the outset, and a movement that has a long history fighting Europe’s elite, anarchism seems like the last body of thought that should remain wedded to a eurocentric perspective. Yet might it be that eurocentrism helps explain the relative loss of interest in anarchism in the non-Western world. According to Joel Olson, ‘anarchism remains a largely white ideology in the US’ because there is no good analysis of ‘race as a form of power in its own right’ within American anarchist circles. J. Olson, ‘The Problem with Infoshops and Insurrection, US Anarchism, Movement Building, and the Racial Order’, in R. Amster, A. DeLeon, L. A. Fernandez, A. J. Nocella and D. Shannon (eds), *Contemporary Anarchist Studies, an introductory Anthology of Anarchy in the Academy* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), p. 35.

of anarchism thus far also been, the history of Inside. In both cases, the ‘outside has been, basically, irrelevant’.²³ We might add, as an addendum, that as well as consigning the non-European world to the status of the outside, anarchist eurocentrism has also conferred semi-peripheral status on countries within the European continent (like the Czech Republic, Hungary, even Scandinavia). This is largely because these semi-peripheral countries do not have a significant role in the linear (and official) narration of civilization.

Anarchism as a Worldwide Phenomena

We need, then, to discuss Third World anarchisms, not as exotic movements in exotic places or simple applications of anarchist ideas produced in Europe but as unique anarchist experiments, informed by particular perspectives, and part of the global network – the main body of anarchism: as key models for understanding what anarchism is.

However, the point of such a discussion is not to reproduce the West/rest binarism, by suggesting that ‘anarchism of the rest’ was better than (or even equivalent to) the ‘anarchism of the west’. Or, as Ilham Khuri-Makdisi suggests when she dubs anarchism a ‘Mediterranean production’, to recast the geographical location of its origins.²⁴

We need a different conceptualization of the globe, one which is, in Lewis and Wigen’s words, aware of the ‘myth of continents, the myth of the nation-state and the myth of East-West’.²⁵ If constructed, contingent and often imposed political-geographical units like states and continents have in time become reified as natural and fundamental building blocks of global geography,²⁶ it is still irritating to find that anarchism in Europe is granted a special status because, following Rousseau, its various nations are thought to ‘constitute a real society’²⁷ and/or that these units are used uncontroversially in discussions of anarchist history.

The absurdity of following the existing logic might be illustrated by thinking about the possible construction of classical anarchism. Where, for example, should we locate its birthplace? Paris, perhaps, as the city most commonly associated with the heart of Europe? London, since it provided the refuge for exiles? It is common to say that the Bakunin emerged as an anarchist after his escape from exile in Siberia, after his incarceration in the Peter-Paul and Schlüsselburg fortresses and as he came to Europe via Japan and the United States. Where should we locate the origins of insurrectionary Bakuninism? Is it a Siberian movement? Where did Kropotkin become an anarchist?

²³ *Blaut*, *The Colonizer’s Model of the World*, p. 5.

²⁴ *Nirmal I. Khuri-Makdisi*, *Levantine Trajectories: The Formulation and Dissemination of Radical Ideas in and Between Beirut, Cairo and Alexandria, 1860–1914 (PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 2003)*.

²⁵ Lewis and Wigen, *The Myth of Continents*, p. xiii.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

In St. Petersburg? In Geneva? If we say Kropotkinite anarchism was born in Geneva, does that mean that classical-scientific anarchism is a Swiss school of anarchism? What if we factor in Kropotkin's travels and explorations in Siberia and his experiences in London? Kropotkinite anarchism becomes a Siberian-Londoner school. Is classical-scientific anarchism a nineteenth-century Siberian-Londoner movement?

Of course, these speculations look provocative, ridiculous. The question is why do they look so? Why are these speculations ridiculous when Eurocentric claims such as the statement, 'anarchism is a nineteenth-century European movement', which appears in George Crowder's *Classical Anarchism* is accepted without murmur?²⁸ Contrary to the standard accounts, anarchism is not an idea founded by Proudhon or Bakunin and then carried to other places; rather anarchism is a certain set of ideas and practices formed with and through a specific network of radical reformists/revolutionaries in different parts of the world. Anarchism is multi-centred, fluid and it operates through temporary centres – hubs, extra functioning nodes of a network. And in describing the history of anarchism, it is this movement that historians need to capture.

Representations of Anarchist Connections

In sharing the belief that 'the emancipating subjects happen to be historically and geographically located in the nineteenth century and in Western Europe', Eurocentric historiography has been described as deeply Hegelian.²⁹ It is a perspective that 'constructs Europe as the centre and the non-European "other" as peripheral and inferior'.³⁰ Not coincidentally, then, it is possible to see that one of the critical points of difference between anarchism and Marxism rests on this same idea. Whereas anarchism favoured anti-colonialism in all countries without any exception and for the sake of the freedom of the colonized, Marx and Engels believed that it was the 'emancipation of the proletariat of the more developed nations that mattered'.³¹ Marxism included a 'belief in the world mission of European capitalism', thus it followed that 'for Engels the conquest of Algeria by the French was an "important and fortunate fact for the progress of civilization" '. Similarly, it was 'magnificent' that 'California was snatched from the lazy Mexicans, who did not know what to do with it'.³² Having made the distinction, Marx and Engels also commonly used abusive remarks to describe peripheral nationalities and countries: 'the Montenegrins were labelled "cattle robbers", the Bedouins were branded as a "nation of robbers" and there was a reference to the "hereditary

²⁸ Crowder, *Classical Anarchism*, p. 2.

²⁹ J. Larrain *Ideology and Cultural Identity: Modernity and the Third World Presence* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), p. 23.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 142.

³¹ Ibid., p. 21.

³² Ibid., pp. 20–1.

stupidity” of the Chinese.’³³ In contrast, the ‘classical’ anarchist movement³⁴ was in fact a movement of travel, chance encounters and personal friendships, of newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, a ‘transnational public sphere created through the press’.³⁵ Anarchism’s activist methods and ideas had no single centre of administration or centre of origin. It was created and organized intentionally by anarchists in this way: as a fully internationalist, non-linear, global, horizontal, de-centred, geographically and culturally non-hierarchic movement. By 1910, when Kropotkin wrote his well-known entry for anarchism in *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, the world anarchist network had cells everywhere. In 1907, Chinese anarchists started publishing two international anarchist journals, one in Paris and one in Tokyo. In 1909, a play to protest Francisco Ferrer’s execution was staged in Beirut. Ferrer’s execution resulted in huge demonstrations across the world, including Selonica; in 1907, agents from the US and Mexican secret services were pursuing the prominent Mexican anarchist Ricardo Flores Magon. Meanwhile, Syrian anarchists in Brazil, working with the anarcho-syndicalist movement, were busily engaged translating Tolstoi into Arabic and publishing his work in Sao Paolo for the first time. A letter by August Vaillant had also been published in *al Hilal* in Arabic.³⁶ Syrian readers in Brazil were writing letters to magazines published in Egypt, and asking about the future of anarchism.³⁷ A Lebanese periodical issued in Alexandria, *al Nur*, had subscribers in Haiti.³⁸ The first anarchist pamphlet to appear in Chinese was titled *Wu-cheng-fu chu-i (Anarchism)* in 1903. It was a translation from Japanese by Chang Chi (Chang P’u-ch’uan). Although it is generally supposed that this pamphlet was a translation of Errico Malatesta’s *Anarchia*, which was first published in 1896, Martin Bernal suggests that it was actually a translation of a Japanese survey of anarchism, and that another pamphlet Chang Chi translated in 1907 was Malatesta’s *Anarchia*.³⁹ So in 1903, as the first anarchist article was published in Chinese, anarchists were active in Uruguay, China, Brazil, Armenia ... Anarchism was all over the globe ...

Anarchist world networks continued to grow: the well-known Japanese anarchist, Osugi Sakae, was invited to attend the International Congress of Anarchists in Berlin just before he was killed. He was arrested⁴⁰ during May Day demonstrations in St Denis, France, in 1922. His escape from Japan to France was organized by an underground

³³ Ibid., p. 22.

³⁴ Jason Adams believes that the notion of ‘classical anarchism’ itself plays a key role in the construction of the concept of a Eurocentric Western anarchism. See *Non Western Anarchisms: Rethinking the Global Context*, available at http://zabnew.files.wordpress.com/2010/11/non_western_anarchisms_rethinking_the_global_context_adams.pdf.

³⁵ Khuri-Makdisi, *Levantine Trajectories*, p. 89.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 89.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 88.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 179.

³⁹ M. C. Wright, *China in Revolution, The First Phase, 1900–1913* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1971), p. 116, n. 81.

⁴⁰ The demonstration was against the death sentences passed in the United States on Sacco and

Chinese anarchist group, the 'F.A.' and they secured 'a false Chinese passport for Osugi using the name T'ang Chi and Osugi's photograph'.⁴¹ He was also given a lot of help by Chinese anarchists in Lyon.⁴² And he met Russian émigrés in Paris who told him at length about the real nature of the new Bolshevik state (which he used extensively in his battle against Bolshevik trends in Japan when he could).

Sanshiro Ishikawa, another important Japanese anarchist, exchanged letters with Edward Carpenter, whose book *Towards Democracy* and other writings played a significant part in his path to anarchism. And after the treason trial, Ishikawa spent 8 years in Europe, 'mostly with the Reclus family in Brussels'.⁴³ Anarchists like him looked for 'open cities' like London to create hubs for their complex networks. Hermia Oliver depicts this international anarchist traffic in London following the movements of anarchists, anarchist groups, publications and events.⁴⁴ San Francisco was another hub, where Alfred Johnson invited Kotoku to meet with their anarchist activism.

To properly understand anarchism, it is necessary to develop a similarly global, horizontal, network-based conceptualization of history, what might be called a pre-post-structuralist (or non-post-structuralist) construction of history. For while these concepts have become familiar through postanarchist theory, anglophone postanarchists (Saul Newman, Todd May, Lewis Call and Richard Day) have not deconstructed the existing historiography, but instead taken it for granted. And because they confront the anarchist tradition in a non-anarchistic way and accept a historiography that misrepresents anarchism, some contemporary anarchists refuse strong ties with the anarchist tradition.⁴⁵

Indeed, until an alternative history is developed, the analysis of non-Western anarchism is likely to get stuck on the problem of imitation. For example, in his article 'Üçüncü Dünya Anarşizmi Sorunu' ('Beyond the Borders, The Question of Third World Anarchisms'), Sharif Gemie tries to locate 'Third World anarchism' and he comes up against the problem of imitation. Gemie thinks it unlikely that the 'classical forms of nineteenth-century anarchism will be imitated by Third World people'.⁴⁶ Yet this worry fails to break out of the 'colonizers model of world history' for the claim is that the choice that non-Western groups face is one of 'imitation' or the creation of something

Vanzetti. During the meeting, Osugi addressed the assembly and 'urged workers to demonstrate more provocatively in the very centre of Paris, not in suburban workers' backwater like St. Denis'. At the conclusion of his speech, he was arrested by plain-clothes detectives. Stanley, *Osugi Sakae, Anarchist in Taisho Japan: The Creativity of the Ego*, p. 147.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 144.

⁴³ C. Tsuzuki, 'Anarchism in Japan', in Apter and Joll (eds), *Anarchism Today*, p. 108.

⁴⁴ H. Oliver, *The International Anarchist Movement in Late Victorian London (London: Croom Helm, 1980)*.

⁴⁵ U. Gordon, *Anarchy Alive! Anti-Authoritarian Politics from Practice to Theory (London: Pluto, 2008)*, p. 6.

⁴⁶ S. Gemie, 'Üçüncü Dünya Anarşizmi Sorunu', ('Beyond Borders, The Question of Third World Anarchisms') *Siyahi*, 1(1) (2004), 76–81.

else – usually based on cultural (and folkloric/premodern) traditions. Thus, Gemie thinks we need to search for an independent Third World anarchism, where the ‘political cultures of these movements developed autonomously from their Euro-American cousins’.⁴⁷

Moreover, the historical misrepresentation supports a highly misleading account of anarchist ideology. In 1971, David Apter defined anarchism as a socialist critique of capitalism and a liberal critique of socialism.⁴⁸ This definition suggests that anarchism’s critique of capitalism was not unique, but identical to the socialist critique, and that the difference between anarchists and socialists is that while they shared the socialist critique of capitalism, they also accepted liberal critiques of socialism.⁴⁹ But the discussion of themes like anti-colonialism reveals instead that anarchist critiques of capitalism are different from other socialist – Marxist – critiques in important ways; and that the anarchist critique of Marxism has nothing to do with liberalism – because it was based on a different critique of capitalism (and in fact many other things from society to history).⁵⁰

Colonialism, Anti-Colonialism and Anarchism

Today, colonialism/anti-colonialism and imperialism/anti-imperialism both hold a secondary place in contemporary anarchist studies. This is strange considering the importance of these issues in world political history. And the neglect allows us to speculate on the ways in which the priorities might change if eurocentric anarchist histories were challenged.

If the important role of Third World political movements in the history of anarchism was properly acknowledged, it would be clear that anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism were central in shaping anarchism. Equally, it would also become apparent that anti-militarism might be understood as a part of anti-colonial activism and not solely, as tends to be the case today, as a subcategory of pacifism. As Carl Levy notes,

⁴⁷ Peter Gelderloos instead suggests that we look for libertarian tendencies within anti-colonial resistance movements. See ‘Seeing an Iraqi Resistance’, available at http://theanarchistlibrary.org/HTML/Peter_Gelderloos__Seeing_an_IraqI_Resistance.html.

⁴⁸ Apter, ‘The Old Anarchism and the New’, in Apter and Joll, *Anarchism Today*, p. 2. D. Goodway (ed.), *For Anarchism: History, Theory and Practice* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), p. 1.

⁴⁹ Goodway believes so strongly in this formulation that he says any anarchists who reject this association with liberalism are ‘anarchists who react according to their gut feelings rather than their minds’ (p. 17).

⁵⁰ The distortions of this approach are evident in Joll’s article ‘Anarchism – A Living Tradition’, where his references to non-European movements are to the contemporary ‘New Left’, Che Guevara, Castro and Cuba (pp. 217, 220–1). Guérin similarly mentions self-management in Tito’s Yugoslavia in his discussion of Algeria. Not even in a section titled ‘Decolonization’ (a very short section of course) does he deal with anarchists who fought colonialism in various parts of the world. He finds it sufficient to cite Proudhon’s and Bakunin’s ideas on the matter. *Anarchism* (New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1970), pp. 67–9.

in Italy, in 1913, Augusto Masetti and other anarchists ‘refused to join their army units in Libya’ and ‘antimilitarism became the single most successful campaign that Torinese libertarians mounted before the war’.⁵¹ Anarchists took part in anti-Ottoman liberation wars, especially in Crete. Sergei Kravchinski, known as Stepniak in London revolutionary circles, also ‘joined the rising against the Turks in Bosnia’.⁵² As Benedict Anderson shows in detail in *Under Three Flags*, Spanish anarchists worked in solidarity with anti-colonial movements against Spanish rule both in Cuba and the Philippines, and played a networking role for all.⁵³ Anarchist anti-colonialist propaganda by Kees van Dongen, Frantisek Kupka, Pierre Quillard and others in France (during the French colonial wars in Africa) helped to stimulate the development of the anti-colonial politics of anarchist avant-garde writers and artists including Alfred Jarry, Guillaume Apollinaire and Pablo Picasso, who expressed their ideas through a particular current called *Africanism*, that drew on anarchist subversion techniques.⁵⁴ And although anarchism is openly and fundamentally anti-nationalist, as Roger White notes, anti-colonialism was such a priority for anarchists that they have generally supported anti-imperialist movements regardless of their nationalist aspirations.⁵⁵

We know that slavery, as a metaphor, was used widely in anarchist work and, indeed, in other radical writing. As Susan Buck-Morss notes, ‘by the eighteenth century, slavery had become the root metaphor of Western political philosophy, connoting everything that was evil about power relations’.⁵⁶ Yet research on actual, real slavery and anarchism is rare. Lewis Perry is one of a few scholars who have worked on the issue. His book *Radical Abolitionism* focuses on abolitionism, but Perry emphasizes that his interest lay in attitudes towards authority rather than towards race because the ‘abolition of slavery presupposed a revolution in power relationships in America’.⁵⁷ He continues: ‘the institution of slavery was a major component of social order in the United States, and to attack slavery was inescapably to call for extensive social change’.⁵⁸ Perry shows that William Lloyd Garrison, Henry C. Wright (‘the most anarchistic of antislavery radicals’) and some other radical abolitionists developed a type of anarchism which was very close to Tolstoyan–Gandhian currents, and this was discovered by Tolstoy himself. Indeed, trying to understand why this stream of anarchism

⁵¹ C. Levy, *Gramsci and the Anarchists* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1999), p. 50.

⁵² Joll, *The Anarchists*, p. 121.

⁵³ B. Anderson, *Under Three Flags: Anarchism and the Anti-Colonial Imagination* (London and New York: Verso, 2005).

⁵⁴ P. Leighton, ‘The White Peril and L’Art negre: Picasso, Primitivism, and Anticolonialism’, *The Art Bulletin*, 72(4) (1990), 615–20.

⁵⁵ R. White, *Post Colonial Anarchism: Essays on Race, Repression and Culture in Communities of Color* (Oakland, CA: Jailbreak Press, 1999–2004). White is very critical of anarchist universalism and the dismissal of nationalism in anarchism. See especially the essay ‘Post-colonial Anarchism’, pp. 9–34.

⁵⁶ S. Buck-Morss, ‘Hegel and Haiti’, *Critical Inquiry*, 26(4) (2000), 821.

⁵⁷ L. Perry, *Radical Abolitionism: Anarchy and the Government of God in Antislavery Thought* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1973), p. xii.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

(‘nonresistant anarchism’, named after the abolitionist New England Non-Resistance Society)⁵⁹ disappeared in America, he called on Americans to rediscover Garrison and Adin Ballou together with Henry David Thoreau.⁶⁰ He understood that ‘Garrison’s followers had been inclined toward anarchism not in addition to hating slavery but because they hated slavery’.⁶¹ Perry in fact believes that ‘it is difficult to understand antislavery properly without taking account of its anarchistic offshoots’.⁶² Despising slavery, the abolitionists felt that they should oppose all kinds of slavery, and so they reached an ‘extended definition of slavery’.⁶³ Perry not only reveals the anarchism of abolitionists, but also argues that anarchism – as formulated in the writings of Proudhon, Bakunin and other classical figures – which he calls ‘European anarchism’, always represented itself as an ‘antislavery movement’. Slavery was not, then, only a metaphor in these texts. ‘The literature of European anarchism, in all its various factions and theories, abounds with attacks on “slavery.”’⁶⁴

If radical abolitionists were close to a Tolstoyan anarchism, in the Haitian Revolution the first slaves to win their liberty through an anti-colonial war were closer to an Osugian–Nietzscheian anarchism. ‘Stretching their will to power’, Haitian Revolutionaries were the real inspiration behind a general insurrection against any ‘lordship and bondage’ in the world. And their actions eventually resulted in the abolition of slavery.⁶⁵

⁵⁹ The New England Non-Resistance Society was founded in 1938 and ‘provided the most famous instance of the emergence of anarchistic ideas in antislavery. American conservatives saw in non-resistance the ultimate expression of the seditious nature of abolitionism – abolition turned into anarchism’ (Perry, *Radical Abolitionism*, p. 55). The nonresistants ‘took Christ’s opposition to violence, even in response to injury, and extended it to oppose all institutions based on force. Armies were one such system and so were slavery and human government’ (p. 59). Another important anarchist current within abolitionism was called ‘come-outerism’. This was a social movement with the intention of escaping ‘from church, state, and every form of social bondage’ (p. 98).

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 8 Perry notes that ‘no abolitionist, and no American for that matter, called himself an anarchist in the 1840s or 1850s’ (p. 19). But if Godwin has been so widely accepted as one of the founding fathers of anarchism, there is no need to hesitate calling anarchist abolitionists an early current of anti-colonialism within anarchism. In 1966, Perry (with Leonard I. Krimerman) also published an anthology of key anarchist texts: *Patterns of Anarchy, A Collection of Writings on the Anarchist Tradition* (New York: Anchor, 1966). As far as I know, this is the only anarchist anthology that includes a text from an abolitionist ‘Non-Resistance: A Basis for Christian Anarchism’ by Adin Ballou (pp. 140–9). The only book which has a section on Garrison and Ballou and which discusses their theories in relation to anarchism is Alexandre J. M. E. Christoyannopoulos’ *Christian Anarchism, a Political Commentary on the Gospel* (Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2010).

⁶³ Perry, *Patterns of Anarchy*, p. 17.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 24–6.

⁶⁵ Buck-Morss shows the consequences of the Haitian Revolution in the Western imagination in general and in Hegel’s master/slave theories and later in Frantz Fanon’s work in particular.

Ethnicity after 9/11

Anti-globalization movements and ‘new anarchism’ lent the 2000s a radical turn. But at the same time, with the emergence of the ‘war on terror’ and a new dominant discourse of anti-Islam and anti-terror which followed in the aftermath of 9/11, anarchism in the Western political sphere in particular, found itself in a difficult situation. Anarchists without hesitation organized numerous anti-war rallies, demonstrations and campaigns, but simultaneously had to resist being linked to the enemy – Al-Qaeda terrorism. As Gelderloos notes, the distance they sought left them unable to overcome official US propaganda about the Iraqi resistance. Moreover, the difficulty of finding a dialogue with the resistance was increased by Western antipathy towards Arabic culture.

In this political atmosphere, where official condemnation of Arab terrorists, who not only confronted colonial power but also hated everything about civilization was unrivalled, we witnessed attempts to link historical anarchism with today’s Al-Qaeda.

One attempt was made by James L. Gelvin.⁶⁶ The effort to link all kinds of guerilla activities to the anarchist assassinations of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is a common phenomenon in mainstream anarchist histories. Joll, for example, calls ‘terrorism’ ‘a technique for drawing attention to a cause’⁶⁷ and ties ‘bombs planted by the O.A.S. in early 1960s’ to *fin de siècle* anarchist assassins,⁶⁸ thus linking anarchism to far-right extremism. Joll developed his approach in his later article when he correlated the ‘Young Bosnians who assassinated the Archduke Francis Ferdinand in 1914, the suffragates in Britain before the first war, Arab terrorists, Jewish terrorists, French right-wing groups at the time of the Algerian war and anarchist assassinations between 1880 and 1914’.⁶⁹

Gelvin’s association of anarchism with Al-Qaeda is not an anarcho-pacifist position based on an attempt to demonize the principle of propaganda by the deed in its entirety. Rather, it is based on an ethnicism which tries to put in one bundle all ‘enemies of our civilization’. The eurocentric conceptualization of anarchism, fuelled by eurocentric histories, creates the context which makes such irrelevant equations possible. And as Gelderloos noted, when they are presented with them, Western anarchist activists cannot easily find ways to forge relations with the currently colonized communities and worldwide libertarians. Non-Western activists find representations of anarchism increasingly useless because of their narrow Western framework and its hidden euro-

⁶⁶ James L. Gelvin, ‘Al-Qaeda and Anarchism: A Historian’s Reply to Terrorology’, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 20(4) (2008), 563–81. Richard Bach Jensen showed the irrelevance of these claims in detail in his article ‘Nineteenth Century Anarchist Terrorism: How Comparable to the Terrorism of Al-Qaeda?’, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 20(4) (2008), 589–96.

⁶⁷ Joll, *The Anarchists*, p. 147.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ Joll in Apter and Joll, *Anarchism Today*, pp. 218–19. Ironically, this is a recognition of networking – but the contagion of the bad idea: This was the language of government in the nineteenth century. And it parallels the missionary language of the eurocentric assumption.

centric structures, which are not so hidden when you look at them from a non-Western perspective.

The problem with dominant histories is not only that they exclude figures or movements from view. They rely on a historical framework that ill-fits anarchism. Mainstream anarchist historiography is not only blind to non-Western elements of historical anarchism, it also misses the very nature of *fin de siècle* world radicalism and the contexts in which activists and movements flourished: that is globalization (or if you prefer alter-globalization as an alternative to the central globalization of European imperialism).⁷⁰ Instead of being interested in the network of (anarchist) radicalism (worldwide), political historiography has built a linear narrative which begins from a particular geographical and cultural framework, driven by the great ideas of a few father figures and marked by decisive moments that subsequently frame the historical compartmentalization of the past. The ‘loss’ of Spain is a primary example.

What is lost in these accounts are the missing intersections, the radical networks built around the world cities, the exchanges, overlaps, flows, nodes and linkages: fluidity and multiplicity. Anarchism was a radical phenomenon flowing within these world networks (and one of the main ingredients in the formation of these radical networks). When anarchism was being carried from one place to another, it was not an export of a missionary project designed to bring enlightenment somewhere else; it was not the practice of an original idea in an alien environment. Rather it was characteristically a combination of ideas and practices constantly reshaped in various locations according to local problems, local priorities and local conditions, always in touch with the international, global linkages that kept them within the range of (anarchist) radicalism. Anarchism is not the thing that was shipped from a place of origin, but a multitude of shipments, connections, relations, exchanges and intersections. It is a global network, which also extends the limits of the sphere of politics.⁷¹ And we should not forget the importance of international linkages for today’s (anarchist) anti-globalization movement since this operates in the same complex ways.

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⁷⁰ See Khuri-Makdisi, *Levantine Trajectories*, 2003; Anderson, *Under Three Flags*, 2005. Arif Dirlik also notes that anarchism ‘flourished in China when it was also the foremost ideology of social revolution globally’ (Dirlik, *Anarchism in the Chinese Revolution* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1991), p. 26).

⁷¹ As an extension to the ‘defeat of anarchism theory’, Ilham Khuri-Makdisi suggests another defeat: ‘the historiographic “defeat” of anarchism worldwide by organised and party-centred interpretations of the left, namely socialism and communism’ (p. 179, n. 4).

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16. Where to Now? Future Directions for Anarchist Research

Ruth Kinna

How do these rich and diverse essays orientate future research? More specifically, if debates about the relationship of current research to historical traditions point towards a general commitment to the celebration of anarchism's heterodoxy, what avenues might researchers explore in further probing anarchist practices? While any attempt to answer this question definitively is foolish, the essays indicate some possible avenues for further exploration. One line of inquiry is theoretical and concerns the ways in which researchers conceptualize or re-conceptualize key concepts, central to anarchist traditions, in the light of current practices and ideas. A second is connected with aims, purposes, goals that underpin the relationship between the ends and means of anarchist practices. A third is about ideology and the desire to delineate a distinctively anarchist politics in ways that avoid reification.

Theorizing Anarchy

An important theme explored in a number of essays (e.g. Motta, Jeppesen and Nazar and Evren) is the relationship between anarchism and other currents of anti-authoritarian and anti-oppression politics – the tensions between anarchist and non-anarchist groups; the potential to cooperate and find commonality through participation in or experience of shared activities and the mutual reflection that flows – or not – from discussion, dialogue, skill-sharing and learning supported by interactivity. These relationships raise questions about the ways in which political demands are 'translated' from one context to another, as Motta argues, and about the extent to which particular concepts or ideas can be generalized: This is one of the issues that Evren's work raises. Because anarchist ideas tend to be interpreted through the conceptual lenses of antagonistic traditions, finding alternatives is difficult and the rhetorical flourish of canonical thinkers, encouraging uncharacteristically absolutist claims about anarchist commitments to a variety of principles and goals, adds another layer of difficulty.¹ Yet

¹ The adequacy of approaches to liberty and the practical implications of the unqualified commitment to 'absolute' freedom is the subject of Matthew Wilson's PhD thesis 'Rulers Without Rules: The Possibilities and Limits of Anarchism' (Loughborough University, 2011). The negative consequences

there is a tradition of conceptual thought into which anarchist analyses of work² and meta-concepts like time, fit. And there is scope to investigate familiar concepts and to reflect on their normative values and political implications, using a range of methodological approaches and literatures. Indeed, the subversive affinities³ which Evren and Antliff point to and the intersectional oppressions that Jeppesen and Nazar discuss provide a new impetus for such projects.⁴ While the idea that researchers might be

of treating organization–anti-organization as an opposition is exacerbated by the tendency to link the choice strongly to subcategories of anarchism, notably Platformism or class struggle anarchism (for organization) and ‘individualism’ and post-left anarchy (for anti-organization). Murray Bookchin’s distinction between social and lifestyle anarchism operates in a similar manner: *Social Anarchism or Lifestyle Anarchism: An Unbridgeable Chasm* (Oakland, CA, and Edinburgh: AK Press, 1995). For an alternative approach, see Stephen Shukaitis ‘Dancing Amidst the Flames: Imagination and Self-Organization in a Minor Key’, *Organization*, 15(5) (2008), 743–64, available at <http://org.sagepub.com/content/15/5/743.full.pdf+html>.

² One of the best-known treatments is Bob Black’s *The Abolition of Work*, online at www.inspiracy.com/black/abolition/abolitionofwork.html. See also Stephen Shukaitis, ‘The Labor of Imagination’, chapter VII of *Imaginal Machines: Autonomy & Self-Organization in the Revolutions of Everyday Life* (Brooklyn, NY: Autonomedia, 2009), pp. 119–39.

³ The idea of ‘subversive affinity’, used to refer to border transcendence and multiplicity in struggle, is explored in a discussion of the Zapatista movement by Jakub Burkowicz, ‘Subcommandante Marcos’, Affinity Project, at <http://affinityproject.org/theories/marcos.html>.

⁴ See also Richard Day’s discussion ‘Anarcha-Indigenism’ at the Affinity Project site available at <http://affinityproject.org/traditions/anarchaindigenism.html>. Anarch@Indigenism is also the subject of Glen Coulthard, Jacqueline Lasky, Adam Lewis and Vanessa Watts (eds), *Affinities*, 5(1) (2011), available at <http://journals.sfu.ca/affinities/index.php/affinities/issue/view/8/showToc>. On Indigenous anarchism, see Aragorn, ‘Locating an Indigenous Anarchism’, *Green Anarchy*, 19 (2005), available at http://theanarchistlibrary.org/HTML/Aragorn_-_Locating_An_Indigenous_Anarchism.html; Andalusia Knoll, interview with Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, ‘Indigenous Anarchism in Bolivia’, available at <http://uriohau.blogspot.com/2007/10/indigenous-anarchism-in-bolivia.html>; Ramor Ryan, ‘Zapatista Spring: Anatomy of a Rebel Water Project’, *Perspectives*, 2011, available at www.anarchiststudies.org/node/504; and presentations by Kate Milley, Tom Keefer, Shaista Patel and Missy Elliott for the panel ‘Anti-Colonial Anarchism and Indigenous Resistance’ at the North American Anarchist Studies Network Conference, January 2011, available at www.youtube.com/user/bridgeheadproduction#g/c/657239ED3369E35D. A useful short introduction to Indigenous actions in North America, ‘Native Resistance to “Canada” ’ (April 2002) is available at www.schnews.org.uk/sotw/canada-native-resistance.htm. An anonymous interview, ‘Anarchist-Indigenous Solidarity in Ontario’, published by the Affinity Project in July 2008 is available at <http://affinityproject.org/interviews/guelph1.html>. Information about a range of Canada resistance struggles can be found at ‘Vancouver No One Is Illegal’, available at <http://noii-van.resist.ca/>. For Aotearoa-NZ, see ‘Neo-liberal Globalisation and the Tino Rangatiratanga movement’, *Thr@ll*, 18 (March–April 2001), available at www.thrall.orconhosting.net.nz/18tino.html; Teanau Tuiono, ‘Tino Rangatiratanga and Capitalism’, *Thr@ll*, 24, available at www.ainfos.ca/03/mar/ainfos00200.html; ‘Anarchism and Aboriginal Sovereignty’, available at <http://slackbastard.anarchobase.com/?p=1264>; the Tino Rangatiratanga movement is discussed in Toby Boraman’s *The Myth of Passivity* (Treason Press, 2005), available at http://libcom.org/files/The_Myth_of_Passivity1.pdf; and by Anarchia, ‘An Equal Society? Race and Class Divisions in Modern New Zealand Society’ (2009), available at <http://anarchia.wordpress.com/2009/04/11/an-equal-society-race-and-class-divisions-in-modern-new-zealand-society/>.

encouraged to rethink concepts of law, nation, state, authority, promising, religion⁵ or property – to name some of the prickliest – is highly contentious and potentially deeply divisive, the failure to do so while attempting to find commonality with, for example, landless peoples' movements for which issues of land ownership and sovereignty in respect of local resources are sometimes central, makes little sense.

The tendency to assess anarchist practices by the standards of non-anarchist conventions and expectations also leaves space for further work. For example, probing decision-making practices and showing how these contribute to an understanding of processes which challenge liberal conceptions of democracy, helps meet the objections of critics eager to point out the failure of anarchists to find *a solution to the problem of power in the state*. Theorizing alternatives in relation to practice also helps remove the evaluation of those practices from the frameworks of success and failure that typically undercut anarchist ideas. Indeed, the reluctance to scrutinize concepts like mutual aid or to consider its limits (in eradicating ordinary conflicts or disagreements, emotional pain or hurt), plays into the hands of those who want to suggest that anarchy is a perfectly desirable but utterly impossible condition. According to one recent analysis of solidarity, anarchism has nothing whatsoever to contribute to the concept's elaboration. And it is the *failure of anarchists to achieve power* that renders the anarchist contribution irrelevant.⁶ This claim certainly points to a gap in the literature.

The role for political theory is not defined merely reactively, however. One of the striking images of anarchy to emerge from Newman's and Prichard's work – both of whom draw on a war model – is one of creative and productive tension, based on the dynamic and fluid balancing of social forces. The idea of affinity discussed by Antliff similarly rejects institutional permanence as an aspiration but suggests that forces are able to develop in relation to each other because memberships of social groups are cross-cutting. In this model, no group becomes hegemonic and the potential for antagonism is reduced. But it is not eradicated, and in Newman's and Prichard's models, nor will it ever be. The image of anarchy they capture not only provides a context to examine the ways in which familiar concepts might be (re)conceptualized, but, above all, a framework to discuss the implications of plurality.⁷ The implications are chal-

⁵ For concerns about religion and multiculturalism, see Paul Stott, 'British Islamism – Toward an Anarchist Response', *Shift Magazine* (2011), available at <http://shiftmag.co.uk/?p=407> and online with comments at <http://libcom.org/library/british-islamism-towards-anarchist-response-paul-stott>.

⁶ Steinar Stjernø notes that 'the anarchists developed a consistent and coherent theory and practice of working-class solidarity' and that the anarchist conception compared favourably to the Leninist one. Having made this point, he ignores it 'because anarchism failed to achieve political power, almost universally, in Europe'. *Solidarity in Europe: The History of an Idea* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 57–8. I am grateful to John Nightingale for drawing my attention to this comment. For a discussion of mutual aid and hurt, see Daniel P. Jaeckle, 'Interpersonal Ethics in Ursula K. Le Guin's *The Dispossessed*', *Anarchist Studies*, 20(1) (2012), forthcoming.

⁷ Mike Gunderloy discusses some of these issues in 'Closing the Gaps: Challenges for the Anarchist Movement', in Gunderloy and M. Ziesing (eds), *Anarchy and the End of History* (Rensselaer, NY: Factsheet Five/Lysander Spooner, 1991), pp. 11–19.

lenging. For example, Davis argues that there are different ways in which ‘revolution’ might be usefully understood. In particular, he mentions the ways in which arguments about violence cloud debate and discusses the necessity of defending judgements about the rightness and wrongness of specific actions in changeable contexts. These are undoubtedly important topics, but the issues raised by the models that Prichard and Newman present direct the debate in different ways: towards the examination of the monopolization of violence, the normalization of conflict, the potential for forging alliances between disparate groups and of accommodating ideological difference. How might these draw on models of transient movement such as that Purkis outlines or on notions of commonality and community in militant action and the practices of active listening, compassion and mutual respect which Jeppesen and Nazar discuss? To return to the example of decision-making, which Davis also raises, the dynamics of anarchy raise other interesting questions about the aspirations for consensus decision-making, the principles supporting consensus where it operates, and the extent to which and on whom the decisions made by consensus are binding. Specifically, where individuals are not expected ever to bind themselves to collective decisions, how is the trust on which solidarity depends forged? And if consensus does not invite assent and relies instead on opting out – blocking and veto – how are individuals protected from the coercive pressures of solidarity to endorse a decision that they might not actually support?

Aims, Goals and Purposes

A second theme emerging from the contributions to this volume is how anarchist approaches to research might contribute to changing the world in practical and creative ways. The concern to develop research practices consistent with an anarchist desire for re-enchantment is a strong strand in Purkis’s sociology. Likewise, the need to shape programmes of radical reform in existing communities is the thrust of Price’s analysis of social ecology and of Cook and Norcup’s discussion of anarchist geographies. These discussions raise a number of interrelated questions about the meaning of revolution, radicalism and reform; the status of anarchist ideals in theory and practice and the relationship between means and ends of anarchist actions and the ethics of change. All these different ideas touch on the concept of prefiguration which, as Davis rightly notes, has become a central concept in anarchist thinking.

The idea of prefiguration is sometimes traced to the historical rejection of the means–ends relationship defended in some forms of non-anarchist socialism. This is usually expressed as a rejection of the claim that revolutionaries might seize control of the instruments of repression and deploy them to secure liberation and the concomitant rejection of parliamentary politics. But it has a number of aspects: an objection to the idea of socialism that this strategy implies (a classless society in which authoritarianism and/or industrial technologies remain unchallenged); the Machiavellian and dictatorial

politics that it sanctions⁸ and the theoretical certainties that justify the adoption of vanguard strategies. In current discourse, and perhaps because of the way various waves of new anarchists have extended the historical rejection of means–ends distinctions, it now has slightly different connotations. Prefiguration might describe the building of a new world in the heart of the old. In this way, it is defined in its ordinary sense to mean a foreshadowing: the construction of the future in the present. In addition, prefiguration can describe the process through which revolutionary aspirations are expressed. Both assume an intimate relationship between action and change and a commitment to direct action. But while the first relationship typically finds purpose in formulating principles of action, while rejecting strategies that benchmark the rightness of actions against the realization of a future goal, the second usually prioritises a commitment to the display of anarchist social relations. Contextualized by arguments about the anarchist past, discussions of prefiguration tend to point to two alternative strategies: class struggle and revolutionary exodus, to use Davis’s terms. However, the principle of prefigurative politics facilitates the discussion of political and ethical questions, as well as highlighting these strategic differences.

In the first case, the puzzle is to negotiate the gap between the potential for change and the urgency of its achievement. This might be expressed in terms of the relationship between reform and revolution.⁹ It might also be examined with reference to concepts of ‘protest’ and ‘resistance’ and the contexts and conditions in which these forms of action operate, are encouraged and are transformed. Alternatively, it might be understood in terms of minimal and maximal programmes, as Price recommends in his analysis of Bookchin. His analysis paves the way for the examination of a particular set of issues: the extent to which alternative organizations and social practices can be practically developed in the body of capitalism. There are clearly overlaps between these approaches. Indeed, Cook and Norcup’s work suggests that they can and should be drawn together and that community-building projects provide valuable sites for their joint development. As they argue, their idea is not a new one. It draws on traditions that extend back to Ward and Kropotkin. Yet the ability to combine them might be further exploited, because the danger of associating reform and revolution on the one hand, and minimal and maximal programmes on the other, with particular revo-

⁸ On the influence of the Jacobin principle of political conquest in non-anarchist socialist thought, see E. B. Bax, *The Last Episode of the French Revolution Being a History of Gracchus Babeuf and the Conspiracy of Equals* (London: Grant Richards, 1911), pp. 136, 259, online available at www.marxists.org/archive/bax/1911/babeuf/index.htm.

⁹ Nicolas Walter, *About Anarchism* (London: Freedom Press, 2002), pp. 78–9; David Graeber interview with Seth Fiegerman, ‘The Man Behind Occupy Wall Street’, online at www.thestreet.com/story/11293836/1/meet-the-man-behind-occupy-wall-street.html. Graeber commented: ‘If Nancy Pelosi is suddenly inspired to put out a call for a debt jubilee, that would be great. Nobody is going to say that’s bad because it’s backed by a government we consider to be illegitimate. That won’t change our long-term visions. As long as you are on the same path, what we are really arguing for is what’s possible so there’s no reason we can’t work together.’ Like Walter’s, this model of reform and revolution maps onto an institutional-extra-parliamentary distinction.

lutionary strategies, is that the transformative potential of particular actions becomes overinflated while proposals for workable change remain sidelined or unappreciated.

The political aspect of the conundrum is to work out how the futures which anarchist actions are designed to prefigure can escape the present: how the future might be imagined in ways that are not constraining or, as Antliff describes, totalizing and deterministic. The rejection of utopian thinking, too often hung on the strange creatures dredged up from the anarchist past, is sometimes presented as a reason not to think about this question. But this sort of oppositional thinking is too blunt. As Motta argues with respect to post-left anarchy, there is a positive value in thinking about how to move ‘from here to there’, for without any bridge, ‘we are left with a pure free “us” and an alienated limbless “other.”’ How then might research probe ideas of utopia and utopianism positively to think about different futures? How might images or ideas of possible futures help open up a dialogue about the content of anarchist politics and the relationship between anarchism and the anarchistic? What sort of qualitative choices might anarchist practices imply? Anarchist literatures frequently nod to the social benefits and political feasibility of anarchy, but there are still large gaps in the discussion of its potential costs and the implications of anarchist organizing for daily living – which are likely to be very different across the world and for different groups and individuals.

The third aspect of the conundrum encourages reflection on the principles of action: the extent to which prefigurative behaviours can or should follow what Max Weber called an ethics of responsibility, which links political action to the consideration of potential outcomes, and the ethics of ultimate ends which instead orients conduct towards the fulfilment of personal values, stressing the intimate relationship between autonomously chosen goals and individual behaviours. This distinction, which owes a considerable debt to Weber’s engagement with anarchists – particularly Tolstoyan anarchism – is usually thought to be unbridgeable.¹⁰ However, Antliff’s discussion of Emma Goldman suggests that there is some overlap and that the relationship between responsibility and ultimate ends is both possible and constructive. Yet in contemporary anarchism, division seems to have been the rule, most obviously felt in arguments about social and lifestyle anarchism, which are often unhelpfully mapped to additional dichotomies: individualism versus socialism, violence versus non-violence, egoism versus community and anti-organization versus organization. Given the ferocity of this argument, further work might usefully reflect on the depth of the gap between responsibility and conviction; try to unpack the links between these two outlooks and the complex political commitments, philosophical values and moral principles that both might support.¹¹

¹⁰ S. Whimster (ed.), *Max Weber and the Culture of Anarchy* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999).

¹¹ Weber suggests that the ethic of responsibility involves a distinction between means and ends and he argues that violence is the decisive means in politics. Associating anarchism (anarcho-syndicalism and Tolstoyan anarchism) with the ethic of ultimate ends, he therefore argues that this ethic is necessarily

The strategic, political and ethical aspects of prefiguration are not easily disentangled in practice, but there is a practical purpose in thinking about the implications of prefigurative politics. Adopting strategies that reject the visions on which their realization depends is counterproductive. Exaggerating claims about the revolutionary potential of particular experiments is equally so. The components of prefiguration might be bolted together in different ways, but the principles of any construction should be transparent. As Antliff argues, the idea of personal liberation is attractive to many anarchists: Emma Goldman's *Living My Life* is often cited as an inspiring example which others might follow. The assertiveness of the un-man described by Stirner has a similar appeal. Yet this concept of prefigurative politics, that individual behaviours adopted in the present are themselves transformative, might be adopted either as part of an ethics of ultimate ends or as one of responsibility. To assess the actions of individuals by one standard or the other courts potential misunderstanding, and distortion. Similarly, to treat individual failures to adopt particular behaviours as a lack of personal virtue or indication of weak commitment to a shared vision (whether or not it is articulated) risks demotivation and reduces the potential for empowerment.¹² By the same token, it encourages public demonstrations of virtue, not quite on the model of Robespierre, but sometimes purist and unforgiving. One question for research, then, is how this conception of prefigurative change might strengthen the latter dynamically and minimize the former, to promote conceptions of liberation that do not collapse in on themselves, weighed down by assumptions about effective or virtuous behaviour, universal assent and/or capability.

Ideology and Self-Understanding

Boundary disputes in anarchism have a long and angry history and one that does not seem to diminish in importance or temper over time. The reason has a lot to do with the rearguard action anarchists have been forced to fight in order to establish, as Alexander Berkman explained, 'what anarchism is not'. It is also connected with the oft-made charge that anarchism lacks a political theory; a charge based on interpretations

compromised by involvement in politics. However, in Weber's terms, the means-ends distinction that anarchists draw might be construed as a rejection of the monopoly of violence rather than its deployment. Moreover, decisions about violence or non-violence might be justified with reference to either ethic. Tolstoyan pacifism is sometimes grounded on considerations of its effects (an eye for an eye and the world goes blind) and at other times with reference to the principle of non-resistance to evil, which describes the idea of Christian virtue. Indeed, Weber acknowledges that the ethic of ultimate ends is not identical with irresponsibility and that the ethic of responsibility is not mere opportunism. The difference between the two seems to rest on the willingness of political actors to be held accountable for their actions. Weber, *Politics as a Vocation*, available at www.ne.jp/asahi/moriyuki/abukuma/weber/lecture/politics_vocation.html.

¹² See Sheila Rowbotham's sympathetic criticism of Emma Goldman in *Women, Resistance and Revolution* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1980), p. 97.

that are too often decontextualized or on confusions resulting from the way in which the label is (and has been) applied to a wide variety of political doctrines. On a traditional left–right axis, anarchism is not only used to describe socialist currents and capitalist, market-based doctrines but also anti-left and openly hierarchical forms of anti-statism.¹³

If, as Evren argues, positively appraising what anarchism is (or might be) has proved problematic and the fine line between thinking creatively about a set of traditions and establishing a referential canon has been crossed, the willingness to throw out the idea of a political tradition in favour of letting a thousand anarchisms bloom is unattractive. Projects of ideological classification that move beyond abstract readings of canonical texts such as that which Franks suggests are valuable. The attempt to examine the ways in which different groups and activists have identified and grouped core and peripheral concepts and to chart the shifts and developments that have occurred in the location and meaning of these conceptual relations – over time and across cultures – provides a constructive way of thinking about boundary disputes. This approach, moreover, is less likely to demonize as non-anarchist any proposal that emerges from an oppositional current, designated as outsider for one reason or another. Analysing the relationship between Marxism and anarchism, for example, is more productive than dismissing any idea or individual classified within the Marxist camp. Similarly, discussing the ways in which anti-statism has been and might be understood is more fruitful than rejecting the relationship to anarchism altogether.

Acknowledging affinities, as Antliff, Goodway and Evren do in different ways, does not rule out boundary-marking but it changes the status attributed to the boundaries and process of their negotiation: in Motta's terms, it makes them permeable to border thinking. The idea of affinity opens the way to the mapping of anarchist politics in fluid ideological continuums which recognize the blurring between anarchists of different stripes, on the one hand, and all designations of capital and small 'a' anarchists (or those who prefer to be without adjectives), on the other. Being less concerned to fix the boundaries and more concerned with investigating the processes of their formation, research on this model captures the fluidity of anarchist doctrines without dissolving its parameters.

History is an essential element in this research. Reflections on the history of the movement, its experiences, ideas and manifestations not only debunk familiar, exaggerated or plainly inaccurate stereotypes but also help identify the lines of distinctively anarchist politics. History, moreover, offers a positive ways to reflect on contemporary political issues without suggesting that answers might be found in the knowledge of the past. Studying how, for example, individualist feminists applied concepts of self-

¹³ A post by Zarathustra at Libcom.org usefully identifies some key figures in Anarcho-fascism and National Anarchism. <http://libcom.org/forums/thought/anarcho-fascism-07022008>. For an idea of what National Anarchist community-building implies, see www.youtube.com/watch?v=_ZO_JgTFB7M or American Revolutionary Vanguard at <http://attackthesystem.com/> or Anarchists at www.national-anarchist.net/.

ownership in discussions of childcare and maternal rights contributes to an understanding of the women's movement, delineates some of the ways in which anarchist feminists attempted to tackle patriarchy and provides a focus for thinking about current political problems.¹⁴ Similarly, as Honeywell argues, contextualizing historical anarchist debates about education, urban design, housing, crime and punishment both facilitates comparison with non-anarchist approaches and offers a critical framework for modern analysis. More broadly, as Prichard shows, understanding why anarchists did not jostle for power in the state in a particular temporal and spatial location provides a theoretical lens to examine the character of the modern European state, the principles which underpin claims to authority and the interrelationship of international and domestic politics. Notwithstanding Evren's critique of eurocentrism, the historical approach also supports useful anthropological distinctions between anarchism, pre-European state anarchist traditions and non-anarchist anarchic polities.¹⁵

Naturally, other approaches to ideology are possible. As numerous contributors point out, direct engagement with movement practices offers similar opportunities for dialogue and mutual learning. But history lends these conversations depth, and research that offers ways into the past without closing it down occupies an important place in contemporary anarchist politics. The extent to which blurring is embraced is a political decision. But by keeping faith with the anti-theologism of Proudhonian and Bakununist thought, anarchist histories help tease out the implications of particular choices and provide perspectives on contemporary arguments in ways that keep anarchism alive.

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¹⁴ *Wendy McElroy*, *Individualist Feminism of the Nineteenth Century: Collected Writings and Biographical Profiles* (Jefferson, NC: MacFarland & Co Inc, 2001).

¹⁵ H. Barclay, *People without Government: An Anthropology of Anarchism* (London: Kahn & Averill/

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Part IV: Materials for Further Research

17. Key Terms

Matthew Wilson and Ruth Kinna

See also:

Anarchopedia at http://anarchopedia.org/Main_Page.

Anarchist Terminology at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anarchist_terminology.

Anarchist FAQ at <http://infoshop.org/page/AnAnarchistFAQ>.

Daniel Colson, *Petit lexique philosophique de l'anarchisme. De Proudhon à Deleuze (Paris: Le Livre de Poche, 2001)*.

Note: Words in bold within the text are cross-references to other entries; links to the Resources chapter (Chapter 18) are underlined.

Anarchism without adjectives and small 'a' anarchism. This term describes a commitment to non-sectarian anarchism, first articulated in the 1890s in Spain. Its principal exponents were Ricardo Mella and Tarrida del Màrmol, who developed the idea as anarcho-communism, associated with Kropotkin and others, increasingly came to dominate the mainstream of European anarchist politics. The doctrine was taken up by Voltairine de Cleyre. The exponents of anarchism without adjectives were not so much driven by a rejection of anarcho-communism as by a belief that the anarchist future should be left undefined, so that it might better be constructed in the process of revolutionary change. In Mella's work in particular, it was strongly linked to anarchist conceptions of utopianism. By rooting anarchism without adjectives in action in the present and stripping it of future content, some modern conceptions display a stronger anti-utopian bent. The link with small 'a' anarchism stems from a shared suspicion of dogmatism, although there is an important difference between the two, which is that anarchism without adjectives has room for a distinctive theorization of anarchist beliefs and principles whereas small 'a' anarchism is sometimes said to describe an attitude or sensibility, which depends on other theoretical constructions to complete it. See George Esenwein, *Anarchist Ideology and the Working Class Movement in Spain, 1868–1898* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989), Voltairine de Cleyre, 'The Making of an Anarchist' at www.panarchy.org/voltairine/anarchist.html; Aragorn!, 'Anarchy Without Road Maps or Adjectives' at www.theanarchistlibrary.org/HTML/Aragorn_-_Anarchy_Without_Road_Maps_or_Adjectives.html; Andrej Grubacic and David Graeber, 'Anarchism or the Revolutionary Movement of the 21st Century' at <http://makeworlds.net/node/84>. David Neal, *Anarchism: Ideology or Methodology* at www.spunk.org/library/intro/practice/sp001689.html.

Anarchist ethics. Anarchism has often had a somewhat ambivalent relationship with ethics. As a libertarian philosophy which promotes individual freedom, anarchism struggles with the notion of ordering society according to certain ethical beliefs. Like religion and law, ethical theories are seen as being one more form of social control which has no place in a free society. Yet anarchism rests on deeply held ethical beliefs; indeed, its demands for freedom and equality can only ever be understood as ethical demands. Part of the problem lies in the way ethical beliefs have been used to justify all manner of persecution, and the ways in which such beliefs have been associated with certain elite groups, usually residing within the state or the church. Ironically, the liberal state also rejects the idea that society ought to be governed according to certain ethical principles; indeed, the liberal state is often presented as an explicit response to the problems of a society that rejects an over-arching moral code; a stateless society, it might be argued, is in greater need of shared ethical values, in order to maintain some sort of order. Recently, then, some anarchists have attempted to develop a notion of ethics that fits an anarchist politics, by being highly contextualized and fluid. Other anarchists, most notably Kropotkin, have argued that ethics can be grounded in the natural world. See Benjamin Franks and Matthew Wilson, *Anarchism and Moral Philosophy* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

Anarkink. Descriptor for anarchists interested in bondage, domination and sado-masochism (BDSM). There is an explanatory blog post at <http://sm-feminist.blogspot.com/2008/07/bdsm-and-anarchism.html>.

Affinity groups. As the name suggests, affinity groups are made up of people who all share some sort of affinity with one another; often, the group is formed around a specific issue, such as a G8 meeting, or the building of a power plant, and the aim of the group is to perform a particular plan of action in relation to the issue. The group may well then dissolve after the action has taken place. In this way, affinity groups act to prevent ossification into established units, thus helping reduce the risk of sectarian splits between different factions and the chances of internal hierarchies developing – in theory at least. As such, affinity groups are deliberately small (between 6 and 12 people) and temporary, although in practice, groups may well work together on various campaigns. The idea of affinity groups is usually seen as originating in Spain (*grupos de afinidad*), but the basic model continues to be widely used. **Insurrectionists** employ them to engage in their often covert activities, while activists involved in the **movement** use them in more open **direct actions**, usually using **consensus decision-making** to keep the group democratic.

Anarcho-capitalism. Coined by Murray Rothbard, the term describes a commitment to unregulated private property and laissez-faire economics, prioritizing the liberty-rights of individuals, unfettered by government regulation, to accumulate, consume and determine the patterns of their lives as they see fit. Anarcho-capitalists are anti-statists and will sometimes label themselves **market anarchists** because they recognize the negative connotations of ‘capitalism’. But the literatures of anarcho-capitalism draw on classical liberal theory, particularly the Austrian School – Friedrich

von Hayek and Ludwig von Mises – rather than recognizable anarchist traditions. Ayn Rand’s laissez-faire, anti-government, corporate philosophy – objectivism – is sometimes associated with anarcho-capitalism. In order to highlight the clear distinction between the two positions, socialist anarchists describe anarcho-capitalists as proper-tarians. See Ludwig von Mises Institute at <http://mises.org/>, Murray N. Rothbard Library and Resources at <http://lewrockwell.com/rothbard/rothbard-lib.html>, Anarcho-capitalist FAQ at www.ozarkia.net/bill/anarchism/faq.html and Ayn Rand Institute at www.aynrand.org/site/PageServer?pagename=index. The distinction between anarchism and anarcho-capitalism and the term propertarian is discussed in the Anarchist FAQ at <http://anarchism.pageabode.com/afaq/secG3.html#secg32>.

Anarcha-feminism. In theory, all anarchists should be feminists, inasmuch as they ought to reject patriarchy, an insidious and still prevalent form of hierarchy and discrimination. And anarchism can be proud that many women have played important roles within the movement. Sadly, however, practice has often lagged behind theory, and many women have felt that too many male (and at times, female) anarchists have failed to internalize feminist critiques. Raised in a patriarchal world, as most of us are, many anarchists have been unable to shed the cultural baggage of a deeply gendered society. Common problems which many women experience range from being ignored during meetings, where, conversely, men are listened to with respect, to outright sexual harassment. As such, anarcha-feminism is one attempt to directly challenge this sort of behaviour. As is the case in wider society, part of the problem is that most anarchists do not explicitly adhere to a patriarchal view; their sexism is often hidden from themselves, and operates through deeply ingrained habits which often go unnoticed. Although this makes such sexist behaviour less powerful, it also makes it harder to address. So even if the term itself is often considered redundant, anarcha-feminism remains an important thread within all anarchist movements. See Dark Star Collective, *Quiet Rumours* (Oakland, CA, and Edinburgh: AK Press, 2002) and entries for [Left Turn](#), [Subrosa](#), [anarcha](#), [anarchalibrary](#), [Judy Greenway](#), [Wendy McElroy](#), [Starhawk](#).

Anarcho-syndicalism. A practice linked to industrial revolutionary unionism but one which is organized by anarchists and along anarchist principles. As such, anarcho-syndicalism is distinctive in two key ways. First, like all anarchist projects, it is deeply **prefigurative**; each syndicate (or union) is organized democratically in a decentralized federative network, providing a framework for developing organizational skills and an alternative system of economic production and distribution in the body of capitalism. Secondly, whereas most unions merely push for reforms within the current system, anarcho-syndicalists also seek to overthrow capitalism and the state entirely. This does not mean that reforms are necessarily rejected, but when they are fought for, anarcho-syndicalists prefer direct action tactics such as sabotage and wildcat strikes (rather than, e.g. negotiations between union bosses and company directors). Moreover, any reforms that are demanded are seen as being only partial victories, with the ultimate aim being complete workers’ control of the means of production: an

aim that was traditionally linked to the idea of the General Strike. Although syndicalists clearly call for an anarchistic economics, this does not automatically entail support for any one particular model, with some favouring **mutualism** and others **anarcho-communism**, for example. Anarcho-syndicalism has long been a significant thread within anarchism; the CNT, a Spanish syndicate, was a key player during the **Spanish Civil War**, and syndicates remain active today in many countries around the world. See Rudolf Rocker, *Anarcho-Syndicalism* at www.spunk.org/library/writers/rocker/sp001495/rocker_as1.html; Michael Schmidt and Lucien van der Walt, *Black Flame: The Revolutionary Class Politics of Anarchism and Syndicalism vol. 1 Counter-Power* (Oakland, CA and Edinburgh: AK Press, 2009); David Berry and Constance Bantman, *New Perspectives on Anarchism, Labour and Syndicalism: The Individual, the National and the Transnational* (Newcastle-Upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2010). [International Workers' Association](#), [Radical Tradition](#), [Red Ruffians](#), [Pelloutier](#).

Autonomism. The theory of autonomism first appeared in Italy in the 1960s and is sometimes referred to as Autonomist Marxism. Indeed, it is as close to Marxist thought as it is to anarchism, and might well be seen as a synthesis of the two. Autonomism was also influenced by the emergence of post-structural thought, and by groups such as the Situationists. At times, autonomists have been implicated in violent activities, or at least seen as being supportive of them. The tactics of autonomists have had a considerable influence on the non-violent (though often illegal) **direct action** of contemporary **movement** activists within the wider anti-capitalist movement, both in terms of their provocative and confrontational approach to protest, and in their creation of social centres as hubs for activists, which are now widely replicated throughout the world. The ideas behind autonomism chime with much of the rhetoric within the contemporary **movement**. However, the term itself has never been popular within English-speaking anarchist circles, although it continues to be popular in mainland Europe, and in particular, Italy and France. In Germany and Holland, autonomist ideas inspired groups sometimes known as Autonomen, which themselves influenced what would later become the Black Bloc. See Georgy Katsiaficas, *The Subversion of Politics: European Autonomous Social Movements and the Decolonization of Everyday Life* (Edinburgh: AK Press, 2006).

Bob Black (born 1951, in Detroit, Michigan), currently a resident of Albany, New York. He has been involved with the anarchist movement, mainly in North America, for 35 years. Trained as a lawyer, he does not practice law but researches and writes for lawyers. His formal education includes a BA (University of Michigan, 1973), MA (Jurisprudence and Social Policy, Berkeley, 1984), MA in Criminal Justice (State University of New York at Albany, 1992) and LLM in Criminal Law from the State University of New York at Buffalo (2005). He has published nine articles in academic legal journals. Black is best known for his 1985 essay 'The Abolition of Work' which has been translated into 12 languages. He has published five books: *The Abolition of Work and Other Essays* (Port Townsend, WA: Loompanics, 1986), *Friendly Fire* (Albany,

NY: Autonomedia, 1992), *Beneath the Underground* (Portland, OR: Ferrel House, 1994), and *Anarchy after Leftism* (Albany, NY: Columbia Alternative Library Press, 1997) and *Nightmares of Reason* (2010) – an e-book available at http://theanarchistlibrary.org/HTML/Bob_Black__Nightmares_of_Reason.html. Most of the contents of the first three books are accessible online (the best single source is The Anarchist Library; inspiracy.com includes many of the old ones). Black is thought to have coined the term **post-left anarchism**, a phrase that appears in *Anarchy after Leftism*. Murray Bookchin was the target for much of Black's analysis of leftism (the critiques of Bookchin appear in *Anarchy after Leftism* and *Nightmares of Reason*) but the general critique of work, leftism and moralism preceded this by 20 years. He also used the term Marxist–Stirnerist to describe **post-left anarchism**, and to distinguish it from **ego-ism**, which he regards as a valuable theoretical source for anarchism, but one which has little practical value. Black's recent research and writing focuses on the discussion of dispute resolution arrangements and their compatibility with anarchist principles.

Stuart Christie is a leading exponent of **class-struggle anarchism**, author and publisher. He is probably best known for his involvement in a plot to assassinate Francisco Franco and for his fierce opposition to the Edward Heath government (1970–74). However, apart from his association with members of the Angry Brigade – for which he was arrested, tried and acquitted in 1971 – he was also involved with the Glasgow Committee of 100 and Spies for Peace (groups critical of the passive, strictly legal and symbolic campaigning of the anti-nuclear movement) and in the revival of the Anarchist Black Cross, the prisoner support organization founded by Russian militants in the Czarist era. All these activities are documented in the three-part *Christie File* (*Granny Made Me An Anarchist*, *General Franco Made Me a 'Terrorist'* and *Edward Heath Made Me Angry*). His imprints include Refract Publications, Cienfuegos Press, Meltzer Press and now Christie Books, but he has sponsored a number of other publishing projects including, in the 1980s, the *Anarchist Encyclopaedia* (see 'Bibliography' chapter). Christie is a historian of anarchism, particularly Spanish anarchism, and of anarchist ideas – the co-author with Albert Meltzer of *The Floodgates of Anarchy* (Southampton: Kahn & Averill, 1979) and editor of the three-volume 'study' of Farquhar McHarg, *¡Pistoleros!* (all published by ChristieBooks). His writing roots anarchism in the everyday experiences of ordinary (working-class) people and interlaces hostile, uncompromising critique of government policy and the stupidity and injustice of bureaucratic capitalism with humour and wit. His work is also shot through with references to film, art and music – all of which are promoted on his site www.christiebooks.com/ChristieBooksWP/. The three volumes of the Christie File are at <http://issuu.com/skateraw/docs/grannymademeananarchist>, <http://issuu.com/skateraw/docs/generalfranco> and <http://issuu.com/skateraw/docs/edheathvol3>. For 'Pistoleros', visit <http://www.christiebooks.com/ChristieBooksWP/publications/>.

Classical anarchism is a problematic but frequently used term that refers to what is in fact a quite diverse group of ideas developed by anarchists in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In particular, it alludes to a group of ideas that many con-

temporary anarchists believe to be problematic, because they are allegedly grounded in Enlightenment views about truth, human nature, rationality and so on. As such, classical anarchism is often explicitly juxtaposed with certain contemporary approaches, in particular **postanarchism**, which takes its lead from other philosophical theories such as feminism and post-structuralism. However, because of the diverse nature of earlier theorists, because of the haziness surrounding which theorists should be included and because of the contestability of recent claims against them, the very notion of classical anarchism as a united theory is a dubious one. Perhaps the most useful way of thinking about what classical anarchism is, then, is to consider it to be, as the name suggests, no more than the diverse beginnings of anarchist thought, some of which continues to inspire anarchism to this day, and some of which is no longer relevant.

Class-struggle anarchism. For some anarchists, class-struggle anarchism is a tautology – all anarchism is about class struggle. Yet the notion of class has come under increasing scrutiny by many anarchists, for two key reasons. First, class is seen as being too simplistic a way to understand the complexities of modern life; and secondly, because many other factors, such as gender and race, are seen as being equally important. As such, the very notion of class is all but ignored by many contemporary anarchists, especially those involved in the **movement**. Yet the idea of a class war continues to inspire and inform many, who see the basic contradiction between those who own the means of production, and those who do not and who are therefore forced to work to survive, as being fundamental to the functioning of the capitalist state. And groups such as Class War argue that moves away from class, towards what are often dismissed as identity style politics (such as feminism or vegetarianism) only serve to weaken our resistance. We are, on this analysis, dividing ourselves, so that we are more easily conquered by a united ruling class. Sadly (and rightly or wrongly), it is certainly true that the notion of a class war remains one of the biggest divisions within the anarchist movement. See Benjamin Franks, *Rebel Alliances: The Means and Ends of Contemporary British Anarchisms* (Oakland, CA, and Edinburgh: AK Press/Dark Star, 2006) and *Anarkismo*, International of Anarchist Federations, *International Workers' Association*, Ian Bone, *Lucien van der Walt* and *Class War*, in 'Resources' chapter (Chapter 18).

Community action. Although the community would appear to be the obvious place for the activity of people who believe in a radical re-localizing of politics, interest in community action is far from high on many anarchists' agenda, much to the frustration of those who see working in and with our communities as a necessary step to creating an anarchist world. The value of community action is rarely if ever denied or challenged, yet the reality on the street demonstrates that interest in actually engaging with it is far from high. One possible reason for this is the difficulty anarchists have in working with people who expect to organize along traditional, hierarchical principles. Similarly, many anarchists find the reformist nature of much community work hard to accept, and may even struggle to support some of the wishes of members of their community if they clash with their own principles. Still, some anarchists are

committed to this form of activism and argue that not only despite, but at times because of these difficulties, engaging with communities is an important groundwork for creating an anarchist world. One of the most inspiring examples of community action is that of the Haringay Solidarity Group (HSG), and the many Resident's Associations they have helped develop. See entry *All London Anarchist Revolutionary Movement* (ALARM) for links to the HSG.

Consensus decision-making. Although it was embraced by certain anarchists in previous generations, it is only in the last decade or so that consensus decision-making has come to be seen as a fundamental principle of anarchism. Indeed, for many contemporary anarchists, consensus and anarchism are all but synonymous, and the idea that a radical social centre, anarchist campaign, or **temporary autonomous zone (TAZ)**, might be organized according to other forms of decision-making is simply inconceivable. Consensus, it is argued, is the only way to organize in a genuinely non-hierarchical and non-authoritarian way, because a decision reached by consensus is one which everyone agrees to, so there is no need to enforce it. In practice, consensus is tied up with a broader, though related, culture of organization; meetings are often heavily facilitated, to ensure everyone's voice is heard, and countless tools and procedures have been developed to help large groups reach decisions in a collective way. Much is to be said for these engaged attempts to redefine what a genuinely **horizontal politics** might look like, but there are serious questions (rarely asked, let alone answered) about the viability of consensus in long-term communities. Too little is said about the limits of consensus, and what an anarchist response might be when communities fail to reach it. See entries *Collective Book on Collective Process* and *Trapese* .

Co-operatives. Although not necessarily anarchist in orientation, cooperatives (co-ops) have been considered by many anarchists as offering a model of ownership and control that fits the basic anarchist commitments to equality, mutual aid and genuine democracy; co-ops are therefore seen as **prefigurative**, establishing in the here and now ways of working and living, which are commensurate with the way an anarchist society might be organized (although some co-ops are less radical in their demands for wholesale social change than others). All co-ops must follow certain rules; for example, co-ops cannot be owned by their members, even though they have total control over how they are run; co-ops effectively own themselves, which means they cannot be sold for personal profit. Additionally, many co-ops establish secondary rules, which reflect the particular politics of their founding members. Although the basic idea of co-ops has many and diverse roots, the modern co-operative movement as we know it today began in the North of England, in Rochdale, which was a remarkably radical city through much of the eighteenth century. There are now thousands of workers' and housing co-ops in the United Kingdom and elsewhere, and many of these are openly anarchist, often combining their internal **horizontal** politics with other **direct action** activities. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rochdale_Principles and *Radical Routes* .

Critical Mass first occurred in San Francisco in 1994, and since then has become a worldwide phenomena, taking place in hundreds of cities worldwide, usually on the

last Friday of the month. A critical mass is essentially a bike ride where cyclists, empowered by their united presence, are able to reclaim road space which is usually the preserve of the car. As such, masses are explicitly promoted as *not* being a protest; it is, rather, an act of **prefiguration**, a chance for cyclists to ride, however briefly, in a world where the car is subservient to the bicycle. Masses have been criticized, not least within the cycling community itself, for being overly antagonistic, thereby deepening the tension between automobiles and bikes. Particularly confrontational cyclists engaged in masses have earned themselves the moniker ‘massholes’. However, many activists have responded to this criticism (and the actions of certain individuals on the rides) by encouraging a polite and friendly attitude among ‘massers’, and argue that the intention is not to annoy car drivers (even if that is often an unavoidable consequence) but rather an attempt to empower cyclists and demonstrate an alternative to a car-centric transport system. See, *Critical Mass: Bicycling’s Defiant Celebration*, ed. Chris Carlsson (Edinburgh and Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2002).

Direct action. Anarchists are not simply opposed to the state; they are opposed to representation of all kinds. As such, anarchists believe that people ought to act for themselves when they want something done. In other words, they should take direct action. Direct actions are organized along anarchist principles, often using **consensus decision-making**, because for it to be truly direct (i.e. non-representative) they must follow the idea of **prefiguration**. Direct action can be understood as any non-mediated act which is undertaken to change the world, whether it is setting up a bike workshop to help people to fix their bikes, **squatting**, providing free meals for homeless people or standing in front of a digger about to uproot ancient woodland. However, the theory of direct action has become increasingly synonymous with what might also be called illegal protests or civil disobedience – office occupations, road blockades and so on; actions which now form a considerable part in the toolbox of **movement** activists. Some argue, though, that these acts rarely constitute truly direct action, because they still ultimately appeal to the state or a company to act in a certain way, only they do so in a more confrontational manner than a petition, for example. Such critics argue that **community** organizing, for example, is more direct, because it ignores the state and seeks to build positive alternatives to it. See Graeber, D., *Direct Action: An Ethnography* (Edinburgh: AK Press, 2009); Dave Foreman and Bill Hayward (eds), *Ecodefence: A Field Guide to Monkeywrenching*, 3rd edn (California: Abzug Press, 1993); Benjamin Franks, ‘Direct Action Ethic’, *Anarchist Studies*, 11(1) (2003), 13–41, online at http://eprints.gla.ac.uk/3036/1/Direct_action_Ethic.pdf; David Wieck, ‘The Habit of Direct Action’, in Howard Ehrlich, Carol Ehrlich, David de Leon and Glenda Morris (eds), *Reinventing Anarchy. What Are Anarchists Thinking These Days?* (London, Boston and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979), pp. 331–3.

DiY/DIY (Do it yourself) is a practice that dovetails with the **direct action** tradition, but which has its roots in a diffuse set of movements and campaigns, particularly music cultures. DiY is not just about unmediated action, but is driven by a desire to avoid commodification and to construct systems of production, distribu-

tion and exchange that not only operate independently of for-profit organizations and corporations, but also on ethical principles of mutual aid and support which are empowering. The idea of DiY is that everyone can be an active producer instead of a passive consumer and that support networks help make this happen: so, DiY or Die. This radical and deeply democratic idea can be traced back to the concept of ‘lesser art’ that underpinned the nineteenth-century arts and crafts movements inspired by William Morris, though the aesthetics are clearly very different. Aesthetically, DiY cultures take inspiration from avant-garde movements and similarly embrace challenge, confrontation and shock, usually in combination with a subversive wit and humour familiar to Dadism and Surrealism. DiY is associated with all manner of **community**-based projects, anti-road movements campaigning, with anti-copyright, file-sharing, the development of open-source technologies, punk and rave cultures, zines, free-parties and **lifestyle anarchism**. See Carlsson, C., *Nowtopia: How Pirate Programmers, Out-law Bicyclists, and Vacant-Lot Gardeners are Inventing the Future Today* (AK Press: Edinburgh, 2008); George McKay, *Senseless Acts of Beauty: Cultures of Resistance since the Sixties* (London: Verso, 1996); George McKay (ed.), *DiY Culture: Party & Protest in Nineties Britain* (London and New York: Verso, 1998); Sandra Jepsen, ‘The DIY Post-punk Post-situationist Politics of CrimethInc.’ *Anarchist Studies*, 19(1) (2011), 23–55 and in ‘Resources’ chapter (Chapter 18): CrimethInc., *Anarcho-punk, Pirate-punk and Reclaim the Streets*. A DiY guide is available at *SchNEWS* at www.schnews.org.uk/diyguide/index.htm.

Earth First! began in the United States in the late 1970s, but there are now Earth First! (EF!) **networks** in numerous countries, including the United Kingdom, where a group was formed in 1990. EF! was created in response to what was seen as an increasingly moderate environmental movement, both in terms of its tactics and its wider political analysis. ‘Earth Firsters’, although not always explicitly anarchist, argued that environmental problems should be seen as a symptom of wider political and economic failures, and that responses to these problems should take the form of non-violent **direct action**, rather than appealing to the very corporations and institutions responsible for them in the first place. However, EF! itself has been plagued by internal disputes about what constitutes effective and legitimate tactics, and it has spawned a number of off-shoots, such as the Earth Liberation Front. In the United Kingdom, EF! played a vital role in the anti-roads movement, which in turn inspired what was to eventually become the contemporary anarchist **movement**. Paradoxically, as EF! inspired more groups and networks, its own popularity has waned somewhat, although it continues to play a significant role within radical activism, and is often at the forefront of new campaigns. See *Earth First!*_, *Earth Liberation Front and the (now defunct) journal Do or Die_*.

Egoism/egoist anarchism is widely associated with the work of the nineteenth-century philosopher Max Stirner and, in particular, his book *The Ego and Its Own*, although the earlier work of William Godwin, who developed a theory of anarchism which stressed the primacy of the individual, was also important. Egoism might be

seen as the most extreme form of anarchism, taken to its logical conclusion; it rejects all forms of external authority such as the state, but goes further and rejects any notion of morality or responsibility, because even these limit the freedom of the individual. Rather, to be truly free, individuals are encouraged to act in their own self-interest. As such, egoists reject any attempts to form even libertarian collectives or organizations, although Stirner talked about a ‘union of egos’, whereby people would freely associate with one another. Because many anarchists believe that freedom is compatible with community, and because other values such as equality and justice are also seen as important, the majority of anarchists have rejected egoism. However, others – most notably Emma Goldman – sought to combine egoism with more communitarian forms of anarchism. Egoism also influenced writers such as Benjamin Tucker, who helped develop a position known as **Individualist Anarchism** and **Bob Black’s post-left anarchy**. See Saul Newman (ed.), *Max Stirner* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011) and [Hubert Kennedy](#), [LSR – a paraphilosophical project](#), [i-studies journal](#).

Green anarchism. Although earlier anarchists such as Kropotkin gave some consideration to environmental issues, anarchists were often blind to the negative impacts of industrialization. This situation has now changed dramatically, and anarchists have often been at the forefront of environmental campaigns. Equally, green issues are now considered by some anarchists to be as important as other issues, such as class. To emphasize this, some anarchists refer to their beliefs as green anarchism, and it is this marriage between ecological concerns and radical politics that has given rise to many of the more prominent campaigns in recent decades, from the anti-roads protests of the 1990s to **Earth First!** actions against deforestation and genetically modified crops to more recent Climate Camps which sought to highlight the connection between capitalism and climate change. Green anarchism has not always been welcomed, however, and tensions often exist between green anarchists and more traditional, **class-struggle anarchists**, with the latter arguing that the former have prioritized the natural world over concerns about the equality of human beings. Green anarchists respond by noting that, if we do not stop environmental destruction, there will be no planet left to make equal. Although not always united in their views, some green anarchists share certain concerns with **anarcho-primitivists** like **John Zerzan** and **social ecologists**. See Graham Purchase, *Anarchism and Environmental Survival* (Tucson: See Sharp Press, 1994) and [Climate Camp](#), [Earth First!](#), [Earth Liberation Front](#), [Institute for Social Ecology](#), [John Clark](#), [Green Anarchy](#), *Do or Die* in ‘Resources’ chapter (Chapter 18).

Hacktivism is a term that covers a wide variety of computer-based activism. It is most commonly associated with what might be considered virtual **direct action**, usually directed against governments or large corporations. Such actions might include *denial of service* campaigns, online **subvertising** or otherwise altering the content of websites, *email-bombing* (where email accounts are overloaded with huge numbers of emails, often including large attachments) and so on. Some of these actions have been

incredibly audacious, with high-level sites such as that of the Pentagon, for example, being hacked. As with other forms of direct action, hacktivism provokes fierce debates about which tactics are legitimate. Denial of service attacks, for instance, where websites are closed down, are considered by some to be acts of censorship which should not be supported, even if their targets are viewed unfavourably. Hacktivism also includes activities intended to promote alternative software systems, such as open-source operating systems and free software. Activist email lists, such as Riseup and Aktivix, are well used and highly respected by many anarchist activists. Many social centres include *hack labs* – spaces where activists can run their own servers, and where free and secure internet access is available. See ‘What is hacktivism’ at www.thehacktivist.com/.

Horizontal politics. For some anarchists, the notion of horizontal politics is synonymous with anarchism. However, as left-leaning political activists increasingly come to reject state communism, the notion of horizontal politics has been taken up by many who do not necessarily associate their views with anarchism. Indeed, although **the movement of movements** is rightly argued to be heavily influenced by anarchistic ideas, many within it, such as the Zapatista movement, are reluctant to call themselves anarchists, and see their ideas as being inspired by various other ideologies, and therefore reducible to no one political position. And the idea of horizontality, and related concepts such as autonomy, are shared by autonomist Marxists, feminists, and many others; so too with the use of consensus decision-making, which is now seen as an inherently anarchist practice, but which came to anarchism through the peace and Quaker movements. Whatever the labels, the important point is that more and more people are seeing that hierarchies and formal inequalities of power are inherently wrong, and are arguing that both their own activist practices, and any alternative world they seek to create, should be organized on much more democratic, non-hierarchical lines. That said, some anarchists are perhaps justifiably angry that some on the left appear to now be using anarchist ideas without acknowledging the anarchist tradition from which they spring.

See, *John Holloway, Change the World Without Taking Power: The Meaning of Revolution Today (London: Pluto Press, 2002)*.

Individualism. Anarchism has always been plagued by the supposed conflict between the individual and the community. Although many anarchists deny there is such a conflict, many strands of anarchist thought have tended towards emphasizing one side over the other, at least in some respects. As with many other terms, such as **classical anarchism**, individualism contains a considerable diversity of thought; however, like **anarchist egoism**, individualism clearly defends the individual, and rejects anything which denies personal freedom, whether in the form of the state, morality or even through certain methods of anarchist organizing. However, individualists do not reject the socialist impulse of the wider anarchist movement – their emphasis on individualism must not be confused with similar-sounding claims made by neo-liberals, for example, and individualism is not, as is sometimes assumed, synonymous with **anarcho-capitalism**. In contrast to socialist anarchists, individualists see the

oppressive potential in all forms of collectivization. For this reason, many individualists aligned themselves with **mutualism** rather than **libertarian communism**. Some anarchists, however, deny that such individualism is compatible with socialism, and individualism is dismissed by many, though often without any deep knowledge of what individualists themselves actually argue for, or of the different historical contexts (especially in the United States) within which individualist ideas have been created and nurtured. See Hubert Kennedy_, Henry Albert Seymour_, Wendy McElroy_, Voltairine de Cleyre_, Panarchy_, i-studies journal_.

Insurrectionary anarchism. Insurrectionary anarchism, closely associated with the Italian anarchist Alfredo Bonnano, offers an approach to social change that is even more diffused, direct and decentralized than other anarchist tactics, such as syndicalism. Whereas some anarchists seek to organize large-scale movements to bring about revolution, insurrectionists argue for large numbers of small but powerful actions, undertaken by individuals or **affinity groups**. Such actions, which draw on ideas of *illegalism* and *propaganda by the deed* should be confrontational, and at times violent. As such, insurrectionary anarchism rejects all forms of mediation or compromise, and any attempt to organize in a formal, large-scale way (even if along anarchist principles). Working in temporary affinity groups means that the state will struggle to clamp down on such activities, because there are no central groups or individuals to target; this approach also reduces the chances of internal degeneration, such as the development of hierarchies within a movement. Insurrectionary anarchism has influenced much of the recent **direct action movement**, although whereas **insurrectionary anarchism** traditionally has an explicit **class-struggle** focus, many contemporary anarchists have employed this tactical approach in the service of a much broader spectrum of issues. Insurrectionary anarchism is promoted by magazines such as *Anarchy: A Journal of Desire Armed*, *Killing King Abacus*. A good selection of Bonnano's writings are at The Anarchist Library at http://theanarchistlibrary.org/authors/Alfredo_M__Bonanno.html.

Gustav Landauer (1870–1919). In his time, Landauer was a well-known German writer and activist, heavily involved in editing and contributing to the journal *The Socialist*. Landauer wrote perhaps one of the most quoted lines within anarchism, when he argued that the 'state is a social relationship ... It can be destroyed by creating new social relationships'. Yet despite the popularity of these words, his considerable body of work has been widely ignored by English-speaking anarchists, in part due to a lack of available translations – something which has now been remedied by Gabriel Kuhn's excellent collection of Landauer's essays. Landauer insisted on the need for a politics of **prefiguration**, and he supported the formation of workers' **cooperatives** and anarchic communities, believing them to be the necessary starting points for an anarchist transformation of society. Landauer's views were often criticized by other anarchists, and he went through periods of isolation, refusing to be drawn into what he saw as overly simplistic analyses of political problems and their solutions. It might be said, however, that Landauer was simply ahead of his time, and his arguments now

chime with much contemporary anarchist theory. Landauer was brutally murdered by German soldiers in 1919. See Gustav Landauer, *Revolution and Other Writings*, ed. Gabriel Kuhn (Oakland CA: PM Press, 2010) and *Anarchism and Other Essays*, translated by Stephen Bender and Gabriel Kuhn (San Francisco: Barbary Coast Publishing Collective, 2005).

Libertarian communism. For many anarchists, especially those involved in the contemporary anarchist scene, the idea of communism is inherently flawed, tied as it seems to be to an authoritarian, statist response to capitalism. Yet for others, the basic ideas of communism are perfectly compatible with anarchism; communism is an economic theory which supports collective ownership of the means of production, and argues that people should be able to access goods and services according to their needs, not according to what they can afford or otherwise earn. In this way, it differs from other anarchist economic theories, such as **mutualism**, but it is still libertarian; it does not require the state, or party, to achieve, or maintain it. So while many communists believe that the state is the tool with which to overthrow capitalism, others believe libertarian communism can be reached through anarchist means; in other words, communism is not necessarily Marxism, or Stalinism, and it can be disassociated from these authoritarian thinkers, and placed within the libertarian camp. Anarchist communism was favoured by thinkers such as Kropotkin, and it was widely used by anarchists during the **Spanish Civil War**, as well as in Ukraine when anarchists, led by **Nestor Makhno**, successfully ran part of the country along anarchist communist lines between 1919 and 1921. See *Libcom.org*, International of Anarchist Federations (*IAF*), International Workers Association (*IWA-AIT*).

Lifestyle anarchism argues that individuals ought to attempt to live in the here and now in a way that is consistent with their political and ethical beliefs. As such, their lifestyles – what they eat, where they shop and work, how they travel and so on – will reflect, as much as is possible, their views about things such as equality, sustainability and cooperation. In other words, it is about **prefiguration** – an attempt to create an anarchist world by forging anarchistic ways of life within the confines of the state. Lifestyle anarchism frequently comes under attack, accused of offering little more than a palliative to capitalist and state crimes and therefore amounting to liberal reformism. It is also dismissed as personal escapism, and criticized for its apparent ‘dropping-out’ approach to social change (as opposed to active struggles that confront state and capital head-on). Yet these criticisms have been rejected by **Bob Black**, among others, as a distortion of what lifestyle anarchists themselves believe; for them, lifestyle is about creating viable alternatives which might eventually supersede the capitalist state, but this by no means excludes other forms of action, and the vast majority of lifestyle anarchists are heavily involved in **direct action**, propaganda, community work and more. The inspiration for the constructive conception is often traced to the ideas of **Gustav Landauer** and **Colin Ward** and although the term ‘lifestyle’ is rarely deployed in this positive sense, it is nevertheless captured in the work of Chris Carlsson and John Holloway. See John Holloway, *Crack Capitalism* (London: Pluto,

2010), Colin Ward, *Anarchy in Action* (London: Freedom Press, 1982) and Matthew Wilson, 'Feeding the Hand that Bites Us: In Defence of Lifestyle Politics', *Dysophia*, forthcoming 2012 and, in 'Resources' chapter (Chapter 18), [The Nowtopian_](#).

Nestor Makhno and the Ukranian Revolution. When the Bolsheviks took power in Russia, anarchists, many of whom had fought alongside more authoritarian communists, were systematically imprisoned or killed. But in Ukraine, a large anarchist movement, known as the *Revolutionary Insurrectionary Army of the Ukraine*, led by Nestor Makhno and comprised mostly of peasants, managed to defend parts of the country, running them along anarchist-communist principles for 2 years, until it too was eventually defeated. Like the anarchist elements of the **Spanish Civil War**, this period of anarchism is extremely important, both in terms of what it achieved internally, establishing free schools and communistic control of land and resources, and in succeeding, albeit temporarily, in defending itself against external aggression. Yet sadly it has never received as much interest as the Spanish period; in part, this may be due to anarchists and other radicals believing negative accounts about Makhno and his troops (e.g. claims of anti-Semitism) even though they stemmed from unsympathetic, mostly Russian sources. Makhno was eventually forced to flee to France, where he established a journal – *Dielo Trouda* – with fellow exiles; although short-lived, this group was responsible for writing the widely read but controversial **Platform**. See Nestor Makhno, *The Struggle Against the State and Other Essays*, ed. Alexander Skirda (Edinburgh and San Francisco, CA: AK Press); Voline, *The Unknown Revolution* (Montreal: Black Rose, 1975); *Nestor Makhno* in 'Resources' chapter (Chapter 18).

The Movement (of movements) is just one name used to describe what has also been called the alter- or anti-globalization movement, and the anti-capitalist movement, to name just a few. This difficulty in naming it reflects the nature of the movement itself, which is intentionally diverse (in analyses and tactics) and which makes no appeal to one united theory, party or leader. Much of this is due to the major role played by anarchist ideas, even though many in the movement do not call themselves anarchists. For example, the movement emphasizes and practices radically democratic principles, such as **consensus decision-making**, prefers **direct action** over lobbying or conventional protest, and creates **networks** rather than building parties or **vanguard**s. However, the movement is not without its own set of principles and norms; the hallmarks of the Peoples' Global Action, for example, offer a basic set of guidelines which groups can sign up to. The movement's most spectacular moment was perhaps the Battle of Seattle (1999), which many saw as the coming-out party of a new wave of anarchist activism. Almost immediately afterwards, the movement became even more diverse, making it difficult to understand as one coherent phenomenon, though the recent Occupy movement might reasonably be said to be its latest incarnation. For Peoples' Global Action, go to www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/index.html. For Occupy, see [Global Responses to the Economic Crisis in Films_*](#).

Market anarchism. A form of anti-statism which draws on a number of anarchist-individualist, radical free-thought and liberal traditions: references to Tom Paine,

Adam Smith, P-J Proudhon, Benjamin Tucker, Voltairine de Cleyre and John Henry Mackay regularly appear in market anarchist analyses. The rhetoric used by self-identifying market anarchists can be revolutionary or rationalist: critiques of corporate and government domination and the rejection of hierarchy are familiar themes, as are mutual dependence and co-operative exchange. Market anarchists typically ground their theory in a concept of self-ownership to defend principles of life, liberty and property. The same principles support a range of political ideologies and systems: right and left libertarianism, classical liberalism, minimal state liberalism as well as anarchism. As the name implies, market anarchists rely on the workings of the free market to regulate social relations and protect against monopoly, and identify injustice in involuntary interference (murder, slavery and theft). Choice, individual sovereignty and voluntary co-operation are persistent themes in the literatures. Philosophically, market anarchism is **individualist** and because of the historical antipathy between individualist and socialist anarchist schools, the terms are sometimes wrongly used interchangeably. Historically, market anarchists have raised the same critiques of anti-market traditions that socialist anarchists level at Marxists: that socialism necessarily involves violent revolution, dictatorship and domination. Perhaps as a result, closer links are sometimes acknowledged with voluntarism and **anarcho-capitalism**, than with socialist anarchisms. However, some market anarchists also embrace anti-capitalist activism. See [Black Crayon](#), [Center for a Stateless Society](#), [Mutualist.org](#), [Invisible Molotov](#), [Molinari Institute](#).

Mutualism is an economic theory most notably developed by the French anarchist Pierre-Joseph Proudhon. Proudhon famously argued that ‘property is theft’, but unlike anarchist communists, he believed that individuals and collectives such as workers’ **cooperatives**, could own the means of production and that they could offer the services they provided through the marketplace. However, because mutualists deny the legitimacy of the state, and of certain practices associated with capitalism, their market economy would be radically different from the forms of market economy we know today. Mutualists believe, for instance, that there is a difference between private and personal property; people may own their own home, for example, but could not own additional homes which they rented. Nor could they loan money at high interest rates, or otherwise receive economic rewards through anything other than the direct input of their labour. This prevents any one individual or group from amassing large amounts of wealth, and therefore defends against the socio-economic imbalances we often associate with markets. Mutualism, then, gives individuals considerable power over their own workplace, but it also urges strong collective tendencies such as workers’ associations, and perhaps might therefore be seen as sitting somewhere between **libertarian communism** and **individualism**. See [Mutualist.Org](#), [Panarchy](#), [Proudhon](#).

Participatory economics (Parecon). Traditionally, economics has been deemed to be necessarily under the control of either the marketplace (as it is in capitalism) or a centralized-planning authority, such as the state (as it is in state communism).

Anarchists believe that other options are open to communities, and have developed numerous economic systems, in varying degrees of detail, to show how we might escape the state and the market. Few, if any, go into anything like the level of detail presented by Robin Hahnel and Michael Albert, who have developed their own theory of participatory economics – or Parecon. Parecon is organized via complex webs of information sharing, in order that supply meets demand; but whereas within the capitalist market such information creates competition and is based on power imbalances relating to people’s differing levels of wealth, in a participatory economy, the collective control of all means of production means that decision-making is an open and democratic process. However, in a Parecon, people are remunerated according to effort, making it more aligned with **mutualist** theories than **libertarian communist** principles. Parecon has been criticized for being overly complex and ultimately unworkable, but its defenders argue it is a necessary start to thinking about economic alternatives and one that might give us direction and hope, as well as helping to challenge the belief that our options are always either state or market. See *Znet* in ‘Resources’ chapter (Chapter 18).

Platformism/The Platform. The Russian revolution of 1917 was not destined to end in a Bolshevik dictatorship. Many anarchists were involved in the uprising, and they hoped that the revolution would result in the sort of libertarian world they wanted to see. Of course, that did not happen, and anarchist tendencies were ultimately crushed by the Bolsheviks. This defeat led some anarchists, such as **Nestor Makhno**, to ask what implications it had for anarchism itself. Would anarchism, they asked, not always be vulnerable to such attacks? They concluded that it would, unless anarchists united under a stronger, more coherent banner. This critique led Makhno and others to write a manifesto for a strong union of anarchists, *The Organisational Platform of the General Union of Anarchists*. The Platform (as it is often referred to) was extremely contentious, with many anarchists arguing it amounted to little more than Bolshevism. Over time, some of these criticisms were moderated, as The Platform was defended and its points expanded and clarified by its supporters. Nonetheless, its general thesis, that anarchists ought to unify their tactics under a collective organizational structure, remains controversial, and is anathema to much contemporary anarchist discourse which celebrates a diversity of tactics. See Alexander Skirda, *Facing the Enemy: A History of Anarchist Organization from Proudhon to May 1968*, trans. Paul Sharkey (Edinburgh and Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2002); David Berry, *A History of the French Anarchist Movement: 1917 to 1945* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002; Edinburgh and Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2009); [Anarkismo_](#), [The Struggle Site_](#).

Postanarchism is a recent development in anarchist thought which attempts to tackle a number of what it believes to be serious philosophical problems within earlier anarchist theories. In particular, Enlightenment inspired views about truth, human nature and rationality, which many of the so-called **classical anarchists** are alleged to support, are criticized by postanarchists, who draw on post-structuralist critiques of the Enlightenment to argue that these ideas must be abandoned. As

such, postanarchism is not an outright rejection of earlier forms of anarchism, but rather an attempt to iron out a number of major, but not insurmountable problems in it. However, postanarchists have been criticized for misrepresenting the work of canonical thinkers, and of lumping these thinkers together – as proponents of **classical anarchism** – when in fact these thinkers often differed greatly in their views. Furthermore, anarchism has changed a great deal over the last century, and many of the discourses used by postanarchists to critique anarchism have long been considered useful tools for developing anarchist thought. Although postanarchism has received considerable attention within academia, it remains little known within activist circles; however, many postanarchist ideas are found within the **movement**. This could be seen as the result of indirect influence, or a case of (academic) theory slowly catching up with (activist) practice. Key proponents include: Todd May, Saul Newman, Lewis Call and Richard Day – though they by no means constitute an exclusive or homogenous set. Jason Adams’s introduction to postanarchism and the bibliography developed for the now antiquarian Postanarchism Clearing House can be accessed at www.oocities.org/ringfingers/postanarchism2.html (most of the weblinks are broken). His essay, ‘Postanarchism in a Nutshell’ (also published under the title of ‘Postanarchism in a Bombshell’), is at The Anarchist Library. See also the German-language website for postanarchism www.postanarchismus.net and the archived exchanges from 2003 and 2004 at www.drifftline.org/cgi-bin/archive/archive.cgi?list=spoon-archives/postanarchism.archive. See *Shawn P. Wilbur* for the blog ‘post-anarchism anarchy’.

Postcolonial anarchism. A term associated with Roger White and the challenge to currents within mainstream anarchism that marginalize or fail to address issues of race, culture and nationality in discussions of domination and oppression. Postcolonial anarchism attacks political universalism – the generalization of claims based on particular (gendered, culturally, racially and politically specific) perspectives. Universalism can take different forms: internationalist rejections of nationalism; claims about the priority of class in liberation struggles and the rejection of anarchy-feminism are all highlighted in White’s work. As a critical tool, postcolonial anarchism reveals the multiple biases of mainstream anarchism. It offers a way of forging links between anarchism and other anti-authoritarian struggles, for example, of landless and indigenous people and/or for national or cultural rights. See Roger, *White Post Colonial Anarchism: Essays on Race, Repression and Culture in Communities of Color 1999–2004*, online access at the Colours of Resistance archive <http://www.coloursofresistance.org/344/post-colonial-anarchism/>.

Post-left anarchy refers to a somewhat loose cluster of ideas, first developed in the 1980s by writers such as Hakim Bey and **Bob Black**. Tired of what were perceived to be overly dogmatic and authoritarian tendencies within the (mostly North American) anarchist movement, post-left anarchists attempted to reframe anarchism to be more ideologically fluid and open-ended. In keeping with this approach, there is no group or movement that can be clearly identified as being post-left; even using

the term itself begins to reproduce many of the problems that post-left anarchists were hoping to escape, because it formalizes and categorizes an attempt to live with spontaneity, chaos and diversity. The theory of post-left anarchy is echoed in other similar discourses, such as **anarchism without adjectives**, and **small ‘a’ anarchism** (which is juxtaposed with Capital or big ‘A’ Anarchism, to refer to the sort of older anarchist schools that post-leftists were rejecting). Although often much less explicitly, post-left ideas also reverberate with many contemporary activists involved in the **movement**. It is strongly associated with *Anarchy: A Journal of Desire Armed, Fifth Estate* and the *CrimethInc_* collective, and it has certain ideological affinities with **primitivism** and **insurrectionary anarchism**.

Prefigurative politics. Anarchists have long argued that a free society cannot be created using authoritarian methods; in other words, the *means* used to change the world must be consistent with the desired *ends*. An anarchist society, therefore, must be built up from below, not enforced (after a revolution perhaps) from above. This, then, is the basic notion of prefiguration. People must *prefigure* the society they wish to see; they must act and organize in the ways they would hope an anarchist society to be organized. The widespread use of **consensus decision-making** is an example of this, as are the **TAZs** favoured by many **movement** activists. The idea of prefiguration is key to anarchism then, yet it gives rise to a problem which is rarely acknowledged; how are people to act in ways consistent with their anarchist principles, in a world dominated by an authoritarian and hierarchical culture? The insistence on such purity, it is argued, leads anarchists to create safe spaces where they are free from making compromises but where their impact is thereby restricted. Of course, working within non-anarchic spaces does not entail rejecting prefiguration, but it certainly makes it harder to realize. Like many anarchist principles then, prefiguration receives broad support but raises questions about how it is to be put into practice. See Chris Carlsson, *Nowtopia: How Pirate Programmers, Outlaw Bicyclists, and Vacant-Lot Gardeners are Inventing the Future Today* (Edinburgh: AK Press, 2008) and, in ‘Resources’ chapter (Chapter 18), *Hakim Bey* and *Ontological Anarchy_*, *The Nowtopian_*.

Primitivism (sometimes known as anarcho-primitivism) argues against not only capitalism and the state, but the very notion of civilization itself. Once humanity turned from its nomadic roots, and began to settle and cultivate crops, so it began to create the necessary conditions for hierarchy and authority. Similarly, primitivists argue that the process of reification which takes place in a capitalist society has deeper roots; the moment humanity began to use symbols, it became distanced from its own experiences, eventually creating the troubled world we now inhabit. Many anarchists reject primitivism, either as impractical (it might be right, but where does that lead us?) or because it is simply wrong; anarchism *is* compatible with civilization, even industrialized technology, as long as the political and economic forms are libertarian in nature. Equally, primitivism is often dismissed as being naïve and unsophisticated, yet key theorists like **John Zerzan** have been influenced by philosophers such as Merleau-Ponty, Husserl, Adorno and Heidegger, and its arguments are often more

philosophically grounded than is the case with many other anarchist schools. Primitivism is often associated with **post-left anarchy** and with journals such as *Fifth Estate* and *Anarchy: A Journal of Desire Armed*.

Propaganda by the deed. The principle, embraced by **insurrectionary anarchists** is now often associated with violence and sometimes terrorism. When it was first articulated in the late 1870s, it described any revolutionary action (as opposed to written propaganda) from peaceful protest, to illegal demonstration and insurrection. As a principle of confrontational propaganda, actions were designed to provoke a response in order to highlight the repressiveness of government. If the principle was to succeed, its exponents argued that it was important that actions were intelligible and that they had clear messages. See Marie Fleming, 'Propaganda By The Deed: Terrorism and Anarchist Theory in Late Nineteenth-Century Europe', *Terrorism: An International Journal*, 4 (1980), 1–23.

The Provos. For many contemporary anarchists (and other radical leftists), the events that occurred in Paris, May 1968, represented the birth of a new era of political activism. Yet much of what transpired there was directly inspired and informed by a Dutch anarchist movement known as the Provos. Although this movement is far from well known today, its influence on anarchism and wider politics is considerable, and whether they realize it or not, many activists today employ tactics that were first employed by the Provos. Indeed, their politicized use of **squatting**, the focus on bikes as both metaphorical and literal tools for change, their use of carnival and art in protest – all now firmly established within anarchist forms of activism – were developed by Provo activism. Provo activities were not limited to protests, and their development of what were known as the White Plans were both popular and occasionally effective. The White Plans dealt with different social issues – transport, sexual health and so on – and were effectively mini-manifestoes, some of which were taken seriously by the Dutch authorities. Their White Bike plan, which saw hundreds of bikes painted white and simply left on streets for people to use (but never to take home and own) has been replicated all over the world. See Richard Kempton, *Provo: Amsterdam's Anarchist Revolt* (Brooklyn: Autonomedia, 2007); Rudolf de Jong, 'Provos and Kabouters', in Apter and Joll (ed.), *Anarchism Today* (London: Macmillan, 1971), pp. 164–80; and 'Provos' in the British Library History Learning zone (Dissenters and Dreamers), available at www.bl.uk/learning/histcitizen/21cc/counterculture/assaulton-culture/provo/provo.html.

Religious anarchisms. Anarchisms and anarchists are frequently anticlerical if not anti-religious, but most religious traditions have also produced offshoots which are anarchist in many ways – often anticlerical too. Religious anarchisms do often ground their position in some notion of the 'divine', but they develop from it critiques of the state and of capitalism and other arguments which can be very similar to 'secular' anarchisms. Leo Tolstoy (1828–1910) is the most famous example. He wrote dozens of Christian anarchist books and essays, the most cited one probably being *The Kingdom of God Is within You* (available at <http://www.kingdomnow.org/>)

withinyou.html). But Christian anarchism encompasses many other modern thinkers (such as Jacques Ellul) and movements (such as the Catholic Workers), as well as older sects and tendencies (such as the early churches, the Diggers or the Anabaptists). A recent attempt to bring many of these together in a single study is Alexandre Christoyannopoulos' *Christian Anarchism* (Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2010). There are also a number of studies of other religious anarchisms – Daoist, Jewish, Muslim and so on. These have been under-researched and come from different disciplines, but they demonstrate that anarchist analyses of social, economic, political and indeed religious institutions can derive from a variety of religious traditions. A useful starting point for further research is the reading list provided by the *Anarchist Studies Network* on http://anarchist-studies-network.org.uk/ReadingLists_ReligionSpirituality. See also *Tolstoy Studies Journal*, *Spiritual Anarchy* in 'Resources' chapter (Chapter 18).

Rhizomes/networks. Because anarchists believe in **prefiguration**, their anti-authoritarian views are put into practice in the way they organize and struggle; their support for **direct action** reflects this, as does their choice to operate in small **affinity groups**, rather than in large parties or organizations. However, this does not mean that these countless groups of anarchists are entirely disconnected from one another. Rather, they see themselves as being connected through an autonomous network, freely associating (and disassociating) with other like-minded groups, combining their strengths without sacrificing their independence. To make sense of this tactical approach, anarchists often employ the metaphor of the rhizome, following the philosophers Deleuze and Guattari, whose work has inspired many contemporary anarchists; a rhizome is the network of roots laid out by vegetables such as potatoes. Unlike the roots of a tree, which all feed one particular plant, rhizomatic roots form an interconnected network; there is no centre, or, to bring the metaphor back to politics, no hierarchy. If one potato is removed, the rest can still flourish; even if the network is severed in one place, it remains connected somewhere else. This is precisely how activists involved in the **movement** understand their relationship with each other; as connected but autonomous. See Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Brian Massumi (London and New York: Continuum, 2003).

Social ecology. From Reclaim the Streets to **Earth First!** to Climate Camps, contemporary anarchism has often been heavily involved in environmental campaigning, so it is hard to imagine a time when the damaging effects of industrialization barely registered on anarchists' radar. Part of the reason why environmental issues are now considered so important is because of the work of Murray Bookchin, who developed a theory he called social ecology. Bookchin argued that the environmental problems that were starting to appear throughout the industrialized world were directly related to the political and economic systems of the west. The hierarchical social relations of state capitalism were echoed in a domineering approach to nature itself, and only by challenging these systems could we hope to save the planet from environmental destruction. Such an argument is now commonplace, partly thanks to the theories developed within social ecology. However, Bookchin's own work went further, and he tried to

developed an ethical and political theory based on his social-ecological readings; these have been much less influential, and Bookchin eventually abandoned anarchism entirely, frustrated with anarchists' lack of support for his work. Sadly, deep divisions remain between many social ecologists and other anarchists, and their disagreements seem to hide the many overlapping points of agreement. See [Institute for Social Ecology](#), [John Clark](#).

Spanish Civil War. Although it ended in a fascist dictatorship which lasted almost four decades, the Spanish Civil War provided the context for one of anarchism's most pivotal moments. While the war was raging, anarchists were not only fighting fascists (and, at times, communists), they were also beginning to put their ideals into practice. Throughout much of the war, the entire city of Barcelona was run along these principles, as were many smaller towns and villages, sometimes forming entire, anarchist controlled regions. In such areas, free schools were set up, land and the means of production were collectivized and factories and shops were run by the workers; it was perhaps the most important example of anarchy in action the world had ever seen. Because these experiments were truly anarchic, they differed greatly from place to place. Some communities forcibly (and at times violently) re-appropriated land, while others allowed non-anarchist groups to coexist. Similarly, some communities adopted strong moral principles – such as vegetarianism and free love – while others maintained more traditional cultural practices. This diversity only makes what happened all the more interesting and useful for anarchists today, who continue to look to these events as a source of inspiration and education. See R. Alexander, *The Anarchists in the Spanish Civil War* (London: Janus Publishing Company, vol. 1 in 2002 and vol. 2 in 2007); bibliographies at *Anarchy Archives* and at *Libcom.org* available at <http://libcom.org/tags/spanish-civil-war>.

Squatting. In the United Kingdom alone, there are almost a million empty homes, yet thousands of people sleep rough every night. Squatting is an obvious response to this injustice, and it is one which anarchists have been particularly involved in and supportive of. One of squatting's strongest advocates was **Colin Ward**, who saw it as a prime example of anarchist **direct action**. Squatting is actually legal (although at the time of writing, the UK government is trying to make it illegal) but it has a social stigma attached to it, and is associated with crude and negative stereotypes; as such, many people do not even consider squatting, even if it would help them solve their housing needs. Partly because of this, the squatting scene often has a strong cultural and political identity, and is often closely associated with the wider direct action movement, and with particular groups and events, such as the **Provos** and the anti-roads campaign. In such cases, squatting is not only (or even necessarily) a pragmatic response to homelessness, but also a consciously politicized practice. Still, for some, it is less ideological, and simply represents a logical solution to the insanities of the capitalist housing market. See [Advisory Service for Squatters](#).

Subvertising is not necessarily an anarchist practice, though many subverters are likely to be anarchists or at least sympathetic to its anti-capitalist stance. As the name

suggests, subvertising is the act of subverting corporate or political advertising, by making often minor and subtle changes to existing adverts. This might mean changing just one or two words, or adding or defacing an image, to alter the message of the original. Sometimes, this process is a sophisticated one, so that at first sight the advert looks perfectly normal; other times, subvertising might be done more crudely, with a spray can for example. Subvertising both negates the power of the original advert, thus preventing it from achieving its goal, while also promoting a new message of its own, often presenting what is considered to be a more honest account; for example, a tobacco advert may be subverted to highlight the health issues related to smoking. On a broader level, subvertising (sometimes referred to as *culture jamming*) might be seen as an act of *detournement* – a process whereby the ordinary aspects of daily life are suddenly distorted, but only enough to create a slight dissonance within the viewer, making them reconsider the role advertising plays in their lives. The Canadian magazine *Adbusters* is at the forefront of subvertising culture. See [Adbusters_](#), [Space Hijackers_](#), [Vacuum Cleaner_](#).

Temporary autonomous zone (TAZ). The **post-left anarchist** Hakim Bey is credited with coining the term temporary autonomous zone – or TAZ – but the idea itself is deeply rooted in the anarchist concepts of **prefiguration** and **direct action**, and is used by many anarchists, many of whom are unfamiliar with Bey's writing. The basic idea of the TAZ is simple; a space is created in which people can live according to their own, collectively defined, principles; it will therefore usually be organized along anarchist principles, such as **consensus decision-making**, while the normal rules of the state are (theoretically) ignored. A TAZ might take the shape of a protest camp, a road occupation, or an anarchist gathering, for example, and they are an increasingly common component of **movement** activism. A TAZ gives those who participate in it the chance to live differently, helping to transform their expectations about how society might be organized, and to help embody alternative political practices which would otherwise remain abstract theories. So although a TAZ might serve a more explicit purpose – such as being structured around a particular protest, as was the case with Climate Camps – it is also intrinsically valuable. Bey's work TAZ is available at <http://hermetic.com/bey/>.

Vanguardism. Anarchists and Marxists alike have always confronted the same troubling fact that, however badly people suffer under capitalism, rarely have a majority embraced socialist alternatives. A key question for all radicals, then, has been how to convince people to reject capitalism and support a more socially just system. And even if an alternative is embraced, how will people know how to defeat capitalism and create a new world? Vanguardism is one answer to this question. A vanguard is a group of enlightened individuals who will pave the way to a different world, helping people to see through the ideological mist of capitalism, and directing them in their revolutionary struggle. Not surprisingly, anarchists find this idea highly objectionable, because it explicitly creates hierarchies between supposedly wise leaders and the ignorant masses whose role is to blindly follow them. Yet the problem the vanguard is

intended to address is very real, and at various times, anarchists have been accused of adopting vanguardist tendencies. Sometimes, this has been the result of a deliberate if contentious choice; at others, it is the result of unintended imbalances of knowledge and power. However much it is explicitly rejected by anarchists then, the notion of the vanguard will perhaps always haunt the anarchist movement.

Veganism. Anarchists declare themselves to be against all forms of domination and hierarchy. As such, they believe that social divisions based on class, gender or race are always wrong, and should therefore be eliminated. But what about the domination of other, non-human animals? Is this acceptable, or another form of oppression which anarchists ought to be opposed to? Increasingly, anarchists are arguing that the domination of animals (and indeed the natural world) is no different from any form of exploitation, and an appropriate libertarian response is to resist it. Such resistance comes in the form of **direct action**, taken against companies involved in animal testing, farming and so on, and also by adopting a vegan diet, where no animal products are consumed. For some, veganism forms a key part of **lifestyle anarchism**, though lifestyle anarchists are not necessarily vegan. Although many see this respect for animals as a new phase within anarchism, vegetarianism was in fact considered important by many earlier anarchists; many communities during the **Spanish Civil War**, for example, adopted vegetarian diets. However, many anarchists continue to oppose veganism, and this disagreement is one which has created deep divisions within the anarchist movement, which is at times crudely split between **class struggle anarchism** and **green** or **lifestyle anarchism**. See B. Torres, *Making a Killing: The Political Economy of Animal Rights* (AK Press: Edinburgh, 2007); Anthony J. Nocella II and Steve Best, *Terrorists or Freedom Fighters? Reflections On the Liberation of Animals* (New York: Lantern Books, 2004); Lisa Kemmerer and Anthony J. Nocella II (eds), *Call to Compassion: Religious Perspectives on Animal Advocacy* (New York: Lantern Books, 2011). In 'Resources' chapter (Chapter 18): [Animal Liberation Front](#), [Conflict Gypsy](#), [Veggies](#).

Colin Ward (1924–2010) was one of the most widely known and influential anarchists of the twentieth century. As the author of hundreds of articles and books, and as editor of the *Freedom* newspaper and the journal *Anarchy*, he played a key role in shaping the anarchist landscape for over 40 years, especially in Britain. However, some anarchists saw Ward's views as inherently reformist and liberal – not necessarily something Ward would disagree with, as he was a firm believer in revolutionary struggle and reform being two sides of the same coin. And Ward was never afraid of expressing his own doubts about the chances of a truly anarchist society ever being realized. More likely, anarchism would play a greater or lesser role in a complex mixture of different political, cultural, ethical and economic systems. Indeed, Ward was mostly concerned with encouraging acts of **prefiguration**, such as **squatting** (housing was a particular interest of his), thereby creating small pockets of what he called 'anarchy in action'. Anarchism, then, was always present, buried under the weight of the state, as he put

it, and it was the job of anarchists to encourage these anarchist practices to emerge so that they might, eventually, replace the state.

John Zerzan. After taking degrees at Stanford University and San Francisco State University in the 1960s and 1970s, Zerzan explored the emergence of trade unionism and industrialization. This led, by the 1980s, to a study of the topics of technology and civilization and to his probing the roots of the overarching crisis he identified in contemporary culture and society. As one level or area of study led to the next, he reached the conclusion that progress and modernity/techno-industrial life is the malignant result of civilization itself; that to depart from the suicidal course that modern societies are embarked upon requires indicting such basic social institutions as division of labour/specialization and domestication/domination of nature and ourselves. Work, overpopulation, the objectification of women, hierarchy, the massive alienation of social existence and onrushing ecocide are a few of the hallmarks of civilization. Anarchy, for Zerzan, means ditching the Left and coming to a much deeper grasp of what constitutes domination, what needs to be overcome for freedom and wholeness to exist and the recognition that the state and capital will only be ended when and if complex, domesticated society ends. Books: *Elements of Refusal* (Left Bank Books, Seattle: 1988, 1999), *Future Primitive* (Autonomedia, NY: 1994), *Against Civilization* (Port Townsend, WA: Ferrel House, 1999, 2004), *Running on Emptiness: The Pathology of Civilization* (Port Townsend, WA: Ferrel House, 2002), *Twilight of the Machines* (Port Townsend, WA: Ferrel House, 2008), *Future Primitive Revisited* (Port Townsend, WA: Ferrel House, 2012). See [John Zerzan_](#), [Primitivism_](#).

18. Resources

Groups, Networks and Associations

Projects

Individual Sites and Blogs/Sites Devoted to Individuals

Sites devoted to historical figures

Archives, Libraries and Treasure Troves

Archives and libraries

Infoshops and social centres with anarchist collections

Online materials/digital libraries

Other online repositories/digital libraries

Films, Videos and DVDs

Publishers and Bookshops

Journals

Journals: Gone but not forgotten

Fairs and conferences

Entries are organized alphabetically by category. The divisions between groups, associations and projects are approximate. Additional resources for non-English-language anarchisms are included in the bibliographical essays.

Groups, Networks and Associations

A Wikipedia listing of historical and current groups and networks is available at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_anarchist_organizations.

All London Anarchist Revolutionary Movement (ALARM). Established in May 2011 (temporary site at www.soundthealarm.org.uk/sample-page/) with links to groups around London including Haringey Solidarity Group, Hackney and Whitechapel anarchists and Radical London.

Anarchism in Switzerland. A directory of groups, networks and projects, available at www.arachnia.ch/. See also www.anarca-bolo.ch/.

Anarchist Academics. A list for people interested in anarchism and involved with academic institutions or doing academic work – students, lecturers, independent researchers, available at <http://lists.mutualaid.org/mailman/listinfo/anarchist.academics>.

Anarchist Black Cross. Campaigning organization for prisoners, available at www.abc.net/. Matthew Hart's short history of the ABC is available at http://southafrica.indymedia.org/news/2005/03/7761_comment.php.

Anarchist People of Color. A networking site with a variety of resources and links to affinity groups, available at <http://anarchistpeopleofcolor.tumblr.com/>. See also <http://affinityproject.org/groups/anarchistsofcolor.html>.

Anarchist Writers. An article archive and blog spot, available at <http://anarchism.pageabode.com/about-us>.

Anarchist Studies Initiative at SUNY Cortland (ASI). The ASI is an interdisciplinary scholarly centre dedicated to expanding the field of anarchist studies and is linked to the Center for Gender and Intercultural Studies at the State University of New York at Cortland, NY. The ASI runs a peer-reviewed book series: Transformative Justice, available at www2.cortland.edu/centers/CGIS/asi/index.dot.

Anarchist Studies Network (ASN). A specialist group of the UK Political Studies Association which brings together students, university academics and independent scholars to facilitate and promote the study of anarchism as a modern political theory and practice. Group members work in a range of disciplinary fields, mainly in the United Kingdom and Europe, and it provides information about conferences, publishing opportunities as well as subject-specific information about research. The members' list provides a space for discussion, debate and support. Information about ASIRA (Academics and Students Interested in Religious Anarchism), a subgroup of the ASN is also available on the site <http://anarchist-studies-network.org.uk/>.

Anarchists Against the Wall. A direct action group of Israeli activists, founded in 2003, available at www.awalls.org/.

Anarkismo.net. An international anarchist-communist site which collects and disseminates news and analysis by and for like-minded groups and provides a space for dialogue and discussion. Maintains links to a number of affiliate groups. Available at www.anarkismo.net/.

Αντιεξουσιαστική Κίνηση (Anti-authoritarian Movement). Greek anarchist group at www.resistance2003.gr/. The group also publishes the newspaper *Babylonia* and is active in the Social Collective 'Nosotros' available at <http://www.nosotros.gr/>. See also The Void Network at <http://voidnetwork.blogspot.com/2007/02/nosotros-free-social-space-athens.html>.

Αυτόνομο Στέκι – Autonomous 'Place'. Space housing one of oldest Greek anarchist collectives, also used for meetings and events by numerous other groups, available at <http://autonomosteki.espivblogs.net/>.

Berkeley Anarchist Study Group. A long-established reading group, running for over 10 years, and serving as a hub for other groups and projects. The group organizes

an annual conference – the Berkeley Anarchist Students of Theory and Research and Development (BASTARD) conference for anarchist theory. Available at <http://sfbay-anarchists.org/>.

Beyond Resistance. A collective of anarchists across Aotearoa, available at <http://beyondresistance.wordpress.com/>.

Black Orchid Collective. Seattle-based multi-gendered, multiracial revolutionary collective. Blogspot, writings and links. Available at <http://blackorchidcollective.wordpress.com/>.

Block Network. A network of Greek autonomous groups, drawing from workerist traditions, available at www.autonomia.gr/.

Bristol Space Invaders. DiY, anti-corporate dreamers and schemers available at <http://bristol-space-invaders.wordpress.com/>

Center for Anarchist Studies, Croatia. Anarcho-syndicalist centre, organizes seminars, publishes on anarchist history, theory and practice and a repository for literature, available at <http://anarhizam.hr/>.

Class War. Militant UK propaganda group, available at <http://classwar-uk.blogspot.com/>.

Common Struggle/Luch Común. Libertarian communist, platformist organization, active in northeastern regions of North America. Established in 1999 as the Northeastern Federation of Anarchists Communists (NEFAC). Available at <http://commonstruggle.org/intro>.

CrimethInc. Decentralized anarchist collective, for freedom and joy. Available at www.crimethinc.com/.

Grupo de Estudos e Pesquisas Anarquistas (GEPA) (Group for Research and Study of Anarchism) is a meeting ground between students, researchers, teachers and anyone interested in anarchist studies and related subjects operating in the Department of Social Sciences in the Federal University of Paraíba, Brazil. It promotes open sessions of studies, organizes regular activities, free tutorials, workshops and lectures; brings together professors and researchers from various areas for the establishment of academic and scientific cooperation and exchange. Available at <http://gepanufpb.wordpress.com/apresentacao/>

International of Anarchist Federations (IAF). An anarcho-communist federation which takes its inspiration from the 1872 St Imier Congress, Switzerland, organized by anti-authoritarians after the break-up of the First International, available at <http://i-f-a.org/>.

International Workers Association (IWA-AIT). Libertarian communist, class-struggle and revolutionary unionist organization, with sections across the globe, available at www.iwa-ait.org/.

Institute for Anarchist Studies (IAS). Promotes the development of anarchism by funding the work of radical writers and translators across the world. The IAS runs a journal, *Perspectives on Anarchist Theory* and a book series ('Anarchist Interventions') with AK Press. The IAS also runs an annual conference *Renewing the Anarchist*

Tradition (RAT) in the USA. The IAS site includes a useful set of links to anarchist publishers, groups and resources. Available at www.anarchist-studies.org.

Just seeds. Decentralized art-activist co-operative, available at <http://just-seeds.org/>.

Left Turn. Activist network – anti-capitalist, radical feminist, anti-racist, queer and trans-liberationist and anti-imperialist – working to build resistance and alternatives to corporate power and empire. Produces a magazine by the same name. Available at www.leftturn.org/.

Living Theatre. Experimental anarchist touring company, based in New York and founded in 1947. Available at www.livingtheatre.org/ #.

London Action Resource Centre. Meeting place, library and hub for direct action movements, available at www.londonarc.org/. Hosts the Red and Black club, the monthly social meeting of ALARM.

Molinari Institute. Site for the promotion of market anarchism, available at <http://praxeology.net/molinari.htm>.

Northern Anarchist Network (NAN). Regional UK body of unaffiliated and organized anarchists founded in 1995 in Manchester Town Hall, available at <http://northernvoicesmag.blogspot.com/p/northern-anarchist-network.html>. Publishes *Northern Voices* at <http://northernvoicesmag.blogspot.com/>.

North American Anarchist Studies Network (NAASN). The group provides mutual support for individuals involved in anarchist research – students, academics and independent scholars in the United States, Canada and Mexico – and promotes anarchist studies through dialogue and critical reflection on anarchism. The NAASN site includes membership details, links to working groups and a discussion forum. Available at www.naasn.org/.

North East Anarchist Network (US). Founded in Boston in 2007 as a horizontal organizing network. The affiliates include groups in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and Ithaca. Produces a journal, *Nor'easter*. Available at <http://neanarchist.net/>.

Red and Anarchist Action Network (RAAN). Anti-state communist and anarchist, libertarian anti-capitalist organization of 'autonomies'. Hub at www.redanarchist.org/.

Resistance Studies Network. Organised by scholars at the University of Gothenburg for the critical study of power, resistance and social change. Available at <http://resistancestudies.org/>

Space Hijackers. A group of anarchists dedicated to battling the encroachments of urban planners, corporations and institutions into public spaces, available at www.spacehijackers.org/html/history.html.

Subrosa. A collective of interdisciplinary feminist artists, exploring the links between art, social activism and politics. The group name honours the memory of Rosa Bonheur, Rosa Luxemburg, Rosie the Riveter, Rosa Parks and Rosie Franklin. Available at www.cyberfeminism.net/.

Tyneside Solidarity. An umbrella for Afed, SolFed, IWW and non-aligned class struggle anarchist groups in North East England. Available at <http://www.tynesidesolidarity.org.uk/>

Unsettling America. An emerging decentralized network of autonomous groups and individuals dedicated to mental and territorial decolonization throughout Turtle Island and the 'Americas', available at <http://unsettlingamerica.wordpress.com/>.

Vacuum Cleaner. A cultural resistance collective for radical social and ecological change, available at www.thevacuumcleaner.co.uk/menu/. Co-founder of the Laboratory of Insurrectionary Imagination at www.labofi.net/.

Workers Solidarity Alliance. Anti-capitalist, anti-authoritarian network, central office in New York, founded in 1984, and dedicated to fostering self-managed unions in the workplace and community organizations. Produces a journal, *Worker Solidarity*. Available at <http://workersolidarity.org/>.

Workers Solidarity Movement. Site for the Dublin-based anarchist group, provides access to position papers, newspaper and audio material discussing a wide range of contemporary social and political issues, available at www.wsm.ie/.

Zabalaza. Southern African anarcho-communist anarchism. It provides access to a range of historical and contemporary resources, a journal, and links to other international and African communist, syndicalist and labour groups and movements. Available at <http://zabnew.wordpress.com/>.

Projects

Adbusters. Not-for profit culture-jamming organization, involved in campaigning, notably the Occupy movement. Site has examples of work, campaign information and selected articles from the subscription magazine. Available at www.adbusters.org/.

Advisory Service for Squatters. Voluntary run, London campaigning service, providing practical advice and guides, located by Freedom Press Bookshop, Whitechapel. Available at www.squatter.org.uk/.

Analytical Anarchism. Open forum for academics to promote and discuss research in analytical anarchism, available at <http://analyticalanarchism.net/>.

Anarcha. Hub for anarchist women with news, articles, images and discussion. Available at <http://www.anarcha.org/>.

Anarchalibrary. An online archive which developed from anarcha, with work covering issues from ableism to witch hunting. Available at <http://anarchalibrary.blogspot.com/>.

Anarchism: A Documentary. A project, currently underway, designed to provide an introduction to the international anarchist movement, based on interviews with activists. For details, see <http://anarchismdocumentary.net/>.

Anarcho-Punk. International, multi-lingual community site for anti-fascist, anti-capitalist, anti-authoritarian punk: forum, music, movie and documentary downloads, available at www.anarcho-punk.net.

Anarcho-Syndicalism 101. For global revolutionary union organization, autonomous working-class solidarity and direct action set up in 1997 by Ben Debney and relaunched in 2006. Wide range of resources and links were available at www.anarchosyndicalism.net/index.php, but site is currently unavailable.

Anarchy 101. An online resource, designed for people coming fresh to anarchism and for those who want to find answers to general questions, available at <http://anarchy101.org/about-us>.

Anarchist Encyclopedia. Search tool for information about all sorts of activists, events and groups. The Daily Bleed calendar of peoples' history page has links to French and Catalan movements and publications. Available at <http://recollection-books.com/bleed/gallery/galleryindex.htm>.

Anarchist News Service (A-Infos). A multi-lingual news service for, by and about anarchists, available at www.ainfos.ca/.

Anarchist Teapot. Non-profit, voluntary mobile kitchen operating out of Brighton, UK. Available at <http://www.eco-action.org/teapot/>

Anarchist Voices. A site for recording and building knowledge and understanding of practical activities, through video and documentary, available at <http://anarchistvoices.wetpaint.com/>.

Anarkismi. Hub for Finnish anarchist groups and projects, available at <http://anarkismi.net/>.

Animal Liberation Front. Anarchistically organized direct action, non-violent campaign network of autonomous groups. Vegetarians and vegans carrying out actions in accordance with ALF guidelines are considered part of the network. Available at www.animalliberationfront.com/index.html.

Affinity Project. A group of affinity-anarchist related academics and community activists in Toronto, Canada, exploring anti-hegemonic forms of social organization and social change. The project site has a range of excellent resources and links to the journal *Affinities*. Available at <http://affinityproject.org/>.

Audio Anarchy. Project for transcribing books into audio format, available at www.audioanarchy.org/index.html.

Bicycology. UK-based non-hierarchical collective – cycling for the creation of a just and sustainable world through direct action and education. Available at www.bicycology.org.uk.

Burning Man. Annual week-long anti-commercial community-building festival in the Black Rock desert, Nevada, based on radical inclusion, cooperation and gift-giving, available at www.burningman.com/.

Center for a Stateless Society (C4SS). A project of the Molinari Institute (market anarchism), available at <http://c4ss.org/>.

Climate Camp. Grass-roots organizing to take action against climate chaos, available at www.climatecamp.org.uk/.

Collective Book on Collective Process. A handbook about democratic process within collectives, examining the problems of decision-making as well as the possibilities for resolution developed by the Common Wheel Collective, New York, available at www.geocities.com/collectivebook/#book1.

Collective Reason. A collaborative translation project, using a wiki to translate anarchist and other left classics, available at www.collectivereason.org/index.php?title=Main_Page.

Cop Watch. Network to promote public safety and for police accountability, with anarchist involvement at local level. **Rose City Cop Watch** – part of the network, provides information about promoting alternatives to policing. Available at <http://rosecitycopwatch.wordpress.com/>.

Dead Anarchists. A site developed from a local history project in Philadelphia, available at www.deadanarchists.org/.

Disobedience, an ongoing video archive. Art-activist project by Marco Scotini, available at www.disobediencearchive.com/.

Earth First! Grass-roots, anti-corporate, anti-professional, direct action, biocentric network, engages in civil disobedience, monkey-wrenching and legal protest to protect the wilderness. The site has links to the journal *Earth First!*, to news and events. Available at www.earthfirst.org/.

Earth Liberation Front. Anarchistically organized eco-guerrilla direct action network of autonomous groups, with philosophical links to Earth First!, available at <http://earth-liberation-front.org/>.

Edu-Factory. A transnational collective working for the transformation of education, globally, and interrogating issues associated with knowledge production, available at www.edu-factory.org/wp/about/.

Fitwatch. Direct action for the right to protest without harassment or intimidation, set up to challenge police initiatives – Forward Intelligence Teams – used in surveillance. Active in United Kingdom since 2007. Available at www.fitwatch.org.uk/.

Food Not Bombs. Information about the non-violent, non-hierarchical, consensus-based vegan/vegetarian direct action movement at www.foodnotbombs.net/seven.html.

Freely Associating. Experiments in anti-capitalism in Leeds, UK, available at <http://freelyassociating.org/>.

Free Skool. Information about free schooling with links to active schools in Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom, available at <http://freeskool.org/>.

Green & Black Cross Grass-roots project to support autonomous social struggles in the United Kingdom, set up in 2010, providing legal support for protests, available at <http://greenandblackcross.org/>.

Independent Media Center (IMC/Indymedia). Anti-corporate, DiY, independent and alternative media network with projects across the world. <http://www.indymedia.org/en/>.

Infoshop.org. Online library, blogs, discussion groups, directory and information on anarchist groups, available at www.infoshop.org/index.php.

Institute for Critical Animal Studies. A project that grew from Anthony J. Nocella and Steve Best's book, *Terrorists of Freedom Fighters: Reflections on the Liberation of Animals* (Brooklyn, NY: Lantern Books: 2004). The Institute runs the *Journal for Critical Animal Studies*. Available at www.criticalanimalstudies.org/about/.

Institute for Social Ecology (ISE). An independent institution of higher education co-founded by Murray Bookchin, devoted to the study of social ecology, an interdisciplinary field drawing on philosophy, political and social theory, anthropology, history, economics, the natural sciences and feminism. The site has links to the ISE journal, *Harbinger* and to associated projects around the world. Available at www.social-ecology.org/.

Libcom.org. Primary resource for UK anarchists, designed for the dissemination of information about and discussion of contemporary events by and for libertarian communists – provides access to a wealth of information and important analysis. Available at <http://libcom.org>

Libertarian Learning Centre. At Mondo Politico, available at www.mondopolitico.com/ideologies/libertarianism/whatislibertarianism.htm.

Minor Compositions. Interventions from autonomist politics, avant-garde aesthetics and revolutions of everyday life, available at www.minorcompositions.info/.

Mutualist.org. Free market anti-capitalism, available at www.mutualist.org/index.html.

No Borders. Non-aligned campaigning UK network, available at <http://noborders.org.uk/>.

No One Is Illegal. UK: <http://noii.org.uk/> and for Canada: www.nooneisillegal.org/. A book, *No One is Illegal: Fighting Racism and State Violence on the U.S.-Mexico Border*, by Mike Davis and Justin Akers Chacón is published by Haymarket Books, available at www.haymarketbooks.org/.

Peoples Assemblies. Network for horizontal democracy. Available at www.peoplesassemblies.org/.

Planting Justice. Grass-roots, community action organization working for food justice and sustainability in Oakland, CA, available at www.plantingjustice.org/.

Pirate-Punk. Community site for the promotion of French punk: downloads, listings and platform for free distribution, available at www.pirate-punk.net/.

Public School. A school with no curriculum. Information at <http://la.thepublicschool.org/>.

Radical Routes. A UK network of radical co-ops committed to social change, available at www.radicalroutes.org.uk/.

Really Open University. Transformative higher education project started in Leeds, UK. <http://reallyopenuniversity.wordpress.com/>.

Research on Anarchism (RA) Forum. A multi-lingual online archive and database which provides access to an enormous range of full-text materials, essays, academic papers, dissertations by leading authors and contemporary historians of anarchism. This site has an online discussion forum and carries news about contemporary events. Available at <http://raforum.info/>.

Seeds of Change. Network for grass-roots activism, available at www.seedsforchange.org.uk/

Transformative Studies Institute (TSI). The TSI is a volunteer-run social justice think-tank which encourages interdisciplinary research useful to community action and with application to social problems. It brings together different groups of activists and runs the journal, *Theory in Action*. Available at www.transformativestudies.org/about-2/.

Trapese. A UK-based popular education collective. The site provides information about the group's activities and a wealth of resources about do it yourself and consensus decision-making and links to action, media and education networks. Available at www.trapese.org/.

Veggies. UK vegan catering in operation since 1984 – volunteer led, community based – information exchange and campaign networking for humans, animals and the environment, available at www.veggies.org.uk/.

Zapatista Women/Mujeres Zapatistas. Virtual space for discussion, participation and education with links to a range of Indigenous and women's resistance groups and a bibliography of resources on Zapatista Women. <http://www.actlab.utexas.edu/~geneve/zapwomen/>.

Znet. Hosts a range of projects, including a magazine, media centre and blog, with links to Michael Albert and Parecon, available at www.zcommunications.org/.

Individual Sites and Blogs/Sites Devoted to Individuals

Information about work produced by university-based scholars is typically maintained by employing institutions. Most of the non-historic sites below include publications by individual authors, but also a range of other useful resources. There are large numbers of anarchist bloggers. The hubs, anarchoblogs in English at <http://eng.anarchoblogs.org/about/>, in Spanish at <http://spa.anarchoblogs.org/> and in German at <http://deu.anarchoblogs.org/>, are useful starting points for discovery.

Agraphia. The website for the artist Clifford Harper, at www.agraphia.co.uk/home.html.

Anarchy Alive. The website of the writer/activist Uri Gordon, dedicated to closing the gaps between theory and practice. It includes resources and links to infor-

mation about contemporary politics and anarchist activism. Available at <http://anarchyalive.com/about-uri-gordon/>.

Aragorn! Blog of the anarchist writer, publisher and distributor, available at <http://aragorn.anarchyplanet.org/>. Aragorn's pamphlet *Nihilism, Anarchy and the 21st Century* is available at The Anarchist Library at http://theanarchistlibrary.org/HTML/Aragorn___Nihilism__Anarchy__and_the_21st_century.html.

Hakim Bey and Ontological Anarchy. Online access to the writings of Hakim Bey and Peter Lamborn Wilson, available at <http://hermetic.com/bey/>.

Bob Black. A selection of writings and rants at www.inspiracy.com/black/.

Ian Bone. Class warrior blog, available at <http://ianbone.wordpress.com/>.

Booksurfer. Martyn Everett's blog, with links to library and publishing resources, book reviews, news about anarchism and alternative politics as well as to his own work, available at <http://booksurfer.blogspot.com/>.

Jano Charbel. Blog of the Egyptian anarchist journalist, available at <http://she2i2.blogspot.com/>.

Noam Chomsky. The site provides access to books, articles, videos and interviews by and with Chomsky, one of America's most prominent libertarians, at <http://www.chomsky.info/>.

John Clark. Personal website providing access to an extensive collection of papers examining anarchist history, politics, philosophy, local activism, ecology and surrealism, published by Clark and under the name Max Cafford is available at www.loyno.edu/~clark/.

Donnacha DeLong. Anarcho-syndicalist freelance journalist. Interests in radical and new media. Blog: <http://donnachadelong.info>.

Dennis Fox. Blog, academic papers on law, justice and psychology from an anarchist perspective and reflections on activist involvement and contemporary politics, available at www.dennisfox.net/index.html.

Robert Graham. This weblog supplements and provides commentary on Robert Graham's multi-volume anthology of anarchism, *The Documentary History of Libertarian Ideas*, available at <http://robertgraham.wordpress.com/>.

John Gray. Access to texts by selected anti-capitalist, communist authors (from Sylvia Pankhurst to Fredy Perlman) and a long list of projects, journals and organizations, available at <http://www.geocities.com/~johngray/index.html#toc>.

Judy Greenway. Writings on anarchism, feminism, nineteenth-century anarchist and feminist movements and ideas, utopianism the politics of gender and sexuality, available at <http://judygreenway.org.uk/>.

Gavin Grindon. Writings, translations and links, available at <http://www.gavingrindon.net/?page>

Brandon Jourdan. Independent film-maker and journalist. Available at <http://www.brandonjourdan.blogspot.com/>.

Chuck Morse: Negations. Holds interviews, translations and articles by Morse and an archive of Latin American anarchist material, available at <http://www.negations.net/>.

Wendy McElroy. Personal blog space of the individualist-feminist: includes links to published work and the online index to Benjamin Tucker's *Liberty* (Anarchy Archives has a link to the complete run of *Liberty*), available at www.wendymcelroy.com/blog.html.

George McKay. Commentary on cultural studies, music, disability, do-it-yourself (DiY) information about current academic work and festival reports, available at <http://georgemckay.org/>.

Brian Martin. Access to a full range of publications on issues including non-violent direct action, democracy, activism and scholarship and intellectual property, available at <http://www.bmartin.cc/pubs/>.

The Nowtopian: Chris Carlsson's blog. Available at www.processedworld.com/carlsson/nowtopian/.

Hubert Kennedy. The website provides free access to the writings of John Henry Mackay and information about other published work at <http://hubertkennedy.angelfire.com/>.

Dmytri Kleiner. Venture communist and creator of miscommunication technologies; author of the Telekommunist Manifesto. www.dmytri.info/.

Rekoekektiv. Marxist-anarchist essays in politics and history, blog and links. <http://rekoekektiv.wordpress.com/>.

Starhawk. The site provides access to writings, projects and resources linked to environment, feminist, social justice activism, at <http://www.starhawk.org/index.html>.

Lucien van der Walt. The blog provides access to Lucien's writings on political economy, policy, unions and class struggles, written from an anarchist/syndicalist perspective at <http://lucienvanderwalt.blogspot.com/2011/02/anarchism-black-flame-marxism-and-ist.html>.

James VanHise – Fragments Website. A personal website with reflections on war and violence, power, the necessity of social change, with photos, poetry and essays. Useful links page. Available at <http://www.fragmentsweb.org/index.html>.

Vomiting Diamonds. Site for New Zealand and Australian archive materials – especially council communist currents, available at <http://vomitingdiamonds.wordpress.com/category/historical-pamphlets/>.

Shawn P. Wilber. Multi-blogger and libertarian archivist of the Libertarian Labyrinth. The profile at Two Gun Mutualism and the Golden Rule at <http://libertarian-labyrinth.blogspot.com/> has resources and the full list of his blogs.

John Zerzan. The site for the anti-civilization writer and activist holds interview material, links to publishing archive and Anarchy Radio. Available at <http://www.johnzerzan.net/>. Zerzan's papers (1946–2000) are held at the University of Oregon, available at http://uolibraries.worldcat.org/title/john-zerzan-papers-1946-2000/oclc/75959550&referer=brief_results.

Howard Zinn. Official site: <http://howardzinn.org/>. Page with links to writings maintained by Third World Traveler at http://www.thirdworldtraveler.com/Zinn/HZinn_page.html.

Sites devoted to historical figures

Guy Aldred (1886–1963). On the Radical Glasgow site of Glasgow Caledonian University: www.gcu.ac.uk/radicalglasgow/chapters/aldred.html.

Michael Bakunin (1814–76). Items on the life and thought of Bakunin on Robert Cutler's website: www.robertcutler.org/bakunin/index.htm.

Edward Carpenter (1844–1929). Online archive available at <http://www.edwardcarpenter.net/index.html>.

Joseph Déjacque (1821–64). Available at <http://joseph.dejacque.free.fr/>.

Voltairine de Cleyre (1866–1912). Available at www.voltairine.org/.

Léo Ferré (1916–93). Available at www.leo-ferre.com/accueil/accueil.html.

Daniel Guérin (1904–88). Available at <http://danielguerin.info/tiki-index.php>.

Bernard Lazare (1865–1903). Available at <http://c.sandrel.free.fr/>.

Nestor Maknno (1888–1934). Available at www.nestormakhno.info/index.htm.

Georges Palante (1862–1925). Available at <http://selene.star.pagesperso-orange.fr/>.

Lucy Parsons (1853–1942). Available at <http://www.lucyparsonspj.org/>.

Ferdinand Pelloutier (1867–1901). Available at www.pelloutier.net/welcome/index.php.

P-J Proudhon (1809–65). Société P-J Proudhon, available at <http://societeproudhon.ouvaton.org/>.

Elisée Reclus (1830–1905). RAforum site <http://raforum.info/reclus/>

Armand Robin (1912–61). Available at <http://armandrobin.org/>.

Rudolf Rocker (1873–1958). Site created in order to maintain free access to Rocker's work: <http://syndikalismusforschung.wordpress.com/solidaritypage-about-the-rocker>

Henry Albert Seymour (1860–1938). Blog, repository, biographical information and pamphlets – for discussion and research about the late nineteenth-century London individualist anarchist: <http://henryalbertseymour.com/>.

Spooner Society. Dedicated to the work of Lysander Spooner – under construction: <http://spooner.celestial.com/>.

Henry David Thoreau (1817–1862). Walden Woods Project, available at www.walden.org/.

Archives, Libraries and Treasure Troves

Anarchist materials – books, dissertations, pamphlets and manuscript and archive material – are held by a large number of national and university libraries. Libraries holding significant pamphlet, manuscript or book collections are included in the list below. A further list of library directories and search tools appear after the listing.

Archives and libraries

Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. Holds a large collection of anarchist materials, available at www.natlib.govt.nz/catalogues/tapuhi.

Archives de L'Etat, Neuchâtel, Switzerland. Holds the archive of James Guillaume, letters to Kropotkin from various correspondents at www.ne.ch/neat/site/jsp/rubrique/rubrique. The collection is described in M. Vuilleumier, 'Les archives de James Guillaume', *Le Mouvement Social*, 48 (1964), 95–108.

Ateneu Enciclopèdic Popular (AEP). Holds a library and documentary archive for the Spanish labour movement – The Historical-Social Documentation Centre. <http://www.ateneuenciclopedicpopular.org/>.

Baskette Collection. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign rare books and manuscripts. Papers of Ewing C. Baskette (1903–59), relating to law practice in cases dealing with anarchism, syndicalism and the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) with a supporting book collection on censorship and intellectual freedom. Collection ranges from 1894 to 1959. Available at www.library.illinois.edu/rbx/manuscript.htm.

Bibliothèque Nationale (National Library of France). Manuscript collection includes Proudhon's papers and some of Kropotkin's correspondence. It is a rich source for anarchist materials, books, newspapers and pamphlets. Available at www.bnf.fr/fr/acc/x.accueil.html. For the digital collection, Gallica, go to <http://gallica.bnf.fr/?lang=EN>.

Bishopgate Library, London. Specializes in protest, free thought and co-operation. Holdings include materials from Freedom Press, available at <http://www.bishopgate.org.uk/>.

British Library, London www.bl.uk/. Significant collection of hard-to-find books, pamphlets and ephemera relating to anarchism; manuscript material and a range of early socialist movement newspapers, including *The Torch*, *Liberty* and *Freedom*.

Brown University Library, Providence Rhode Island. Houses the John Hay Library in its special collections and holds papers of Ezra Heywood (1829–93), the individualist anarchist and abolitionist, available at <http://library.brown.edu/>.

Centre de Documentation Anarchiste. Run by the Fédération Anarchiste's Secrétariat Histoire et Archives, has an impressive collection of periodicals, monographs and posters – the latter viewable online at <http://sha.federation-anarchiste.org/index.php>.

Centre International de Recherches sur l'Anarchisme (CIRA), Lausanne, Switzerland. CIRA is a major research centre containing a vast range of historical and contemporary materials, mainly but not exclusively European. As well as housing an extensive anarchist library, it holds research papers, pamphlets, a substantial collection of newspapers and periodicals and provides an extremely convivial environment for research and learning. Available at www.cira.ch/.

Centre International de Recherches sur l'Anarchisme (CIRA), Marseille, France. This gives access not only to Felip Equy's annually updated 'anarchist bibli-

ographies', but also to an archive of the Centre's *Bulletins*. The latter has often carried historical or biographical studies, and information on current research. Available at <http://cira.marseille.free.fr/>.

Centre for Jewish History, New York. Holds papers of Erich Mühsam and materials about him, covering the period 1896–1977. No website. 15 W 16th St, New York, NY 10011–6391, USA.

Cornell University Library. Holds collected documents from the IWW 1905–1971 (the bulk are for 1919–27). A guide to the holdings is available at <http://rmc.library.cornell.edu/ead/htmldocs/KCL05210.html>.

Danish Workers' Museum and Archive (Arbejdermuseet). Holds collections of left and labour movement materials, available at <http://aba.dk>.

DePaul University Library at Illinois holds an extensive zine collection, with material donated by a number of collectors and creators, from the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s. Available at <http://library.depaul.edu/>.

Hewitt Research Library at the Washington State History Research Center holds papers of the Red and Black Book Collective (1981–99), and early leftist bookstore founded in Seattle in 1973 as a vehicle for social change. For details of the library go to www.wshs.org/wshrc/default.aspx.

Hoover Institute, Stanford University. Holds a large multilingual collection of books on anarchism, available at www.hoover.org/library-and-archives.

Houghton Library at Harvard University. Holds the papers of Joseph Ishill (1888–1966): substantial correspondence of leading anarchists and manuscript material, available at <http://lib.harvard.edu/>.

International Association of Labour History Institutions (IALHI). Founded in 1970 by a group of European specialist research institutes. The site includes details of participating institutions and collections, a news service and information about resources: www.ialhi.org/about.php.

Institut Français d'Histoire Sociale, Paris. Holds an extensive collection of anarchist materials – manuscripts, periodicals, posters, from the nineteenth and early twentieth, notably the correspondence of Jean Grave and documents relating to the Spanish Civil War. 60, rue des Francs-Bourgeois, 75003 Paris. Information is available at the website of the Collectif des centre de documentation en histoire ouvrière et sociale (CODHOS) <http://www.codhos.asso.fr/welcome/index.php>.

International Institute for Social History. Based in Amsterdam, the Institute is home to the most extensive collection of anarchist and anarchist-related archive materials in the world. The collection includes the papers of the historian Max Nettlau and letters, manuscripts, newspapers, pamphlets and other printed materials connected to a large number of anarchists, groups and movements. Copies of important papers held elsewhere in the world are also housed here. The catalogue and inventories are very useful and the archivists are extremely knowledgeable and helpful. The Institute publishes a journal, the *International Review of Social History*. The Institute website is www.iisg.nl/.

Kate Sharpley Library. Dedicated to the preservation and promotion of anarchist history through the acquisition, cataloguing and publication of anarchist materials. The library holdings not only include books, pamphlets, newspapers, leaflets and manuscripts but also badges, recordings and photographs. The library is run by a collective of volunteers, who also publish and use their enormous expertise to help and support research into anarchism. Holdings are mainly UK and North American, but also include French, Spanish and Italian materials. Available at www.katesharpleylibrary.net/.

Labadie Collection at the University of Michigan. This rich resource holds a vast range of materials relating to US radical history and it includes a substantial collection of anarchist documents: pamphlets, letters and manuscripts. The collection not only holds papers of well-known historical figures but also a number of local groups and activists. Available at www.lib.umich.edu/labadie-collection. A proportion of the pamphlets are digitized at <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/l/labadie/>.

La Trobe University Library, Australia. Merrifield Collection has extensive holdings of manuscripts, photographs, pamphlets, books and ephemera relating to the Australian labour movement. It includes the papers by J. A. Andrews (1865–1903) the anarchist journalist and agitator. Available at www.lib.latrobe.edu.au.

Library of Congress. Huge collection of books, pamphlets and manuscript materials, including rare items from the Paul Avrich collection. Digitized collections are searchable separately from the complete catalogue. Available at www.loc.gov/index.html.

London School of Economics and Political Science. Holds an extensive collection of books on anarchism and political radicalism, the Hall-Carpenter archives (the largest source for the study of gay and lesbian activism in Britain) and some manuscript material, including Kropotkin correspondence, available at www2.lse.ac.uk/library/collections/home.aspx.

Marx Memorial Library. Some anarchist books and pamphlets and materials relating to William Morris's Socialist League. Clarksenwell Green, London <http://www.marx-memorial-library.org/>.

National Library of Israel. Holds an extensive, multilingual collection of anarchist texts from the nineteenth century and the Martin Buber archive, available at <http://aleph.nli.org.il/>.

Newberry Library, Chicago. An independent research library, housing rare IWW materials, collected by Franklin and Penelope Rosemont covering the period 1905–2005. Home page: www.newberry.org/.

New York Public Library. Extensive collection of books on anarchism, available at www.nypl.org/.

People's History Museum, Manchester. Holds the Labour History Archive and Study Centre (LHASC). The focus is on the British political left (Labour party, Communist party) but the archive also has material about other working-class move-

ments including the Socialist Sunday School movement and materials relating to the 1984–85 miners' strike. Available at www.phm.org.uk/.

Queen's University, Ontario, Canada. George Woodcock's papers are housed in the special collections and archives, available at <http://db.archives.queensu.ca/>.

State Library of Victoria, Australia. Holds a rich collection of anarchist materials, available at www.slv.vic.gov.au.

Tamiment Library and Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives. Based in New York, the library houses a collection of materials relating to US labour and radical history. The library includes an important anarchist collection, which includes papers, letters, published and unpublished material by a number of leading activists, including Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, Sam Dolgoff and Murray Bookchin. Available at www.nyu.edu/library/bobst/research/tam/collections.html#arch.

University of California, Berkeley. Emma Goldman Papers online at <http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/Goldman/>.

University of California, San Diego. Mandeville Special Collections Library holds the papers of Francisco Ferrer and a number of rare books about his life. The library page is <http://libraries.ucsd.edu/>. The register of the Ferrer archive is at <http://libraries.ucsd.edu/speccoll/testing/html/mss0248a.html>.

University College London. Alex Comfort's papers and the George Orwell archive are housed in the special collections, available at www.ucl.ac.uk/Library/special-coll/.

University of Strathclyde, Glasgow. Special collection holds a range of materials relating to the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century movements, including a large number of pamphlets on anarchism, socialism and radical politics, copies of *The Word*, from the activist Guy Aldred and Patrick Geddes papers, available at www.lib.strath.ac.uk/speccoll/collections.htm. The University hosts the Glasgow Digital Library, which provides access to a range of historical materials and documents, available at <http://gdl.cdlr.strath.ac.uk/>.

University of Victoria, Canada. Archive holds the Herbert Read papers. Inventory is available at <http://library.uvic.ca/site/spcoll/findaids/read.html>.

Infoshops and social centres with anarchist collections

56a infoshop @n @archive. South East London (Walworth) social centre established in 1991, housing a library and archive of magazines, leaflets, posters and ephemera about anarchism and related left projects. Available at www.56a.org.uk/archive.html.

Anarchist Library of Abramowski. Poznan at www.rozbrat.org/our-activity/161-trojka-publishing-house.

Black Rose Library. Sydney – housed in a social centre for activities, summer schools and learning, available at <http://blackrosebooks.org/>.

Canny Little Library. Small collectively run library in Newcastle Upon Tyne, UK. <http://cannylittlelibrary.tumblr.com/>.

CIRA-Japana. A research and information centre for Japanese anarchism, available at <http://cira-japana.net/home/>.

Cowley Club. Libertarian social centre in Brighton, UK with cafe, books and library. <http://cowleyclub.org.uk>.

Loophole Community Centre and Library. Thornbury, Victoria, Australia. Information about anarchist collections (history, anarcho-syndicalism, anarcha-feminism) is available at <http://loopholecommunitycentre.org/library>. The centre is home to Baricade Books.

Melbourne Anarchist Club. Infoshop and events. Houses a library, but access by arrangement. Available at <http://mac.anarchobase.com/>.

Revolting Books. An anarchist library and resource centre run out of the 128 Community Centre, Abel Smith Street, Wellington, New Zealand. Holds lots of rare New Zealand anarchist material and archives going back to the 1970s including a collection called the Tom Fanthorpe Library from the old Wellington Resistance bookshop and anarcho-punk and anarchist ephemera from the 1980s and '90s. Their catalogue of books is at www.librarything.com/catalog/RevoltingBooks but does not include their archives – <http://revoltingbooks.wordpress.com/>.

Sparrows Nest. Anarchist library and cultural centre established by Anarchist Federation and class-struggle activists in Nottingham, UK. Holds an archive and provides online access to scanned documents, with international and local significance. Available at <http://thesparrowsnest.org.uk/>.

Online materials

American Transcendentalism Web. Access to works, information and bibliographies about the transcendentalists including Henry David Thoreau. Available at www.vcu.edu/engweb/transcendentalism/authors/index.html.

Anarchist Archives at the University of Victoria. Material documenting anarchist activity across Canada from the twentieth century, currently in construction, with links to other special collections held by the University, notably papers of Herbert Read. Access the anarchist archives at <http://library.uvic.ca/dig/AnarchistArchive/>

Amiel and Melburn Trust Internet Archive. Access to University and New Left Review and a range of other Marxist–communist journals available at www.amielandmelburn.org.uk/archive_index.htm.

Anarchisme. French-language site, includes an extensive listing of French-language journals. www.anarchisme.wikibis.com/.

Anarchist Library. A project designed as a central depository for anarchist texts. The library includes a wide range of material – historical and contemporary – but the idea behind the project is to provide a space for cooperative working as well as an archival resource. Available at www.theanarchistlibrary.org/docs/aboutus.html.

Anarchy Archives. An online research centre for anarchist history and theory which has been running since 1995. The site provides access to a wealth of transcribed and scanned documents by leading historical figures (Bakunin, Kropotkin, Goldman, Malatesta, Stirner, Reclus, Godwin) as well as other less well-studied figures. Material includes pamphlets and materials relating to anarchist movements worldwide. Available at http://dwardmac.pitzer.edu/anarchist_archives/index.html.

Bibliothèque Libertaire. <http://bibliolibertaire.org/>. Lots of downloadable documents.

Black Crayon. Materials on anti-statist voluntarist, philosophical anarchism – from Proudhon and Rothbard to Goldman and Bookchin. Limited library. Available at www.blackcrayon.com/.

Brown University & the Universtiy of Tulsa Modernist Journal Project. Access to a range of journals, books and essays. Periodicals include Dora Marsden's *The Freewoman*, *The New Freewoman*, *The Egoist*, A. R. Orage's *The New Age*; *Mother Earth* and Wyndham Lewis's *Blast*. <http://dl.lib.brown.edu/mjp/periodicals.html>.

Bureau of Public Secrets. Situationist texts and translations by Ken Knabb available at www.bopsecrets.org/. Archive material (1961–78) is held in the Tamiment Library, New York: Search keywords using the catalogue at www.nyu.edu/academics/libraries/elmer-holmes-bobstlibrary.html.

Chicago Anarchists on Trial: Evidence from the Haymarket Affair 1886–7. Library of Congress online collection of trial documents, brochures, photographs, prints and manuscripts, available at <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/award98/ichihhtml/hayhome.html>.

Colours of Resistance Archive. Articles and analysis on anti-racism, patriarchy, colonialism and gender. Available at <http://www.coloursofresistance.org/>.

Conflict Gypsy. Developing archive for radical environmentalist and animal rights movements; English-language periodicals and documents, flyers and newsletters from the 1970s at www.conflictgypsy.com/.

DadA. Database of German anarchism, available at www.ur.dadaweb.de/.

Dissent! Static versions of the dissent!-network, including images, discussion papers and bulletins of the network, from 2004 to 2007 are archived at <http://dissent-archive.ucrony.net/>.

Garage Collections. Provides access to anarcho-syndicalist materials, based in Christchurch, New Zealand, available at <http://garagecollective.blogspot.com/>.

Haymarket Affair Digital Archive. Provides access to primary source materials relating to the 1886 bombing in Haymarket Square, Chicago, and the subsequent trial and execution of the anarchists prosecuted in the aftermath, available at www.chicagohs.org/hadc/. Links to the Dramas of Haymarket site, developed by Northwestern University available at www.chicagohistory.org/dramas/.

Indiana University, Victorian Women Writers Project. Designed to expose lesser-known British women writers of the nineteenth century. Authors include Louisa Bevington (1845–95). Available at <http://webapp1.dlib.indiana.edu/vwwp/welcome.do>.

Institut für Syndikalismus Forschung (Institute for Syndicalism Research). A research database bringing together materials about the history of syndicalism in the German workers' movement, available at www.syndikalismusforschung.info/.

lag/the Pierre J Proudhon Memorial Computer. A portal to a vast range of active and defunct anarchist groups and projects, includes links to the Zapatista Index amongst many, many more, usually available at <http://flag.blackened.net/>.

Libertarian Labyrinth. An archive of anarchist and libertarian theory and history, available at <http://libertarian-labyrinth.org/archive/Welcome>.

Library at nothingness. A random selection of anarchist and situationist texts, available at <http://library.nothingness.org/>.

Love and Rage. Archive (in construction) of the anarchist federation active in the US, Canada and Mexico until 1998, scheduled availability at www.loveandrage.org/.

LSR: A Paraphilosophical Project. Includes material on Max Stirner – mainly but not exclusively German language, available at www.lsr-projekt.de/index.html#poly.

Marxists Internet Archive. Provides access to a digital collection of material relevant to anarchism, including works by Proudhon and Bakunin, available at www.marxists.org/.

Memorial Libertaria Valladolid. Spanish-language site, holdings include digitized runs of the anarchist papers, *La Revista Blanca* and *Tierra y Libertad*, available at www.memorialibertaria.org/valladolid/spip.php?article205.

Non-resistance.org. Spiritual pacifist site with works by Etienne de la Boétie, Tolstoy and others. Tolstoy pages have the complete works. Available at www.nonresistance.org/.

Online Library of Liberty. Supported by the Liberty Fund, a foundation which supports educational projects designed to foster thought and encourage debate on issues relating to liberty. The online library provides access to some resources relevant to anarchism, including work by and articles on Benjamin Tucker. Available at <http://oll.libertyfund.org/>.

Panarchy. An online resource which provides access to documents and links to a number of groups and individuals not usually included in anarchist sites: individualists and anti-statists – as well as left libertarians and writers working within socialist anarchist traditions, available at www.panarchy.org/index.html.

Peace Pledge Union. Geoffrey Ostergaard's *Resisting the Nation State: The Pacifist and Anarchist Tradition* is available at www.ppu.org.uk/e_publications/dd-trad6.html and Ronald Sampson's *Society Without the State* (first published as *The Anarchist Basis of Pacifism*, 1970) is available at www.ppu.org.uk/e_publications/dd-sampson1.html. The site is currently undergoing major reorganization. The main page lists information about conscientious objection and anti-militarist campaigning. Information about the archive is available at www.ppu.org.uk/archives/.

Primitivism. Site includes eclectic mix of writings. Usefully includes work by Bob Black, Fredy Perlman, John Zerzan and others. Available at www.primitivism.com/.

Radicalarchives. Repository for anarchist, marxist and libertarian literatures, including Fifth Estate and an important set of hard-to-find papers on primitivism and its origins, available at <http://radicalarchives.org/>.

Radical Reference. Available at www.radicalreference.info. A collective of volunteer library workers, founded in 2004, supporting activist communities, progressive organizations and independent journalists by providing professional research support, education and information. The reference shelf has a wealth of tools and information, including democratic decision-making resources at www.radicalreference.info/content/democratic-decision-making-resources.

Radical Tradition. Australian website with heaps of material on anarchism going back 100 years or so. Really good for archival material on Australia, including Melbourne anarchist archives 1966–73, online texts by Bob James, a bibliography of Australian anarcho-syndicalism. A site for Australasian history. Has some material on New Zealand too. Especially good for Australian anarchism since the 1960s. Available at www.takver.com/history/index.htm.

Reason in Revolt. Collection of Australian radical archives, including some anarchist material, comprising many scans of leaflets and publications mainly from 1970s onwards, available at www.reasoninrevolt.net.au/.

Reclaim the Streets. Archive record of events and images by the international direct action network from the mid-to-late 1990s, available at <http://rts.gn.apc.org/>.

Red Ruffians. Christchurch, New Zealand-based website with articles and documents about anarchism and syndicalism before the 1930s or so in New Zealand – mostly published articles, not archives, but many of the articles are very rare. Available at <http://redruffians.tumblr.com/>.

Ressources sur l'utopie. Michel Antony's French-language online resource on libertarian and anarchist utopias and utopianism, available at http://artic.ac-besancon.fr/histoire_geographie/new_look/Ress_thematiq/thematiq/utopies.htm.

Russian Socialists and Anarchists After October 1917. Russian-language portal documenting the history of non-Bolshevik left activists. Includes digitized documents and a photo-archive. Available at <http://socialist.memo.ru/>.

Sacco and Vanzetti Letters from Prison, 1921–1927. From *The Letters of Sacco and Vanzetti*, ed. Marion D. Frankfurter and Gardner Jackson (New York: Penguin Books, 2007[1928]), online at <http://law2.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/SaccoV/S&Vletters.html>.

Scarlet Letter. Available at www.waste.org/~roadrunner/ScarletLetterArchives/. Situationist International. Available at www.cddc.vt.edu/sionline/.

Social Movements Collection. Online library of periodicals, pamphlets and brochures relating to US and global protest movements, including anarchism – currently in development, at <http://digicoll.manoa.hawaii.edu/socmovements/index.php?c=1>.

Spiritual Anarchy. A resource for religious anarchists, available at www.uark.edu/~dksander/anarchy.html.

Spunk Library. The site provides access to an extensive library of anarchist and radical writings, images and links to resources. The project ran from 1997 to 2000 and was last updated in 2002. The site remains an incredibly rich resource for English and non-English-language material. Available at www.spunk.org/index.html.

Stan Iverson Memorial Library and Anarchist Archives. Articles, poetry and images provided by Recollection Books, Seattle, available at <http://recollection-books.com/siml/library/index.html>.

Struggle Site. A rich archive of photos, books and pamphlets documenting anarchist history and popular struggles –women’s rights, particularly in Ireland – and also covering the Zapatistas and globalization, available at <http://struggle.ws/>.

Zine library. Access to a range of radical zines and comics, with a subsection devoted to anarchism, at <http://zinelibrary.info/>.

Archiving Projects, Search Engines, Catalogues and Directories

Access to Archives (A2A). A project of the UK National Archive, to locate primary materials in the UK, available at www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/a2a/default.aspx.

Archives Hub. Search tool for 200 UK Universities, available at <http://archiveshub.ac.uk/>.

CAUL (Council of Australian University Librarians). Directory of current information about all Australian University Libraries, available at www.caul.edu.au/about-caul/caulist/university-libraries.

China Gateway. Information about libraries and information held in and outside China, available at www.bc.edu/research/chinagateway/culthist/start.html.

Copac. National, academic and specialist library catalogue for UK libraries, available at <http://copac.ac.uk/libraries/>

Cormosea. International Director of South East Asian Libraries. Updated monthly. Available at www.cormosea.org/SoutheastAsiaLibrarians.html#tha.

Cornucopia. Searchable database for UK galleries, museums and libraries, available at www.cornucopia.org.uk/.

Intute. Internet gateway (open until 2014, but with no additional content from July 2011), available at www.intute.ac.uk/faq.html.

Library of Congress and portal provides access to a large number of US and other national libraries at www.loc.gov/z3950/.

New Zealand libraries catalogue. All New Zealand libraries including university libraries are available at <http://nzlc.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?DB=local&PAGE=first>.

OAlster. Global catalogue with over 6 million records, available at www.oclc.org/oaister/access/default.htm.

SULAIR. Library projects, libraries and archives in Africa, South of the Sahara, available at www-sul.stanford.edu/depts/ssrg/africa/libaf.html and www-sul.stanford.edu/depts/ssrg/africa/rsalibs.html.

Sylvia Milne’s Libraries of the World. Links to state libraries and archives and specialist libraries of art as well as women’s libraries, available at www.sylviamilne.co.uk/libcats.htm.

UK Web Archive. British web archive from 2004. Site has links to similar international web-archiving projects. Available at <http://www.webarchive.org.uk/ukwa/>.

Wayback Machine. For surfing archived webs from 1996 at the Internet Archive www.archive.org/about/about.php; <http://www.archive.org/web/web.php>.

WESS (West European Studies Section). Links to European libraries (including university libraries), research materials, newspaper collections – this is a wiki-type resource, open to multiple editors, available at http://wess.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Main_Page#Guide.

WorldCat. The world's largest library catalogue: search books, articles, DVDs and CDs, save lists and find locations for materials, available at www.worldcat.org/.

Other online repositories/digital libraries

Fair Use Repository. A project designed to facilitate citation of documents online. The site is a compilation of texts in the public domain, includes works by Guy Aldred, Alexander Berkman, Benjamin Tucker. Available at <http://fair-use.org/>.

Open Library. Open, non-profit project of the Internet Archive (www.archive.org/). Collection includes works by Bakunin, Kropotkin, Tolstoy, Grave, Berkman, Goldman, Reclus and Tucker – in a variety of languages – and contemporary material by Bookchin, Bob Black, CrimethInc.; commentaries by Kedward and other interesting, less well-known material. Available at <http://openlibrary.org/>.

Project Gutenberg. Free online books. Anarchist collection includes Paul Eltzbacher's introduction to anarchism as well as work by Kropotkin, Berkman and Goldman. Available at www.gutenberg.org/wiki/Main_Page.

UNZ.org. Free website for books, periodicals and videos. <http://www.unz.org/Home/Introduction>

Films, Videos and DVDs

For anarchism and film, see:

Anarchist Video. Available at <http://anarchistvideo.blogspot.com/>.

Arena (1) March 2009, *On Anarchist Cinema* (Oakland, CA: PM Press; Hastings, East Sussex: ChristieBooks).

Films at ChristieBooks. Available at http://www.christiebooks.com/ChristieBooksWP/Film__Database/anarquismo/index.html.

Films for Action. Available at www.filmsforaction.org/.

Marianne Enckell and Eric Jarry, *Les anarchists à l'écran – Anarchists on screen 1901–2003* (CIRA Bulletin, Spring 2004). An English-language version is on the libcom.org site at <http://libcom.org/forums/libcommunity/les-anarchistes-%C3%A0-l%E2%80%99C3%A9cran-anarchists-screen-1901-2003-23042006>.

RA Forum Films and Videos. Reviews of documentaries and films relating to anarchism and further bibliographies, available at <http://raforum.info/spip.php?rubrique1060>.

Radical Video Library. A non-profit DiY project, available at <http://fuckcopyright.blogspot.com>

SchNEWS Movies. DiY video ‘films for action’ by *SchNEWS* and others, available at www.schnews.org.uk/schmovies/.

16 Tons. A movie about free market and conscience, available at <http://vimeo.com/channels/16tons>.

Accidental Death of an Anarchist. Dario Fo and Gavin Richards (London: Channel 4, 1983).

Acratas. Virginia Martínez, FONA (Uruguay: Brecha, 2000). Study of an anarchist movement in Rio de la Planta and Montevideo between 1900 and 1930, using documents, photos and films.

Anarchism in America. Steven Fischler, Joel Sucher and Kristina Boden (US: Pacific Street Film; Oakland, CA: distributed by AK Press, 2006). Documentary history available online in eight parts at [#](http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=-3323756298621550509).

Anarchism in Ireland, 1997–2007. Andrew Flood, available at <http://anarchism.pageabode.com/andrewnflood/video-anarchism-history-ireland-1997-2007>.

Anarquistas: graças a Deus. Walter Avancini (Brazil: Globo Marcas: Som Livre, 2008). Memories of an immigrant Italian family in Brazil at the start of the twentieth century, in search of an anarchist dream.

Angelo Conti Rossini: der Koch, der Clown und die Liebe zur Anarchie. Bernd Dost, Angelo Conti Rossini (Munich: Bayerischer Rundfunk, 2006). Angelo Conti Rossini was a chef and poet, inspired by the anarchists of the Monte Verità area. Description at <http://dostfilme.blogspot.com/2009/07/der-koch-der-clown-und-die-liebe-zur.html>. Biography of Rossini at <http://www.anarcbolo.ch/cbach/biografie.php?id=230>.

Benno: The Fiction Memoir of a Painter, France: A Surrealist Guide to Being. Phyllis Nemhauser (Dartmouth College, MA Liberal Studies Program, 2003). An exploration of anarchy, atheism and abstract art, captured in surrealist style.

Buenaventura Durruti anarchiste. Jean-Louis Comolli (France: Arte: Ina, Espagne: Television Española: Mallerich Films, 1999). Description at www.autourdu1ermai.fr/fiches/film/fiche-film-394.html.

Camille Pissarro: der Impressionist als Anarchist. Rudij Bergmann (Stuttgart: Südwestrundfunk, 1999).

Capitalism is the Crisis. A new documentary film about the ‘austerity’ agenda and potential revolutionary responses by Michael Truscello. The film features both anarchists and Marxists, and has a broadly anarcho-communist perspective. Available at <http://capitalismisthecrisis.net/>.

Chant public devant deux chaises électriques. Hélène Châtelain (Paris: Doriane Films, 2001). Using the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti to examine issues of state repression, fear and terror.

Daniel Guérin: 1904–1988: Mémoires. Pierre-André Boutang (Paris: ADAV, 1989).

***... de toda la vida (All Our Lives). Lisa Berger and Carol Mazer (New York: Cinema Guild, 1986). Documentary about women who participated in the anarchist revolution in Spain. Lisa Berger site:

De anarchistische ideeën van Constandse. Anton Constandse (Humanistisch Verbond, 1986). Documentary about the anarchist, free thinker and writer. Biography at the IISH website www.iisg.nl/bwsa/bios/constandse.html.

Die Lange Hoffnung (The Long Hope). Clara Thalmann and Augustin Souchy (Freiburg: Film Media Workshop, 1984). Memories of the Spanish revolution, available in nine parts at www.youtube.com/watch?v=YJtomKNCEj8.

District 25. Robert Craig (Montreal: National Film Board of Canada, 1993). Documentary following the grass-root campaign of Dimitri Roussopoulos, of Black Rose books.

Five Ring Circus. Exposing the real cost of the Vancouver Winter Olympics, available at www.thefiveringcircus.com/.

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Free Voice of Labor – The Jewish Anarchists. Paul Avrich, Steven Fischler and Paul Sucher (New York, Cinema Guild, 1980). Film about the Jewish US anarchist movement, including interviews with members of the *Freie Arbeiter Stimme*. Available at [#](http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=5956512346545790190).

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Harry Hooton (Australia, 1971). A tribute to an anarcho-technologist. Biography at Radical Tradition at www.takver.com/history/hooton_bio.htm.

Inciting to Riot (New York: Cinema Gold, 1994). Documents the activities of Transcendental Students, a New York University anarchist group involved in anti-war demonstrations 1969–70. Clip on YouTube at www.youtube.com/watch?v=1OWLAX6R00s.

Inside the Revolution (Sydney: ABC, 1983). One of a six-part documentary series concentrating on the lifestyles of anarchists and communists in 1936 and 1937, using

interviews and original footage. Download at http://veehd.com/video/4517344_The-Spanish-Civil-War-E5-6-Inside-the-Revolution-1983.

Interview with Judith Malina. Judith Malina, Margaret Croyden, Mark Robinson, Betty L. Corwin and the League of Professional Theatre Women (New York, 1997). Discussion of anarcho-pacifism and The Living Theatre project.

La bande à Bonnot. Philippe Fourastié (Paris: Seven7, 2004). Originally released in 1968.

Lawrence Ferlinghetti: i colori dell'anarchia. Matteo Bellinelli (Switzerland: Televisione Svizzera, RTSI, 1991). Documentary in which Ferlinghetti discusses the City Lights Bookstore in San Francisco and his art. Biography of Ferlinghetti at Poets.org at www.poets.org/poet.php/prmPID/367.

Libertarias. Vincente Aranda (Coral Gables, FL: Venevision International, 2004). Tells the story of three women participating in the militias during the Spanish Civil War.

Living Utopia. Interviews with survivors of the Spanish Revolution (1936–39), available at [#](http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=-3323756298621550509).

Made in Secret: The Story of the East Van Porn Collective (Vancouver: East Van Porn Collective, 2005). Film about an anarcho-feminist porn collective brought into being by the invention of the film project. Trailer at www.youtube.com/watch?v=RJ8Yu9xI4Kw.

Maggots and Men. Cary Cronenwett, Ilona Berger and Blake Nemec (San Francisco, CA: Postcode Productions, 2009). Retells the story of Kronstadt, 1921, with a subtext of gender anarchy. Trailer at www.youtube.com/watch?v=wZEz4Kk3tMc.

Nestor Makhno, paysan d'Ukraine (Hélène Châtelain, Paris: CNC, 2006). Short review and access at www.esprit68.org/makhno.html.

*****!Ni peones, ni patrones!***** Hanneke Willemse (Hilversum: Video Nederlands Filminstituut, 1986). Reconstruction of the anarcho-syndicalist labour struggles in Aragon – includes historical material and interviews. In six parts on YouTube and at ChristieBooks at

Où est passé Proudhon? A documentary by Anne Arguouse and Hughes Peyret at <http://vimeo.com/8150795>.

Paul Goodman Changed My Life. Information about the film, supporting biographical materials and trailer at www.paulgoodmanfilm.com.

PickAxe, Breaking the Spell, The Miami Model*, É Five Short Films. Franklin Lopez, Donald Clark, Thomas Worth, Tim Ream and Tim Lewis (Olympia, WA: CrimethInc. Perpetual Motion Pictures, 2004).** *Grass-roots anarchist perspectives on protest actions.* Available at <http://crimethinc.com/tools/dvd.html>.

Projekt Arthur – Die Gewaltfrage 1968. Mattias Deutschmann (Medienwerkstatt Freiburg, 1987). Documentary examining the issue of violence. Related documents at the IISH at www.iisg.nl/archives/en/files/p/10831421.php.

Punk le vote. Daniel Cross and Eric Denis (Montréal, QC: Eyesteelfilm; Watertown, MA: Documentary Educational Resources, 2007). Party political versus anarchist campaigning. Film site at www.eyesteelfilm.com. Eyesteel films have also produced *Exposing Homelessness*, *S.P.I.T. Squeegee Punks in Traffic*, *The Street and Peter*, *Donald*, *Willie*, *Pat*.

Resist: A Film. Directed by Dirk Szuszies (ex-Living Theatre) about the Living Theatre in New York. Released in 2003. Clip and download at www.patrickgrant.com/RESIST.htm.

Rudolf Rocker, relieur et anarchiste (Christian Hohoff). Available at <http://libertaire.pagesperso-orange.fr/archive/2000/228-mai/rocker.htm>.

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San Michele avena un gallo (Saint Michael Had a Rooster). Paolo and Vittorio Taviani (New York: Forx Lorber Video, 1997). A story of an anarchist and the changing nature of the revolutionary movement during his imprisonment, adapted from a story by Leo Tolstoy.

Spreading Propaganda. David Moisl and Nadine Laule (San Francisco, CA: 400 Blows Pictures, 2004). Clip and more information about 400 Blows productions at www.400blows.com/documentaries.html.

Testimony of Eugenio Cordero, Interview with Scott Boehm and Andrea Davis, August 2, 2008 (*Madrid: Spanish Civil War Memory Project, 2008*). Available at <http://libraries.ucsd.edu/speccoll/scwmemory/catalog/eng-bb8704191n.html>.

The Corporation. Documentary, with interviews about US corporate history and practices. Available on DVD. Information at www.thecorporation.com/.

The Day the Country Died – The DVD: A History of Anarcho Punk 1980–1984. ***Roy Wallace (London: Cherry Red Records, 2006)***, available at <http://fuckcopyright.blogspot.com/2009/04/day-country-died-2007.html>.

The Net: The Unabomber, LSD and the Internet (Litz Dammbeck, Other Cinema: 2006). In 12 parts on YouTube at www.youtube.com/watch?v=_wKerSv-xlU.

Theory and Practice: Conversations with Noam Chomsky and Howard Zinn. ***Produced by PM Press, information and clips at www.thecorporation.com/***

This Is What Democracy Looks Like (Jill Friedberg, Rick Rowley, Big Noise Films, 2000). Documentary made from footage of the 1999 Seattle WTO demonstration.

To My Son in Spain: Finnish Canadians in the Spanish Civil War (Dave Clement, Saku Pinta, Thunderstone Pictures, 2009). Documentary about Finnish Canadian volunteers from Thunder Bay and Sudbury, Ontario, featuring the story of

Jules Paivio, the son of a Finnish poet. Information at www.thunderstonepictures.com/to-my-son-in-spain-finnish-canadians-in-the-spanish-civil-war/.

Un Autre Futur. Richard Prost (Les films du Village: Cités-Télévision, 1997). VHS. Four-part documentary charting the origins of the Spanish CNT, the 1936 Revolution, the exile and resistance in Spain in the Franco era, now available on DVD. Information at www.prost.tv/4.html.

Zéro de conduit. Jean Vigo (Brandon Films, 1933). Story of a school revolt which influenced Truffaut's *400 Blows* and Lindsay Anderson's *If*. Available at [#](http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=7559210598531959197).

Publishers and Bookshops

Independent and radical book shop guide (Europe). **From Aalst (Belgium) to Zurich**, available at www.bookstoreguide.org/.

Radical book shops directory for the US and Canada (**compiled from infoshop**). Available at www.kersplebedeb.com/mystuff/radspace.html.

Radical book shops directory for the UK (**from SchNEWS**). Available at www.schnews.org.uk/pap/bookshops.htm.

Radical reference list. For book shops in the United States, New South Wales and Victoria, at www.radicalreference.info/alt_books.

AK Press. Huge stock of literature: the site provides access to the catalogue and to a range of other resources, blog, information and links, available at www.akpress.org/.

Ardent Press. Anarchist and anti-political books, available at <http://ardentpress.org/index.html>.

Autonopedia. Publishes radical politics, media and arts and maintains an interactive info exchange, available at www.autonopedia.org/.

Black Powder Press. Collective print and distribution in Santa Cruz, available at <http://blackpowderpress.com/index.php?route=common/home>.

Black & Red Books. Anti-authoritarian press, publishing since 1968, available at <http://blackandred.org/index.html>.

Black Raven Editions. Linked with the Victoria Anarchist Reading Circle, Victoria, Canada. Available at www.victoriaanarchistreadingcircle.ca/ and the Camas Books and Info Store at www.camasa.ca/. This site has a range of links to local and international groups.

Black Rose Books. Available at <http://blackrosebooks.net/>.

Bolerium Books. Shop and online ordering of rare and out-of-print books on American social movements, gay and lesbian studies, Spanish Civil War and more, in San Francisco since 1981, available at www.bolerium.com.

C.A.L. Press. Created to publish *Anarchy: A Journal of Desire Armed*. Publishes work by John Zerzan and Bob Black. Available at <http://calpress.org/>.

City Lights Bookstore. Founded in 1953 by the poet Lawrence Ferlinghetti and Peter D. Martin, available at www.citylights.com/.

Christie Books. Information about publications and film archive, with links to a range of other anarchist sites, available at www.christiebooks.com/ChristieBooksWP/?page_id=9.

Club du Livre Libertaire – La biodiversité des éditeurs libertaires. Available at <http://clla.info/>.

Continuum Press. Now a subsidiary of Bloomsbury Press, developing a major new series in *Contemporary Anarchist Studies* (Laurence Davis, Uri Gordon, Nathan Jun and Alex Prichard eds). Main site: www.continuumbooks.com/. For anarchist studies series: http://politicsatcontinuum.typepad.com/politics_at_continuum/2010/07/new-series-contemporary-anarchist-studies.html.

Eberhardt Press. Publishing original work and classics since 2004. The site has a reading room with downloadable material. Available at <http://eberhardtpress.org/>.

Elephant Editions. Available at <http://alphabetthreat.co.uk/elephanteditions/>.

Feral House. Available at <http://feralhouse.com/>.

Five Leaves Publishing. Independent radical publisher, specializing in literary work, but also publishes work by Colin Ward, available at www.fiveleaves.co.uk/.

Freedom Press. London-based publisher established in 1886, produces a range of books and the newspaper *Freedom*. Access to store and news/events at www.freedompress.org.uk/news/.

Haymarket Books. The name refers to the Chicago anarchists: non-profit progressive publisher and distributor, available at www.haymarketbooks.org/about.

Housmans. London: radical bookshop since 1945, with online ordering facility, available at www.housmans.com/.

Invisible Molotov. Market anarchist zine distro and publishing house, available at <http://invisiblemolotov.wordpress.com/>.

Jura Books, Sydney. Available at <http://jura.org.au/>.

Lawrence & Wishart. Founded in 1936 with historical links to the Communist Party, Lawrence & Wishart is an independent radical publisher. Journals include *Anarchist Studies*. Available at www.lwbooks.co.uk/.

Left Bank Books Collective. Non-for-profit and community-based bookshop – new and second hand – operating and campaigning in Seattle since 1973, available at www.leftbankbooks.com/.

Les Editions Atelier de création libertaire. Available at www.atelierdecreationlibertaire.com/.

• **Little Black Cart.** Available at <http://littleblackcart.com/>.

Merlin Press. Non-sectarian Marxist, based in London, available at www.merlinpress.co.uk/

• **New International Bookshop.** Melbourne, Australia – general left bookshop with online ordering, available at www.newinternationalbookshop.org.au/.

News from Nowhere. Not-for-profit, workers' co-operative, independent radical community bookshop in Liverpool, available at www.newsfromnowhere.org.uk/.

Northern Herald Books. Second-hand books, pamphlets and periodicals on radical history, women's history, anarchism, free thought and more. No website: 5 Close Lea, Rastrick, Brighouse, HD6 3AR, UK.

Pluto Press. London-based radical publisher with a substantial catalogue in politics. Publishes work by Chomsky, Eduardo Galeano, Howard Zinn. Available at www.plutobooks.com/index.asp.

PM Press. The site provides access to the catalogue/store as well as blogs, events and activities, available at www.pmpress.org/content/index.php.

Publico. The bookshop of the Fédération Anarchiste, available at <http://www.librairie-publico.com/>.

Rebel Press. Not-for-profit anarchist press in Wellington, New Zealand, available at www.rebelpress.org.nz/.

Recollection Used Books. Second-hand bookstore, founded in 1995, specializing in counter-culture, Vietnam, modern literature, radical and social movements. Online catalogue and ordering at <http://74.220.215.218/~recollec/>.

Red Emma's Bookstore Coffee House. **Baltimore** at www.redemmas.org/.

See Sharp Press. Founded by Chaz Bufe, author of Listen Anarchist!, publishing in a range of fields, including anarchism. As well as the catalogue, the site also provides online access to texts and links to other anarchist groups. Available at www.seesharppress.com/index.html.

Seven Stories Press. Independent publisher based in New York. Strong literary focus but also publishes Human Rights Watch reports and political works by Chomsky, Howard Zinn, Michael Albert and other 'voices of conscience'. Available at <http://sevenstories.com/>.

Spokesman Books. Non-anarchist left publisher, the imprint of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, available at www.spokesmanbooks.com/.

South End Press. A non-profit making collective, publishes in a wide range of fields: gender and sexuality, politics, peace studies and terror, sociology – with a remit to develop understanding and help activism, available at www.southendpress.org/.

Stimulants. Online radical bookshop – books, pamphlets, CDs, DVDs, periodicals, available at www.radicalbooks.co.uk.

Verso. Independent radical books, launched by *New Left Review*, available at www.versobooks.com/.

Zed Books. Independent academic publisher specializing in work from the margins, especially international, available at <http://www.zedbooks.co.uk/>.

Journals

ACME. Online international journal for analysis of the social, the spatial and the politics, providing a forum for the discussion of critical and radical work from a variety of perspectives, including anarchist, available at www.acme-journal.org/.

Affinities: A Journal of Radical Theory, Culture and Action. The online journal linked to the affinity project publishes a range of material, including peer-reviewed papers. It focuses on examining alternatives to neo-liberal capitalism and exploring alternative, sustainable, non-hierarchical ways of living. Available at <http://dev.affinitiesjournal.org/index.php/affinities>.

Alternative Libertaire. French-language monthly, linked to the international anarchist federation, available at www.alternativelibertaire.org/spip.php?rubrique4.

Anarchy: A Journal of Desire Armed. US-based magazine co-founded by Fredy Perlman, available at www.anarchymag.org/.

Anarchist Developments in Cultural Studies. An international, peer-review open-access journal, which describes itself as postanarchist, but which has a broader scope than this implies. The journal has an interdisciplinary focus and publishes material from diverse methodological traditions. Available at www.anarchist-developments.org.

Anarchist Studies. An international peer-review journal publishing work from across the political spectrum, in a wide range of disciplinary fields, available at www.lwbooks.co.uk/journals/anarchiststudies/contents.html.

Anarcho-Syndicalist Review. Magazine for non-sectarian, internationalist discussion of anarcho-syndicalist theory and practice. Sam Dolgoff was a founding co-editor. Site at <http://syndicalist.org/> is currently being reconstructed.

Antipode: A Radical Journal of Geography. An international journal for academics, students, activists and policymakers involved or interested in social, economic and environmental change and in using geographical knowledge in support of left-dissenting traditions. The site provides online access to articles and features a substantial body of work on anarchism at www.antipode-online.net/.

Arena. Successor to the Cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review, Arena provides a forum for debate and discussion of libertarian culture, arts and politics. Issue 1 (May 2009) was devoted to anarchist cinema and issue 2 (June 2010) to anarchists in fiction. Published by ChristieBooks. Available at www.christiebooks.com/.

Aufheben. UK-based autonomist, libertarian communist journal, founded in 1992, available at <http://libcom.org/aufheben>.

Black Flag. UK-based magazine, relaunched in 2007, available at <http://black-flagmagazine.blogspot.com/>. Archived material (to 2000) is available at <http://flag.blackened.net/blackflag/>.

Broken Pencil. Print and web-based review magazine, founded in Toronto in 1995, and dedicated to underground culture and independent arts: zines, books, web-sites, videos and artworks. Reprints articles from the alternative press. Available at www.brokenpencil.com/.

Ceasefire. Independent online magazine for news and radical discussion of politics, art and activism, available at <http://ceasefiremagazine.co.uk>.

Commune. Communist, internationalist – for workers' self-management and communism from below, available at <http://thecommune.co.uk/>.

Defenestrator. Philadelphia-based online journal at <http://defenestrator.org/info>. The site has links to local organizing and the Lancaster Avenue Autonomous Space (LAVA) in Philadelphia. Available at <http://www.lavazone.org/>

Direct Action. Magazine of the Solidarity Federation (SolFed), the British section of the International Workers' Association (IWA), available at www.direct-action.org.uk/

Divergences. Libertarian review publishing in French, German, English and Spanish, available at <http://divergences.be/>.

Drunken Boat. An occasional anthology of arts and literature published in magazine and journal formats, edited by Max Blechman. Volume 2, *Art Rebellion Anarchy*, is published by Autonomedia/Left Bank Books (1994). The collection *Revolutionary Romanticism: A Drunken Boat Anthology* is published by City Lights (1999).

Dysopia. Green anarchist imprint for pamphlets and zines, available at <http://dysopia.wordpress.com/>.

Endnotes. Irregular communist theoretical journal, established in 2005 by former members of *Aufheben*, available at <http://endnotes.org.uk/>.

Ephemera: Theory and Politics in Organization. An independent, peer-review journal specializing in conceptual and theoretical questions of organization and in organizational processes or life. *Ephemera* also run conferences, details are on the site. Available at www.ephemeraweb.org/.

Fifth Estate. Anti-authoritarian American-based magazine, publishing since 1965, available at www.fifthestate.org/. Records from 1967 to 2003 are archived in the Labadie collection, University of Michigan.

Green Anarchy. Anti-civilization, eco-anarchist resistance, available at <http://greenanarchy.org/>. (Issues of *Green Anarchy* from 2000 to 2009 are available to download from the zine library or the wayback machine.)

Here: Notes from the Present. Italian/English-language realistic-utopian review and diary of events, for individual reflection, observation and testimony on everyday politics and events, available at www.quiappuntidalpresente.it/index_En.html.

i-studies journal. Stirnerite journal. The site also provides access to copies of Dora Marsden's *Freewoman*, *New Freewoman* and *The Egoist*. Available at <http://i-studies.com/journal/index.shtml>.

Interface: A Journal for and about Social Movements. Designed for activists, researchers and academics as an inclusive, multilingual space for exchange and mutual learning. Interface has pioneered the publication of material in a number of different formats. Available at www.interfacejournal.net/.

International Journal of Inclusive Democracy. A peer-reviewed international journal exploring inclusive democracy – a transformative project drawing on democratic and socialist traditions linked to an activist network. Formerly *Democracy and Nature*, the journal publishes work by authors writing from different perspectives, including anarchist. Available at www.inclusivedemocracy.org/journal/.

International Review of Social History. An international peer-reviewed academic journal, which has a long-established reputation for research excellence. The journal specializes in social and labour history and has published a wide body of research on anarchism. The journal is run by the International Institute for Social History in Amsterdam. Available at <http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayJournal?jid=ISH>.

Jalan Journal of Asian Liberation. **Available at** <http://jalanjournal.org/>.

Le Monde Libertaire. Weekly French-language paper of the Fédération Anarchiste, available at www.monde-libertaire.fr/.

Libertaria. Online Italian-language journal with links to a range of material on Italian anarchism and international organizations, available at <http://libertaria.it/>.

May Day. Anarchist/libertarian magazine for discussion of ideas with an organizational focus/interest in praxis. The current site, <http://mayday-magazine.vpweb.co.uk/default.html>, is being wound down. The new address is <http://mayday-magazine.com/>.

Not Bored. Autonomous, situ-inspired, irregularly published journal, available at www.notbored.org/index1.html.

Notes from the Borderland. Left/green anti-fascist magazine, publishing since 1997, with a particular interest in security/secret state, available at www.borderland.co.uk/.

Organise! Magazine of the UK Anarchist Federation, available at www.afed.org.uk/publications/organise-magazine.html.

Πανοπτικόν (Panoptikon). Greek-language theoretical/academic journal. Last issue October 2010. Available at <http://e-village.gr/panopticon/periodiko.html>.

People of Colour Organize! Online journal and web resource for revolutionary left thinking about race, national oppression and self-determination, available at www.peopleofcolororganize.com/

Perspectives on Anarchist Theory. An online journal run by the *Institute for Anarchist Studies* publishing work by writers and translators supported by the IAS, anarchist views of contemporary events, book reviews and information about IAS events. Available at <http://www.anarchiststudies.org/perspectives>.

Przegląd Anarchistyczny (The Anarchist Review). Published twice a year to provide a forum for debate of radical movements in Poland and beyond, with a focus on self-organizing and action, available at www.przegląd-anarchistyczny.org/english/.

Psychic Swamp. New from 2011, a quarterly review of surre(gion)alism, by Hieronymus Fisch, aka John Clark, available at www.psychicswamp.info/.

RAG. Magazine of the Revolutionary Anarcha-feminist Group (RAG) collective produce in Dublin. Available at <http://ragdublin.blogspot.co.uk/>.

Rebel Worker. Paper of the Sydney-based anarcho-syndicalist network. The site includes copies of archived editions. Available at www.rebelworker.org/.

Réfractioins. French-language print journal of anarchist research and discussion. Some online materials also in Italian and Spanish. Available at <http://refractioins.plusloin.org/>.

Revista Anarchica. Italian-language online journal, now also publishing in English, available at <http://arivista.org/>. Papers in English from the journal and Libertaria looking at Italy and the cold war, 1969–2010, are available at <http://tan-goitalia.com/pinelli/>.

Rolling Thunder: An Anarchist Journal of Dangerous Living. Biannual magazine published by CrimethInc. Ex-Workers' Collective. Available at www.crimethinc.com/rt/.

Διαδρομή Ελευθερίας (Route of Freedom). Greek-language online journal, available at www.anarchy.gr.

SchNEWS. A free weekly direct action news-sheet produced in Brighton, UK. The site also has links, information about events and guides. Available at www.schnews.org.uk/index.php.

Shift Magazine. Four issues a year, run from Manchester, UK – academic/activist discussing ideas, tactics and strategies. The site has useful links to other magazines. Available at <http://shiftmag.co.uk/>.

Social Anarchism: A Journal of Theory and Practice. An international peer-reviewed academic journal which publishes on anarchist history, politics, practice, labour and social issues and also includes original poetry, available at www.socialanarchism.org/index.php.

Socialist Register. Non-sectarian Marxist/new left journal, available at <http://socialistregister.com/index.php/srv/index>.

Slingshot. A quarterly, independent, radical newspaper published by the Slingshot Collective since 1988. The site includes back copies and details of the annual organizer. Available at <http://slingshot.tao.ca/index.php>.

Stir Magazine. Designed to move beyond critique to encourage radical community action (Stirtoaction), Available at <http://stirtoaction.com/about/>.

Theory in Action. The journal of the Transformative Studies Institute is an interdisciplinary peer-reviewed journal designed to promote dialogue about research into social justice and the interrelationships of theory and practice, available at www.transformativestudies.org/publications/theory-in-action-the-journal-of-tsi/.

Tolstoy Studies Journal. Peer-reviewed academic journal, focussing on literature, but welcomes contributions relevant to any aspect of Tolstoy scholarship, available at www.utoronto.ca/tolstoy/journal.html.

Turbulence Magazine. Run by an international collective to think about and discuss the political, social, economic and cultural theories of direct action movements, as well as the networks of diverse practices and alternatives that surround them, available at <http://turbulence.org.uk/about/>.

Umanità Nova. Italian-language weekly, linked to the Federazione Anarchica Italiana (FAI), available at <http://www.umanitanova.org/>.

Upping the Anti. Ultra-left, anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist journal of theory and action published in Canada, available at <http://uppingtheanti.org/>.

Variant. Free independent arts magazine, covering social, political and cultural issues, available at <http://variant.org.uk/>.

Voices of Resistance from Occupied London. Twice-yearly journal of theory and action against authority and power: international, not London-centric but with a focus on urban issues/culture/politics/life. Online at www.occupiedlondon.org/.

Journals: Gone but not forgotten

For an extensive list of historic journals, see Paul Nursey-Bray, *Anarchist Thinkers and Thought* (entry in the 'Bibliography').

A wiki list of anarchist journals, some current, but mainly historical, is available at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_anarchist_periodicals.

Anarchy Archives has a growing number of anarchist journals, 'cold off the presses' with links to other access sites at http://dwardmac.pitzer.edu/anarchist_archives/periodicals.html.

Aphoria. Anti-state communist and anarchist journal, galvanized by the Iraq War and post-9/11 politics, available at <http://aporiajournal.tripod.com/index.html>.

Black Mask/Up Against the Wall Motherfucker. Produced in New York by Ben Morea and Ron Hahne. The ten issues of *Black Mask* (1966–67) and other material produced by the group have been published by PM Press: *Black Mask & Up Against the Wall Motherfucker: The Incomplete Works of Ron Hahne, Ben Morea, and the Black Mask Group*, 2011.

Blast (1916–17). Edited by Alexander Berkman. Now available in book form, published by AK Press, 2004.

Do or Die: Voices from Ecological Resistance (1992–2003). Archive of the occasional journal (1–10) are accessible at www.eco-action.org/dod/.

Freie Arbeiter Stimme (1890–1977). New York Yiddish anarchist paper, established as the counterpart to Rudolf Rocker's London paper *Arbeter Fraynd*. Copies available at the Tamiment Library.

Killing King Abacus. Insurrectionary anarchist, available at www.reocities.com/kk_abacus/. Issues of *Wilful Disobedience* are on the Venomous Butterfly Page on the KKA website, http://www.reocities.com/kk_abacus/vbutterfly.html.

Les Temps Nouveaux (1895–1914). Influential anarcho-communist journal edited, in Paris, by Jean Grave. Scan copies are available (1895–97) through Worldcat.

Liberty – A Journal of Anarchist Communism (1894). Founded by James Tochatti and Louisa Bevington in London, online at <http://libcom.org/history/liberty-journal-anarchist-communism>.

Man! (1933–1940). A collection of articles, *MAN! An Anthology of Ideas, Essays, Poetry and Commentaries*, ed. Marcus Graham, was published by Cienfuegos Press in 1974.

Mother Earth (1906–1918). Edited by Emma Goldman, an anthology (ed. Peter Glassgold) is published under the title of *Anarchy!* (New York: Counterpoint, 2000).

NOW (1940–47). Radical literary journal edited by George Woodcock.

Our Generation (1961–94). Originally *Our Generation Against Nuclear War*. A selection of articles appear in the book, *Our Generation Against Nuclear War*, ed. Dimitros Roussopoulos (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1984). Back copies and some online copies are available on the Black Rose website at http://blackrosebooks.net/our_generation_journal.

Publications of Freedom Press (1928–1976). Journals reproduced on 16 reels of microfilm, including *Anarchy* (1961–70); *Freedom* (1951–76); *Spain and the World* (1936–38); *War Commentary* (1939 to August 1945). Held at the British Library. Available at www.bl.uk/services/document/microrescoll/rescola.html (item 7). A selection of articles from *Anarchy* was published in *A Decade of Anarchy (1961–1970)* ed. Colin Ward (London: Freedom Press, 1987); and from *Freedom* (1965–1986) in *The State is Your Enemy* (London: Freedom Press, 1991).

Raven (1987–2003). A quarterly published by Freedom Press, London. As well as publishing original material by Vernon Richards, Colin Ward, Heiner Becker and Nicholas Walter, it also published translations of historical work, recorded local history through the eyes of East End activists and art work by Clifford Harper.

Rebel Worker (1965–66). Paper of the Franklin and Penelope Rosemont's Chicago Surrealist Group. See Franklin Rosemont and Charles Radcliffe (eds), *Dancin' in the Streets! Anarchists, IWWs, Surrealists, Situationists & Provos in the 1960s – As Recorded in the Pages of The Rebel Worker and Heatwave* (Sixties Series) (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr, 2005). On *Heatwave*, see history at www.notbored.org/heatwave.html.

Retort: An Anarchist Review (1942–51). Edited, hand set and hand printed in Bearsville, New York, by Holley Cantine and Dachine Rainer, for discussion of social philosophy and the arts. *The Match! Historic Reprint Series – Retort 1942–51 Special Anthology Issue* (Tucson, AZ: Woodworth) was published in 1987.

Thr@ll. Launched in 1998, by an anarchist collective in Wellington and Christchurch, Aotearoa/New Zealand. Issues from 2000 to 2002 are available online at www.thrall.orconhosting.net.nz/back.html.

Der Zieglebrenner (1917–21). Edited by Ret Marut (B. Traven) in Munich and published illegally after 1919. A facsimile of the complete run was published by Edition Leipzig in 1967.

Fairs and Conferences

Anarchist Bookfairs. List of international fairs with links to sites is available at <http://anarchistbookfairs.blogspot.com/>. Fairs are cultural and social events and usually include workshops, meetings and discussion spaces as well as stalls selling current and out-of-print materials.

Anarchist Studies Network. Organizes conferences, workshops and other events and supports participation of members in external conferences. Details of the current programme is on the website at <http://anarchist-studies-network.org.uk/Upcoming>.

BASTARD conference (Berkeley Anarchist Students of Theory and Research and Development). Runs annually in March, organized by the Berkeley Anarchist Study Group, available at <http://sfbay-anarchists.org/conference/>.

Left Forum Conference. Enormous annual conference held in New York in May. It brings together progressive/left activists and academics from a wide spectrum, including anarchists. Available at www.leftforum.org/.

North American Anarchist Studies Association Conference. First annual conference held in 2009. Proceedings of this and subsequent conferences are available through NAASN site www.naasn.org/.

Renewing the Anarchist Tradition (RAT) conference. Organized by the Institute for Anarchist Studies. The conference archive is available at <http://www.homemadejam.org/renew/>. For information about current conference, visit <http://www.anarchiststudies.org/rat> .

19. Bibliographies, Reference Materials and Reading Lists

Bibliographies

Reading Lists and Course Guides

Catalogued Collections

##Works/Encyclopaedia

Documentary Histories

Dissertations

Review Journals

Zines

Academic Journals: Special Issues

Bibliographical Essays: A Guide to Non-English Language Sources

Works on Anarchism: The Low Countries *Bert Altena*

Anarchism in France *David Berry*

Anarchism, Anarcho-syndicalism and the Libertarian Movement in Spain, Portugal and Latin America *Richard Cleminson*

Italian Anarchism *Pietro Di Paola*

The Nordic Countries: Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden *Gabriel Kuhn*

The Anarchist Revival in Russian Historiography *Martin A. Miller*

Chinese Works on Anarchism in the People's Republic of China (PRC), 1949–2010 *John A. Rapp*

Anarchist Literatures in the German-Speaking World *Peter Seyferth and Gabriel Kuhn*

Bibliographies

Analytical Anarchism. Bibliography for work in analytical anarchism, open to submissions, at <http://analyticalanarchism.net/literature/>.

Anarchism: The Unfinished Revolution. Bibliographies of books, articles, internet sites, audio and video material, at <http://www.ditext.com/anarchism/sites.html>.

Anarchist FAQ. Bibliography produced by the FAQ Editorial Collective – gaps in the publication details are in the process of revision and the list is usefully subdivided into four sections, at <http://www.infoshop.org/page/AnarchistFAQBibliography>.

Anarchy Archives. Bibliographies for Stephen Pearl Andrews, Michael Bakunin*, Alexander Berkman, Murray Bookchin*, John Cage, Noam Chomsky*, Sam Dolgoff, Francisco Ferrer, Paul Goodman, Peter Arshinov, Marie Louise Berneri, Voltairine de Cleyre, Buenaventural Durruti, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, James Guillaume, Francisco Ascaso, Randolph Bourne, Daniel Cohn-Bendit, Giuseppe Fanelli, Luigi Galleani, Daniel Guérin, Ba Jin, Paul Brousse, Karl Diehl, Sébastien Faure, Gandhi, William Godwin*, Emma Goldman*, Hippolyte Havel, Big Bill Haywood, Peter Kropotkin*, Gustav Landauer, Gaston Leval, Ricardo Flores Magon, Nestor Makhno, Errico Malatesta*, G. P. Maximoff, Albert Meltzer, Louise Michel, Octave Mirbeau, Federica Montseny, Johann Most, Max Nettlau, Juan Garcia Oliver, Albert Parsons, Lucy Parsons, Josef Peukert, Rose Pesotta, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon*, Herbert Read, Elisée Reclus*, Rudolph Rocker, Bertrand Russell, Sacco and Vanzetti, Lysander Spooner, Max Stirner*, Leo Tolstoy, Carlo Tresca, Benjamin R. Tucker, Voline, Josiah Warren, Colin Ward and George Woodcock.

The ‘cynosure’ are those marked* – the rest are presented as ‘brighter but lesser lights’. The site also has bibliographies for movements and events and a select general bibliography. Available at http://dwardmac.pitzer.edu/Anarchist_Archives/unifiedbiblio.html.

Antony, Michel, *Bibliographies for Utopian and Libertarian Ideas in Global Movements*. Section V of the Ressources sur l’utopie at http://artic.ac-besancon.fr/histoire_geogra complémentaires

Damier, Vadim, *Bibliographic Essay to Anarcho-Syndicalism in the 20th Century*, translated from the Russian by Malcolm Archibald (Edmonton: Black Cat Press, 2009), online at www.scribd.com/doc/54419277/Vadim-Damier-Anarcho-Syndicalism-Bibliographic-Essay. The text is available at http://libcom.org/library/anarcho-syndicalism-20th-century-vadim-damier. This is an old essay, republished in 2009 but not updated. The bibliography ‘Anarkhizm v istorii Rossii’ by V. D. Ermakov published in 2007 and listed in Martin Miller’s article below is a richer, up-to-date source.

De Leon, David, *Threads in the Black Flag: A Bibliographic Outline of Anarchism*, Research Group 1, Report No. 12 (Baltimore, MD), n.d. A pamphlet from early 1970s, focused on key thinkers and includes references to useful but rare and now obscure literature, mainly from the post-war period but some earlier articles and books, too.

Goehlert, Robert, 'Anarchism: A Bibliography of Articles, 1900–1975,' *Political Theory*, 4(1) (February 1976), 113–27. An expanded version, with links, is available at www.ditext.com/anarchism/articles.html.

Gurucharri, Salvador, *Bibliografía del anarquismo español 1869–1975* (Barcelona: Col·lecció La Rosa de Foc, 2004). A substantial annotated bibliography of Spanish anarchism, mainly but not exclusively Spanish language. The 12 sections include works on the First International; revolutionary syndicalism and anarcho-syndicalism (CNT); revolution and Civil War; education; art, literature and cinema; and women, youth and sexuality.

Hong, Nhat, *The Anarchist Beast: The Anti-Anarchist Crusade in Periodical Literature 1884–1906* (Minneapolis, MN: The Soil of Liberty, n.d.). A bibliographical essay with separate listing of English-language periodical literature relating to the treatment of anarchism in the United States during the first red scare in the period leading up to the anti-anarchist laws. See also the journal article: Nathaniel Hong, 'Constructing the Anarchist Best in American Periodical Literature, 1880–1903', *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 9 (1992), 110–30 for a discussion of the issues.

Kaplan, Jerry, *Mother Earth Publishing Association*. A bibliography of books and pamphlets compiled in 1994, available at www.katesharpleylibrary.net/z34vwh.

Longa, Ernesto A., *Anarchist Periodicals in English Published in the United States (1833–1955)* available at <http://zinelibrary.info/ernesto-longa-anarchist-periodicals-eng>

Muñoz, Vladimir, *Anarchists: A Biographical Encyclopedia*, translated from Spanish by Scott Johnson (New York: Gordon Press, 1981). Entries for E. Armand (Ernest-Lucien Juin), Bakunin, Voltairine de Cleyre, Hem Day, Luigi Fabbri, Ricardo Flores Magón, Alberto Ghirardo, William Godwin, Henrik Ibsen, Joseph Ishill, Kropotkin, Landauer, Louise Michel, Johann Most, Elisée Reclus, Ramón de la Sagra, Florencio Sánchez, Max Stirner, Josiah Warren and Leo Tolstoy. Apart from including a diverse collection of individuals, both lesser-known and familiar characters, the encyclopaedia provides an insight into the geographical reach of anarchism by charting the encounters, personal acquaintances and publications of each selected figures. Separate chapters begin with a short sketch usually taken from reminiscences of friends and comrades and all are organized chronologically. These provide succinct accounts of activities, involvement with anarchist presses, movements and struggles and the appearance of translated work. Entries often contextualize the period into which each figure was born. They also trace the posthumous influence of ideas. The accounts are fond, appreciative and poetic, not dry, and they are rich in detail. The encyclopaedia was published as part of a *History of Anarchism Series* which also included a *Anarchy through the Times* by Max Nettlau (trans. Scott Johnson).

Nettlau, Max, *Contribution to an Anarchist Bibliography of Latin America* (Kate Sharpley Library, 1995) translated by Paul Sharkey.

Nurse-Bray, Paul (with Jim Jose and Robyn Williams), *Anarchist Thinkers and Thought: An Annotated Bibliography* (Greenwood Press: New York, Westport, CT, and London, 1992). Includes bibliographies for Guy Aldred, Stephen Pearl Andrews, Emile

Armand, Michael Bakunin, Alexander Berkman, Murray Bookchin, Martin Buber, Noam Chomsky, Volairine de Cleyre, Luigi Galleani, William Godwin, Emma Goldman, Paul Goodman, Jean Grave, Daniel Guérin, Amon Hennacy, Peter Kropotkin, Joseph Labadie, Laurence Labadie, Gustav Landauer, Joseph Lane, Errico Malatesta, Louise Michel, William Owen, Albert Parsons, Lucy Parsons, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, Herbert Read, Elisée Reclus, Rudolf Rocker, August Spies, Lysander Spooner, Max Stirner, Francis Dashwood Tandy, Lev Tolstoy, Benjamin Tucker, Colin Ward, Josiah Warren, Charlotte Wilson and George Woodcock. Works by and about authors are included. The book also has sections for those ‘on the margins’ of anarchism (Ivan Illich, William Morris, Murray Rothbard, Robert Paul Wolff and Robert Nozick – in the latter two cases, the bibliographies extend to the debates in political theory prompted by Wolff’s and Nozick’s work). Movement histories are listed in a section subdivided by country (from Argentina to the United States). There is a very useful section for theses; a section devoted to journals, both historical and contemporary; a list of other bibliographical sources and an index of authors and activists.

Patten, John, *Yiddish Anarchist Bibliography* (Kate Sharpley Library & Anarchist Archives Project, 1998).

Patten, John, *Islands of Anarchy: Simian, Cienfuegos and Refract 1969–1987*, an annotated bibliography of Stuart Christie’s publishing projects which is a valuable historiographical source in its own right, detailing not only the projects linked to the three imprints, but to other Christie projects and to planned but unfinished or unfulfilled publishing ventures. The appendices include an interview with Christie by Nhat Hong, an article by Christie on radical publishing and the prospectus for Cienfuegos Press, providing a practical guide to the purposes and problems of publishing.

Rublev, Yermakov, ‘Anarchism in Russian history: From the Beginning to Modern Times’, *Otechestvennaya Istoriya*, 5 (2008), 198–9. A brief two-page item from a bibliographic dictionary that appeared in a Russian historical journal. See the essay by Martin Miller, below, for up-to-date bibliographical sources.

Shea, George T., *Leftwing Literature in Japan: A Brief History of the Proletarian Literary Movement (Tokyo: Hosei University Press, 1964)*. Includes some material on anarchists.

Tomek, Václav, *Český anarchismus 1890–1925* (Prague: Filosofia, 1996). A guide to publications in Czech.

Tomek, Václav, *Český anarchismus a jeho publicistika 1880–1925* (Prague: Filosofia, 2002). A bibliography of journals.

Walter, Nicholas, ‘Anarchism in Print: Yesterday and Today: A Bibliographical Note’, in Apter and Joll (eds), *Anarchism Today* (London: Macmillan, 1971), pp. 127–44.

Woodcock, George, *Bibliography* hosted by *Canadian Literature* at <http://web.archive.org/web/20061010104929/www.canlit.ca/resources/biblio.html>. See also ‘A Bibliography of the Writings of George Woodcock’, by Ivan Avakumović, in William H. New (ed.), *A Political Art, Essays and Images in Honour of George*

Woodcock (Vancouver: The University of British Columbia Press, 1978), pp. 211–49. Avakumović's bibliography includes work published under his own name as well as under his various pseudonyms, G. W., Anthony Appenzell, L. T. Cornelius and Cornelius Lehr and unsigned editorials in *Canadian Literature* (Vancouver) and *Now* (London).

Uyehara, Cecil H., *Left Wing Social Movements in Japan: An Annotated Bibliography* (Rutland, VT: The Charles E. Tuttle Co, 1959).

Zobl, Elke, Bibliography of Academic Writing on Grrrl zines, at www.grrrlzines.net/bibliography.htm.

Reading Lists and Course Guides

Anarchist Studies Network. Reading lists from 'anthropology' to 'writing' compiled by members of the network in response to requests for help and information, at <http://anarchist-studies-network.org.uk/ReadingLists>.

Anarchquisitions: Lashings of Libertarian Literature for Librarians (London, 1976). Four A4 pages of recommended reading: new titles and work in progress, plus other bio-bibliographical information by Bookunin. Bookunin maintains a list at Library Thing, www.librarything.com/profile/bookunin.

Kate Sharpley Library has a number of lists: *Notes on the History of Anarchism in Literature: A Chronology* (a list of key events and the literature they inspired) at www.katesharpleylibrary.net/1jw8h; a wiki with scratch bibliographies for *US Anarchism 1886–1914* and *Nineteenth-century Individualist Anarchism* with a facility for development, at <http://katesharpleylibrary.pbworks.com/w/browse/#view=ViewFolder¶m=Anarch> and a list for the *History of Anarchism* at www.katesharpleylibrary.net/f7m1bn.

Library Thing has a number of anarchist members including London's 56a Infoshop; it provides access to book lists and reviews. To search, go to www.librarything.com/. For 56a Infoshop holdings, go to www.librarything.com/profile/56aInfoshop.

Zulick Home Pages (provided by Margaret Zulick). Open access for educational use. The pages 'Rhetorical Sources for Movements since 1900' include reading lists for US labour movement, civil rights and second-wave feminism at www.wfu.edu/~zulick/341/341sources.html; home page at www.wfu.edu/~zulick/index.html.

For **academic course guides**, Talisaspire at www.talisaspire.com/ is a free online subject-based network system for students and lecturers in the United Kingdom, providing tools for creating and editing reading lists, as well as producing and publishing learning materials. The system is in its infancy but reading lists for courses on geopolitics, globalization, terrorism, feminism and civil rights are currently available.

Catalogued Collections

Paul Avrich collection at the Library of Congress. An extensive collection of books, manuscripts and pamphlets. The description is at <http://lccn.loc.gov/95173575>.

Jesse Cohn's Spanish-language anarchist press list. This resource was hosted on the North American Anarchist Studies Network pages, at <http://naasn.org/spanish-language-periodicals> and is currently under re-construction.

French Institute for Social History, Paris. *Anarchism: Catalogue of XIX and XXth Century Books and Pamphlets From Different Countries*, 2 vols; Vol. I, ed. by Janine Gaillemain, Marie-Aude Sowerwine-Mareshal and Diane Richet under the direction of Denise Fauvel-Rouif (Paris, Munich, New York, London: K.G. Saur, 1982); Vol. II, ed. Hélène Strub (Munich, London, New York, Paris: K.G. Saur, 1993). These volumes provide details of the institute's extensive collection which includes rare and difficult to find items donated by activists and historians including Renée Lambert, Emile Armand, Pierre Monatte and Maurice Dommanget.

Sherington, Nick, *A Handlist of Anarchist Material in the Library of the University of Stirling* (Brighton: Smoothie Publications, 1976).

Reference Works/Encyclopaedia

Alternative Literature: A Practical Guide for Librarians, Chris Atton (Hampshire: Gower Publishing, 1996). A guide to searching a variety of media; list of sources includes other directories and guides to literature.

Anarchist Encyclopedia (Cambridge: Cambridge Free Press, 1985) – an ambitious project to provide a comprehensive account of anarchist thought, bringing together historical writings, current research and debates and analytical review essays, under the general editorship of Stuart Christie. Sadly, only a few monographs were ever completed: Graham Kelsy, *Civil War and Civil Peace: Libertarian Aragon 1936–39*; Harold Barclay, *Anthropology*; Bakunin, *Integral Education* (articles from *Egalité*, 1869); Frank Mintz, *Self-Management*.

Anti-Capitalist Dictionary: Movements, Histories and Motivations, **David Lowes** (*Zed Books*, 2006).

Blackwell International Encyclopedia of Revolution and Protest (ed. Immanuel Ness). Part of the Blackwell Reference Online Platform (subscription only) or, hard copy, as an eight-volume set (London: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009).

Dictionary of Alternatives: Utopianism and Organization (Martin Parker, Valérie Fournier, Patrick Reedy and Stevphen Shukaitis). A dictionary designed to challenge the neo-liberal doctrine, 'There is no alternative' (London: Zed Books, 2007).

Encyclopedia of 1848 Revolutions **at** www.ohio.edu/chastain/index.htm.

Encyclopedia of Libertarianism, Ronald Hamowy (ed.) (Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publications, 2008). Focus on right libertarian/liberal minimal and anti-statists: Hayek, Nozick, Rand, etc.

Encyclopedia of Political Anarchy, Kathlyn Gay and Martin Gay (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO Inc, 1999). Entries for movements, individuals, events and concepts. All entries are usefully cross-referenced and have equally useful references to further information, including archival sources as well as published material, but coverage leans towards US anarchist history and there are some inaccuracies. A review is available online at www.katesharpleylibrary.net/crjf56.

Encyclopedia of Social Movement Media, John D. H. Downing (Sage, 2011). Essays on indigenous peoples' media, environmentalist media, citizens' and community media: broadcasting, print, cinema, web, popular song, graffiti and dance.

Encyclopédie Anarchiste, 4 vols. Edited by Sébastien Faure (Paris: Œuvre internationale des éditions anarchistes, 1934–35). Online version at www.encyclopedie-anarchiste.org/.

Jewish Women's Archive. A comprehensive online historical encyclopaedia, developed in 1997, includes a short entry for anarchist women; available at <http://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/anarchists-american-jewish-women>.

Modern Social Movements: Descriptive Summaries and Bibliographies, S. Zimand (New York: H.W. Wilson Co, 1921), pp. 255–60. The chapter for anarchism identifies Paul Eltzbacher's *Anarchism* as one of the most authoritative accounts. The list includes critical work, such as George Bernard Shaw's 'The Impossibilities of Anarchism' and George Pleckanov's *Anarchism and Socialism*. Available online at <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015021088151;page=root;view=image;size>.

Nettlau, Max. Details of Max Nettlau's monumental five-volume history of anarchism (*Geschichte der Anarchie*) can be found in the section 'general histories' of Peter Seyferth and Gabriel Kuhn's bibliography of sources in German-language literatures, below.

New Dictionary of the History of Ideas. George Esenwein's entry for 'Anarchism' (2005) includes video resources (Chomsky, Alan Moore, Anarchists in the Spanish Revolution) as well as a concise, interesting bibliography of primary and secondary sources, available at www.encyclopedia.com/topic/anarchism.aspx.

Documentary Histories

Antliff, Allan (ed.), *Only A Beginning: An Anarchist Anthology* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2004). Traces a history of Canadian anarchism from the 1976, the foundation of the journal *Open Road* through flyers, posters, websites and journals.

Avrich, Paul, *The Anarchists in the Russian Revolution* (London: Thames Hudson, 1973).

Avrich, Paul, *Anarchist Voices: An Oral History of Anarchism in America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995; Oakland, CA and Edinburgh: AK Press, 2005).

Bozóki, András and Miklós Sükösd (eds), Magyar anarchizmus: a magyarországi anarchizmus történeti dokumentumaiból, 1881–1919 [Hungarian Anarchism: From the Historical Documents of Anarchism in Hungary, 1991–1919] (*Budapest: Balassi, 1998*).

Carey Hurley, Adrienne (ed.), *Documentary History of Anarchism in Japan* (Oakland: PM Press, 2012, forthcoming).

Development of Melbourne Anarchism: Drafts, Documents & Articles, 1966–1973 (*Melbourne: The Archives, 1975*). *Online at www.takver.com/history/melb/maa01.htm*.

Emma Goldman: A Documentary History of the American Years, edited by Candace Falk, Barry Pateman and Jessica M. Moran (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003–5).

Graham, Robert, *Anarchism: A Documentary History of Libertarian Ideas*; Vol. 1, *From Anarchy to Anarchism (300 CE to 1939)* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 2005); Vol. 2, *The Emergence of the New Anarchism 1939–1977* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 2011); Vol. 3, *The Anarchist Current (1974–2010)* is forthcoming. These volumes chart a history of ideas, rather than movements, but the material is drawn from diverse cultural contexts. More information is available at <http://robertgraham.wordpress.com/about/>.

Guérin, Daniel, *Ni Dieu Ni Maître: Anthologie De L'Anarchisme* (nouvelle édition) (Paris: F. Maspero, 1970), 4 vols. English translation, *No Gods No Masters* (Oakland, CA and Edinburgh: AK Press, 2006). Includes documents, letters, manifestos and reports.

Guillaume, James, *L'Internationale: Documents et Souvenirs (1864–1878)*, 4 vols (Paris: Société Nouvelle de Librairie et D'Édition, 1905). Classic anarchist account of the First International. Read online at Open Library <http://www.archive.org/stream/linternationale>

Letters from Russian Prisons, Reprints of documents by political prisoners in Soviet prisons, official statements, affidavits and other documents (New York: International Committee for Political Prisoners, Albert and Charles Boni, 1925).

Libertaire Group, Japan, *A Short History of the Anarchist Movement in Japan* (Tokyo: Idea Publishing House, 1979). Historical sketch with writings by Japanese anarchists, including Kotoku and Osugi.

Maksimov, G. P. (Maximoff), *The Guillotine at Work: Twenty Years of Terror in Russia* (Chicago, IL: The Chicago Section of the Alexander Berkman Fund, 1940). Includes documents from the archive of the All-Russian anarcho-syndicalist confederation and bulletins of the Aid committee, in which letters by political prisoners and exiles were published. An English translation of Maximoff's eyewitness account of the terror *The Guillotine at Work: The Leninist Counter-Revolution* was published by Black Thorn Books in 1979 but the supporting documents were not reprinted.

Skirda, Alexandre, Nestor Makhno, le cosaque libertaire 1888–1934: La guerre civile en Ukraine, 1917–1921, 3rd edn (Paris: Editions de Paris, 1999). *Essays and documents. English edition: Nestor Makhno – Anarchy’s Cossack: The Struggle for Free Soviets in the Ukraine, 1917–1921 (Oakland, CA and Edinburgh: AK Press, 2004).*

The Angry Brigade 1967–1984: Documents and Chronology (introduction by Jean Weir). All the communiqués and a supporting analysis (London: Elephant Editions, 1985; 2nd edn, 2006).

The Radical Reader: A Documentary History of the American Radical Tradition, ed. T. P. McCarthy, J. C. McMillan and E. Foner (New York: New Press, 2011). Primary documents from a range of radical movements, including feminist, socialist, abolitionist and gay and lesbian activist groups.

Dissertations

Dissertations online. A facility provided by the Research on Anarchism forum. The English language facility is not yet very well exploited (<http://raforum.info/spip.php?rubrique609>) but the French language site has a number of unpublished masters’ dissertations and doctoral theses, and extremely useful bibliographies: <http://raforum.info/?lang=fr>. A new project to catalogue abstracts has been launched on Anarchist Developments in Cultural Studies site: www.anarchist-developments.org/index.php/adcs/thesis. This list is exportable.

Recent Dissertations in American and European Labor History, ed. L. Cohen and H. Chapman, *Labor History*, 24(4) (1983), 546–64. Available at www.tandfonline.com/action/aboutThisJournal?journalCode=clah20. List with abstracts of PhD dissertations completed in American universities during 1981–83. Further lists also include dissertations completed in European universities: vol. 25(4) (1984), 558–64; vol. 26(4) (1985), 569–76; vol. 27(4), 545–8. In vol. 28(4) (1987), information about dissertations and research in progress was included in the annual bibliography on American labour history, edited by Dorothy Swanson. The last annual bibliography appeared in vol. 42(4) (2001), edited by Peter Meyer Filardo. Peter Meyer Filardo published an annual bibliography for United States communist history in *American Communist History*, a non-partisan journal for scholarship about the history of the Communist Party in the United States, www.tandfonline.com/action/aboutThisJournal?journalCode=rach20.

Review Journals

Alternative Press Review, at <http://www.altpr.org/>.

Cienfuegos Press Review of Anarchist Literature (1–6, 1976–82). An illustrated collection of reviews published in six parts by academics and activists, covering

a broad spectrum of work (Huddersfield: Cienfuegos Press, 1976). For a description, go to www.katesharpleylibrary.net/dnckhs.

Counterpoise: For Social Responsibilities, Liberty and Dissent. A quarterly international journal for the alternative press, at www.counterpoise.info/.

New Formulation: An Anti-Authoritarian Review of Books. The journal has now ceased publication, but the reviews it published, which examined developments in anarchist theory and politics, are available at www.newformulation.org/index.html.

Political Media Review. Founded in 2009 as a project of the Transformative Studies Institute, the PMR is a not-for-profit and fully volunteer independent review site for social justice media dedicated to promoting, publicizing and being a resource database for social justice films and publications. Available at <http://www.politicalmediareview.org/>.

Utne Reader. A guide to the alternative and independent (including anarchist) press, which reviews an extensive library of magazines, newsletters, journals, weeklies, zines, available at www.utne.com/daily.aspx.

Zube, Kurt (ed.), Radikaler Geist (Berlin: Radikaler Geist). A digest of recommended reading compiled by the individualist anarchist Kurt Zube. The recommendations cover a broad range of radical literatures. Entries include details of work by and about Engels, Kropotkin, Mackay (and writings published under this pseudonym, Sagitta), Lenin, Silvio Gesell, Brecht, Josphe Roth, Freud and Joyce, among many others. Provides a fantastic glimpse into the concerns of a radical movement, immediately prior to its crushing. Published in a number of editions between 1930 and 1933. German language description available at <http://ur.dadaweb.de/dada-p/P0001752.shtml>.

Zines

Grrrl Zine Network. Grrrl, lady, queer and trans folk zines guide, available at www.grrrlzines.net/.

Zineworld: A Readers' Guide to the Underground Press. For information about zines, comics, self-published books and other DiY material, go to www.undergroundpress.org/.

Academic Journals: Special Issues

Antipode: A Radical Journal of Geography. Vol. 10(3) (1978) dedicated to social anarchism; vol. 17(2–3) has a section ‘anarchist leanings’. The journal has a long history of publishing anarchist-inspired research. A special issue on anarchism in 2012 is forthcoming. Available at [http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/10.1111/\(ISSN\)1467-8330](http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/10.1111/(ISSN)1467-8330).

Contemporary Justice Review. Vol. 6(1) (2003), mini symposium on community, including discussions of anarchism and community. Available at <http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/titles/10282580.asp>.

Government and Opposition. Vol. 5(4) (1970), subsequently published as a book, *Anarchism Today*, edited by David Apter and James Joll (London: Macmillan, 1971).

Journal of Chinese Philosophy. Vol. 10(1) (1983). Anarchism and Taoism. Available at [http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/10.1111/\(ISSN\)1540-6253](http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/10.1111/(ISSN)1540-6253).

Journal of Libertarian Studies. This is the journal of the Ludwig von Mises Institute, an organization supported by Murray Rothbard and Friedrich Hayek which promotes the work of Austrian School economics – classical liberal/right-libertarianism. Issue 21(1) (2007) is a special on market anarchism; issue 15(1) (2000) examines boundaries between anarchist traditions. Available online at <http://mises.org/about.aspx>.

Journal of Political Ideologies. Issue on ‘The Libertarian Impulse’, 16(3) (2011), at www.tandf.co.uk/journals/titles/13569317.asp. The journal has published a substantial volume of work on anarchism, libertarianism, eco-anarchism and utopianism and essays by Benjamin Franks, Uri Gordon, Carissa Honeywell, Carl Levy and Saul Newman, among others.

Journal for the Study of Radicalism. Two issues devoted to anarchism, vol. 4(2) (2010) and vol. 5(1) (2011), at www.msupress.msu.edu/journals/jsr/.

L’Homme et la Société. ‘Actualité de l’anarchisme’, 123–4 (1997).

Millenium Journal of International Studies. Papers from a ‘Forum on Anarchism and World Politics’ are published in vol. 39(2) (December 2010), at <http://mil.sagepub.com/content/39/2.toc>.

Sexualities. Vol. 13(4) (August 2010). Contents list at <http://sex.sagepub.com/content/13/4.toc>.

Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society. ‘Comparative Perspectives Symposium: Feminist Zines’, ed. Agatha Beins, 35(1) (Autumn 2009), at www.signs.rutgers.edu/.

SubStance: A Review of Theory and Literary Criticism. ‘The Future of Anarchism’, ed. Benjamin Hutchens, 36(2) (2007). Includes essays by Allan Antliff, Lewis Call, Saul Newman and Todd May. Available at <http://uwpress.wisc.edu/journals/journals/ss.html>.

Working USA: The Journal of Labor and Society. Vol. 12(3) (September 2009), themed ‘The Rebirth of Labor’s Militant Legacy: Anarchism, Syndicalism and Class Struggle’, at [http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/10.1111/\(ISSN\)1743-4580](http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/journal/10.1111/(ISSN)1743-4580).

Bibliographical Essays: A Guide to Non-English Language Sources

The following essays are intended to provide a starting point for researchers interested in literature published in languages other than English. The literatures listed typically focus on the areas of language use: so French language sources on French anarchism, rather than French language sources on anarchism in other areas, or non-French language sources on French anarchism. In some cases, key works on the relevant movements published in non-native languages are also included, as are translations of non-native language works. Contributors have been restricted by considerations of space; and the different formats that the contributions take reflect the very different historical experiences and publishing traditions of anarchism in different geographical locations.

Works on Anarchism: The Low Countries

Bert Altena

Anarchism in Belgium has a longer history than in the Netherlands. It developed from Proudhonism, and this influence dominated Belgian socialism until at least the end of the 1870s. From around 1885 anarchism took root in the Netherlands too. It was inspired by the rise of international anarchism and sprang from a critique of developments within Dutch socialism: its lack of radicalism and the dominance of socialists from bourgeois origin.

There are no up-to-date histories of the anarchist movements in the Netherlands and Belgium which present a comprehensive account from the origins to the present day. In part this can be explained from a lack of academic interest in the anarchist movement, but certain peculiarities of the movements also explain the lack. In Belgium the language divide between Flemish- and French-speaking Belgians seems to have been an important factor, while in the Netherlands the opinions of the most important Dutch anarchist, Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis (1846–1919) are key. He opposed any organization of anarchists as anarchists, because he believed that it was not possible to reach a free society by means, through organizations, which bind freedom. However, he allowed for single-issue organizations, like the anti-militarist movement, teetotal, vegetarian or freethought unions. For the historian this means that anarchists are more likely to be located within these organizations than in the anarchist clubs that dared to oppose the views of Domela Nieuwenhuis. In varying degrees, these organizations incorporated non-anarchists too, however, and this makes it rather difficult to assess the strength of the anarchist movement; moreover, it requires skill not to get lost in an account of the *res gestae* of all the different organizations which anarchists were active in.

From the 1930s onwards and inspired by E. Armand and Wilhelm Reich Dutch anarchists have made an important contribution to the sexual liberation movement, giving Dutch anarchism a new cultural and ethical dimension. This was quite a broad movement which became rejuvenated by Provo actions during the 1960s. Provo was an endogenous concoction of many ingredients, Dutch and international. Starting from nuclear-war disarmament campaigners, Provo was first a movement for cultural liberation and republicanism. It later developed into the source of radical environmentalism, anti-technocratic city development, squatters, etc. As a cultural movement Provo was indebted to many sources of inspiration: Dada, developments in the world of advertising, American Robert Kaprow's happenings (through Constant Nieuwenhuys), the Situationist International, the tradition of direct action.

Belgium and the Netherlands

Books

Moulaert, Jan, *De Vervloekte Staat: Anarchisme in Frankrijk, Nederland en België 1890–1914* (The Damned State: Anarchism in France, the Netherlands and Belgium 1890–1914) (Berchem: EPO, 1981).

Articles

Altena, Bert 'Anarchisme in België en Nederland (1885–2000)' in Henri Arvon (ed.), *Het Anarchisme* ('s-Hertogenbosch: Voltaire, 2002), pp. 113–43.

Belgium

Books: General

Faes, Andreas, *Hedendaags anarchisme in Nederland en Vlaanderen, 1933–2000* (Contemporary Anarchism in the Netherlands and Flanders, 1933–2000), 2008, at www.docstoc.com/docs/432088/Faes-Hedendaags-anarchisme-in-Nederland-en-Vlaanderen-_1933-2000_.

Inghels, J., *Le mouvement anarchiste en Belgique francophone de 1945 à 1970: vingt-cinq ans d'anarchie* (MA thesis, Free University of Brussels, 2002).

Lannoy, P., *de Anarchisme in België tijdens het interbellum: organisatorische onmacht troef* (Anarchism in Belgium during the Interbellum Years: Organizational Impotence as Trumps) (MA thesis, Free University of Brussels, 1993).

Morelli, Anne, Rubino, l'anarchiste italien qui tenta d'assassiner Leopold II (*Loverval: Éditions Labor, 2006*); Morelli, Anne, Rubino: de aanslag op Leopold II (Berchem: EPO, 2009).

Moulaert, Jan, *Rood en Zwart: de anarchistische beweging in België 1880–1914* (Leuven: Davidsfonds, 1995); Moulaert, Jan, *Le Mouvement Anarchiste en Belgique: 1880–1914*, trans. Sophie Hauptert and Vincent Vagman (Ottignies: Quorum, 1996).

Local

Wouters, Dirk, *De Mechelse anarchisten (1893–1914) in het kader van de opkomst van het Socialisme (The anarchists of Mechelen (1893–1914) within the Framework of the Rise of Socialism)* (*Bonheiden: Wouters, 1981*).

The Netherlands: General

Altena, Bert, 'Nawoord: Piet Honig 1866–1953' ('Epilogue: Piet Honig 1866–1953') in Piet Honig (ed.), *Herinneringen van een Rotterdams Revolutionair. Bezorgd door Bert Altena* (Utrecht: Kelderuitgeverij, 2005), pp. 355–413.

Altena, Bert and Homme Wedman, *Tussen anarchisme en sociaal-democratie. 'Het Revolutionaire Kommunisme' van Christiaan Cornelissen (1864–1943) (Between Anarchism and Social-Democracy. Cornelissen's (1864–1943) 'Revolutionary Communism')* (*Bergen: Anarchistische Uitgaven, 1985*).

Ariëns, Hans, Laurens Berentsen and Frank Hermans, *Religieus anarchisme in Nederland tussen 1918 en 1940; in het rijk der vrijheid (Religious Anarchism in the Netherlands between 1918 and 1940: In Freedom's Realm)* (*Zwolle: Stichting Voorlichting Actieve Geweldloosheid, 1984*).

Bultsma, Volkert and Evert van der Tuin, *Het Nederlandsch Syndicalistisch Vakverbond 1923–1940 (The Dutch Revolutionary Syndicalist Federation 1923–1940)* (*Amsterdam: Anarchistische Uitgaven, 1980*).

Gasenbeek, Bert, Rudolf de Jong and Pieter Edelman, *Anton Constandse. Leven tegen de stroom in (Anton Constandse. A Life against the Current)* (Breda en Utrecht: De papieren tijger/Het humanistisch archief, 1999).

Heijmans, Greet and Annelies Koster, *De I.A.M.V. van 1904 tot 1921: geschiedenis van de internationale anti-militaristische vereniging (The International Antimilitarist Association from 1904 Until 1921: A History of the International Antimilitarist Association)* (*Zwolle: Stichting Voorlichting Actieve Geweldloosheid, 1984*).

Jochheim, Gernot, *Antimilitaristische Aktionstheorie, soziale Revolution und soziale Verteidigung. Zur Entwicklung der Gewaltfreiheitstheorie in der europäischen antimilitaristischen und sozialistischen Bewegung 1890–1940. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Niederlande (Antimilitarist Theory of Action, Social Revolution and Social Defense. On the Development of Non-Violent Theory in the European Antimilitarist and Socialist Movements 1890–1940 with Special Attention to the Netherlands)* (*Assen: Van Gorcum, 1977*).

de Jong, Rudolf, 'Provos and Kabouters' in David Apter and James Joll (eds), *Anarchism Today* (London: MacMillan, 1971), pp. 164–80.

—, 'Le Mouvement Libertaire aux Pays-Bas', *Le Mouvement Social*, 107 (1973), 167–80.

Kempton, Richard, *Provo. Amsterdam's Anarchist Revolt* (New York: Autonomedia, 2007).

de Lange, Dennis, *Selbstreform ist Lebensreform' Het tolstojanisme als sociale beweging (To Reform Oneself is to Reform Life' Tolstoyanism as a Social Movement)* (Utrecht: Kelderuitgeverij, 2010).

Meyers, Jan, *Domela, een hemel op aarde. Leven en streven van Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis (Domela, a Heaven on Earth. Life and Struggles of Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis)* (Amsterdam: Arbeiderspers, 1995).

Pas, Niek, *Imaazje! De verbeelding van Provo 1965–1967 (Imaazje! Provo's imagination 1965–1967)* (Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek, 2003).

Ramaer, Hans, *De piramide der tirannie. Anarchisten in Nederland (The Pyramid of Tyranny. Anarchists in the Netherlands)* (Amsterdam: Wetenschappelijke Uitgeverij, 1977).

Tasman, Coen, *Louter Kabouter. Kroniek van een beweging 1969–1974 (Pure Kabouter. Chronicle of a Movement 1969–1974)* (Amsterdam: Babylon-de Geus, 1996).

Welcker, J. M., *Heren en arbeiders in de vroege Nederlandse arbeidersbeweging 1870–1914 (Gentlemen and Workers in the Early Dutch Labour Movement 1870–1914)* (Amsterdam: Van Genneep, 1978).

Local

Altena, Bert, 'Een broeinest der anarchie'. Arbeiders, arbeidersbeweging en maatschappelijke ontwikkeling. Vlissingen 1875–1929 (1940) ('A Hotbed of Anarchy'. Workers, Labour Movement and Societal Development. Flushing 1875–1929 (1940)) (Amsterdam: Thesis, 1989).

Schuur, J. R. G., *Appelscha: bolwerk van anarchisme en radicaal socialisme (Appelscha: Stronghold of Anarchism and Radical Socialism)* (Oosterwolde: Stichting Stellingwarver Schrieversronte, 1996).

Anarchist periodicals from the past will be found in the publications above. To these may be added for Belgium: *Alternative Libertaire* (1997–2005); *De Nar, anarchistisch actieblad* (1986–); *Perspectief: anarchistisch tijdschrift*, edited by Libertaire Studiegroep Gent (1986–1999). For the Netherlands: *de AS, anarchistisch tijdschrift* (1972–); *Bluf* (1982–88); *Buiten de Orde, uitgave van de Vrije Bond, anarchistische zelforganisatie* (1984–); *Ravage* (1989–2005).

Anarchism in France

David Berry

This is about French-language sources about anarchism and anarchists in France, and where to find them. It is not about French-language works on anarchist politics or philosophy, even when written by anarchists, except in so far as these works specifically concern individuals, events or debates within the French anarchist movement. The bibliography below does not therefore list, for instance, the writings of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon or Daniel Guérin, but it does list some publications *about* Proudhon and

Guérin. Nor does it list French-language books about anarchism in general, except where it seemed sensible to include such books (e.g. the general studies by Manfredonia, Préposiet and Ragon) because they are rather Franco-centric and include detailed discussion of particular French anarchists or the French anarchist movement. Similarly, Pereira's short, basic and otherwise general introduction to anarchism is here because it includes a section on various anarchist organizations in France today, as well as a useful list of French-language, anarchist websites. Finally, there is also the long-standing debate about how we decide which individuals and which groups should be counted as 'anarchist'. For reasons of practicality and because this is intended as a *starting-point* for research, only those who self-identify as anarchists will be included here. This has meant, for example, that I have omitted some very interesting publications – notably some produced by the anarchist publisher, Atelier de création libertaire – about the 'alternative scene' in Lyon, for example, or about 'political squats' in Paris and Lyon.

The historiography of anarchism has always been dogged by the persistence of a cluster of stereotypes such that one writer in the 1970s felt compelled to entitle an article 'Les Anarchistes Doux', simply because it did not concern itself with violent marginals. A number of chronicles – such as those by Salmon, Sergent or Ulrich – although not without interest, have tended to adopt a sensationalist, journalistic approach, concentrating on the individualists, the terrorists, the illegalists or the moralists. More recently, writers such as Caruchet have chosen to devote yet more space to the 'illegalists' of the Bonnot gang, Ravachol is still a popular subject and a chapter in Pierre Miquel's *La Main courante. Les archives indiscrettes de la Police parisienne, 1900–1945* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1997) lumps together anarchists, thugs, 'apaches', child beaters, prostitutes and petty criminals under the title 'Le Paris des anarchistes et l'anarchie de Paris'. Such misrepresentations have of course been paralleled by those produced over the years by communists, and the post-war intellectual dominance of one form of Marxism or another in French university history departments (particularly in labour history) was not conducive to the development of serious study of anarchism. Fortunately, this is now changing, despite some recent attempts to draw parallels between the 'propagande par le fait' period and contemporary terrorism.

For many years the only real attempt to produce a properly researched historical study of the French anarchist movement was Jean Maitron's doctoral thesis – the first doctoral thesis, I believe, to be written in France on the subject of the anarchist movement – published as *Histoire du mouvement anarchiste en France (1880–1914)* in 1951. However, only after the 1960s, and particularly after 1968, did anarchism – in France as elsewhere – become the subject of a revival of interest. A number of master's dissertations and doctoral theses were undertaken in the 1970s and this unpublished research, together with Maitron's more or less regular updates on research on anarchism and related areas published in the labour history journal *Mouvement Social* culminated in the publication of *Le mouvement anarchiste en France* by Maitron, the second volume of which took the story up to 1975. Despite the appearance of many other studies since then, and despite the fact that it is in some respects dated,

this probably remains the best starting point for anybody beginning research on the history of French anarchism. Although Vivien Bouhey's central thesis regarding the role of networks in anarchist organization before 1914 has not convinced everybody, the extensive bibliography in his *Les Anarchistes contre la République (1880–1914)*, which includes archives and unpublished academic studies, is up-to-date and very useful; the original, quasi-exhaustive list of sources from the unpublished thesis (of which the book is an abridged version) is available on the Research on Anarchism site <http://raforum.info/dissertations/spip.php?rubrique59>.¹

The last 30 years or so have seen many unpublished postgraduate dissertations and theses on various aspects of French anarchism. The most important of these is doubtless René Bianco's *Un siècle de presse anarchiste d'expression française dans le monde, 1880–1983* (Doctorat d'Etat, Université de Provence, 1988), which is an essential research tool. Another important PhD thesis – this time for its historiographical contribution regarding recent trends in transnationalism – is Constance Bantman's *Anarchismes et anarchistes en France et en Grande-Bretagne, 1880–1914: Échanges, représentations, transferts* (PhD thesis, Université de Paris 13, 2007).² The same period has seen the appearance of a number of autobiographies of veteran militants (including Georges Fontenis' partially autobiographical study of the generally neglected 'libertarian communist' tradition) and the publication of studies by both British and North American scholars (such as Kathryn Amdur, David Berry, Jeremy Jennings, Richard Sonn, Wayne Thorpe and K. Steven Vincent) and French scholars (such as Claire Auzias, Nathalie Brémand, Daniel Colson, Gaetano Manfredonia, Thierry Maricourt, Alain Pessin and others). It is clear from the annual bibliographical updates produced by Felip Equy since 1994 (<http://cira.marseille.free.fr/includes/textes/textes.php>) that the last 10–20 years have seen a burgeoning of publications on anarchism and, indeed, of anarchist publishing houses (getting on for 20 at the time of writing).

Below I have attempted to provide a selective list of publications, plus information about a number of websites which are very helpful for researchers.

General histories

Guillemainault, Gilbert and André Mahé, *L'épopée de la Révolte: Le roman vrai d'un siècle d'anarchie (1862–1962)* (Paris: Denoël, 1963).

Maitron, Jean, *Le mouvement anarchiste en France vol. I: Des origines à 1914; vol. II: De 1914 à nos jours* (Paris: Maspero, 1975).

Manfredonia, Gaetano, 'Persistance et actualité de la culture politique libertaire', in Serge Berstein (ed.), *Les cultures politiques en France* (Paris: Seuil, 1999), pp. 243–83.

¹ Constance Bantman, 'The Recent Historiography of French Anarchism: Terrorists, Networks, Transnationalism, and a Few Polemics', *Modern & Contemporary France*, 18(3) (2010), 383–9.

² Cf. Michel Cordillot's work on emigrant French revolutionaries – many of whom were anarchists – in the United States, *Révolutionnaires du Nouveau-Monde* (Montréal: Lux, 2009).

—, ‘Anarchisme’, in Jean-Jacques Becker and Gilles Candar (eds), *Histoire des gauches en France*, vol. I: *L’héritage du XIX^e siècle* (Paris: La Découverte, 2004), pp. 444–62.

—, Anarchisme et changement social: Insurrectionnalisme, Syndicalisme, Educationnisme-réalisateur (*Lyon: Atelier de création libertaire, 2007*).

Préposiet, Jean, *Histoire de l’anarchisme* (Paris: Tallandier, revised and expanded edn, 2005).

Pre-1914

Bouhey, Vivien, Les anarchistes contre la République. Contribution à l’histoire des réseaux sous la Troisième République (1880–1914) (*Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2008*).

Bianco, René, La chanson anarchiste en France des origines à 1914 (*Paris: L’Harmattan, 2000*).

Clarté, Abel, ‘Les Anarchistes Doux’, *Les dossiers de l’histoire*, 13 (May–June 1978), 88–9.

Cordillot, Michel, Aux origines du socialisme moderne: La Première Internationale, la Commune de Paris, l’Exil (*Paris: Editions de l’Atelier, 2010*).

Davranche, Guillaume, ‘Pelloutier, Pouget, Hamon, Lazare et le retour de l’anarchisme au socialisme (1893–1900)’, *Cahiers d’Histoire*, 110 (October–December 2009), 139–61.

Izrine, Jean-Marc, *Les libertaires dans l’affaire Dreyfus* (Paris: Editions Alternative libertaire/Le Coquelicot, 2004).

Manfredonia, Gaetano (ed.), *Les Anarchistes et la Révolution Française* (Paris: Editions du Monde Libertaire, 1990).

Michel, Louise, *La Commune: Histoire et souvenirs* (Paris: La Découverte, 2005[1898]).

Nataf, André, La Vie quotidienne des Anarchistes en France, 1890–1910 (*Paris: Hachette, 1986*).

Pessin, Alain, *La rêverie anarchiste, 1848–1914* (Lyon: Atelier de création libertaire, 1999).

Pessin, Alain and Mimmo Pucciarelli (ed.), *Lyon et l’esprit proudhonien: Actes du colloque de Lyon, 6 et 7 decembre 2002* (Lyon: Atelier de création libertaire, 2003).

Salmon, André, *La Terre Noire: chronique du mouvement libertaire* (Paris: Jean-Jacques Pauvert, 1959).

Sergent, Alain, *Les Anarchistes: Scènes et Portraits* (Paris: Frédéric Chambriand, 1951).

Steiner, Anne, Les En-Dehors. Anarchistes individualistes et illégalistes à la ‘Belle Epoque’ (*Montreuil: L’Echappée, 2007*).

Ulrich, Paul (ed.), *Histoire de l’Anarchie*, 2 vols (Geneva: Famot, 1974).

Post-1914

Biard, Roland, Histoire du mouvement anarchiste 1945–1975 (*Paris: Galilée, 1976*).

Bourseiller, Christophe, Histoire générale de l’ultra-gauche (Situationnistes, conseillistes, communistes de conseils, luxemburgistes, communistes de gauche, marxistes libertaires, communistes libertaires, anarchistes-communistes, gauches communistes ...) (*Paris: Denoël, 2003*).

Collectif, La culture libertaire. Actes du colloque de Grenoble, mars 1996 (*Lyon: Atelier de création libertaire, 1997*).

Manfredonia, Gaetano, ‘L’anarchisme au XXe siècle: de la crise au renouveau’ in Jean-Jacques Becker and Gilles Candar (eds), *Histoire des gauches en France*, vol. II: *XXe siècle: à l’épreuve de l’histoire* (Paris: La Découverte, 2004), pp. 135–45.

Hirou, Jean-Pierre, Du trotskysme au communisme libertaire – Itinéraire d’un militant révolutionnaire (*La Bussière: Acratie, 2003*).

Joyeux, Maurice, *L’Hydre de Lerne* (Paris: Editions du Monde libertaire, 1967).

Noir et Rouge: Cahiers d’Etudes Anarchistes Révolutionnaires. Anthologie 1956–1970 (*Paris: Spartacus, 1982*).

Moulain, Stéphane, ‘Anarchismes’, in Antoine Artous, Didier Epszajn and Patrick Silberstein (eds), *La France années 1968* (Paris: Editions Syllepse, 2008), pp. 103–17.

Pereira, Irène, *Anarchistes* (Montreuil: Editions La Ville brûle, 2009).

Pucciarelli, Mimmo, *L’imaginaire des libertaires aujourd’hui* (Lyon: Atelier de création libertaire, 1999).

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Anarchism, Anarcho-Syndicalism and the Libertarian Movement in Spain, Portugal and Latin America

Richard Cleminson

Historically, Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking countries have been very receptive to anarchism. This is especially the case in Iberia (Spain and Portugal) and some Latin American countries such as Argentina and Brazil. Among the Caribbean countries, Cuba also established an influential anarchist and syndicalist current. As was the case for most expressions of European anarchism, the 1920s and 1930s were years of zenith and subsequent decay for the libertarian movements of Iberia; the Spanish example

being the protagonist of the most acclaimed anarchist revolution in history before the defeat of its social and political project by Nationalist forces under General Francisco Franco, and, the Portuguese case having succumbed to the dictatorship of António Salazar, which was consolidated in the early 1930s. In the Latin American case, as Cappelletti and Rama (1990: XII) have pointed out, similar circumstances signified the curtailment of anarchism: first, a series of more or less fascistic military coups in the 1930s; secondly, the rise of the Communist Party and the apparent success of the Russian Revolution; thirdly, the influence of Nationalist-Populist movements, commonly linked to dictatorial aspirations and regimes. This contribution focuses first on Spain, then Latin America and finally on Portugal, with some remarks at the end on necessary new directions for the research of anarchism in these spheres.

The establishment of early representations of the International Working Men's Association and its Bakuninist interpretation in Spain has been detailed by historical work such as that by Josep Termes and the debates present within late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century Spanish anarchism, together with the discussions on the desirability or otherwise of anarchist participation in workers' unions, have been amply set out with extensive reference to a wide variety of sources by José Alvarez Junco (1976). Alvarez Junco's book also plotted the intricate debates among anarchists with respect to the question of science, the role of the family, utopia, direct action and morality. The specific contributions to anarchist interpretations of society by individuals such as Juan Montseny, Tarrida del Mármol, Anselmo Lorenzo, Ricardo Mella and Fermín Salvochea, many of whom are barely known of in English-language circles, constitute another hallmark of Alvarez Junco's volume.

It was the creation of the CNT (Confederación Nacional del Trabajo or National Confederation of Labour) in 1910 that was to become one of the lasting emblems of Spanish anarchism, an organization that still exists today (www.cnt.es). The list of publications in Spanish on this organization is prodigious; of note are works from a diversity of perspectives such as the three-volume history of the CNT by José Peirats (1971), now translated into English by Chris Ealham and Paul Sharkey, polemics on the limits of syndicalism and the actions of the CNT in the Civil War (Peiró 1936) and distanced reassessments of the CNT by Casanova (1997) and from within the movement by Abel Paz. Interesting perspectives on the nature of the CNT's regional organizations have been provided by Barrio Alonso (1988) on Asturias, Pereira (1994) on Galicia, Casanova (1985) on Aragon and Gutiérrez Molina (1993) on Andalusia. From the 1930s, the contributions of Eleuterio Quintanilla provide an acute account of the divisions in the national CNT over the wisdom of joining the Workers' Alliance with the Socialist UGT as well as a history of the CNT in Asturias.

The CNT could only exist and could only have achieved what it did, however, because it was accompanied by a wider periphery of associated groups, organizations and individuals, injecting a broader programme of action than any narrow form of syndicalism would imply. In this sense, the battle over culture was an integral part of the anarcho-syndicalists' and the anarchists' struggle. The problematic overlap between

anarchism and the women's movement, alongside the question of sexuality, has been analysed by Mary Nash (1976), Martha Ackelsberg, Espigado Tocino (2002), Vega (2010) and Richard Cleminson (2008), while the broader cultural question has been extensively related in a trio of books by Navarro Navarro (1997, 2002, 2004). Theatre and the revolution has been briefly discussed by Foguet i Boreu (2002) and the youth organization, the FIJL, is the subject of García and Alaiz (1979) and by the Jóvenes Anarcosindicalistas (www.cgtpv.org/IMG/pdf/Especial_1_.pdf).

The defeat in the Civil War and the subsequent exile gave rise to a prolific literature of varying quality. The democratic regime established after Franco's death and the recent movement for the recuperation of historical memory over the period from the 1930s to the end of the dictatorship in the 1970s have provided the circumstances for renewed historiography, with an appraisal of the role of the CNT in the 'democratic transition' (García Rúa 2008), revised histories of the CNT (Herrerín López 2004; Marin 2010; Saña 2010) and a celebratory anniversary account (Calero Delso 2010). In addition to the work on the more labour-oriented aspects of anarcho-syndicalism, the Civil War and the anarchist collectives, anarchist pedagogy has received attention (Solà 1978; Escrivá Moscardó 2011), as has anarchist 'ecology' (Masjuan 2000), the existence of anarchist individualist currents and their reception of ideas on sexuality (Díez 2001), the nationalist question in Catalan (Vargas-Golarons et al. 1987) and the history of the Federación Anarquista Ibérica (Iberian Anarchist Federation), the FAI (Gómez Casas 2002).

An overview of anarchism in its diversity on a historical level, edited by Tavera (2002) in the prestigious historical journal *Ayer*, chimes in with the establishment of a specific journal for Spanish anarchist history, *Germinal*. Websites containing historical material, films and current-day debates and positions can be accessed at www.cnt.es, www.alasbarricadas.es and www.cgt.es and at the now inactive www.spunk.org.

One principal schism within the libertarian movement in Spain continues to be the value and action of syndicalism, with the CNT having split several times since the transition. This situation seems to have more or less stabilized into the existence of the historical CNT, still affiliated to the International Workers' Association (IWA) and the CGT, which stands for union elections and effectively receives state funding and privilege for doing so. A further split resulted in the creation of Solidaridad Obrera. All claim some affiliation with anarchist ideology, although the degree of familiarity with and support for libertarian ideas among their membership is open to debate.

In terms of archive resources, the Fundación Anselmo Lorenzo, Madrid (<http://fal.cnt.es/>), is a major resource, duplicating in some cases the deposits in the International Institute for Social History, Amsterdam (www.iisg.nl/). Also of note are the Centre International de Recherches sur l'Anarchisme at Lausanne, Switzerland (www.cira.ch/) and the Fundación Salvador Seguí, whose website contains links to other relevant labour movement archives (www.fundacionssegui.org/). The Spanish state's archive, the Archivo General de la Administración (www.mcu.es/archivos/MC/

AGA/index.html) contains materials on the social history of Spain leading up to the Civil War and beyond.

Latin America

A good recent overview of the continent is contained in Gómez Muller (2009) and the already mentioned Cappelletti and Rama (1990). Cappelletti and Rama provide the more extensive volume, covering more countries, while Gómez Muller focuses on Colombia, Brazil, Argentina and Mexico. Argentina, of all the Latin American countries, was perhaps the one with the most extensive and most effective anarcho-syndicalist movement, encapsulated in the FORA (Abad de Santillán 1971). The Brazilian socialist and trade union movement has its historian in Edgar Rodrigues (1969) and his many other works, and the anarcho-syndicalist COB, while Frank Fernández (2000), member of the Cuban Anarchist Movement in Exile, is the author of numerous texts on the contribution of anarchists to the struggle against dictatorship of one form or another in the Caribbean island. On the Chilean anarchist and early syndicalist movement Míguez Meta and Vivanco Huerta (n.d.) and Sanhueza Tohá (1997) can be consulted. For more up-to-date analysis and commentary, the Comisión de Relaciones Anarquistas which publishes *El Libertario* has resources in Spanish and English at www.nodo50.org/ellibertario/index.html including one on the history of anarchism in the country. An ongoing issue for many Latin American anarchist movements has been their relationship with existing political formations, their interpretation of the ‘Bolivarian’ revolution and independence from political parties. Despite these differences, for nearly 15 years, the electronic discussion board ‘Anarqlat’ has run, providing contact between anarchists in 28 countries, some outside Latin America (<https://lists.riseup.net/www/info/anarqlat>). The ‘Zapatista’ uprising in Mexico has provided a vast amount of material in Spanish; given the extensive amount of texts in English, however, the EZLN (Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional, Zapatista Army of National Liberation) is not covered here.

The Latin American anarchist movement may appear to be more fragmented than its Spanish or Portuguese counterpart, the result of different historical realities, interpretations and rivalries. Within Colombia, for example, small organizations literally struggle for physical survival and numerous groups, small initiatives and federations claim an anarchist trajectory, such as the Amigos de la AIT and the Coordinadora Libertaria Banderas Negras (www.banderasnegras.8m.com/) or the more localized Centro Social y Cultural Libertario in Medellín (<http://distribuidorarojinegro.blogspot.com/2011/04/centro-social-y-cultural-libertario-en.html>), which houses a Libertarian Studies group and organizes cultural activity such as film presentations. The Anarchist Black Cross has representation in Colombia, as it does in many Latin American countries, as a member of the Coordinadora (<http://elementohurbano.tripod.com/>). Many of these initiatives possess websites; some of these are ephemeral and there is a need for a body of printed works on the history and present of the movement across the continent.

Part of the process of recuperation of older movements and a fillip to existing ones, such as the highly active Federación Libertaria Argentina (FLA), is the existence of two major archives containing libertarian materials. The first of these, the archive of the FLA, has produced two catalogues of the materials housed by them (FLA-BAEL 2002 and FLA-BAEL 2005). CeDInCI (www.cedinci.org/) a Marxist-inspired project, is another valuable resource for libertarian materials and smaller archives, such as the José Ingenieros archive (www.nodo50.org/bpji/) are important for the conservation of anarchist materials.

Portugal

The material available on Portuguese anarchism in English is scant; in Portuguese it is more extensive and reflects the historical CGT (Rodrigues 1982a), general anarchist opposition to the dictatorship (Rodrigues 1982b) and a historical overview in Fonseca (1988), the implantation of anarchist thought and practice among the Portuguese working class in the first four decades of the twentieth century (Freire 1992; now in English, Freire 2001), several articles on related topics in the journal *Análise Social* (e.g. Freire and Lousada 1982), an overview of an exhibition on the history of anarchism in the National Library (Cabral 1987). More recent accounts have focused on the relations between anarchists and republicans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, connexions that were the source of controversy at the time, producing those more ‘possibilist’ anarchists who supported the 1910 Republic (Ventura 2000) (a similar rupture in anarchist lines was provoked by the closer proximity of some anarchists to the Spanish Republic of 1931).

The Inventory of the Arquivo Histórico Social, based at the National Library of Portugal (www.bnportugal.pt/) is a prime source for the materials of former militants of the Portuguese anarchist movement and contains books on the history of the movement, letters, issues of periodicals and journals and a large range of internal documents.

Final note

Clearly, the resources available for research into anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism in Iberia and Latin America are extensive (we have not detailed them all here), but there is an evident need for in-depth histories and present-day analyses of the movement’s past and current trajectories. Websites and organizations, some of which are ephemeral, are at present some of the main sources for this kind of material in Latin America.

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Ventura, António, *Anarquistas, republicanos e socialistas em Portugal. As convergências possíveis (1892–1910)* (Lisbon: Edições Cosmos, 2000).

Websites

www.alasbarricadas.org.

Confederación General del Trabajo: www.cgt.es.

Confederación Nacional del Trabajo: www.cnt.es.

Historia de las Juventudes Libertarias: www.cgtpv.org/IMG/pdf/Especial_1_.pdf.

Cruz Negra Anarquista – Bta: <http://elementohurbano.tripod.com/>.

El Libertario: www.nodo50.org/ellibertario/index.html.

Anarqlat: <https://lists.riseup.net/www/info/anarqlat>.

Spunk Library archive: www.spunk.org.

Italian Anarchism

Pietro Di Paola

In the nineteenth century, the Italian anarchist movement followed Bakunin's ideas on anarcho-collectivism and then moved to anarcho-communism under the influence of Kropotkin and Malatesta. In the last decade of the century, during the 'era of propaganda by the deed', violent polemics and conflicts divided 'organizationalists' from 'individualists', in particular those of the *Libera Iniziativa*. However, the anarcho-communists remained predominant in the anarchist movement. Anarcho-syndicalism, which promoted the idea of insurrection through the general strike, emerged at the beginning of the twentieth century. Different ideas about the role of trade unions in the struggle for the social revolution and of the general strike divided the anarchist movement. This dispute characterized the debate at the International Anarchist Congress in Amsterdam in 1907, particularly between Errico Malatesta and Pierre Monatte. The anarcho-syndicalists contributed to the constitution of the *Unione Sindacale Italiana*. The USI reached the peak of its influence during the 'Two Red Years' in 1919–21. In 1920 the Italian anarchists founded the *Unione Anarchica Italiana*. After the Fascist period this was re-established as *Federazione Anarchica Italiana* in 1945. Beside the FAI, the other principal organizations are the Federazione dei Comunisti Anarchici (FdCA) and the Federazione Anarchica Siciliana (FAS). The anarchist movement is also composed of a multitude of individuals and affinity groups. Anti-racism, anti-fascism, anti-militarism and campaigns in defense of the environment are among their main areas of actions. Self-managed communities like Urupia (<http://urupia.wordpress.com>), Libera (www.libera-unidea.org) and Federazione municipale di base are endeavouring to practice libertarian principles.

Literature

The most comprehensive surveys of Italian anarchism in the nineteenth century are the classic *Storia degli anarchici italiani da Bakunin a Malatesta 1862–1892* (Rizzoli, 1969) and *Storia degli anarchici italiani nell'epoca degli attentati* (Rizzoli, 1974 and 1981) both by Pier Carlo Masini. *Il sol dell'avvenire. L'anarchismo in Italia dalle origini alla Prima Guerra mondiale* (BFS, 1999) by Maurizio Antonioli and Pier Carlo Masini is a history of the main trends that characterized the anarchist movement (individualism, organizationalism and syndicalism). Luigi Di Lembo provided a comprehensive analysis of the anarchist movement in the period between the two world wars in *Guerra di classe e lotta umana. L'anarchismo in Italia dal Biennio rosso alla Guerra di Spagna 1929–1939* (BFS, 2001). The role played by the anarchists in the anti-fascist movement is the focal point of the books by Fabrizio Giulietti *Il movimento anarchico italiano nella lotta contro il fascismo 1927–1945* (Lacaita, 2004) and AA.VV. *La Resistenza Sconosciuta* (Edizioni Zero in Condotta 2005). Franco Schirone, *La Gioventù Anarchica negli anni delle contestazioni 1965–1969* (Zero in Condotta, 2006) reconstructs the anarchist movement and the social protests in the 1960s. The Piazza Fontana bombing, one of the most dramatic and controversial events of that period, has been analysed by Luciano Lanza in *Bombe e Segreti* (Eleuthera, 2005).

Antonioli has written extensively on anarcho-syndicalism: *Azione diretta e organizzazione operaia: sindacalismo rivoluzionario e anarchismo tra la fine dell'Ottocento e il fascismo* (Lacaita, 1990) and *Armando Borghi e l'Unione Sindacale Italiana* (Lacaita, 1991). Several biographies have been published on the leading figure Errico Malatesta: Giampietro Berti, *Errico Malatesta e il movimento anarchico italiano e internazionale (1872–1932)* (Franco Angeli, 2003) and E. Malatesta, *Autobiografia mai scritta. Ricordi 1853–1932* (eds P. Brunello and P. Di Paola) (Edizioni Spartaco, 2003). In the spring of 2011 appeared the first of 10 volumes of the complete writings and letters of Errico Malatesta edited by D. Turcato: *E. Malatesta, Opere complete* (Edizioni Zero in Condotta, La Fiaccola, 2011). Masini wrote the biography of Cafiero (Rizzoli, 1974); Santi Fedele reconstructed the life of another leading figure: *Luigi Fabbri. Un libertario contro il bolscevismo e il fascismo* (BFS, 2006). The life and thoughts of Camillo Berneri have been explored by Carlo De Maria in *Camillo Berneri, tra anarchismo e liberalismo* (Franco Angeli, 2004). For the history of the Italian anarchist exiles in Switzerland, see the excellent monograph by Maurizio Binaghi, *Addio, Lugano bella* (La Baronata, 1997). The movement in Brasil has been studied by Edgar Rodrigues, *Lavoratori italiani in Brasile* (Casalvelino Scalo, 1985).

Extremely helpful are the two volumes of the *Dizionario Biografico degli anarchici Italiani* (BFS, 2003–4), and *Rivoluzionari e migranti. Dizionario biografico degli anarchici calabresi*, edited by Katia Massara and Oscar Greco (BFS, 2010).

Leonardo Bettini provides a list of all the newspapers published by the Italian anarchists at home and abroad in Leonardo Bettini, *Bibliografia dell'anarchismo, periodici e numeri unici anarchici in lingua italiana pubblicati in Italia e all'estero (1872–1971)*,

(Crescita Politica, 1972 and 1976). There is a wealth of literature in Italian on anarchist thought and ideas, libertarian education and culture, and the history of anarchism in other countries. Massimo Ortalli provided an extensive bibliographical survey in *Leggere l'anarchismo: la storia, le storie, il pensiero* ('A' Rivista anarchica, 2005, n. 311; 2006, n. 344, at www.anarca-bolo.ch/a-rivista/311/dossier.htm; www.anarca-bolo.ch/a-rivista/344/dossier.htm).

A selection of primary documents has been collected in Adriana Dadà, *L'anarchismo in Italia: fra movimento e partito* (Teti, 1984). The proceedings of the Congresses of the FAI in the post-war period have been published by Giorgio Sacchetti and Ugo Fedeli, *Congressi e convegni della Federazione Anarchica Italiana. Atti e documenti 1944-1995* (Centro Studi Libertari Camillo Di Sciullo, 2003).

Archives-libraries

For the study of the Italian anarchist movement, the Archivio Centrale dello Stato in Rome is essential. In particular, the collection Casellario Politico Centrale keeps all the files created by the police on subversive militants. Another relevant collection is the Ministero degli Interni, Divisione Generale di Pubblica Sicurezza (www.acs.beniculturali.it). The Archivio Storico Diplomatico del Ministero degli Affari Esteri (www.esteri.it/MAE/IT/Ministero/Servizi/Italiani/Archivi_Biblioteca/Storico_Diplom/) is valuable for the study of anarchist expatriates. The Archivi di Stato, located in all major towns, are indispensable for researches on local groups or individual militants. Rich documentation, especially for the early period of the labour movement, is available at the Fondazione Giangiacomo Feltrinelli in Milan (www.fondazionefeltrinelli.it). Foreign national archives such as the Archive National in Paris, the Swiss Federal Archives in Berne and the National Archives in Kew (London) are relevant for the studies of Italian anarchist expatriates in Europe. The British Library has a large collection of newspapers published by the Italian anarchists in the United Kingdom.

Extremely fruitful is also the Paul Avrich archive in the Library of Congress (Washington, DC). Italian anarchist newspapers and individual papers can also be found in the Boston Public Library (www.bpl.org/) which holds the archive of *L'Adunata dei Refrattari* and the papers of the Sacco-Vanzetti Defence Committee, the Immigration History Research Center (www.ihrc.umn.edu/) and the Joseph A. Labadie Collection in the Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library, University of Michigan (www.lib.umich.edu/labadie-collection). Documentation on the Italian anarchist movement in South America, and in Brasil in particular, can be found at the Arquivo Público do Estado de São Paulo (www.arquivoestado.sp.gov.br) and Centro de Documentação e Memória (CEDEM)/UNESP (www.cedem.unesp.br).

Centres of anarchist studies

The Biblioteca Franco Serantini in Pisa holds an important archive and library, including the Pier Carlo Masini's archive. It is also a very active publisher (www.bfs.it). Another significant centre of anarchist studies is the Centro Studi Libertari, Archivio Giuseppe Pinelli in Milan, which publishes a monthly bulletin, www.centrostudilibertari.it. The Archivio Famiglia Berneri-Aurelio Chessa (www.archivioberneri.it) has, among other materials, the papers of Camillo Berneri and his relatives. Castel Bolognese, the hometown of Borghi, leader of the *Unione Sindacale Italiana*, hosts the Biblioteca Libertaria Armando Borghi (<http://blab.racine.ra.it/index.php>). The Archivio storico degli anarchici siciliani specializes in the history of anarchism in Sicily (www.sicilialibertaria.it); the Arkiviu biblioteka 'Tamasu Serra' focuses on the movement in the Sardinia region. The historical archive of the Federazione Anarchica Italiana (Asfai) is kept at the Circolo di Studi Sociali 'Errico Malatesta' in Imola (<http://archivioimola.alekos.net>). However, there are many other centres spread all over Italy, all equally relevant. A list of them can be found in the website of the Archivio Biblioteca il Libero Pensiero (www.bibliotecaliberopensiero.it) in the 'Virtual reference desk' page.

Publishers

Biblioteca Franco Serantini edizioni: www.bfs.it/edizioni/.

Edizioni La Baronata: www.anarca-bolo.ch/baronata/.

Edizioni Zero in Condotta: www.zeroincondotta.org.

Elèuthera: www.eleuthera.it.

The Nordic Countries: Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden

Gabriel Kuhn

Anarchists in the Nordic countries largely rely on English texts for their studies of both historical and contemporary anarchism. However, a number of notable works have been translated into the national languages, and there are also some important original contributions. The following bibliography lists both original works and translations by country, and provides information on how to best access anarchist literature.

Denmark

Denmark does not have a rich anarchist history, which is reflected in the relative absence of Danish contributions to anarchist literature. Most notable are the works by Carl Heinrich Petersen, especially *Agitatorer og martyrer – Profiler og skæbner fra*

socialismens verdenshistorie (Agitators and Martyrs – Stories from Socialism’s History) (Copenhagen: Fremad, 1966), *Revolutionære socialister i Danmark (Revolutionary Socialists in Denmark)* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1973) and *Den glemte socialisme: anarkisme, anarkosyndikalisme, syndikalisme (The Forgotten Socialism: Anarchism, Anarchosyndicalism, Syndicalism)* (Copenhagen: Rhodos, 1981). Influential was also *Det anarkistiske menneske (The Anarchist Human Being)* by Ruddi Welzel (Copenhagen: Berlingske forlag, 1979). In 1969, a book by Ebbe Reich about Errico Malatesta was published, *Hvem var Malatesta? (Who Was Malatesta?)* (Copenhagen: Digte), and, in 1973, a study on the Kronstadt Rebellion by Niels Brunse and Hans-Jørgen Nielsen, *Oprøret i Kronstadt 1921: et dokumentarium (The Kronstadt Rebellion of 1921: A Documentation)* (Copenhagen: Rhodos). There are a couple of books available on the Freetown of Christiania, which contains anarchist elements, especially regarding self-organization and community organizing: Jacob Ludvigsen, *Christiania: fristad i fare (Christiana: A Freetown in Danger)* (Copenhagen: Ekstra Bladet, 2003); Peter Fallesen and Sulaima Hind, *Fristaden Christiania* (Copenhagen: Nyt Nordisk Forlag, 2008).

The following is a list of foreign-language translations of anarchist books:

Bakunin, Mikhail, *Gud og staten (God and the State)* (Ringkøbing: After Hand, 1977).

—, *Autoritet eller selvforvaltning? (Authority or Self-Management?)* (Copenhagen: Borgen, 1979). A collection of writings by Bakunin.

Berkman, Alexander, *Anarkismens ABC* (Helsingør: AT Tryk, 1973). Online at www.ungdomshuset.dk/media/23785/Anarkismens__ABC.pdf.

Enzensberger, Hans Magnus, *Anarkiets korte sommer: Buenaventura Durrutis liv og død (The Short Summer of Anarchy: Buenaventura’s Life and Death)* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1973). *Buenaventura Durruti and the Spanish Civil War*.

Goldman, Emma, *Anarkistiske erindringer (Anarchist Memoirs)* (Copenhagen: Borgen, 1976). A selection of writings from *Living My Life*.

—, *Mennesket, samfundet og staten (The Individual, Society and the State)* (*Ribe: Ribe Anarkisterne, 1977*). Online at www.marxisme.dk/arkiv/goldmanemma/1940/mennesket/.

Guérin, Daniel, *Anarkismen (Anarchism)* (Copenhagen: Borgen, 1979).

Helm, Michael (ed.), *Anarkismens grundideer (Anarchism’s Main Ideas)* (Copenhagen: Hans Reitzel, 1980). An anthology of anarchist writing with commentary by Michael Helm.

Kropotkin, Peter, *Gensidig Hjælp (Mutual Aid)* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1906).

—, *En anarkists erindringer (Memoirs)* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1979).

—, *Staten – den historiske rolle (The State: Its Historic Role)* (Copenhagen: Rhodos, 1981).

Mailand-Hansen, Christian (ed.), *Anarkismen – en antologi (Anarchism: An Anthology)* (Copenhagen: Rhodos, 1970). Includes texts by Kropotkin, Bakunin, Malatesta.

Pedersen, Karen and Therkel Stræde, Anarki og arbejderhistorie: Festskrift for Carl Heinrich Petersen (Anarchy and Workers' History: A Tribute to Carl Heinrich Petersen) (Copenhagen: Tiderne Skifter, 1985).

Stirner, Max, *Den eneste og hans ejendom (The Ego and His Own)* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1902).

Walter, Nicolas, *Anarkistiske brudstykker (Anarchist Fragments)* (Århus: Gensidig Hjælp, 1971).

—, *Hvad vil anarkisterne? (What Do the Anarchists Want?) (Copenhagen: Anarkistisk hæfte, 1971).*

Resources

The most comprehensive selection of literature on anarchism available in Danish can be found at the Arbejderbevægelsens Bibliotek og Arkiv (Workers' Movement Library and Archive) at Rømersgade 22 in Copenhagen (www.arbejdermuseet.dk). The web portal www.aktivist.nu has a text archive that includes a number of shorter texts on anarchism. There are two useful websites that chronicle the life and politics of the Freetown Christiania residents: Fristaden Christiania (www.christiania.org) and Forsvar Fristaden Christiania (Defend the Freetown Christiania) (www.tidsskriftcentret.dk/index.php?id=254).

Groups

Libertære Socialister (www.libsoc.dk), a federation of libertarian socialists, affiliated with the Anarkismo network (www.anarkismo.net), publish the journal *Direkte aktion* about four times a year. Copenhagen's Ungdomshuset, which made international headlines in 2007 when its demolition caused massive protests by residents and sympathizers, has moved to a new location and remains a centre of anarchist activism (www.ungeren.dk).

Finland

A Finnish introduction to anarchism was published in 2001 by Jyväskylä publisher Kampus Kustannus: Timo Ahonen, Markus Termonen and Ulla Vehaluoto, *Väärin ajateltua: anarkistisia puheenvuoroja herruudettomasta yhteiskunnasta* ('Wrong Thoughts': *Anarchist Writings on a Society Beyond State and Domination*). It is a collection of essays by Colin Ward, Peggy Kornegger, Hakim Bey and others (available online at www.cc.joensuu.fi/~jnsoa/kokoelma/000va.htm). Among the few translations of foreign-language books on anarchism are Peter Kropotkin's *Kapinahenki: kirjoituksia anarkismista (Rebel Spirit: Anarchist Writings)* (Turku: Savukeidas, 2009), Emma Goldman's *Anarkismi ja muita esseitä (Anarchism and Other Essays)* (Turku: Savukeidas, 2011), Hakim Bey's *TAZ* (Turku: Savukeidas, 2009) and the Noam Chomsky collection *Anarkismista (Anarchism)* (Turku: Sammakko, 2010).

Resources

The web portal Vallan kritiikki (Critique of Power) (<http://sites.google.com/site/vallankritiikki/home>) offers translations of texts by Alexander Berkman, Emma

Goldman and Ronaldo Perez. There are anarchist libraries in Joensuu (Anaristinen Kirjasto, cc.joensuu.fi/~jnsoa/ak/index.htm) and Tampere (Tyrni-kirjasto, www.librarything.com/catalog/tyrnimehu/tyrni).

Groups

In Helsinki, the infoshop Mustan Kanin Kolo (www.mustankaninkolo.blogspot.com) and the social centre Satama (www.satama.org) are important anarchist meeting places. In Tampere, the cultural centre Hirvitalo (www.hirvikatu10.net) serves a similar purpose. Tampere's Pispala neighbourhood also hosts an annual anarchist gathering, Musta Pispala (Black Pispala). There are several anarchist distros, Tasa-jako (www.anarkismi.net/tasajako) being one of the best-established. Fuel for Fury (www.fuelforfury.blogspot.com) offers mainly anarchafeminist material.

The most notable anarchist journals are *Kapinatyöläinen* (*Rebel Worker*) (www.anarkismi.net/kapis) and *Väärinajattelija* ('Thinking Wrongly') (www.vaaris.org). The latter is published by activists associated with Takku (www.takku.net), an anarchist web portal including news, a discussion forum and a virtual archive and library. Kommunalistien Liitto (Alliance of Communalists) (www.kommunalismi.net) is a Bookchin-inspired network of environmentalists and community organizers. There are also an active Anarchist Black Cross network (www.anarkismi.net/amr) and Food Not Bombs groups – Ruokaa ei aseita in Finnish (www.akl-web.fi/rea).

Iceland

Iceland has no notable anarchist history and it was only in recent years that an anarchist movement emerged. The literature available consists almost exclusively of foreign-language translations. In 1942, Kropotkin's memoirs were published by the Reykjavik publisher Ísafoldarprentsmiðja H.F. as *Krapotkín Fursti – Sjálfsævisaga byltingarmanns*. Most other texts have been made available much more recently by Reykjavik publisher Andspyrna. These include Nicolas Walter's *About Anarchism* (*Um Anarkisma*, 2005), CrimethInc's *Days of War, Nights of Love* (*Dansað á Ösku Daganna – Bók um byltingu hins daglega lífs*, 2006) and Errico Malatesta's *At the Cafe – Conversations on Anarchism* (*Á Kaffihúsinu – Samræður um Anarkisma*, 2011). Andspyrna has also published the primer *Beinar Aðgerðir og Borgaraleg Óhlýðni* (*Direct Action and Civil Disobedience*, 2007).

Resources and projects

Andspyrna (Resistance) maintains an anarchist library, which is the most likely place to find books on anarchism in Iceland and in addition to publishing books and pamphlets it distributes literature and runs an activist web portal at www.andspyrna.org. *Svartur Svanur* (*Black Swan*) (www.svartursvanur.org) and *Róstur* (*Rubble*) (www.rostur.org) are anarchist periodicals. *Svartur Svanur* is published annually in hard copy, *Róstur* monthly online. Saving Iceland (www.savingiceland.org) is an environmentalist project with anarchist tendencies, which holds direct action workshops, facilitates conferences and publishes pamphlets and a magazine. The

project has been highly influential on the recent anarchist movement. The No Borders group (www.noboersvk.org) is an anarchist support group for refugees and asylum seekers. A Food Not Bombs group is active in Reykjavik (contact: maturekkisprengjur@gmail.com). The cooperatively-run café Hljómalind in Reykjavik (www.kaffihljomalind.org) serves as an important meeting place for anarchist activists. It houses a library, art gallery and social centre.

Norway

The classic work on anarchism in Norwegian, Hans Jæger's *Anarkiets bibel* was published in 1908 (Oslo: Cappelen). Since then, the history of Norwegian anarchism has been closely linked to the workers' movement. Harald Fagerhus has compiled a comprehensive bibliography of relevant texts, available online at www.fagerhus.no/a_Norge/kilder.html. Fagerhus has also written a detailed history of Norwegian anarchism, *Anarkismen og syndikalismen i Norge gjennom 150 år* (*Anarchism and Syndicalism in Norway During 150 Years*, 2004), which is available online (www.fagerhus.no/a_Norge). In 1977, Hans Jacob Ustvedt's book *De store anarkister* (*The Great Anarchists*) (Oslo: Tiden) was published, providing an overview of prominent anarchists. In 2008, Syphilia Morgenstjerne's *Anarkistene i verdenshistorie* (*Anarchists in World History*) followed (Brandbu: Fritt & vilt; a second volume is forthcoming). The main political texts of Norway's most famous author with anarchist leanings, Jens Bjørneboe, were published in the collection *Politi og anarki* (*Police and Anarchy*) in 1972 (Oslo: Pax). Tore Rem recently published a two-volume biography of Bjørneboe with Cappelen Damm in Oslo, *Sin egen herre* (*His Own Master*) (vol. 1, 2009) and *Født til frihet* (*Born to Be Free*) (vol. 2, 2010). Meanwhile, Arvid Nærø published a book exploring the anarchist dimensions in the work and life of the famous writer Knut Hamsun, *Knut Hamsuns anarkisme* (Oslo: Kolofon, 2010). A recent Norwegian contribution to anarchist debate was published by Jonas Bals and Hans Beyer-Arnesen, *Utopi, revolusjon, sosialisme* (*Utopia, Revolution, Socialism*) (Oslo and Copenhagen: News From NowHere, 2006). Among classical anarchist works translated into Norwegian are texts by Mikhail Bakunin, including *Gud og staten* (Kristiania: Norges social-anarkistiske forbund, 1924), Daniel Guérin's *Anarkismen* (Oslo: Pax, 1969) and Murray Bookchin's *Økologi og revolusjon* (Oslo: Pax, 1973).

Resources and projects

The best location to find and consult books on anarchism in Norway is the Arbeiderbevegelsens arkiv og bibliotek (Workers' Movement Archive and Library) at Youngsgate 11 in Oslo (www.arbark.no). In Oslo, the cultural centres Blitz (www.blitz.no) and Hausmania (www.hausmania.org) are focal points for anarchist activism. In Trondheim, the Ivar Matlaus bookstore (www.ivarmatlaus.org) serves as an important meeting place for anarchist activists, many of whom live in the Svartlamon neighbourhood (www.svartlamon.org).

Groups

Motmakt (Counter Power) (www.motmakt.no) is an organization of libertarian socialists affiliated with the Anarkismo network (www.anarkismo.org). The Norsk syndikalistisk forbund (Norwegian Syndicalist Federation) is Norway's affiliate of the IWA (www.iwa-ait.org). *Gateavisa* (www.gateavisa.no) is a long-standing anarchist periodical.

Sweden

Sweden has by far the richest anarchist history in the Nordic countries and this is reflected in the anarchist literature available in Swedish. What follows is a short bibliography divided into original works in Swedish and foreign-language translations.

Original works

Anarkistisk tidskrift (Anarchist Journal). Published irregularly from 1990 to 1998, the journal included numerous theoretical texts on anarchism in Sweden and beyond.

Anonymous, *Vad är anarkism? (What Is Anarchism?)* (Stockholm: Anarkisterna på Södra Bokcaféet, 1978).

—, *Lila svarta* (Stockholm: Brand, 1992). Popular direct action manual.

Björklund, Carl Johan, Mikael Bakunin: tänkaren och kämpen (Michael Bakunin: Thinker and Fighter) (Stockholm: Axel Holmströms förlag, 1915).

—, Johan Most, revolutionens förkämpe: en bland den revolutionära socialismens störste agitatorer (Johan Most, Advocate of the Revolution: One of Revolutionary Socialism's Greatest Agitators) (Stockholm: Axel Holmströms förlag, 1917).

Branting, Georg, Sacco-Vanzetti dramat, justitie-morden i Massachusetts (The Sacco and Vanzetti Drama: Judicial Murder in Massachusetts) (Stockholm: Brand, 1927).

Dalström, Kata, *Socialdemokrati och anarkism (Social Democracy and Anarchism)* (Malmö: Socialdemokratiska ungdomsförbundet, 1890).

Edqvist, Sven-Gustaf, Samhällets fiende. En studie i Strindbergs anarkism till och med 'Tjänstekvinnans son' (Society's Enemy: A Study of Strindberg's Anarchism until 'The Son of a Servant') (Stockholm: Tiden, 1961).

Ericson, Bengt and Ingemar Johanson, Anarkisterna i klasskampen: en antologi (Anarchists and Class Struggle: An Anthology) (Stockholm: Tribun, 1969).

Fernström, Karl, *Ungsocialismen. En krönika (Young Socialism: An Overview)* (Stockholm: Federativs, 1950). History of the 'Young Socialist' Movement that split from Sweden's Social Democratic Party in 1908 and laid the foundation for the country's anarchist movement.

Gröndahl, Britta, *Pierre-Joseph Proudhon: socialist, anarkist, federalist* (Stockholm: Federativs, 1988). Britta Gröndahl was a prominent Swedish anarchosyndicalist.

Jacobson, Staffan, *Anarkismens återkomst (Anarchism's Return)* (Lund: India Däck bokcafé, 2006).

Jensen, Albert, *Louise Michel – den röda jungfrun* (*Louise Michel – The Red Virgin*) (Stockholm: AH, 1915). Albert Jensen was one of Sweden's most active anarchist agitators and writers.

—, Max Stirner: den anarkistiska individualismens djärvaste apostel, hans liv och åskådning (*Max Stirner: The Most Daring Apostle of Anarchist Individualism, His Life and Thought*) (*Stockholm: Axel Holmströms förlag, 1916*).

—, Peter Kropotkin, hans liv och idéer (*Peter Kropotkin, His Life and His Ideas*) (*Stockholm: Axel Holmströms förlag, 1921*).

—, William Godwin: anarkismens förste vetenskaplige teoretiker och apostel (*William Godwin: Anarchism's First Scientific Theorist and Apostle*) (*Stockholm: Axel Holmströms förlag, 1916*).

Lätt, Nisse, En svensk anarkist berättar (*A Swedish Anarchist Tells His Story*) (*Göteborg: Nisse Lätts Minnesfond, 1993*).

Lång, Henrik, Drömmen om det ouppnåeliga: anarkistiska tankelinjer hos Hinke Bergegren, Gustaf Henriksson-Holmberg och Einar Håkansson (*The Dream of the Unattainable: Anarchist Ideas in the Work of Hinke Bergegren, Gustaf Henriksson-Holmberg and Einar Håkansson*) (*Umeå: Historiska studier, Umeå universitet, 2007*). *A study of some of Sweden's most prominent socialists with anarchist leanings.*

Sandén, Salka, *Deltagänget* (*The Delta Gang*) (Stockholm: Vertigo, 2007). Fictionalized account of anarchist activism in the 1990s.

Sandström Lundh, E. and C. E. Fielder, Vi är misfits! Queerfeministisk aktivism och anarkistiska visioner (*We Are Misfits! Queer-Feminist Activism and Anarchist Visions*) (*Stockholm: Normal, 2009*).

Souchy, Augustin, *Landauer: revolutionens filosof* (*Landauer: Philosopher of Revolution*) (Stockholm: Axel Holmströms förlag, 1920). The first ever biography of German anarchist Gustav Landauer; Souchy was living in Swedish exile at the time.

Söderström, Ingvar, *Joe Hill, diktare och agitator* (*Joe Hill, Poet and Agitator*) (Stockholm: Prisma, 1970). Biography of the famous IWW activist who was born in Gävle, Sweden, as Joel Emmanuel Hägglund.

Vila, Roland and Hallon Thomas Hallbert, *Anarki till vardags: en bild av alternativrörelsen* (*Everyday Anarchism: An Image of the Alternative Movement*) (Munkfors: Maximilian, 1983). Expanded and updated versions in 1987 and 1990 (Lund: Bakhåll).

Wåg, Mathias (ed.), I stundens hetta. Svarta block, vita overaller och osynliga partier (*In the Heat of the Moment: Black Blocs, White Overalls, and Invisible Parties*) (*Stockholm: Roh-nin, 2011*). *A collection of texts on radical action and strategy, some translated from other languages.*

Translations

Albert, Michael, *Parecon* (Stockholm: Ordfront 2004).

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—, Centralism eller självförvaltning (*Centralism or Self-Management*) (*Stockholm: Federativs, 1979*). *An essay collection.*

Berkman, Alexander, Farväl Aleck. En anarkists fängelseminnen (Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist) (Stockholm: Federativs, 1982).

Enzensberger, Hans Magnus, Anarkins korta sommar: Buenaventura Durrutis liv och död (The Short Summer of Anarchy: Buenaventura Durruti's Life and Death) (Stockholm: Pan/Norstedts, 1973).

Goldman, Emma, *Anarkistiska minnen (Living My Life)* (Gothenburg: Korpen, 1976).

—, *Den dansande agitatorn (The Dancing Agitator)* (Stockholm: Federativs, 1981). A collection of writings.

Guérin, Daniel, *Anarkismen (Anarchism)* (Stockholm: Federativs, 1978).

Kropotkin, Peter, *En anarkists minnen (Memoirs of an Anarchist)* (Stockholm: Ljus, 1907).

—, *Anarkismens moral (The Morality of Anarchism)* (Stockholm: Ungsocialistiska partiets förlag, 1910).

—, *Anarkism och kommunism (Anarchism and Communism)* (Stockholm: Ungsocialistiska partiets förlag, 1913).

—, *Inbördes hjälp (Mutual Aid)* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1914).

—, *Franska Revolutionen 1789–1793 (Stockholm: Brand, 1925)*.

—, Åkrar, fabriker och verkstäder i morgondagens samhälle (Fields, Factories, and Workshops in Tomorrow's Society) (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1980).

Laskar, Pia (ed.), *Anarkafeminism* (Stockholm: Federativs, 1981). Second expanded edition in 1992. Includes texts by Lynn Farrow, Carol Ehrlich and Peggy Kornegger.

Lorenzo, César M., Syndikalismen vid makten. Spansk anarkosyndikalism före, under och efter inbördeskriget 1936–39 (Syndicalism in Power: Spanish Anarchosyndicalism before, during, and after the Civil War of 1936–1939) (Stockholm: Federativs, 1972).

Mackay, John Henry, Anarkisterna: kulturskildring från slutet av XIX århundradet (The Anarchists: A Cultural Report from the End of the Nineteenth Century) (Stockholm: Alex Holmströms förlag, 1910).

Mett, Ida, *Kronstadt 1921* (Stockholm: Federativs, 1969).

Nettlau, Max, *Anarkismen genom tiderna (Anarchists in History)* (Stockholm: Federativs, 1954). A collection of Nettlau's writings.

Ramus, Pierre, Syndikalism och anarkism: till syndikalismens kritik och värdesättning (Syndicalism and Anarchism: On Syndicalist Critique and Syndicalist Values) (Norrköping: Ragnar Lindstams förlag, 1910).

Rocker, Rudolf, Socialdemokrati och anarkism (Social Democracy and Anarchism) (Stockholm: Brand, 1920).

Stirner, Max, *Den Ende och Hans Egendom (The Ego and His Own)* (Oskarshamn: Oskarshamns Badet boktryckeri, 1910).

Walter, Nicholas (*sic*), *Om Anarkismen (About Anarchism)* (Stockholm: self-published, 1977).

Woodcock, George, *Anarkismen (Anarchism)* (Stockholm: Prisma, 1964).

Resources

The largest collection of anarchist literature in Sweden can be found at the Arbetarrörelsens arkiv och bibliotek (Workers' Movements Archive and Library) in Stockholm (www.arbark.se). There is also a small archive at the Joe Hill House (Joe-Hill-gården) (www.joehill.se). Sweden has several bookstores and in-foshops offering broad selections of anarchist literature: Amalthea Bokkafé in Malmö (www.amaltheabokkafe.blogspot.com), Bokcafét i Jönköping (www.bokcafet.se), Bokcafé Projektil in Uppsala (www.projektil.tumblr.com), Bokhandeln Info in Stockholm (www.anarkisterna.com/bokhandelninfo), Bokkafé Vulgo in Gothenburg (www.bokkafevulgo.se) and India Däck Bokcafé in Lund (www.indiadack.net). There are also well-established online distributions such as Agera (www.ageradistribution.net), Syndikalistiskt Forum (www.syndikalistisktforum.se) and the anarchoprimitivist VSE Media (www.vsemedia.se).

Groups and projects

There are several organizations with anarchist leanings, most of which publish their own journals. Sveriges Arbetarens Centralorganisation (the Central Organisation of Sweden's Workers) (SAC), founded in 1910, is closely tied to the country's anarchist history and still publishes the journal *Arbetaren* (*The Worker*) (www.arbetaren.se), founded in 1922. The Syndikalistiska ungdomsförbundet (Syndicalist Youth Federation) (SUF) publishes *Direkt Aktion* (www.da.suf.cc). Batkogruppen (the Batko Group) (www.batko.se) publishes the periodical *Dissident* (www.batko.se/sv_dissident.php). The journal *Brand* (www.tidningenbrand.se) was founded in 1898 and is one of the longest-standing anarchist periodicals in the world. *Yelah* (www.yelah.net) is an anarchist online journal that also runs a small publishing house.

Anarchist projects include Anarkistiska studier (www.astudier.wordpress.com), which focuses on information and education, and the web portal www.anarkisterna.com, which provides news and hosts projects such as Sweden's Anarchist Black Cross network (www.anarkisterna.com/abc), an anarchist radio programme (www.anarkisterna.com/radio) and the zine *Embryo* (www.anarkisterna.com/embryo). The activist web portal *Motkraft* (www.motkraft.net) is also an important online resource for anarchist activists. *Allt åt alla* (Everything for Everyone) (www.alltatalla.com) is an activist network focusing on social struggles and public space.

Since 2010, an annual anarchist bookfair has been organized in Stockholm (www.anarchistbookfairsweden.se).

The Anarchist Revival in Russian Historiography

Martin A. Miller

The subject of anarchism has had a tortured history in Russia. In one of the field's great ironies, pre-revolutionary Russia provided the emerging political movement with three of the most outstanding anarchist theorists and activists in the Western world,

but due largely to the severe censorship of the tsarist state, no impressive history of anarchism was published. Michael Bakunin and Peter Kropotkin both spent their most productive years in Western Europe after fleeing Russian jails. Their presence in Europe made it possible for Max Nettlau³ to collect their papers and those of many of their comrades, which formed part of the rich array of evidence he displayed in his monumental historical works on the international anarchist movement. The third figure was Lev Tolstoy, the great writer, who near the end of his life committed himself to a personal form of Christian anarchism that he both practiced on his estate and wrote about in numerous essays and letters. As a militant movement in Russia, anarchism made a significant mark during the 1905 revolution, as Paul Avrich⁴ and others have richly described, and again during the Bolshevik seizure of power.

Publishing materials in the last years of the tsarist autocracy on or by anarchists was prevented under the rigid censorship laws; this of course affected all revolutionary parties at the time. There was one window of opportunity, which appeared during the 1905 revolution. The months of rebellion which almost brought the regime to its knees included the collapse of the state's control over the publishing industry. As a result, scores of presses took advantage of the regime's disarray by printing Russian language editions of the work of Bakunin and Kropotkin (as well as those of many non-anarchist revolutionaries) that had never been permitted legally within the empire.⁵ Émigré journals were another important source for the pre-revolutionary anarchist movement in Russia, appearing irregularly from the 1905 era up to the outbreak of the Great War in the major capitals of Western Europe. They also reveal the lines of cleavage within the fractious movement in which anarchist-communists, anarcho-syndicalists and anarchist-individualists competed with one another through the written word.

Following the seizure of power by the Bolshevik party in October 1917, there were a number of anarchists who cooperated with the new administration in the first two years of Soviet power in hopes of swaying the regime towards Lenin's anarchistic conceptions that animated his 'State and Revolution' essay.⁶ However, with the conclusion of the

³ Max Nettlau, *Die Anarchismus von Proudhon zu Kropotkin. Seine historische Entwicklung in den Jahren 1859–1880* (Berlin: Der Syndikalist, 1927). Nettlau's work was banned by the Third Reich. His archive, one of the richest collections on anarchism in the world, resides at the International Institute for Social History in Amsterdam.

⁴ Paul Avrich, *The Russian Anarchists* (New York: Columbia and Princeton University Presses, 1978).

⁵ Among the flood of publications by Kropotkin that appeared at this time (between 1905 and 1907) were Russian editions of some of his most influential books, including *In Russian and French Prisons; Fields, Factories and Workshops*; and *Mutual Aid as a Factor in Evolution*. They are all valuable bibliographic rarities at present.

⁶ Lenin never completed this essay because, as he wrote in his preface to it, he interrupted his writing in order to attend to the far more important business of leading the revolution. Anarchists, however, had reason to hope for the implementation of policies by its author as head of state that would lead to a future in which state power would be unnecessary. Lenin quoted Engels' famous line about the administration of things replacing the authority over man in the communist future.

Civil War in 1919, the commissars moved to severely restrict the activities of all other political parties. The year 1921 marked the death of the movement for all intents and purposes. In February, Kropotkin died outside of Moscow, where he was forced by Lenin to reside soon after returning to the country in 1917 as a result of the Provisional Government's general amnesty. At his funeral, arrested anarchists were freed for the day to attend what proved to be the last public anarchist meeting permitted by the Soviet government. The Kropotkin museum in the house of his birth in Moscow, run by his widow, was shut down after her death. 1921 was also the year of the Tenth Party Congress, which approved a declaration in which all parties and political movements except the Bolsheviks were deemed illegal. In addition, the year witnessed the violent repression by Trotsky and the Red Army of the Kronstadt mutiny in which an attempt was made to rally support for an end to the statist 'commissarocracy' established by the Bolshevik party.⁷

For anyone in the Soviet Union before Stalin's death seeking to read about the anarchists, there appeared to be little choice beyond the officially approved tendentious critiques written by Emilian Yaroslavskii. Serious studies of the anarchist movement in Russia were impossible to publish unless the author adopted the framework of Yaroslavskii, in which anarchism could be discussed only as a dangerous political threat to Bolshevik authority. Some anarchist publications appeared but in small editions that quickly disappeared.⁸ Even the ties to anarchism held by 'fellow travellers' such as Alexandra Kollontai and Alexander Shliapnikov who headed the Workers' Opposition movement in 1921–22 were denied. So too were the contributions of the many anarchists who joined the revolutionary regime after the overthrow of the Provisional Government.⁹

In spite of these barriers, it is astonishing how much was able to be published in the early decades of the Soviet Union by and about the leading Russian anarchists. Particular mention should be made of the one truly masterful scholarly anarchist volume of this era by V. I. Nevskii on Bakunin. Kropotkin's works also appeared throughout the 1920s, including some for the first time. Most importantly, his influential autobiography, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*, was translated from the 1899 English original in 1925, in a second edition in 1929 and a third in 1933, all with valuable editorial endnotes. In addition, N. K. Lebedev edited an edition of Kropotkin's early diaries and a two-volume collection of his letters to his brother Alexander, both of which had never appeared before. Also noteworthy was the issuing in 1921 under the Moscow

⁷ Paul Avrich, *Kronstadt, 1921* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1974); Voline, *The Unknown Revolution* (London: Freedom Press, 1955).

⁸ One example is Voline's *Revoliutsiia i anarkhizm: Sbornik statei* (Moscow: Nabat, 1919). However, the magnum opus on anarchism and the Russian revolution by Voline (Boris M. Eikhenbaum), *Unknown Revolution*, originally published in French and later translated into English, did not appear in Russian until 2005.

⁹ Martin A. Miller, 'Anarchists in the Russian Revolution' (forthcoming in *Anarchist Studies* in 2012).

imprint of the state publishing house of a memorial volume of the historical journal *Byloe* dedicated entirely to Kropotkin soon after his death.¹⁰

The gradual emergence of a serious scholarly literature in the Soviet Union on Russian anarchism can be noticed as a minor theme in the historiography of the Brezhnev era. One of the first efforts was made by S. S. Anisimov, who was able to publish a volume on Kropotkin's geographical explorations prior to his involvement with revolutionary populism and anarchism, though it slipped through as a listing under the state press for children's literature.

The anarchist revival in Soviet scholarship developed significantly beginning in the late 1960s. A specific pathway can be detected in the way in which a controversial topic moved from relative obscurity to undeniable prominence. The first place to test the waters of acceptability was to get a dissertation chapter accepted into one of the leading university journals, especially the historical publications issued by the faculties of history in Moscow or Leningrad. If this produced no visible criticism from colleagues or the censorship bureaus, the next step was to submit a fully developed scholarly article on the subject to one of the two national journals of history. An appearance there virtually guaranteed that a monograph was forthcoming. In this way, previously unacceptable subjects were transformed into new areas of research.

For anarchism, that moment arrived with the work of S. N. Kanev and V. V. Komin, both of whom played key roles in bringing this buried topic back to life in this way.¹¹ There was one rule that had to be obeyed for the work to be published, namely, that the anarchists under discussion had to be dealt with from a Marxist critical perspective. As it turned out, this requirement was able to be interpreted quite widely. Readers learned how to understand the nature of the criticism offered and often to see it in reverse. Thus, publishing for the first time anarchist manifestoes from the Bolshevik period could be done so long as the scholar introduced the documents critically. Private discussions among the authors with trusted colleagues made their intentions clear that the critique was largely a mechanism to have the material published. Similarly, 'critical editions' of work by anarchists like Bakunin and Kropotkin that had been unavailable for half a century were able to be published. Also, biographies, long discouraged as examples of 'bourgeois falsification', reappeared and included studies of anarchists. N. M. Pirumova, to cite one example, not only published an admirable study of Bakunin in 1966 but was permitted to lecture abroad during the next decade on her work.

¹⁰ This volume contains original contributions by writers sympathetic to anarchism as well as an essay that Kropotkin wrote in 1873 for the populist Chaikovskii Circle in which he outlined the configuration of the future anarchist social order in a more detailed manner than had anyone previously in the movement. The first translation into English of this important essay can be found in P. A. Kropotkin, *Selected Writings on Anarchism and Revolution*, ed. Martin A. Miller (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1970).

¹¹ The most convenient way to observe this trajectory is to consult the excellent bibliography by B. D. Ermakov and P. I. Talerov (eds), *Anarkhizm v istorii Rossii ot istokov k sovremennosti*, itself a valuable product of the anarchist scholarly revival in Russia.

After the fall of the Soviet Union, the anarchist revival in Russian scholarship truly moved into high gear. Formerly sealed archival collections on anarchism were opened to scholars and research centres were created, making previously privately held papers available, most with accessible websites.¹² In addition, monographs and collections of documents have been released and published in impressive editions, making it possible for the first time to write a comprehensive history of anarchism in Russia.

Historic emigré journals

- Anarkhist* (Geneva and Paris, 1907–9).
- Buntar'* (Geneva, 1906–9).
- Burevestnik* (Paris, 1908–10).
- Chernoie znamia* (Geneva, 1905).
- Khleb i volia* (Geneva, 1903–5).
- Listki khleb i volia* (London, 1906–7).
- Nabat* (Paris, 1914–15).
- Rabochii put'* (Berlin, resumed in 1923).

Soviet era

Anisimov, S. S., Puteshestvie P. A. Kropotkina v 1862–1867 godakh (Moscow: Detgiz, 1952).

Kanev, S. N., *Oktiabr'skaia revoliutsiia i krakh anarkhizma* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo 'Mysl', 1974). The unpaginated appendix at the end of the book includes valuable statistical data on the anarchist movement, including percentages of anarchists at many of the conferences, factory committees and meetings of soviets.

—, *Revoliutsiia i anarkhizm: iz istorii bor'by revoliutsionnykh demokratov i bol'shevikov protiv anarkhizma, 1840–1917 gg* (Moskva: 'Mysl', 1987).

Komin, V. V., Anarkhizm v Rossii: spetsial'nyi kurs leksii, pročitannyi na istoricheskoi fakul'tete pedagogicheskogo instituta (Kalinin: Kalininskii gosudarstvennyi pedagogicheskii institut, 1969).

Kosichev, A. D., *Bor'ba marksizma-leninizma s ideologiei anarkhizm I sovremennost'* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Moskovskogo universita, 1964).

Lebedev, N. K. (ed.), *Dnevnik P. A. Kropotkina* (Moscow-Leningrad: Gosizdat, 1923).

— (ed.), *Perepiska P. A. i A. A. Kropotkinnykh* (Moscow: Academia, 1932).

Nevskii, V. I., Materialy dlia biografii M. Bakunina: Po delam gos. Arkhivov Moskvy, Pragi, Drezdena, Veny, 2 vols (Moscow-Leningrad: Gos. sots.-ek. Izd-vo, 1933).

¹² Websites are also listed in the appendix to the invaluable Ermakov and Talerov bibliography (listed below) which contains 8,350 entries of anarchist publications in Russian from 1905 to the present, including émigré journals and newspapers as well as archival repositories in Russia and abroad.

Pirumova, N. M., *Mikhail Bakunin: zhizn' i deiatel'nost'* (Moscow: Nauka, 1966).

Yaroslavskii, E. [M.], *Anarkhizm v Rossii: Kak istoria razreshila spor mezhdu anarkhistami i kommunistami v russkoi revoliutsii* (Moscow: Gospolizdat, 1939). *The English-language text, History of Anarchism in Russia is at* http://dward-mac.pitzer.edu/Anarchist_Archives/worldwidemovements/anarchisminrussiatoc.html.

Post-Soviet era

Anarkhisty: dokumenty i materialy, 1883–1935 gg, 2 vols (Moscow: Rosspen, 1998).

Budnitskii, O. V., *Istoriia terrorizma v Rossii* (Rosov-on-Don: Phoenix, 1996). This contains useful material on anarchist involvement in the violent upheavals in 1905 and 1917.

Ermakov, V. D., *Rossiiskii anarkhizm i anarkhisty: vtoraiia polovina XIX – konets XX vekov* (St Petersburg: 'Nestor', 1996; reissued in 1997).

Ermakov, B. D. and P. I. Talerov P. I. (eds), *Anarkhizm v istorii Rossii ot istokov k sovremennosti: Bibliograficheskii slovar'-spravochnik* (St. Petersburg: Solart, 2007).

Naumov, V. P. (ed.), *Kronstadt, 1921* (Moscow: Demokratiia, 1997).

Pavlov, D. B., *Bol'shevistskaia diktatura protiv sotsialistov i anarkhistov, 1917 – seredina 1950 – kh godov* (Moscow: Rosspen, 1999).

Volobuev, O. V. and V. V. Shelokhaev (eds), *Anarkhisty: Dokumenty i materialy, 1893–1935*, 2 vols (Moscow: Rosspen, 1999).

Archives and libraries

A select bibliography for archival research in Russian studies is available at <http://home.interlog.com/~moslon/olga/bibliography.htm#Vnew>. Cornell University published a research guide for Russian and Soviet history at <http://olin-uris.library.cornell.edu>.

Victor Serge Archive, Slavic and East European Collection of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University (www.library.yale.edu/).

Nestor Makhno (<http://www.makhno.ru/>). An undated site that lists published and unpublished materials about Makhno in Russian and Ukranian.

Archives nationale, Paris (<http://www.archivesnationales.culture.gouv.fr/>). Michel Lesure has published a useful guide to the F7 collections of Russian and French police reports, which contains a great deal of information on Russian anarchists abroad, particularly before the Russian revolution, *Les sources de l'histoire de Russie aux Archives Nationales* ed. Michel Lesure (Paris, La Haye: Mouton, 1970).

Emma Goldman Papers, University of California at Berkeley (<http://sun-site.berkeley.edu/goldman/>).

Hoover Institution, Stanford University (<http://www.hoover.org/library-and-archives>).

Labadie Collection, University of Michigan (<http://www.lib.umich.edu/labadie-collection>). Some of the Nettlau files not at the International Institute for Social History in Amsterdam are held here.

Library of Congress (<http://www.loc.gov/index.html>).

Slavonic Room, the New York Public Library (<http://www.nypl.org/help/about-nypl>).

Tamiment Collection, New York University (<http://www.nyu.edu/library/bobst/research/tam/>). Especially good on the anarchist movement in the United States, with rare issues of *Mother Earth* containing articles by Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman before their deportation to Soviet Russia.

UCL School of Slavonic and East European Studies, London (<http://www.ssees.ucl.ac.uk/>).

Chinese Works on Anarchism in the People's Republic of China (PRC), 1949–2010

John A. Rapp

Though only a relatively few books have been published on anarchism in the PRC since 1949, over 2,800 articles have been published in PRC academic journals that have as at least one of their subjects either anarchism (in Chinese, 无政府主义, *wuzhengfu zhuyi*), or the premodern Daoist concept of *wujun* (无君), or 'no ruler'. The great majority of these works appeared only since the beginning of the reform era starting around 1980. Leaving aside translations of foreign works on anarchism or Western anarchist tracts, most of the works on modern anarchism focus on the early twentieth-century Chinese anarchist movement. Several other works focus on the anarchist-Marxist debates of the 1920s to 1940s, while others express the orthodox Marxist-Leninist criticism of anarchism as an ultra-leftist petit bourgeois ideology. Works in the latter vein were often more about criticizing deviant intellectual behaviour in the PRC, such as those who called for more democracy and individual rights, and almost never had little to do with real living anarchists (see Rapp, 'Denunciations of Anarchism in the PRC', in *Daoism and Anarchism: Critiques of State Autonomy in Ancient and Modern China*, Continuum Press, forthcoming). The exception to this rule is the anarchist-influenced novelist Ba Jin, who stayed in the PRC after 1949 and was in and out of favour with the Communist Party. In the Cultural Revolution he was denounced for his anarchism, while after his rehabilitation in the reform era, it became possible to publish more neutral academic studies of the influence of anarchism on his literary output (see Rapp, and Daniel Youd, guest editors, 'Ba Jin and the Anarchist-Marxist Conflict', *Contemporary Chinese Thought*, forthcoming). More broadly, in the reform era, it became possible to treat anarchism more as an academic field of study. From that point, though articles and books critical of anarchism continued to appear, modern PRC

scholars could now more often write works which viewed anarchism as a progressive, anti-feudal force in the late imperial and early Republican era of 1900 to the 1920s, before Marxism-Leninism was fully introduced into China. By the 1990s, Chinese scholars were starting to cite Western sources more in their studies, while Western works on anarchism, including for example Arif Dirlik's study of Chinese anarchism, were translated into Chinese.

Bibliographic access to Chinese language books on anarchism can be gained through standard online services such as WorldCat, while PRC academic articles in Chinese can be accessed through the China National Knowledge Infrastructure (CNKI) (Beijing: Tsinghua University China Academic Journals Electronic Publishing House), hosted in the United States with an English language interface by Eastview Information Services (Minneapolis, MN, online at http://cnki.en.eastview.com/kns50/single_index.aspx) While an individual or institutional subscription is required to download full texts of articles, one can get access to titles of articles and brief abstracts without a subscription. Below is a small selection of books and articles in the main categories noted above.

Note: titles appear in Chinese characters and in Romanized Chinese. Author names are given in Romanized transliteration only.

Premodern Chinese anarchism

Chen Xiuquan, 陈秀权 “外篇” 对 庄子 的 研究, ‘Zhuang Zi waizapian dui Zhuang Zi “wuzhi zhuyi” sixiangde duoyuan fazhan’ (‘The Development of Zhuangzi’s Anarchism Promoted by the Outer Chapters of the *Zhuangzi*’), *Journal of the Zhejiang College of Oceanography, Humanities and (Social Sciences Edition)*, 1 (2006), 16–20.

Fan Zhengyu, 樊正渝 – 樊正渝 “无君”, ‘Weiji xiade jifen yu kongmoguo: Ping gudai “wujun lun”’ (‘A National Crisis Inciting Anger and Emptiness: Discussion on the Ancient “Theory of No Ruler”’), *Jiangnan Tribune*, 10 (1990), 44–9.

Jiang Zefeng, 江泽锋, ‘Lun Chuantong Laozhuang xuwu sixiang dui wuzhengfu zhuyi zai Zhongguode chuanbode yingxiang’ (‘How Traditional Lao-Zhuang Nihilistic Thought Influenced the Spread of Anarchism in China’), *Journal of Baicheng Normal College*, 1 (2006), 35–8.

Lin Yunguang, 林云光, ‘Bao Jingyan “wujunlun” xiping’ (‘Analysis and Comment on Bao Jingyan’s “No Ruler Theory”’), *Yantai Normal University Journal (Philosophy and Social Sciences Edition)*, 4 (2004), 24–6.

Liu Jingqing and Li Lei, 刘敬清 – 李磊, ‘Cong Ruan Ji dao Bao Jingyan: Jianlun Wei-Jin wujun lunde luoji jincheng’ (‘From Ruan Ji to Bao Jingyan: On the Logical Progression of the Theory of No Ruler in the Wei-Jin Period’), *Journal of the Hubei Institute of Socialism*, 3 (2004), 13–14.

Liu Xiaogan, 刘小安, ‘Xianqin wujun paide pipan zhexue’ (‘The Critical Philosophy of the Pre-Qin No Ruler Faction’), *Confucius Studies*, 4 (1986), 62–9.

Ma Junnan, 马俊楠 “‘无君’ 思想”, ‘Bao Jingyan wujun sixiang qianxi’ (‘Preliminary Analysis of Bao Jingyan’s Idea of “No Ruler”’), *Journal of Anhui Normal University* (Philosophy & Social Sciences Edition), 2 (1983), 81–7.

Yang Yilin, 杨益林, ‘BaoJingyan wujun lun sixiangde lilun laiyuan he lishi diwei’ (‘The Origin and Historical Position of Bao Jingyan’s Theory of the Idea of No Ruler’), *Journal of Southwest University* (Humanities and Social Sciences Edition), S1 (1987), 77–81.

Ye Guoxian, 叶国宪 “‘无君’ 思想”, ‘Shilun Bao Jingyande “Wujun” sixiang’ (‘Examining Bao Jingyan’s Idea of “No Ruler”’), *Journal of Shenyang Normal University* (Social Sciences Edition), 1 (2000), 61–3.

Yu Youqian, 俞友谦, 俞友谦 – 俞友谦, ‘Fandui junzhu zhuanzhide sixiang xianqu – Zhuang Zi wujun lun sixiang chutan’ (‘A Pioneer Opponent of Absolute Monarchy: A Preliminary Exploration into the the Idea of No Ruler in the Zhuang Zi’), *Fudan Journal* (Social Sciences Edition), 3 (1982), 82–8.

Zhao Yuying and Sun Jiwang, 赵玉莹, ‘Zhuang Zide wujunlun Sixiang’ (‘Zhuang Zi’s Theory of No Ruler’), *Journal of Binzhou Teacher’s College*, 3 (1999), 30–3.

Zhu Daoping, 朱道平, ‘Tao Yuanming wujun sixiang tanxi’ (‘The No Ruler Thought of Tao Yuanming’), *Journal of Zhengzhou Institute of Aeronautical Industry Management* (Social Science Edition), 3 (2008), 58–60.

Early twentieth-century Chinese anarchism

Books

Bai Hao, 白昊, 20世纪中国无政府主义思想, *Wuzhengfu zhuyi jingshen yu 20 shiji Zhongguo wenxue* (The Spirit of Anarchism and 20th Century Chinese Literature) (*Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 2008*).

Cho Se-hyŏn, 车世彦, Qingmo minchu wuzhengfu paide wenhua sixiang (The Cultural Thought of the Late Qing and Early Republican Anarchist School) (*Beijing: Social Science Materials Press, 2003*).

Gao Jun, 高峻, *Wuzhengfu zhuyi zai Zhongguo* (*Anarchism in China*) (Changsha: Hunan People’s Press, 1984).

Guang Xushan and Liu Jianping, 顾旭珊, *Zhongguo wuzhengfu zhuyi shi* (*History of Chinese Anarchism*) (Wuhan: Hubei People’s Press, 1989).

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Anarchist Literatures in the German-Speaking World

Peter Seyferth and Gabriel Kuhn

There is a long history of anarchist activism in the German-speaking world and some German-speaking anarchists have left a strong mark on the international history of anarchism, most notably Johann Most and Rudolf Rocker. The two most influential figures for the development of anarchism within the German-speaking world were Gustav Landauer and Erich Mühsam.

The first part of the following bibliography lists original contributions to the ideas and theories of anarchism by German-language authors. The second part lists important secondary literature on German-speaking anarchism, divided into several sections, mainly in chronological order. The final part provides some basic information on foreign-language translations of anarchist texts into German. In addition, archives and libraries of interest to anarchist readers are listed. Current periodicals and publishers are included in the Resources section.

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Foreign-language translations

Most of the classical texts of anarchism – by Proudhon, Bakunin, Kropotkin, Malatesta and others – are available in German translation, mainly released by the publishing houses Edition AV, Karin Kramer, Libertad, Monte Verità, Nautilus, Trotzdem and Unrast (see the Resources section). A popular collection of classical texts is *Anarchismus. Theorie, Kritik, Utopie*, edited by Achim von Borries and Ingeborg Weber-Brandies (Nettersheim: Graswurzelrevolution, 1970; second, expanded edn, 2007). Daniel Guérin’s famed history of anarchism was published with the prominent Frankfurt publisher Suhrkamp in 1967. Trotzdem has also published various writings on anarchism by Murray Bookchin and Noam Chomsky. Translations of recent

books on anarchism include Frank Fernandez's *Cuban Anarchism: The History of a Movement* (*Anarchismus auf Kuba. Geschichte einer Bewegung*, Moers: Syndikat-A, 2006), the Curious George Brigade's *Anarchy in the Age of Dinosaurs* (*DIY: Von Anarchie und Dinosauriern*, Münster: Unrast, 2006), Michael Albert's *Parecon* (*Parecon*, Grafenau: Trotzdem, 2006), Ramor Ryan's *Clandestines: The Pirate Journals of an Irish Exile* (*Clandestinos. Unterwegs im Widerstand*, Münster: Unrast, 2007), David Graeber's *Fragments of an Anarchist Anthropology* (*Frei von Herrschaft. Fragmente einer anarchistischen Anthropologie*, Wuppertal: Peter Hammer, 2008) and Uri Gordon's *Anarchy Alive! (Hier und Jetzt. Anarchistische Praxis und Theorie*, Hamburg: Nautilus, 2010). Translations of essays by contemporary US-American anarchists are included in Gabriel Kuhn's *'Neuer Anarchismus' in den USA. Seattle und die Folgen* (Münster: Unrast, 2008).

Archives and libraries

Although not all of the listed *archives and libraries* are explicitly anarchist, each contains a rich selection of anarchist material.

Anarchistische Bibliothek & Archiv Wien, Lerchenfelder Str. 124–126 (Hof 3, Tür 1A), 1080 Vienna (www.a-bibliothek.org).

Archiv für alternatives Schrifttum in NRW (afas), Schwarzenberger Str. 147, 47226 Duisburg (www.afas-archiv.de).

Bibliothek der Freien: Anarchistische Bücherei im Haus der Demokratie, Greifswalder Str. 4 (2. Hof, Raum 1102), 10405 Berlin (www.bibliothekderfreien.de).

Bibliothek von unten, Wipplingerstr. 23, 1010 Vienna (www.bibliothek-vonunten.org).

Papiertiger Berlin, Cuvrystr. 25, 10997 Berlin (www.archiv-papiertiger.de).

The AnArchiv, founded by Horst Stowasser in Wetzlar in 1971, is currently without location, but will hopefully become accessible again in the future. The book by Bernd Hüttner, *Archive von unten. Bibliotheken und Archive der neuen sozialen Bewegungen und ihre Bestände* (Neu-Ulm: AG SPAK, 2003) lists various small libraries and archives across the German-speaking world that are of interest to the anarchist reader and researcher.

Among the foundations trying to maintain individual anarchists' legacies are the Erich-Mühsam-Gesellschaft (www.erich-muehsam.de), the Pierre-Ramus-Gesellschaft (www.ramus.at) and the Max-Stirner-Gesellschaft (www.msges.de).

Comprehensive online text archives can be found on the web portals Datenbank des deutschsprachigen Anarchismus – DadA (www.dadaweb.de) and anarchismus.at (www.anarchismus.at).

Infoshops

Many autonomous centres and infoshops in the German-speaking world also maintain archives and libraries. The following is a selection of some of the best established. A more comprehensive list can be found at www.contraste.org/infoaed.htm.

A-Laden, Berlin (www.a-laden.org).

Alhambra, Oldenburg (www.alhambra.de).

AZ Conni, Dresden (www.azconni.de/infocafe).

Bandito Rosso, Berlin (www.bandito.blogsport.de).

Daneben, Berlin (www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/daneben).

Don Quijote, Münster (www.muenster.org/quijote).

EKH, Vienna (www.med-user.net/~ekh).

ExZess, Frankfurt (www.infoladen.net/ffm).

Kafe Marat, Munich (www.kafemarat.blogsport.de).

Kasama, Zurich (www.infoladen.net/il/zuerich/index2.htm).

KTS, Freiburg (www.kts-freiburg.org).

Reitschule, Bern (www.reitschule.ch).

Schwarzmarkt, Hamburg (www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/schwarzmarkt).

Soziales Zentrum Bochum (www.sz-bochum.de).

UJZ Korn, Hannover (www.ujz-korn.de).

VL/Ludwigstraße 37, Halle (www.ludwigstrasse37.de).

Resources

Publishers

The following publishers do not necessarily all self-identify as anarchist but have published various books of interest to anarchist readers and researchers.

Alibri, Aschaffenburg (www.alibri-buecher.de).

Assoziation A, Hamburg/Berlin (www.assoziation-a.de).

Edition AV, Frankfurt/Main, later Lich (www.edition-av.de).

Graswurzelrevolution, Nettersheim (www.graswurzel.net/verlag/index.html).

Karin Kramer, Berlin (www.karin-kramer-verlag.de).

Libertad, Potsdam (www.libertadverlag.de).

LSR, Nürnberg (www.lsr-projekt.de/verlag.html).

Monte Verità, Vienna (www.anares.org/monte_verita).

Nautilus, Hamburg (www.edition-nautilus.de).

Syndikat-A, Moers (zuchthaus.free.de/syndikat-a).

Trotzdem, Grafenau (www.trotzdem-verlag.de).

Unrast, Münster (www.unrast-verlag.de).

Mail order distributions of interest to anarchists include *Black Mosquito* (www.black-mosquito.org) and *Syndikat-A* (zuchthaus.free.de/syndikat-a).

Periodicals

Contraste (founded in 1984 with a focus on self-management and cooperative living; appears monthly).

Die Aktion (www.edition-nautilus.de/programm/dieaktion/list-self.html) – published irregularly since 1981 by Nautilus with many important anarchist contributions.

Direkte Aktion (journal of the anarchosyndicalist FAU (see ‘Projects’); appears bimonthly).

Entfesselt (www.abc-berlin.net/entfesselt) – started as two-page flyer in 2006, has now grown to an 80-page magazine of Anarchist Black Cross groups in Berlin and Hamburg; appears quarterly.

Espero (founded in 1994, published four times a year, advocates individualist anarchism).

Gǎi Dào (journal of the anarchist federation FdA-IFA (see ‘Projects’), founded in 2011; appears monthly).

Graswurzelrevolution (longest-standing anarchist periodical in the German-speaking world, founded in 1972; appears monthly, advocates non-violent anarchism).

The following periodicals have ceased publication but are nonetheless crucial for understanding anarchist debates in the German-speaking world. Most of them are hard to track down – try the archives listed above. Bernd Drücke’s *Zwischen Schreibtisch und Straßenschlacht?* (see ‘History, 1970–present’ in the Bibliography) gives a near-complete list of anarchist periodicals from 1985 to 1995 and a comprehensive overview of older ones.

Der arme Teufel (Detroit, 1884–1900) – openly anarchist from 1886, published by Robert Reitzel.

Der freie Arbeiter (Berlin, 1904–1933) – closely associated with the Anarchistische Föderation Deutschlands (later, Föderation kommunistischer Anarchisten Deutschlands).

Der Rebell (Geneve, London, 1881–86) – published by Josef Peukert and others.

Der Sozialist (Berlin, 1891–99; Bern/Berlin, 1909–15) – published by a predominantly anarchist collective, including Gustav Landauer, in the 1890s; revived by Landauer in 1909 as the publishing organ of the Socialist Bund.

Der Syndikalist (1918–32) – publishing organ of the FAUD.

Der Ziegelbrenner (Munich, 1917–21) – published by Ret Marut a.k.a. B. Traven.

Erkenntnis und Befreiung (Vienna et al., 1918–33) – temporarily renamed *Der Anarchist* in 1927–28, published by Pierre Ramus.

Fanal. Anarchistische Monatsschrift (Berlin, 1926–31, 1934) – published by Erich Mühsam.

Freiheit (London et al., 1879–1910) – first a social democratic, then an anarchist journal, published by Johann Most.

Kain. Zeitschrift für Menschlichkeit (Munich, 1911–18) – published by Erich Mühsam.

Schwarzer Faden (Reutlingen, Grafenau, 1980–2004) – associated with Trotzdem Verlag.

Unter dem Pflaster liegt der Strand (Berlin, 1974–85) – edited by Hans Peter Duerr and published by Karin Kramer Verlag.

Bookfairs and gatherings

The following recurring events (regularly or irregularly) are all of interest to anarchist activists and researchers.

Anarchietage Winterthur (www.anarchietage.ch).

Anarchistische Buchmesse Mannheim (www.buchmesse-mannheim.blogspot.de).

Anarchistisches Sommercamp (a-camp) Österreich (www.a-camps.net/AST).

Anarchistisches Sommercamp (a-camp) Schweiz (www.acamp.ch.vu).

A-Woche Rostock (www.awoche.org).

Gegenbuchmasse Frankfurt (www.gegenbuchmasse.de).

Libertäre Medienmesse Oberhausen (www.limesse.de).

Linke Buchtage Berlin (www.linkebuchtage.de).

Linke Literaturmesse Nürnberg (www.linke-literaturmesse.org).

Projects

The main *anarchist organizations and networks* in the German-speaking world are the anarchosyndicalist Freie Arbeiter- und Arbeiterinnen-Union (FAU) (www.fau.org) founded in 1977 as a successor to the Freie Arbeiter-Union Deutschlands (FAUD) (1919–33) and affiliated with the IWA, and the Föderation deutschsprachiger AnarchistInnen (FdA) (www.fda-ida.org), founded in 2000 and affiliated with the International of Anarchist Federations (IAF). The Libertäre Aktion Winterthur (LAW) (www.law.ch.vu) in Switzerland is one of the most active local anarchist organizations and affiliated with the Anarkismo network.

Self-organizing

There are a widespread number of self-managed communes and cooperatives, some of which are explicitly anarchist, while others are strongly influenced by anarchist ideas. A comprehensive list can be found at www.contraste.org/kommunen1.htm. Among the best known are the Burg Lutter (www.burg-lutter.de) and the Projektwerkstatt Saasen (www.projektwerkstatt.de/pwerk/saasen.html), home to the controversial anarchist activist Jörg Bergstedt.

Web

Useful web portals are the Datenbank des deutschsprachigen Anarchismus (Dada) (www.dadaweb.de) and Portal Anarchismus on Wikipedia (www.de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Portal:Anarchismus). There are also useful anarchosyndicalist websites, namely syndikalismus.tk (www.syndikalismus.wordpress.com) and the online presence of the Institut für Syndikalismusforschung (www.syndikalismusforschung.info); the Institut für Syndikalismusforschung also runs the blog www.syndikalismusforschung.wordpress.com.

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