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What is anarchism? A reflection on the canon and the constructive potential of its destruction

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WHAT IS ANARCHISM?

A REFLECTION ON THE CANON AND THE CONSTRUCTIVE POTENTIAL OF ITS DESTRUCTION

by

Süreyya Evren Türkeli

Doctoral Thesis

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for the award of

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ABSTRACT

Contemporary debates in anarchism, particularly the conceptual debates sparked by the development of post-anarchism and those surrounding the emergence of the anti-globalization movement, have brought an old question back to the table: what is anarchism?

This study analyzes the canonical representations of anarchism as a political movement and political philosophy in order to reflect on the ways in which that critical question, 'what is anarchism?' has been answered in mainstream literature. It examines the way that the story of anarchism has been told and through a critical review, it discusses an alternative approach.

For this purpose, two seminal canon-building texts, Paul Eltzbacher's *The Great Anarchists*, and George Woodcock's *Anarchism* have been identified and their influence is discussed, together with the representations of anarchism in textbooks describing political ideologies. The analysis shows how assumptions, biases, and hidden ideological perspectives have been normalized and how they have created an 'official history' of a political movement. In challenging the official account, this study highlights the exclusions and omissions (third world anarchists, women anarchists, queer anarchism and artistic anarchism) that have resulted in the making of the core.

The question of 'how to tell the story of anarchist past' carries us to the shores of 'postmodern history' where theoreticians have been discussing the relationship between past and history and the politics of representation. The anarchism offered in this study demands an engagement with a network-like structure of information rather than a linear, axial structure.

Consequently, this study aims to show several layers of problems in the existing dominant historical representation of one of the richest political ideologies, anarchism; and then to discuss ways of representing the past and especially the anarchist past, to seek an answer to a principal question: what is anarchism?

Keywords: Anarchism, postanarchism, postmodern anarchism, hypertextual history, queer anarchism, anarcha-feminism, eurocentrism, art and politics.

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This thesis took nearly five years of my life. There were times I totally forgot it, worked on several other projects, and there were times I worked 7/24 on it. I started well before my little one was born, and now he is 3 years old already!

In 2007, while I was struggling with life in Istanbul, as someone who doesn't even have a undergradute degree, it was quite something to receive an email telling I will be granted with a scholarship for a doctoral thesis. That was a wonderful opportunity for working on anarchism. So I would first like to thank those who made this possbile: Ruth Kinna and Dave Berry.

Ruth Kinna then became my supervisor and we shared a special adventure on this experimental route. She was brave, and open, and encouraged me to go further and further. It would be even imaginable to complete such a project if she wasn't so deeply ready to explore new ways of thinking.

I would also like thank Alex Pritchard, Duane Rousselle, Alun Munslow, Matt Wilson, Jarmila Rajas, Saul Newman, Nalan Bahçekapılı and Moya Lloyd, Bezen Balamir Coşkun, Altuğ Coşkun and Zeynepnaz, Hüseyin Nacak, Ayla Nacak and little Doğa...

Finally, I would like to thank my dearest Neval, for being a part of this project wholeheartly together with me...

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PREFACE (And Epilogue)

I began this research with the intention of working on post-anarchism. Before applying for the doctoral programme in Loughborough University, I wrote numerous articles on postanarchism in Turkish and in our postanarchist publication collective in Istanbul, we produced several related publications.[1] We also translated a great deal of postanarchist work into Turkish to let the Turkish readers read as much postanarchist oriented material as possible. Yet I began to see some differences in my approach to postanarchism and the politics of postanarchists in the English-speaking world. These differences became evident in the representations of Third World anarchisms and the history of anarchism. At the 46th annual conference of the Political Studies Association (PSA) which took place at the University of Reading in 2006, I presented a paper on 'Post-anarchism and The Third World'[2] to discuss some of these issues. I applied to Loughborough University with the intention of writing a PhD on the same subject.

But things changed in the process of writing. What I ended up with is a dissertation that deals mainly with historical representations of anarchism: an inquiry into anarchist histories; a critique of the way in which the story of anarchism has been told and a discussion about the ways in which it should be told. In short, I finished with an inquiry into 'what anarchism is' and how should it be represented.

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[1] Some of them have been collected in my *Aranan Kitap* (Evren 2007); and some of them have been collected in *Bagbozumlari* (Evren and Ogdul 2002). For a history of our post-anarchist publications in Istanbul see my "Alternative Publishing Experiences in Istanbul" at http://interfacejournal.nuim.ie/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2010/11/interface-issue-1-1-pp158-168-Evren.pdf.

[2] http://theanarchistlibrary.org/HTML/Sureyyya_Evren__Postanarchism_and_the__3rd_World_.html

What was the process of my thinking?

As you will see in Chapter 1, which both serves as an introduction to the thesis and to my journey, I began by trying to understand the 'postanarchist turn' in 2000s, something which I was already a distant part of. Working on the 'postanarchist turn' carried me to 'new anarchism' and to the 'anti-globalization movements of 2000s'. While working on that chapter, together with a colleague and fellow postanarchist from Canada, Duane Rousselle, I also prepared an anthology of postanarchist writings (published as *Post-Anarchism: A Reader*, Pluto, 2011) and a special issue of a new journal on anarchist studies ('Post-Anarchism Today' of *Anarchist Developments in Cultural Studies*, 2010). Nevertheless, I dropped most of my work on post-anarchism from this thesis and in Chapter 1 include only a general sketch of postanarchism (together with 'new anarchism' and the anti-globalization movement), its development in the millennial world political scene and the debates prompted by the fundamental questions about anarchism that it raised.

Post-anarchism was typically positioned against 'classical anarchism'. Dwelling on debates between postanarchists and classical anarchists led me in one direction and to one principal conclusion: that we first need to discuss the historical representation of anarchism before we take sides! To sit on the classical or postanarchist side of the fence is to take for granted the very thing that should be questioned: the history of anarchism and the representation of the anarchist past. I believe this is a crucial question for anarchist politics today. It is also important to see how historical representation has had and continues to have an influence on contemporary debates and politics.

In a way, one can say that I wrote this entire thesis to be able to start discussing postanarchism! Now after finishing the thesis, I hardly have the energy.

The thesis maps my unfortunate journey. The researcher aims to dwell on a very contemporary, sexy subject: post-anarchism. Carrying books by Foucault and Deleuze around in his bag, he is enthusiastic about making a new contribution to the most up-to-date debates in anarchism. But finds himself in the archives, looking into the minute details of the lives of forgotten world anarchists and at the letters they sent to each other more than a 100 years ago.

I must admit that I enjoyed this more than I would imagine. Getting lost in the vast ocean of anarchist history, trying to embed myself in the global network of anarchism and anarchist history were all exciting experiences. I was not working on a 'new anarchism' but I was working on a 'new reading': a new reading of the canon and a new reading of the past and its representation; a new reading of anarchist history.

What is new about this reading? Is it new in the sense that it includes some new names and events and excludes some existing figures and critical moments? Is it new in the sense that it adds information gathered from new archival data? What is new in this reading?

The answer is that I question the hidden ideologies within modes of reading. Chiefly, I explore anarchistic lenses before re-focussing on the past. Following the introductory Chapter 1,[3] are three chapters which discuss the dominant anarchist narrative from

[3] I insisted on not calling this chapter an 'Introduction' but Chapter I because I don't want it to be understood as an Epilogue to a story, rather, it is a part of the story. Postanarchism was the reason for me to

different angles: Chapter 2, 3 and 4 form a 'cluster of chapters' where I work on the 'official' historical representation of anarchism as a political philosophy.

Chapter 2 tries to locate the key texts that created the platform for the dominant historical narrative. How was knowledge about anarchism shaped? That was one of my key questions.

In Chapter 2, I looked at two seminal, canon building texts, Paul Eltzbacher's *The Great Anarchists: Ideas and Teachings of Seven Major Thinkers,* and George Woodcock's *Anarchism, A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements*. I focused especially on Woodcock and the influence of his approach. As you will see, his history not only had a direct effect on the ongoing conceptualization of 'classical anarchism', it also defined the parameters of 'new anarchism' (Woodcock managed to achieve this even without writing a history of 'new anarchism'). I then traced the 'diffusion' of this representation into textbooks on political ideologies. In a way, I tried to capture the way that assumptions, biases, and hidden ideological perspectives become normalized and how they create an 'official history' of a political movement. While analysing the official account, I focused on the exclusions and missing histories as well as the construction of the core.

Chapter 3 deals with problems of the canon that result from its Eurocentric perspective. Chapter 3 aims not only to describe the worldwide anarchist movements that existed in the past and which have been systematically excluded from anarchist histories, but also to suggest a new conception of the global anarchist network as the core of anarchist history

---

start all this research but you will see shadows of postanarchism in all my following chapters. And moreover, the story of the research is considered as a part of it.

and the central element that defines ‘what anarchism is’.

Chapter 4 is where I complete the analysis of the orthodox history. It is a chapter dedicated to all other excluded components of the anarchist past. Women anarchists and anarcha-feminism, gay activists and queer anarchism, anarchist artists and artistic anarchism are all shown in relation to each other, each demanding their place in at the heart of ‘what anarchism is’. Treating these colourful dimensions of anarchism as main branches instead of side shoots to its history, that played a significant role in shaping anarchist politics, anarchist identity and anarchist philosophy, shows us how much we miss when we read the official account.

The first exclusions chapter (Chapter 3) is an examination of what was missed out in anarchism. It discusses the problem of prioritising Europe as the beginning and end of the movement. It captures the web-like nature of the anarchist movement and highlights its global reach demonstrating how Eurocentric mainstream representations really are. The second exclusions chapter (Chapter 4) is slightly different and functions to develop the argument of the thesis in two ways: first it illustrates the way in which the movement was actually constructed, and from that argues that anarchism is about networking, fluidity and open-endedness. Second, it shows that the exclusions obscured anarchist principles about representation and form. Both these points are the strong themes of the chapter.

After devoting three chapters to analyzing canon-building and discussing alternatives, I faced one critical question: how then should the story be told?!

There appeared to be two possible paths.

One was to add all the excluded elements back to the historical representation of anarchism, to write a final chapter which pointed up the various lacuna in the canon and says how to amend it. That would give a less-Eurocentric, less patriarchal official representation of anarchism or at least a guide to the fulfilment of such a task. Such a path would offer a new linear development in critique of the canon.

The second path carried the research a step further. Instead of trying to represent anarchism in a less-Eurocentric, less-patriarchal way, this approach required us to think about the very nature of representing a particular past. The question of 'how to tell the story of anarchist past' carried us to the shores of 'postmodern history' where theoreticians have been discussing the relationship between past and history and the politics of representation. To follow this second path requires us to re-imagine anarchist history from the beginning. And it is not possible or meaningful to try to maintain its linearity.

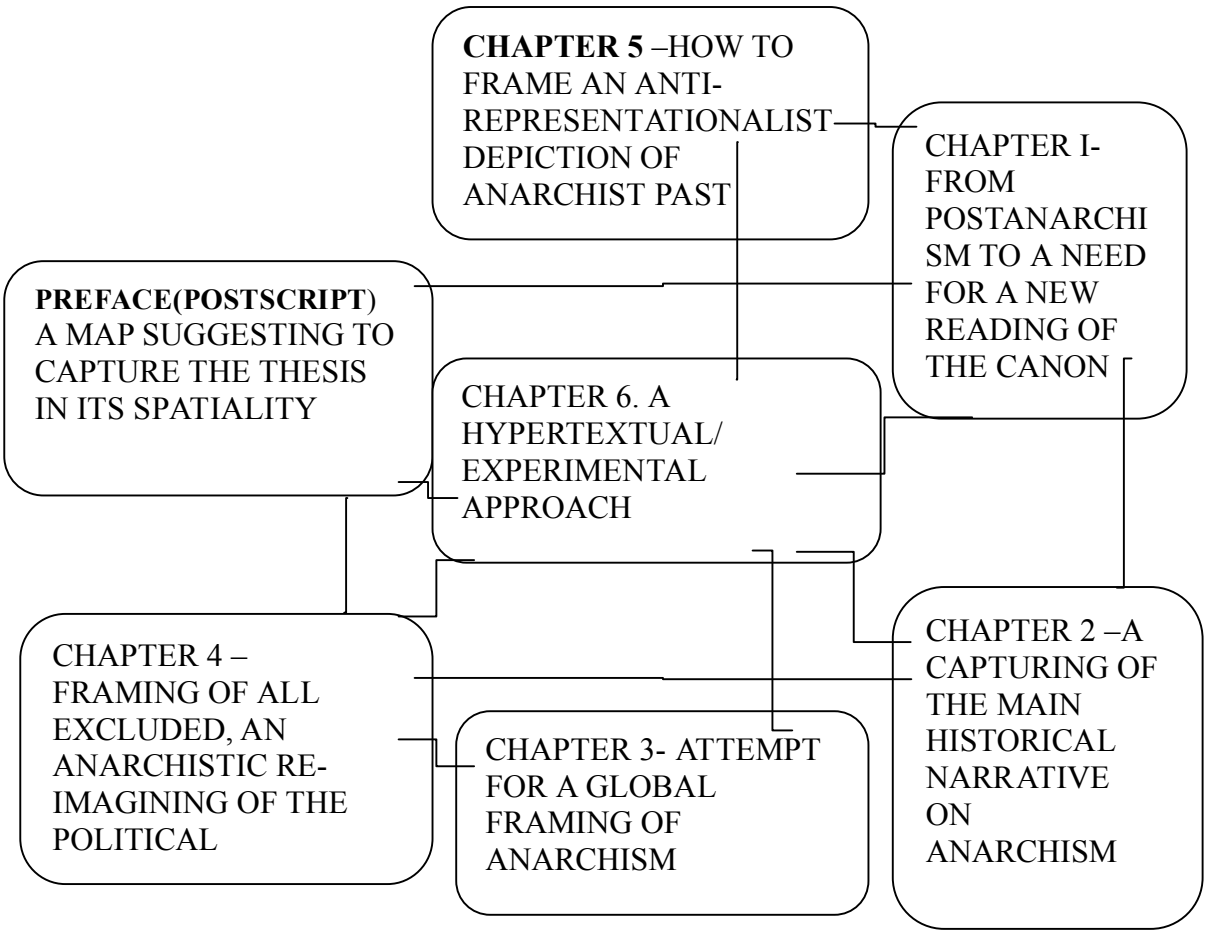
Staying loyal to poetry, 'I took the one less travelled by'.

Here, I would like to show both paths in diagrammatic form as I see them.

First: the amendment

PREFACE – A PRESENTATION OF THE PROJECT
CHAPTER I – DISCUSSING CONTEMPORARY ANARCHIST CURRENTS, FROM THE ANTI-GLOBALIZATION MOVEMENT TO POST-ANARCHISM, AND OBSERVING THE NEED TO DISCUSS 'ANARCHIST HISTORY'
CHAPTER II – AN ANALYSIS OF THE OFFICIAL ANARCHIST HISTORY AND CANON BUILDING
CHAPTER III - ANALYZING RACE AND ETHNICITY ISSUES IN THE REPRESENTATION OF THE ANARCHIST PAST, DISMANTLING EUROCENTRISM WITHIN, OPENING THE PATH FOR A MORE GLOBAL UNDERSTANDING OF ANARCHISM
CHAPTER IV - ANALYZING OTHER EXCLUDED ELEMENTS FROM QUEER ANARCHISM TO ARTISTIC ANARCHISM, RECONCEPTUALIZING THE 'POLITICAL' INCLUDING THESE DIMENSIONS
CHAPTER V - OFFERING A NEW GUIDANCE FOR FUTURE HISTORIANS ABOUT WHAT TO INCLUDE TO FUTURE ANARCHIST HISTORIES, A GENERAL PICTURE OF MISREPRESENTAIONS SO FAR AND SUGGESTING WAYS TO AVOID SUCH MISTAKES IN THE FUTURE.
CHAPTER VI –BIBLIOGRAPHY. SOURCES.

Second: a re-imagination



In the current structure, both paths appear to be taken. The opening chapters seem to follow the linear pattern of the amendment. The pace of the thesis begins to change after Chapter 5 where we have the first glimpse of the re–imagination: an anarchistic way to represent past. We then follow the oldest anarchistic strategy in these kinds of situations: represent but at the same declare the impossibility of representation. Like a 'spokesperson' in an anarchist group, who represents the group knowing that full representation is impossible and never poses as if it is possible (and thus never gets any privileges as a representative could), our history of the anarchist past represents the past by declaring that such a task cannot be fully accomplished, the past can never be represented as it is. But we may try to represent it in an anarchistic fashion, keeping ourselves true to anarchist principles but understanding the imperfection.

In fact, the whole thesis can also be understood as an anarchistic re-reading of the anarchist canon and all anarchist tradition.

The problem with the canonical representation, the official history of anarchism has various layers: a) first we have this problem of exclusions. The strands that are not given a representative value are chosen by a modernist 'telling' logic. This is not unique to the history of anarchism. We see similar exclusions in many other histories of political ideologies and culture in general; b) we have the problem of an assumed hierarchy of theory over practice, which runs against anarchist political traditions; c) finally we have the

problem of representing the past in history and the historiographical method best fitted for that task.

The aim of the thesis is not to reach a truth about the anarchist past but to present a history of the anarchist past that is true to anarchism. There is in the anarchist past an archive of anarchist events – selection, narration and their interpretation which creates a historical discourse on anarchism. The content and the form of this particular history of anarchism shall itself be anarchistic. The problem identified in anarchist history is not just one of exclusion but the identification of anarchism's centre and its claims to be representative.

The thesis is not linear, any more than the historical approach it defends, which is why I would like to describe it spatially, as a map, as a hypertextual network. Chapter 6 is in the 'central' position in my drawing. That does not mean that Chapter 6 is the end point for other chapters or that I am forcing a sequence. It rather means that Chapter 6 is the main node which has links directed from many nodes in the thesis and which provide many links back and forth within it.

This is why I have to explain that this Preface is not just a 'preface' but at the same time an 'epilogue'.

Combining a Preface with an Epilogue is a gesture I borrow from Edward Soja (though modified).[4] Soja, in his book *Postmodern Geographies, The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*, begins with a 'preface' which is at the same time a 'postscript.' Soja

[4] I preferred 'epilogue' instead of 'postscript' just to keep in mind the fictional character of any historical narration.

explains this approach as

> a particularly apposite way to introduce (and conclude) a collection of essays on postmodern geographies. It signals right from the start an intention to tamper with the familiar modalities of time, to shake up the normal flow of the linear text to allow other, more 'lateral' connections to be made. The discipline imprinted in a sequentially unfolding narrative predisposes the reader to think historically, making it difficult to see the text as a map, a geography of simultaneous relations and meanings that are tied together by a spatial rather than a temporal logic. (Soja 1990:1)

Soja aims to spatialize the historical narrative. This is exactly how our research ends in the final chapter and why this preface is at the same time an 'epilogue', a 'closure'. I hope this text, this preface-epilogue, will make sense, or rather will 'function', both in a beginning of a reading experience of this thesis and in the end of a reading experience of this thesis.

The spirit of the approach is captured in a quote that appears in Chapter 5. It is a quote from an interview with Swiss-French avant-garde filmmaker Jen-Luc Godard:

> REPORTER: Mr Godard, surely you agree that a story must have a beginning, a middle and an end.
>
> JEAN-LUC GODARD: Yes, of course. But not necessarily in that order.

As you will see in Chapter 6 in detail, the anarchism we offer demands an engagement with a network-like structure of information rather than a linear, axial structure.

In sum: Chapters 2, 3 and 4 show the flaws of the mainstream representations of anarchism and Chapter 5 and 6 offers an alternative approach. Chapter 5 works on the basis that it shows the representational flaw of the canon, insofar as the canon is representational. Chapter 6 is an application of Hayden White's critique of texts which attempt to answer the question 'what is anarchism'. This is where the hypertextual approach provides an alternative: because it is non-representational and allows links to all manner of stories, empirical histories. Yes, discursive strategies might be linked in many and various ways in the component parts of the web that we want to create. Yet, what we are arguing is that this is not the problem, if the form is kept open and the possibility of cross linking is always made clear.

Although it takes social relations to be central to anarchism, the thesis does not defend a fixed position on these issues. If it did, then it would easily become a discussion on anarchist sexual politics for example. And the discussion would be about questions like: what kind of a sex is the most anarchistic? What kind of a sex life is most faithful to the anarchist ethical compass or the anarchist mood? In this study, I do not attempt to answer any such questions. I do not deal with questions about forms of social organizing or forms of art (and art making and 'consuming') or forms of anarchist action.

Yet, I show that debates around these questions have always been vital for world anarchists. In chapter 4 in particular, but also in Chaper 3, I give various examples of answers to these questions and show links and similarities to picture how, within the web of anarchism, such questions have been crucial in shaping what anarchism is.

So instead of aiming to answer these questions one by one, this research deals with only

one such question: what form should/could the representation of anarchism take? How do we understand and represent anarchism anarchistically? How is that possible?

After reaching a definition of anarchism which stresses that it is ‘an understanding of form’ which embraces all the ‘open-ended, experimental approaches to form’ from today’s activist circles to historical artistic experiments, I opt for an anarchist history that both approaches history anarchistically and also uses an anarchistic structure of texts, namely hypertext.

This approach is not entirely new. Lewis Call has used similarities between hypertext and postmodernity in an anarchist context. Hypertext, according to Call, “deconstructs conventional text by interspersing such text with nonlinear hypertextual links” and hypartext also “makes it tempting to view ideas, concepts, and intellectual developments not in terms of a linear progression, as once was fashionable, but rather through the metaphor of the web.” (Call 2002: 1) Call then applies the form of 'matrix', which he draws from hypertextual web, to the history of postmodern philosophy, to raise his postmodern anarchism. Connections between the hypertextual approach, postmodern philosophy and anarchism are highly visible all through his book, *Postmodern Anarchism*. (Call 2002)

Thanks to hypertextuality, I have been able, like Soja, to frequently side-track the sequential flow “to take coincident account of simultaneities, lateral mappings that make it possible to enter the narration at almost any point without losing track of the general objective.” (Soja 1990: 2) Bracketing a 'preface' with an ‘epilogue’, using “forewords that are also afterwords, is only the first playful signal of this intentional rebalancing act.” (Soja 1990: 2)

Consequently, if we were to highlight our objective once more, this thesis aims (aimed) to show several layers of problems in the existing dominant historical representation of one of the richest political ideologies, anarchism; and then to discuss ways of representing the past and especially the anarchist past, to seek an answer to a principal question: how should the anarchist past be represented?

At first, all these efforts, especially the chapters where I include multi-skeptical history, experimental history and hypertextuality in the debate, may seem (or have seemed) 'new' and 'radical'; yet, the thesis also aims (aimed) to make you 'feel' that there is nothing 'new' in it. This is just an attempt to re-capture what anarchism has always been.

Of course, I am very well aware that "you can always get another picture, you can always get another context." (Jenkins 1995: 21) Consequently, "because new contexts are always – in principle and in practice – open to future re–contextualization ad infinitum, so the 'before now' is too. In that sense, while the past is literally behind us, histories are always 'to come'; in other words, the before now is always unstable 'historically' because history cannot 'in that sense' die." (Jenkins-Munslow 2004: 3)

Which means, what we offer, is not an attempt to 'stabilize' the anarchist past 'historically': but on the contrary to 'inhabit' that historical instability, 'anarchistically'.

CHAPTER 1: FROM NEW/POST ANARCHISM TO THE ORIGINS OF ANARCHISM

Anarchism is widely accepted as ‘the’ movement behind the organizational principles of the radical social movements of the 2000s. This latest 'resurgence' then, is where the story begins.

The Anti-Globalization Movement and Anarchism

The relationship between anarchism and the anti-globalization movement has been reciprocal; on the one hand, anarchism was the “defining orientation of prominent activist networks” and it was the “principal point of reference for radical social change movements” (Gordon 2007, 29). Thus anarchism provided the movement with its organization principles and tested methods. At the same time, because of these open borrowings and the massive numbers of anarchist activists that the movement contained, the ‘anarchistic’ rise of the anti-globalization movement, the popularity it gained and the major role it played in the first years of twenty–first century radical politics was “widely regarded as a sign of anarchism’s revival” (Kinna 2007, 67). Uri Gordon argued: “the past ten years have seen the full-blown revival of anarchism, as a global social movement and coherent set of poltical discourses, on a scale and to levels of unity and diversity unseen since the 1930s.” (Gordon 2007, 29). Few social movements in North America “have enjoyed as strong a revival in the twenty-first century as anarchism has experienced ... anarchism has re-emerged as a vibrant political force.” (Shantz 2010: 1) A tradition that has been “hitherto mostly dismissed” required a respectful engagement with it. (Graeber 2002, 1). Simply put, the anti-globalization movement brought anarchism back to the table. The dominant position of Marxism as ‘the’ left political philosophy and movement was as challenged by

the anti-globalization movement as it had been by the collapse of the USSR. It was anarchist forms of resistance and organizing that predominated: “from anti-capitalist social centres and eco-feminist communities to raucous street parties and blockades of international summits, anarchist forms of resistance and organizing have been at the heart of the ‘alternative globalization’ movement …” (Gordon 2007: 29). Anarchism was “the heart of the movement”, “its soul; the source of most of what’s new and hopeful about it.” (Graeber 2002: 1) The model for the kind of political and social autonomy that the anti-capitalist movement aspires to was “an anarchist one, and the soul of the anti-capitalist movement was anarchist; its non-authoritarian make-up, its disavowal of traditional parties of the left, and its commitment to direct action were firmly the spirit of libertarian socialism. (Sheehan 2003: 12). Theoretical concepts of the movement appeared to be “those associated with anarchism.” (Bowen-Purkis 2004:2) And anarchist theory and practice nurtured “contemporary modes of resistance against traditional social, political and economic forms of oppression ... Unquestionably, *anarchist praxis* was evidenced through anti-capitalist protests.” (Morland 2004:24, 37-38, emphasis added) Anarchism “more than any other specific political perspective animated the newest social movements of the alternative globalization movements. Certainly, in terms of the radical currents within alternative globalization movements it is anarchism, rather than socialism or Marxism that provides the imaginal force and visions that animate movements.” (Shantz 2010: 20)

So, first anarchists themselves and more importantly anarchist principles served as the organising principle of the new emerging anti-globalization movement. And in turn, the emergent movement served both as a global platform of testing anarchist principles in the new conditions of world politics, and as an Archimedian lever that largely displaced Marxism and brought anarchism to the attention of activists and academics worldwide – consequently making anarchism widely recognised. It led to an “almost unparalleled

opportunity to extend the influence of their [anarchists'] ideas" (Kinna 2005, 155) and on the theoretical level, it not only gave rise to anarchist–influenced activist research it also fostered contemporary anarchist theory. It even offered a new opportunity to form a new base for an anarchistic social theory. We witnessed growing numbers of scholarly publications and events on anarchism, but more interestingly, anarchism was used as a source of radical thought much more frequently and intensively than ever before. (Bowen & Purkis 2004; Cohn 2006; Moore and Sunshine 2004; Day 2005; Kissack 2008; Anderson 2005; Antliff 2007; Amster, DeLeon, Fernandez, Nocella & Shannon 2009; Jun & Wahl 2010).

New Anarchism

But this empowered, contemporary anarchism was not a reincarnation of nineteenth–century anarchism returning from the days of the First International or the 1936 Spanish anarchist revolution. Rather, this was something "new"[5]. There was a consensus that this was an anarchism re-emerging, but not in its old form. It was 'a kind of anarchism'. The question is: which kind?

Soon after David Graeber's article "The New Anarchists" was published in one of the most prominent Marxist–oriented journals, *New Left Review*, the term was widely accepted. For example, Sean Sheehan begun his introductory book *Anarchism* (Sheehan 2003) with a chapter titled "Global Anarchism / The New Anarchism." A book which was supposed to

[5] Later in the thesis we will see that this belief in the newness of 'new anarchism' is based on a problematic representation of anarchist history and in fact even the term 'new anarchism' is not a new term and has been used in the last 50 years for various reasons. (See especially Chapter 2)

cover anarchism as a political philosophy and movement began with detailed accounts of the 'Battle of Seattle', the legendary protest against the World Trade Organization (WTO) in November 1999[6] (Sheehan 2003:7-23). Of course, when the term was used in activist circles, it was not necessarily with reference to David Graeber's *New Left Review* article. Nevertheless the expression 'New anarchists' enjoyed a "wider usage within contemporary anarchist scenes." (Gee 2003:3)

The 'newness' of the 'new anarchism' referred to its spectrum of references. The anarchistic principles it employed were defined by actual experiences and not understood as an application of a certain anarchist theory (in fact, this was itself a fundamental anarchistic attitude). For Graeber, the anti-globalization movement is

> about creating new forms of organization. It is not lacking in ideology. Those new forms of organization *are* its ideology. It is about creating and enacting horizontal networks instead of top-down structures like states, parties or corporations; networks based on principles of decentralized, non-hierarchical consensus democracy.(Graeber 2002: 70)

Admittedly, Uri Gordon offers an analysis of "present-day anarchist ideology from a movement-driven approach" (Gordon 2007: 29). But it is no surprise that in the ideological core of contemporary anarchism he finds an "open-ended, experimental approach to revolutionary visions and strategies." (Gordon 2007: 29) Methods of protest and symbolic

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[6] We should keep in mind that understanding global anarchism as something 'new' is also based on a canonical representation of anarchist history that ignores the global character of 'classical anarchism'. (Anderson 2005; Khuri-Makdisi 2003; Levy 2010; see Chapter 3 for details).

gestures of the anti-capitalist movement are interpreted as an “anarchist-inspired opposition to neo-liberalism” which was sometimes combined with pragmatism (Sheehan 2003: 16).

This open-endedness gave ‘new anarchism’ an additional elusiveness which later led to positioning it as a rupture from ‘classical anarchism’. ‘Classical anarchism’ is another controversial term and as I will try to show later, usually positioned as a fixed ideology that is represented through the work of a select band of nineteenth–century anarchist writers – writers whose thoughts are reduced to certain clusters of ideas that only help to confirm prejudices about the nature of ‘classical anarchism’.

Nevertheless, discussions surrounding the ideas about ‘new’ versus ‘classical’ anarchism were seen as a part of the “conceptual and material evidence” to illustrate “a paradigm shift within anarchism”. (Bowen and Purkis 2004: 5)

Postanarchism

Debates formulated as ‘post-‘ versus ‘classical’ anarchism largely reflected a contemporary desire to re-position anarchism and they fostered new studies and discussions about postanarchism. Postanarchism was largely understood in the framework for ‘new’/’post-‘ versus ‘classical’ anarchism. (Kuhn 2009; Antliff 2011)

There was a “close fit between” the ‘new’ anarchism’s “system of coordination” and the way ‘postanarchism’ borrowed insights from poststructuralism about “how to build a left that embodies its own values. A left whose values are immanent ... that thrives without authority and repression, and rids itself of both inward - and outward-directed

ressentiment." (Kang 2005: 90)

Postanarchism was strongly influenced by currents within contemporary philosophy which emerged after the 1960s and it was these ideas that it brought it into debates about classical anarchism vs. new anarchism. Its association with the anti-globalization movement is confirmed by two of the most prominent writers associated with postanarchism in the English speaking world, Saul Newman and Todd May. During interviews conducted by the Turkish postanarchist magazine *Siyahî*, they both agreed that 'post-Seattle anti-globalization movements' 'absolutely' and 'certainly' had parallels with poststructuralist anarchy/postanarchism. Among some of the "similar ideas informing both movements" May listed: "irreducible struggles, local politics and alliances, an ethical orientation, a resistance to essentialist thinking"[7]. Newman went further, and while emphasizing the parallels between the anti-globalization movement and postanarchism, he also advanced a definition of postanarchism:

> Postanarchism is a political logic that seeks to combine the egalitarian and emancipative aspects of classical anarchism, with an acknowledgement that radical political struggles today are contingent, pluralistic, open to different identities and perspectives, and are over different issues – not just economic ones. (Newman 2004)

Here Newman defined postanarchism as an attempt to combine insights from classical anarchism with new anarchist epistemologies. However it is possible to argue that

[7] Interview with Todd May (May 2005).

postanarchism was actually an attempt to create a theoretical equivalent of the anti-globalization movements. Interest in postanarchism was directly linked to the enthusiasm created in post-Seattle anti-globalization movements and the theoretical attempt to marry poststructuralism/postmodernism and anarchism in various ways was quickly embraced by activists or activist–oriented scholars worldwide. The transformation of postanarchism into an '–ism', a current among the family of various anarchisms subsequently owed much to the web site and email list created by Jason Adams.

Adams started the email list as a Yahoo group on 9th October 2002. He created a web page in February 2003 and the spoon collective became the mailing list provider for the email group. The tone of emails back then reflects a certain excitement[8]. Adams himself was an activist-academic who has spent the entire year organizing the WTO protests in Seattle where he was living at the time. He also played an important role in organizing the N30 International Day of Action Committee' which set up the primary web site and international email listserv that was used to promote coordinated action against the WTO worldwide. The WTO protests were the real turning point at which led him towards postanarchist theory. His essay *Postanarchism in a Nutshell*[9], gives a short description of postanarchism and outlines its contents. (Adams 2003) Adams understood poststructuralism as a radically anti-authoritarian theory that emerged from the anarchistic movements of May 1968 to develop over the course of the next three decades. Finally,

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[8] See full archive of postanarchism email list in spoon collective here: http://www.driftline.org/cgi-bin/archive/archive.cgi?list=spoon-archives/postanarchism.archive. But the tone of excitement can be better traced in Yahoo group archives which is open to members only: http://groups.yahoo.com/group/postanarchism

[9] This oft-cited essay was also published with the title 'Postanarchism in a Bombshell' in *Aporia Journal*. See http://aporiajournal.tripod.com/postanarchism.htm

taking the form of ‘postanarchism’, it came back to inform and extend the theory and practice of one of its primary roots (anarchism). This positioning of poststructuralism is not as peripheral as it would first seem.

Poststructuralism and May 1968

For Julian Bourg the legacy of May 1968 was an ethical turn. Depicting May 1968 as "implicit ethics of liberation" he finds a continuity between the ethical debates that began with May 68 and continued with the "French theory" of the '70s. (Bourg 2007: 7)

> The ethics of liberation accordingly emerged in those social spaces where class-based revolutionary – and even reformist – politics were judged insufficient. For example, the popular statement 'the personal is political' was in essence eminently ethical; 1968 itself implied an ethics, the ethics of liberation, with both critical and affirmative sides.(Bourg 2007:6)

Bourg's work provided the link between anarchism and poststructuralism because the the ‘ethics of liberation’ had long been known as the anarchists’ primary concern in revolutionary/political action and theory. It was for this reason that prefigurative politics had been one of the touchstones of anarchism. According to Bourg, the activists of May 1968 were basically declaring that freedom is not free enough, equality is not equitable enough and imagination is not imaginative enough. (Bourg 2007:7)

Arguing that the historical roots of the ethical concerns within "French thought" extend back to the social movements and activism of May 1968, Bourg argues that Deleuze-Guattari's *Anti-Oedipus* highlighted the ethical sickness of the antinomian spirit of 1968 and it concretized a broader cultural ambience of post-1968 antinomianism. (Bourg 2007: 106-107)

Anyone familiar with anti-globalization movements, anarchism and poststructuralist theory will easily find parallels in Bourg's list of the values of the May 1968 movement,: "imagination, human interest, communication, conviviality, expression, enjoyment, freedom, spontaneity, solidarity, de-alienation, speaking out, dialogue, non-utility, utopia, dreams, fantasies, community, association, antiauthoritarianism, self-management, direct democracy, equality, self-representation, fraternity and self-defence." (Bourg 2007:7)

Douglas Kellner also sees a powerful connection:

> Thus, in place of the revolutionary rupture in the historical continuum that 1968 had tried to produce, nascent postmodern theory in France postulated an epochal coupure, a break with modern politics and modernity, accompanied by models of new postmodern theory and politics. Hence, the postmodern turn in France in the 1970s is intimately connected to the experiences of May 1968… French theorists associated with postmodern theory were all participants in May 1968. They shared its revolutionary elan and radical aspirations, and they attempted to develop new modes of radical thought that carried on in a different historical conjuncture the radicalism of the 1960s. (Kellner 2001: xviii)

Kellner's interpretation of the general flow of May '68 to ‘postmodern theory’, Bourg's emphasis on poststructuralist works as concretized forms of the spirit of 1968 and Adams's conception of postanarchism as poststructuralism's return (i.e. to the spirit of May 1968 found in contemporary anti-capitalist movements which are equally anti-authoritarian) all draw a different 'family tree' for postanarchism, than, say, the vision Todd May. Instead of taking poststructuralism as a body of thoughts separate from activism in general and specifically distinct from anarchism - as something that can be or should be, re-thought in combination with activism/anarchism - Adams sees a historical mapping for poststructuralism, follows the contexts in which it was created, the personal and thus

political background, to depict poststructuralism as a continuation and theoretical equivalent of the anarchistic activism that emerged in the '60s.

Postanarchism and Classical Anarchism

Todd May wrote his *The Political Philosophy of Poststructuralist Anarchism* in 1994, well before the Battle of Seattle – the 'five days that shook the world', as the title of one collection has it. (Cockburn 2001) Andrew Koch's early article *Poststructuralism and the Epistemological Basis of Anarchism* was also one of the first attempts to marry poststructuralism and anarchism along with May's book.

Koch can also be held 'responsible' for starting the stream of postanarchist simplifications of classical anarchism. He argued that the eighteenth and nineteenth century anarchist attacks on the state were based on a 'rational' representation of human nature. (Koch 1993:328) As we will see, this claim played an important role in categorizing classical anarchism as essentialist, and anarchist responses to prominent postanarchists of the English speaking world frequently rejected this point by showing different understandings of human nature in classical anarchism. However, Koch, with the help of poststructuralism, was aiming to "assist in the construction of an epistemologically grounded defence of anarchism". (Koch 1993:328) He argued that "poststructuralism conveys a logic of opposition by demonstrating how political oppression is linked to the larger cultural processes of knowledge production and cultural representation; and by defending uniqueness and diversity, poststructuralism stands against any totalizing conception of being. So its liberating potential derives from the deconstruction of any concept that makes oppression appear rational." (Koch 1993: 348)

Koch presented poststructuralism as a new opportunity, as a new tool in the box, to reformulate the claims of anarchism in a way that would rescue it from its rational

conceptualization of human nature. When reproduced by Saul Newman, this 'good intention' was not appreciated by all anarchists. Benjamin Franks for example, pointed out that Newman's (actually it was Koch's as well) "'salvaging' of anarchism was not only unnecessary but also potentially misleading", for it is based on a misrepresentation. (Franks 2007:135) It was commonly agreed that whilst seeking to correct the faulty epistemological and teleological bias of traditional theory, postanarchists remained wedded to a conception of the anarchist past which was itself faulty (Antliff 2007; Kinna 2007; Cohn-Wilbur 2003).

When the idea of rupture from classical anarchism to new anarchism/postanarchism became one of the central issues in anarchist debates in 2000s, George Crowder's book *Classical Anarchism* became popular after a decade of neglect. (Crowder 1991) Crowder had evaluated classical anarchism from a liberal perspective and he used the term 'classical anarchism' to describe four prominent figures of anarchist thought: Godwin, Proudhon, Bakunin and Kropotkin.

We will see later on that positioning anarchism in this way, as a political philosophy represented by a few thinkers – a trend started by Eltzbacher (Eltzbacher 2004; Kinna 2005: 13-15) – created many problems for postanarchism later on.

In a review of Crowder's *Classical Anarchism*, Sharif Gemie criticized this reductionism of anarchist theory. (Gemie 1993: cf. Kinna 1993) Gemie argued that Crowder's selection of anarchist thinkers was somewhat suspect and asked why Max Stirner was not included, for example, when Godwin was. And more remarkably, Gemie questioned, why were more important propagandists such as Jean Grave, or even Octave Mirbeau bypassed?. (Gemie 1993:90) Gemie's question provides a ground for one of the key questions of my research: who (what) represents anarchism? What are the politics behind the history

writing processes regarding anarchism? Why does Mirbeau, of the key classical anarchist figures, even today occupy such a marginalized position?

Postanarchism, Poststructuralist Anarchism & Postmodern Anarchism

As mentioned above, postanarchism became a worldwide phenomenon in the 2000s. Saul Newman's work was translated into Turkish, Spanish, Italian, German, Portuguese and Serbo-Croat. New texts were written in various languages. We witnessed a growing trend to re-read anarchism through a postmodern/poststructuralist lens, namely through the work of Foucault, Deleuze, Lyotard, Derrida, Lacan, Nietzsche, Baudrillard and others. The growth of this trend raised question about what the new current should be called. Todd May's expression 'poststructuralist anarchism' was a transparent description of what it contained: a marriage of poststructuralism and anarchism (May 1994).

The problem with 'poststructuralist anarchism' is that it represents an intersection of anarchism with a limited number of thinkers who are generally called poststructuralist. May had no difficulty with that, or with the exclusion of some poststructuralist thinkers (like Derrida and Baudrillard) for he thought their ideas inappropriate for any political project. For May, Derrida "remains without a clearly articulated philosophy" and Baudrillard's "thought tends toward the reductionist and comprehensive rather than the multiple and local". He reserves the term poststructuralist for the works of Foucault, Deleuze and Lyotard alone. (May 1994: 12)

Yet this understanding eliminates possible fields of research into different intersections; between different anarchisms and thinkers like Bakhtin who are not directly poststructuralist but who had a huge influence on poststructuralism. When the term

‘poststructuralist anarchism’ is preferred, the possibilities of making hypertextual links to Cixous or Irigaray or to art works or facts from political life or everyday life are closed off. The naming limits the scope of the current to particular philosophical works. In this regard, “postmodern anarchism” is more open, flexible and effective. For example, Lewis Call's postmodern matrix reaches and combines Marcel Mauss, Saussure, Durkheim or Freud on one line, and Chomsky and Butler on the other. Using ‘postmodern anarchism’ also enables Call to extend his work across cultural studies and to dedicate a chapter in his book to cyberpunk. (Call 2002) Call depicts postmodern anarchism as an anarchism that seeks to undermine the very theoretical foundations of the capitalist economic order and all associated politics by using Nietzsche’s anarchy of becoming, Foucault’s anti-humanist micropolitics, Debord’s critique of the spectacle, Baudrillard’s theory of simulation, Lyotard’s ‘incredulity toward metanarratives’ and Deleuze’s rhizomatic nomad thinking. And to show that contemporary popular culture does indeed exhibit a very serious concern for profoundly new forms of radical politics, he works on the cyberpunk fiction of William Gibson and Bruce Sterling. (Call 2002: 118-119)

Saul Newman used the term ‘postanarchism’ in a way which directly recalls ‘postmarxism’, and the extent to which he did so was highlighted in the preface to his book *From Bakunin to Lacan*, which was written by Ernesto Laclau. Benjamin Franks used this affinity more than any other reviewer of postanarchism in order to position Newman’s politics. (Franks 2007:131-134)

Though it was the most open and flexible of the three alternatives, Call’s preference for postmodern anarchism failed to catch on largely because of the negative connotations of the the term ‘postmodern’. In scholarly work, it is associated with hopeless relativism. For many activists postmodern is merely a phantasmal trap to the post-cold war global neo-

liberal politics of the world capitalist system. A series of well-known anarchist writers of the twentieth century, namely Murray Bookchin, Noam Chomsky and John Zerzan all articulated harsh criticisms against ‘postmodern thinkers', leaving a strong anti-postmodern impulse within anarchism. (Bookchin 1995; Chomsky 2006; Zerzan 2002) It is not uncommon within anarchist circles to find anti-postmodern sensibilities extended to thinkers like Foucault. Described in this way, Foucault becomes an essentially petty-bourgeois nihilist, who, having deconstructed everything ends up with nothing to hold on to. (Mueller 2003: 34) As Tadzio Mueller nicely put it, this criticism is nothing but the theoretical equivalent of the familiar branding of anarchists as brainless ‘rent-a-mob’-types with no positive proposals. (Mueller 2003: 34-35) In any event, apart from Call himself few others have shown much interest in using the expression postmodern anarchism.

Todd May’s poststructuralist anarchism, along with Koch’s project of utilizing poststructuralism for solving anarchism's epistemological problems, harmonises with Newman’s project of combining those two bodies. But there is a slight difference: May's work focuses on the politics of poststructuralism and attempts to gain some insights from anarchism to create a more effective poststructuralist politics whereas Newman comes from anarchism and tries to gain some insights from poststructuralism to create a more effective anarchist politics. As a result postanarchism has a better claim than other theoretical approaches to sit alongside other anarchisms. At the end of the day, it is ‘an anarchism’, it is not a new kind of ‘poststructuralism’. Newman even describes it as a combination and composition of classical anarchism and contemporary anarchism.[10] For him, poststructuralist qualities emerge through the lenses of contemporary anarchism.

[10] We will see later how the need to combine these two emerges after certain historical representations have concealed their continuities.

Unfortunately, the prefix post- irritated some anarchists as they thought that the term also suggested that the it applied to its new object as well - implying that anarchism, at least as heretofore thought and practised, was somehow obsolete. (Cohn-Wilbur 2003)

In different ways, the same question seemed to emerge: was it really be possible to surpass 'classical' anarchism? And if so, what is that anarchism which postanarchism attempts to surpass? If, moreover, someone claims that anarchism is outmoded isn't that also a claim about what anarchism is and was? What do we mean when we say 'anarchism'? How has this knowledge been shaped?

According to a common periodization of anarchism, which we will discuss later, we can roughly identify three main periods of anarchism since the nineteenth century: the first ends with the defeat in Spain 1939, the second is marked by events of the '60s and the third coincides with the anti-globalization movements.

Postanarchism studies mainly belong to this third period, sometimes also referred to as third wave anarchism (Adams 2003).

Most of the key works on postanarchism in English, which were criticised as misrepresentations of anarchism, in fact took standard histories of anarchism for granted. Cliché notions of classical anarchism were not new inventions of the postanarchists – they rebounded in standard literatures. So, instead of accusing postanarchists of employing problematic conceptions of anarchism I would like to ask where those conceptions actually came from.

We can find some clues in postanarchist writings. Todd May compares the work of Deleuze, Foucault and Lyotard with writings by Kropotkin and Bakunin with brief references to Emma Goldman, Colin Ward and Bookchin. Saul Newman adds Lacan, Stirner and Derrida to the picture, especially Lacan and Stirner. Lewis Call further broadens the canvas and describes a post-modern matrix from Nietzsche to Baudrillard. He compares their work with more or less the same anarchist classical thinkers and also with Chomsky and Bookchin. Lewis Call, Saul Newman and Todd May all refer to anarchism as a thought that can be grasped by summarizing the views of a few western thinkers. They follow a habit of elevating them as 'philosophers', a habit which has been absorbed uncritically by modern activist academics.

The tendency to treat anarchism in this way runs counter to the anarchist understanding of the intimate relationship between theory and practice and the rejection of hierarchy between the form and content of ideas. To take a current example, when David Graeber writes about the “new anarchism” of the anti-globalization movements he insists that the ideology of the new movement is the form of its organisation and organisational principles. (Graeber 2002) This is a typical stance in anarchism. Although Call, May and Newman, identified with a project which combines anarchism with theoretical perspectives that are known for their strong critiques of modernity, their approach to anarchist history is not really shaped by such concerns.

Ignoring Graeber’s (and contemporary anarchism's) position, but more importantly ignoring Kropotkin’s notion of the ‘anarchist principle’, they give priority to selected anarchist texts (without questioning or explaining the selection criteria) and understand anarchist practices/experiences as simple applications of these theories .

Continuing this logic, these writers give priority to modern western anarchist thinkers ('dead white males', as Mueller puts it), and leave in shadow those texts produced in a wide variety of other geographical locations (along with experiences embedded within them). The implication is that events and texts in the non-western world were just pure applications (if not imitations) of modern western anarchism. And that would mean that the truth of western anarchism is the as-yet-hidden-truth[11] of non-western anarchism(s); whereas the truth of written anarchism is the as-yet-hidden-truth (and telos) of anarchist practice.[12]

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[11] I am borrowing the phrase from Agnes Heller and Ferenc Feher. They argue: "Europe had always been more expansive and more expressly universalistic than other cultural projects. Europeans did not merely understand their culture as superior to others and these alien others as inferior to them. They also believed that the 'truth' of European culture is in the same measure the as-yet-hidden truth (and telos) of other cultures, but that time had not yet come for the latter to realize this." (Heller – Feher 1988: 2). This is quite recognizable in approaches which take only Western anarchism as the anarchism per se, and understanding of anarchist theory and practice in non-Western geographies either as something that belong to those political cultures (unique in an exclusive sense, in a sense that they cannot be taken as a part of the core, the canon), or as something which is merely an imitation, thus, Western anarchisms are the as-yet-hidden-truth (and also telos) of non-Western anarchisms. (See Chapter 3)

[12] This has been sampled in James Joll's history of anarchism, *The Anarchists* (1964). Joll, after summarizing the life and politics of Proudhon, says: "...Proudhon is the first and most important anarchist philosopher; and later anarchist writers have not added very much to what he said. What remained was to see how far these ideas could be put into practice" (Joll 1964: 79) Thus, whole history of anarchism is represented as the history of efforts that are basically trying to put into practice a certain philosopher's (Proudhon's) ideas into practice.

Many postanarchist works fail to detect Eurocentric assumptions buried in the anarchist narrative and Jason Adams has provided some examples to help us detect these elements in the writing of anarchist history.[13] (Adams 2003)

As someone working on postanarchism, Adams showed in his early article *Non-Western Anarchisms,* the necessity of turning critical investigation to the given history of anarchism.

Before comparing classical anarchism with poststructuralist philosophy, or before making a genealogy of affinities (as Richard Day deploys in *Gramsci is Dead*[14]) in the realm of 'classical anarchism' one must first endeavour to make a genealogy of the anarchist 'canon'.

To summarise: a central problem of postanarchist literature is that it has not undertaken a new reading of the anarchist canon. Postanarchists have failed to investigate classical anarchism from their poststructuralist perspectives, and have instead compared poststructuralist theory with what was readily available in a classical anarchism, written

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[13] And the fact that Adams' *Non-Western Anarchisms* and Sharif Gemie's *Third World Anarchism* (Gemie 2004) have both been translated into Turkish and more importantly they have been perceived as crucial anarchist texts (whereas they are not much appreciated in Western anarchist circles), is itself a sign of different priorities concerning this issue among anarchist circles worldwide.

[14] See especially Chapter 4 ("Utopian Socialism Then…) in Richard J. F. Day's *Gramsci is Dead*, *Anarchist Currents in the Newest Social Movements*, (Day 2005).

mostly from a modernist perspective. I believe that this failure is deeply problematic.

Trying to pinpoint the nature of the problem involes asking why it is so easy for postanarchists to rely on the assumption that anarchism is based on an idea of human essence (natural goodness)? Todd May, for example, does not even feel a need to cite a source when he describes the anarchist position. He simply asserts: “anarchists have a two-part distinction: power (bad) vs. human nature (good)”. (May 2000)

If we go back and look at David Morland’s book, *Demanding the Impossible, Human Nature and Politics in Nineteenth-century Social Anarchism*, which examines anarchist understanding of human nature, we see that even the ‘usual suspects’ (Proudhon, Bakunin and Kropotkin), do not have such an understanding. (Morland 1997) Where, then, does this cliché come from? (It is also interesting that Morland shows that it comes from basic texts on political theory – books that anarchists or left intelligentsia would never normally read but which academicians working on related areas frequently do – Ian Adams’s *Political Ideology Today*, or Andrew Heywood’s *Political Ideologies: an Introduction* are two examples) (Morland 1997: 5) Morland's observation provides a good reason to consider how anarchism is represented in political philosophy readers – a topic discussed in Chapter 2.

Morland is not the only writer to appreciate the complexity of anarchist conceptions of nature.

In a 1989 article titled “Human Nature and Anarchism”, Peter Marshall notes on the same topic that “while classic anarchist thinkers, such as William Goldwin, Max Stirner, and Peter Kropotkin, share common assumptions about the possibility of a free society, they

do not have a common view of human nature … and their views of human nature are not so naïve or optimistic as is usually alleged." (Marshall 1989, 128) Marshall also deals with the subject in his well-known book *Demanding the Impossible, A History of Anarchism* (Marshall 1993). There he notes that some anarchists "insist that 'human nature' does not exist as a fixed essence." (Marshall 1993: 642-643).

CONCLUSION

Taking all these contemporary discussions into consideration, we are faced with the same crucial question: what are we talking about when we talk about anarchism? Or to put it another way: what do we call anarchism nowadays?

It seems pretty obvious that whenever we want to develop a contemporary theoretical approach that answers the needs of our era, we begin to refer to an anarchist past which is generally called 'classical' (also sometimes 'historical') anarchism. What is the position of classical anarchism regarding human nature? Was classical anarchism essentialist in that sense? We call today's 'open-ended and experimental forms' of anarchism 'new'; but what were the 'old' forms like? Are we really talking about the anarchist past or are we talking about anarchist history which is a representation of that past?

The much referred periodization of anarchism is also a result of the anarchist canon and historical representations which create rarely questioned ruptures in the history of anarchism. (Walter 1987; Levy 2010) So, there is a certain need to question given histories of anarchism, and to show their contingency and 'take them apart'. Histories of anarchism *have* writers and we could not face this more directly. There are no given truths

on anarchism in historical representations. The positions and discourses of the writers who wrote these anarchist histories have shaped the main elements of anarchism as we know it/as it is represented today. Working on history–writing in anarchism means to consider history's nature as a form of knowledge and question how the knowledge on anarchism was set.

There was an 'anarchist canon' which existed before the postanarchists started their attempts to 'save' it. And it is an important task to decode the biases affecting ideas about anarchism's essence: who represents anarchism in the anarchist canon. How do exclusions work within knowledge–production processes on anarchism? What are the structural assumptions behind its canonization?

The rest of the thesis is an inquiry about anarchist history: how have we represented the anarchist past until now and how should we represent it today?

CHAPTER 2: THE CANONICAL STORY ON ANARCHISM

This chapter aims to investigate further certain questions raised in the first chapter: What represents anarchism and the anarchist canon? How do exclusions work within knowledge production processes on anarchism? What are the structural assumptions behind the canonization of anarchism? It starts with a direct questioning of anarchist history, and the representation of anarchism. Examining the problem of ideological reduction will show how canonization works and how the anarchist canon came into being. This requires a close examination of two works on anarchism: the first written by Paul Eltzbacher and the second by George Woodcock. The intention is to reveal the assumptions, ideologies and logic behind the anarchist canon and, importantly, its inclusions and exclusions. The chapter ends with an analysis of anarchism as depicted a number of standard textbooks on political ideology to show how the assumptions buried in the construction of the canon have shaped common understandings of anarchism outside the anarchist tradition.

REPRESENTING THE TRADITION

Anarchists, it is frequently claimed, have long felt the threat of historical marginalization, even total neglect, and of being put on the dust-heap of history.[15](Joll 1964: 11) The

[15] James Joll begins his history of anarchism, *The Anarchists*, by quoting Trotsky: "You are miserable isolated individuals. You are bankrupt. You have played out your role. Go where you belong, to the dustheap of history." (Joll 1964: 11) This is Trotsky addressing the Mensheviks in October 1917. But Joll strongly believes that this call, "to go where you belong, to the dustheap of history" was directed to anarchists as well, and he agrees with this part of the argument: "anarchism failed". This is a dominating theme of the book. Apparently, the theme of anarchist failure has been accepted by the historians of anarchism without question.

response, I will argue, has been an attempt to make anarchism cohesive, keep it alive, and to transfer the ideology safely from one generation to the next. This has resulted in the construction of a text-based tradition, labelled as 'Anarchism'. Outsiders, non-anarchist writers working on anarchism, like Paul Eltzbacher, adopted a similar approach and also felt the need to describe this 'chaotic' package of theories and practices and name it as anarchism. [16]

Even when attempting to explain anarchism defensively, anarchists still managed to develop a significant body of work. The tradition includes works like the *Die Anarchisten* (*The Anarchists*, 1891) by John Henry Mackay, a very early queer activist of Scottish origin who grew up in Germany, [17] *L'Anarchia* (*Anarchy*, 1891) by the prominent Italian anarchist

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[16] Of course, the concern of scholars like Eltzbacher was not at all similar to the anxiety of anarchist militants who feared that the future of anarchism is under great threat. Eltzbacher was trying to make anarchism as another workable subject matter in terms of his discipline. But these two differently motivated attempts to pack anarchism overlapped in Woodcock's work: he wanted to transfer 'the' anarchism he believed in, pass it on to future generations, and defeat the type of anarchism he was against as we will see in detail; but he also wanted to picture it, just like Eltzbacher did, as another workable subject matter in terms of, not only law or politics, but various disciplines of the humanities.

[17] It must be noted that John Henry Mackay's *The Anarchists* was written in the form of a novel. Yet the book contains a discussion about individual freedom and communism within anarchism. Mackay is generally known as the man who introduced Stirner as an anarchist. (Probably since Kropotkin's reference to him in the famous Anarchism article published in *The Encylopaedia Britannica* in 1910) Benjamin Tucker became aware of Stirner thanks to Mackay's efforts and published *The Ego and Its Own* in English. Although this connection later created an image of Stirner as the 'founding father of individualist anarchism', in fact, Tucker learned about Stirner after he shaped his politics of individualist anarchism. Considering Mackay's close relations with Edward Carpenter and his queer politics, *The Anarchists* is a good example of defending and discussing a certain position within anarchism while representing the whole tradition. (See Chapter 4)

Errico Malatesta; *Anarchism, Its Philosophy and Ideal* (1896) by Peter Kropotkin, the writer most acknowledged as 'the' anarchist thinker worldwide; *Der Anarchismus* (*The Great Anarchists: Ideas and Teachings of Seven Major Thinkers, 1900*) by Paul Eltzbacher, a German law professor; *The Historical Development of Anarchism* (1890) and later works by Max Nettlau; and *Anarchism and Other Essays* (1910) by Emma Goldman.

From the start, books on anarchism were discussions about anarchism, and they included challenging views. Mackay's *The Anarchists*, for example, was an individualist's critique of anarchist-communist traditions. Similarly, Kropotkin's classic contribution to the 1910 edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, was more than a single descriptive entry for anarchism. It was also a defence of Kropotkin's understanding of anarchism - the Kropotkinite position. Goldman's and Malatesta's accounts similarly summarize their arguments about anarchism by defining what anarchism is and what anarchism has been – what it should and should not be. Their work is politicized, like other ideological writings. And it contributed to the elaboration of a theory and the formation of a political tradition made distinctive by the character of its own debates. In contrast, Eltzbacher's book takes a supposedly neutral position to sketch a general picture of anarchist thinking. His same approach also played an important role in shaping the anarchist canon, as we will see in more detail, but not in the same way.

We can track other notable books in the anarchist tradition: *The ABC of Anarchism* (1929) by Alexander Berkman; *Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism* (1948) by Rudolf Rocker; *Anarchism* (1962), *The Anarchist Reader* (1977) and *Anarchism and Anarchists* (1992) by George Woodcock; *The Anarchists* (1964) by Irving L. Horowitz, *The Anarchist*s (1964) by James Joll, *L'anarchisme: de la doctrine à* la pratique (*Anarchism from Theory to Practice,*

1965) and *Ni Dieu ni maître, anthologie historique du mouvement anarchiste* (*No Gods No Masters, an Anthology of Anarchism*, 1965) by Daniel Guérin, *About Anarchism* (1969) by Nicholas Walter, *Anarchism, Arguments for and Against* (1981) by Albert Meltzer, *Anarchist Portraits* (1988) by Paul Avrich, *A History of Anarchism*, by Peter Marshall (1992), *Anarchism* (2003) by Sean Sheehan, *Anarchism, A Very Short Introduction* (2004) by Colin Ward, *Anarchism, A Beginner's Guide* (2005) by Ruth Kinna and *Anarchism and Its Aspirations* (2010) by Cindy Milstein.

But notwithstanding all these contributions, George Woodcock's work, *Anarchism, A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements*, has proved to be seminal and the main reference for post-war anarchist scholarship. It became the "standard history of libertarian movements." (New 1978: XII) For both activists and academics, it has gained a kind of representative status.[18] George Woodcock was a very prolific writer, who published more than 100 works,[19] yet, this one history of anarchism published in 1962 (1962 in the USA;

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[18] Woodcock's *Anarchism*'s represantative status can also bee seen clearly in studies where the writers are not really experts of the anarchist tradition but working on something that is related to anarchism. For these scholars, there is a need to remind their readers what anarchism is/was, what it stands for. And for this purpose they usually find it reliable to refer to George Woodcock's *Anarchism*. See for example Thomas A. Stanley who quotes directly from Woodcock to define anarchism and to summarize the movement in *Osugi Sakae, Anarchist in Taisho Japan, The Creativity of the Ego* (Stanley 1982: 57); and Lewis Perry's *Radical Abolitionism, Anarchy and the Government of God in Antislavery Thought* (Perry 1973).

[19] See the George Woodcock Resources page of The *Canadian Literature* web site for a detailed list of his published works covering a huge area: http://web.archive.org/web/20061010104929/www.canlit.ca/resources/biblio.html. And an another detailed bibliography, *A Bibliography of the Writings of George Woodcock*, prepared by Ivan Avakumovic, can be found in *A Political Art, Essays and Images In Honour of George Woodcock.* (New 1978: 211-249. This bibliography of Avakumovic includes "articles, review articles, book reviews, notes, and letters to the editor signed George Woodcock, G. W., Anthony Appenzell, L. T. Cornelius, and Cornelius Lehr, the three noms

1963 in Britain), became the title that represents, not only Woodcock but anarchism, as well.

GEORGE WOODCOCK: THE POET

George Woodcock (8 May 1912 – 28 January 1995) was born in Winnipeg Canada, but his family moved back to England less than a year after his birth.[20] (Woodcock 1982: 21) He lived for around 30 years in England and met with anarchist ideas for the first time here, shaped as an anarchist in the British political environment. During World War II, he was a conscientious objector, and after the war, in 1949, he moved back to Canada and lived there till the end of his long life. Woodcock was a man of letters, a historian, biographer, critic and he was one of those anarchists who created direct links between art and anarchist politics.[21] Woodcock was himself a poet and also the editor of the influential

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de plume George Woodcock has used, as well unsigned editorials in Canadian Literature (Vancouver) and *Now* (London)." (New, 1978: 211)

[20] Yet, Canadian sources tend to picture him as a native Canadian. W.H. New calls him "the Winnipeg boy" and adds that Canada was George Woodcock's native country. (New 1978: VIII, X) But there is no doubt that, the Britishman, George Woodcock, later in his life made himself a Canadian and contributed to Canadian culture a great deal. According to Peter Hughes, for example, Woodcock "virtually created Canadian literature through the journal he founded under that name." (Hughes 1974: 49) And according to Julian Symons, Woodcock "is a natural asset in Canada." (New 1978: 174) For Robert Fulford, Woodcock was "by far Canada's most prolific writer", and for Silver Donald Cameron, Woodcock was "quite possibly the most civilized man in Canada". Doug Fetherling says Woodcock was Canada's "only anti-authoritarian intellectual." (Fetherling 1980: viii-xii)

[21] With that I mean facts like Woodcock's respected status in Canadian literature circles as a critic, and his books on literary figures from Herbert Read to George Orwell. Yet, *Anarchism* is one of the books on anarchism that attaches very little importance to the role of the arts and artists in anarchist history. (See Chapter 4)

critical quarterly *Canadian Literature*. This acquaintance with literature played an essential role in shaping the intense and dramatic language of his *Anarchism*, which is full of striking metaphors. It might be argued that his account of anarchism, as depicted in the book *Anarchism, A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements*, became such a phenomenon, partly thanks to his abilities of writing skilfully.

The first person who talked about anarchism to Woodcock was a fellow commuter he met in a train. Woodcock says this was the only venue for someone like him, an autodidact, to establish a sustainable relationship. The old guy he met on the train, Brooks, was "the first person who talked" to Woodcock about anarchism "as a doctrine which, while he didn't share it, he thought must be considered seriously." (Woodcock 1982: 168) And he lent Woodcock the first anarchist book he ever read: *The Memoirs of a Revolutionist* by Kropotkin. It is interesting that his first encounter with anarchism was an autobiography since later on he himself wrote mostly biographies and autobiographies, and biographical notes played such an important role in his depiction of anarchism.

Woodcock became "a pacifist anarchist" (Woodcock 1982:183) inhabiting the literary circles of the magazine *Twentieth Century Verse* in London. The group met in the radical bookshop of Charles Lahr, who had become “an anarchist in his youth in Germany" (Woodcock 1982: 177).

A series of anti-war novels played a significant role in Woodcock's pacifism, notably Erich Maria Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front*, Richard Aldington's *Death of a Hero* and Robert Graves's *Good-Bye to All That*. (Woodcock 1982: 187)

It seems he first became a pacifist with anarchist concerns, and with the events in Spain, he included anarchism in his “spectrum of acceptable beliefs". "I was to come to that somewhat later, largely through my interest in Spain, which began when the abdication of Alphonso XIII in 1931 encouraged me to believe that peaceful overthrow of authority was possible, that pacifism and revolution might be reconciled." (Woodcock 1982: 187) As an anarchist pacifist, Woodcock decided “to refuse to serve militarily if a war came out." (Woodcock 1982: 192) Anarchism, for Woodcock, was a logical extension of pacifism in times of war and extraordinary worldwide violence: "Having decided that I would resist the dictates of the state, if necessary to the extent of going to prison, I realized that war resistance led naturally and logically to anarchism, since one was necessarily putting one's own conscience above the law, and therefore denying the presumptions of the state and legality." (Woodcock 1982: 196) In his application to the tribunal as a conscience objector, Woodcock cited the influence of Gandhi, Wilde and some individualist anarchists. (Woodcock 1982: 225)

Woodcock began attending anarchist public meetings in 1941 in London and the only point on which he disagreed with speakers was the issue of revolutionary violence. (Woodcock 1982: 239). He felt most close to those anarchists who were "almost completely Gandhian". (Woodcock 1982: 239)

Woodcock became interested in anarchist history as early as 1941. We learn this where he says that Albert Meltzer took against him because he recognized Woodcock in the field of anarchist history, and identified him as a potential rival. (Woodcock 1982: 246).

THE DESIRE TO PLEASE MARIE LOUISE

Woodcock calls his seminal work *Anarchism* his "critical history" (Woodcock 1982: 250) but he is very harsh about his own earlier output: *Anarchy or Chaos* (which is sometimes marked as a book written by Woodcock who was "at that time anarchist")[22]: "I see it (*Anarchy or Chaos*) now as no more than a passable apprentic work, its ideas half-digested, its story distorted, and the desire to please my new comrades - especially Marie Louise - painfully evident." (Woodcock 1982: 250)

It would be difficult to claim that Woodcock's pacifisim and anti-Bakuninism resulted from his disappoinment and feelings of defeat following the collapse of the Spanish Revolution because we learn from his autobiography that Woodcock did not really feel this emotion with the Spanish experience. His anarchism was rather shaped after Spain when he was in London among radicals from the art world and the political scene, and especially through his relations with the *War Commentary* and Freedom Press Group and the relationships he developed during the long 1940s, while he was publishing his own magazine, *NOW*.

Indeed, he felt a greater sense of disappointment with the end of the war! Not because he did not want the war to end of course, but because he felt the pointlessness of being a pacifist anarchist in the post-war political climate and amid the factionalism of the anarchists: "... the bitter disunity within the anarchist movement had also made me skeptical as to whether our beliefs could ever be effectively manifest as a current of thought sustained by individual thinkers and through them influencing society." (Woodcock

[22] Cf. Frank Minz's review of *Anarchism*. http://www.katesharpleylibrary.net/j6q60z

1982: 281) This feeling (the conclusion, of his few post-war years in London) is one of the main themes of *Anarchism*, published more than 10 years later. Woodcock did not believe in political action, and he identified the ideas of individual thinkers as the most perfect manifestation of anarchism.

It must be noted that before writing *Anarchism*, Woodcock wrote biographies of the same 'major' anarchist thinkers he represented in *Anarchism*. The first, which enjoyed good reviews and also gave him a sense of success as a writer, was his study of William Godwin. This was followed by a book on Kropotkin (for which he worked with a Yugoslavian, Ivan Avakumovic) and then a book on Proudhon. (Woodcock 1982: 305-306) His earlier collection, *The Writer and Politics* (1948), in a similar manner included chapters on Proudhon, Herzen, Kropotkin, George Orwell, Graham Greene, Ignazio Silone, Arthur Koestler, Franz Kafka.

The reader of his autobiography, *Letter to The Past*, is left with a sense that his wife and his ‘escape’ to Canada both played a role in his disenchantment with anarchism. However, because his wife Ingeborg Woodcock did not want him to write about her, Woodcock does not elaborate. Nevertheless, an escape from anarchist politics is apparent. Talking about his friends' reactions when they learned that Woodcock and his wife would be leaving for Canada, he says: "The anarchists felt that I was betraying our past association, and perhaps they were right, since I would never have decided to go away from London if I had not concluded that my involvement in anarchism must now be only philosophic." (Woodcock 1982: 309)

It seems Woodcock always felt a need to legitimize his (and his wife’s) decision to leave London and the anarchist movement at the end of '40s: even thirty years later he still

evidently felt the need to justify his motives at the time. *Anarchism*, was an important part of the same process insofar as it declared that what he had "abandoned" (the anarchist movement) was already dead. *Anarchism* was published in 1962, and a few years later, what he pronounced dead, became a living political force and theme of the day. Thinking that he ought to explain this awkward situation in 1968 he wrote the article 'Anarchism Revisited'. This begins with a quote from *Anarchism*, about anarchism's failure and and permanent death. Now Woodcock describes *Anarchism* as "largely a reckoning" with his "own youth." (Woodcock 1992: 40) He summarizes his radical past working with anarchist groups from the early 1940s to the early 1950s, reminds the reader that he was an editor of British anarchist papers *War Commentary* and *Freedom*, that his own *NOW* was the main organ of literary anarchism during the 1940s and, finally, that he contributed regularly to Dwight Macdonald's *Politics*.[23] Woodcock also mentions *Anarchy or Chaos*, again with contempt: "I compiled a jejune manual of anarchist tenets, *Anarchy or Chaos*, as narrowly sectarian as a Trotskyite tract".[24] (Woodcock 1992: 41) And he confirms having been a

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[23] Woodcock also described the people he met in the anarchist circles of London in 1940s: "I met some intelligent people, of whom a few were charming and one was beautiful" (Woodcock 1992: 41). Who was the one that was beautiful, is something we cannot tell. Nicolas Walter criticizes the importance Woodcock assigns to himself in *Anarchism* when he says: "The 1950s was a period of somnolence for anarchism in Britain. The movement lost two of its leading figures in 1949 when Marie Louise Berneri died and George Woodcock departed ..." Walter recalls that "the death of the former was certainly a political as well a personal tragedy, but the departure of the latter was scarcely noticed. (Walter 1987: 177)

[24] Yet, in another article, "The Rejection of Politics", dated 1972, Woodcock shows more sympathy to his first book on anarchism, *Anarchy or Chaos*. Although still he notes that "in many ways it was a naive book" he also admits that "there are parts which, with a little rewriting, I still found worth reading and concludes: "I still believe in general terms what it says". (Woodcock 1992: 78). He summarize his changing attitudes towards this book that marks his activist days in London in a preface written for the second edition of *Anarchy or Chaos*: "…even only a few years after it was written, *Anarchy or Chaos* seemed to me a very naïve book, and by the end of 1950's, when I was already preparing my *Anarchism*, I was so embarrassed

radical at the time, highlighting the refusal of an immigration visa by United States in 1955, a good four years after he “had abandoned any kind of connection with organized anarchism”. (Woodcock 1992: 41) But then Woodcock insists that the old movement, which was already dying when he left, is in fact still dead, notwithstanding the newly emerging anarchism of '60s, because what is emerging in '60s is a 'new anarchism'. This is totally different from the old one, not at all a continuation of the 'classical anarchism'. Woodcock claims that the “anarchists of the 1960s were not the historic anarchist movement resurrected; they were something quite different, a new manifestation of the idea.” In this article, Woodcock use the term ‘classic anarchists’.[25] (Woodcock 1992: 57) but also ‘historic anarchists’ and even ‘the old revolutionary sect’ (Woodcock 1992: 44). He argues that anarchism did not enjoy a revival during 1960s as a movement, but only as a doctrine. “The old revolutionary sect has not been resurrected, but in its place has

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by what I saw as its juvenility, that I asked Freedom Press to withdraw it from circulation. Later, at the age of 60 in the early 1970’s, I returned to it and – like my old friend Herbert Read considering his revolutionary youth - I also found that ‘I now envy these generous occasions.’ I realized, as I now do, that much of *Anarchy or Chaos* still belongs to the decade in which it was written. But there were parts which I still found worth reading, and still useful …” (*Anarchy or Chaos*, George Woodcock, Lysander Spooner, Willimantic 1992, p. ii-iii)

[25] In an other article, “Anarchist Living and the Practice of Art”, dated 1976, Woodcock also uses the term ‘classic Bakuninist anarchism’. (Woodcock 1992: 112). This passage shows his deep hostility towards Bakunin, also evident in his chapter on Bakunin in *Anarchism*. Moreover, his comparison of a classic Bakuninist anarchism with the currents of anarchism which became prominent in the 1960s is based on his own representation of 'classical anarchism'. For example, as Woodcock doesn’t consider Emma Goldman a canonical figure who also represents anarchism; he doesn’t bother thinking about the very obvious continuities that can be traced from her anarchism to the anarchism of 1960s (like the focus on culture, daily life, Nietzsche, revolution and dance, personal as political, etc.) Nor does he consider the inter–relationship between these themes and those associated with Bakunin.

appeared a moral-political movement typical of the age." (Woodcock 1992: 44)

THE BOOK

Woodcock's central book, written in 1960-1961, as mentioned above, has been accepted as the main reference on anarchism by scholars and activists alike, all around the world. Its position among the books on anarchism is unique. Another major historian and writer of anarchism, Colin Ward, suggests that Woodcock's *Anarchism* found more readers throughout the world than any other contemporary work on anarchism. (New 1978: 204) Nicolas Walter said "[Woodcock's] *Anarchism* has been the most widely read book on the subject" and it must have "introduced more people to anarchism than any single publication." (Walter 1987: 174) Its significance for both '60s radicals, and for the generations who followed is neatly summarized by Jeremy Jennings. In his chapter on anarchism he says "the standard text on the history of anarchism is G. Woodcock, *Anarchism*. To this can now be added ..." and he adds works by Peter Marshall, James Joll and others. (Jennings in Eatwell & Wright, 1993: 145) Jennings's attitude reflects a very common categorization: there is the *Anarchism* of Woodcock, and then there are other works. The logic of this view is that the assumptions and ideologies supporting this work give us a peculiar chance to seize most of the structural elements that construct the anarchist canon and the canonical historiography of anarchism.

How should we describe Woodock's book? First of all, Woodcock's general plan should be examined. The book begins with a Prologue, a chapter that defines what anarchism is. And after this decisive chapter, we are presented two consecutive sections. The first section, titled "Part One: The Idea" is followed by a second titled "Part Two: The Movement". The book ends with an Epilogue. (Woodcock 1986: 5-6) Part One is dedicated to anarchist thinkers, "the idea" and it includes chapters on thinkers responsible for the creation of the anarchist idea, according to Woodcock. These pioneers are lined up as

William Godwin, Max Stirner, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, Mikhail Bakunin, Peter Kropotkin and Leo Tolstoy. This idea of leading the reader through a gallery of anarchist thinkers was of course a continuation of the Eltzbacher tradition. The only anarchist figure who was on Eltzbacher's list but who is missing in the Woodcock version is Benjamin Tucker (Tucker is cast in a bit part in the chapter 'Various Traditions', featured in the movement section of the book). Another difference is that Woodcock's chapter on Stirner comes before his chapter on Proudhon, whereas in Eltzbacher's book Proudhon comes before Stirner. Indicating the significance of Eltzbacher's work, though, Woodcock described it as "a pioneer survey of the various trends of anarchist thought" (Woodcock 1986: 207). This is hardly surprising, since his cannonical approach was so similar.

THE ELTZBACHER SURVEY

Eltzbacher's claim of neutrality takes to form of a claim to science. His motive for writing the book, he says, was "wanting to know anarchism scientifically". "(Eltzbacher 2004: 3)

Eltzbacher's analytical criteria are 'law, the State and property' and he examines all thinkers according to these three concepts. He summarizes, cites and sometimes translates the views of his writers' ideas on these three issues: 'law, the state and property'. And he evaluates every one of them according to their understanding of these subjects.

Eltzbacher does not give much clue about how he chose these seven names as the representatives of the anarchist tradition neither does he claim responsibility for these choices. He claims that they are generally recognized as the main thinkers, and the "teachings of these men are recognized as anarchist teachings" (Eltzbacher 2004: 12). Nor

does not feel that further explanation is needed, not even when he admits that Proudhon, Bakunin, Tucker and Kropotkin called themselves anarchist but that Godwin, Stirner and Tolstoy did not, and even considered themselves against anarchy and anarchism. (Eltzbacher 2004: 41, 67, 95, 117, 140, 183, 220)

Eltzbacher's gallery of anarchists does not include much biographical detail or personal dramatization[26]. Some background information is provided to familiarize the reader with the context but the discussion of the ideas of these men starts directly. The consistent theme is the summary of their ideas, which always presume 'law, the State and property' as the focal points for discussion. Thus, for example, the chapter on Godwin includes a very short biography and his ideas and political position on 'law', then on 'state', and finally on 'property' are outlined.

THE REALIZATION OF THE ANARCHIST IDEA

Following this gallery of anarchist ideas, Eltzbacher's book ends with a section on "Anarchist Teachings". A short chapter within this section, titled "Realization", can be read as the source of Woodcock's complete second section, "Part Two: The Movement".

"Realization", is an interesting chapter. Eltzbacher, a man of law, depicts the core criteria for categorizing anarchist teachings according to their modes of realization, using legal terms. For Eltzbacher, if a theory conceives its realization as taking place without a breach of law, then it can be categorized as reformatory. His reformatory thinkers are Godwin and Proudhon. If a theory conceives its realization as a breach of law, then he calls them

[26] It should be noted that Michael Schmidt and Lucien van der Walt in their *Black Flame* also present a critique of Eltzbacher's understanding of "seven sages of the movement" as well as a critique of how Eltzbacher leads to a reduction of anarchism into anti-statism. (Schmidt-van der Walt 2009: 17-19, 39)

‘revolutionary’. (Eltzbacher 2004: 284) And his revolutionary thinkers are Bakunin, Kropotkin, (and to the surprise of many readers in today’s anarchist ranks, if they ever read the very book that frames the anarchist canon) Tucker, Stirner and Tolstoy. Yes, the question is obvious: leave aside Tolstoy and Stirner, how could anyone see Tucker as a revolutionary and Proudhon as a reformist? But Eltzbacher concentrates on possible realizations and evaluates them according to their approach to law. Thus, Tucker becomes revolutionary, because he supports the refusal to pay taxes and rent and an “infringement of the banking monopoly.” And Tolstoy’s revolutionarism lies in the “refusal to do military, police, or jury service, and also to pay taxes” (Eltzbacher 2004: 285). But he separates Tucker and Tolstoy as “renitent” revolutionaries, because their perspectives do not include the “employment of force” while Stirner, Bakunin and Kropotkin’s perspectives do (and thus they are called the “insurgent” revolutionaries.) (Eltzbacher 2004: 286-7)[27].

Woodcock did not follow Eltzbacher's analysis here to the letter or categorize anarchists as renitent and insurgent revolutionaries but what he took from this extraordinary chapter was something more foundational. He took and reproduced the idea that anarchist acts are *mere* realizations of anarchist teachings; that anarchist acts do not represent anarchist ideology *per se.*[28] Anarchist ideology lies only in the works of leading anarchist thinkers[29]

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[27] In separate chapters on anarchist thinkers, Eltzbacher also has sub-sections on the aspect of realization. But I referred to this specific chapter where he discuss them all, compare them and make classifications.

[28] As we have seen in Chapter 1, despite claims coming from contemporary anarchist activists that the anarchist acts themselves *are* the anarchist ideology. (Graeber 2002, Gordon 2007)

[29] Unlike Woodcock who thought he was telling the story of a dead movement and of its failures, Eltzbacher understood that he was writing at a time when the anarchist movement was strong and growing, (in his words anarchism “takes hold of wider and wider circles.” (Eltzbacher 2004: 3) Approaching anarchism as a vibrant movement he wanted to understand it as far as he could (which was for Eltzbacher,

(the selection of which is another matter).

The general plan of Woodcock's book reflects this view of anarchism. 'The Idea' is found in only the works of influential writers and 'The Movement' is the 'realization' of these ideas. Just by looking at the overall plan, one understands that it is enough to read certain key texts to learn what anarchism is. To examine how these ideas have been realized is a mere embellishment – or perhaps a means to test the legitimacy of the foundational ideas.

Indeed, Woodcock's approach leads readers to recognize anarchist practices (The Movement) as experiments of an idea, thus, the unsuccessful attempts at realization, like the Spanish Revolution, can be treated as the end of anarchism without compromising the existence of the anarchist idea.

The resulting hierarchy of ideas over practices becomes a key component of the anarchist canon, partly created, partly reproduced but obviously strengthened by Woodcock.

ASSUMPTION AND NAMING POLICIES

Woodcock's Prologue offers a discussion of the definitions of anarchism. However, the decisive definition of anarchism offered by Woodcock is not found in this chapter, but in the structure, language, and assumptions of the general approach of his study. To support this argument, let us examine how Woodcock introduces one of the most influential thinkers of anarchism, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, in his Prologue:

'scientifically'), and to "penetrate the essence of a movement". (Eltzbacher 2004: 3) From his perspective, this could best be done by selecting a certain number of thinkers and analyzing their work. The important point is that he believed that the examination was designed to reveal the 'essence of a movement'.

> Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, that stormy, argumentative individualist who prided himself on being a man of paradox and a provoker of contradiction, published the work that established him as a pioneer libertarian thinker. (Woodcock 1986 : 9)

This introduction of Proudhon contains many narrative tricks and tropes of coherence that Woodcock employed throughout the book to reflect an image of anarchists and anarchism. As readers we are invited to familiarize ourselves with an incoherent body of thought, incoherent individuals, who are even proud of their incoherence! They are, first of all, 'stormy'! Don't expect balance. Anarchists are defined with adjectives that situate them as attractive but unreasonable individuals (and naturally the ideology they have created is a charming but unrealistic one, and the movement they have created just leaves a chaotic sum behind). It is fair to associate them with paradox and contradiction. The special chapter dedicated to Proudhon is also titled as The Man of Paradox.[30] I will dwell on this labelling policy more later.

Labelling policies are politically crucial. The Proudhon introduced in the first pages of this seminal book on anarchism and the anarchist movement is "an individualist." And this label is attached without any questioning or discussion. There is no indication that this is Woodcock's claim or interpretation, it is represented as a well-known fact.

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[30] It would be much more acceptable if we took this title as a reference to the famous Rousseau quote: "I would rather be a man of paradoxes than a man of prejudices." But actually it is used in a largely pejorative sense by Woodcock.

In the Prologue, we become totally confused: because the history of anarchism is sometimes understood as a chronological event (a term coined by a political theorist, embraced by certain activists, and turned into a movement by them) and sometimes as an approach that can be attributed to anyone in history ("as a system of social thought, aiming at fundamental changes in the structure of society and particularly – for this is the common element uniting all its forms – at the replacement of the authoritarian state by some form of non-governmental cooperation between free individuals.") (Woodcock 1986: 11)

Woodcock does not offer much help or discuss his main claims (arguing that all forms of anarchism unite in the belief that power is located at the authoritarian state) but instead makes use of a language that treats these ideas as given truths.

This helps keep the history of the canonization process in the shadows. For example, the role of William Godwin within the anarchist movement needs to be revealed, because he was not promoting anarchism in his life time. Rather some other later anarchist thinkers identified him as an ancestor. The claim requires an assessment of the process: who first saw Godwin as an ancestor of anarchism, and on what grounds,[31] and how this became a

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[31] Woodcock of course was not the first to place Godwin in the anarchist canon but he gave some clue about his own motivations in his *Anarchy or Chaos*: "Anarchism has suffered in England because it has been regarded by the general public as an exotic growth, a creed originating among Russians, Latins and other suspect races and therefore something to be avoided by good Englishmen. The anarchists themselves have tended to perpetuate this illusion by their continued reliance on foreign sources and their neglect of the English predecessors of anarchism, who should be studied not from any sense of racial loyalty, but for the fact that the writings of men like Winstanley and Godwin present a philosophical case for liberty in a more capable manner than many of the commonly read anarchist classics". (Woodcock 1992: 31) Gerrard Winstanley never became a part of the anarchist canon though.

generally accepted claim.

HISTORY OF ANARCHISM AS IN HISTORY OF IDEAS

Woodcock's reductionism is not peculiar to the history of anarchism. As John Dunn underlines, the history of ideas has not been written as the history of an *activity.* Complicated structures of ideas have been arranged to become deductive systems. “Reified reconstructions of a great man’s more accessible notions have been compared with those of other great men; hence the weird tendency of much writing, in the history of political thought more especially, to be made up of what propositions in what great books remind the author of what propositions in what other great books.” (Dunn 1980: 15) And “as a make-weight to this type of analysis, we have biographies of great thinkers which identify the central arguments of their more important works” and “sketch in their social background in some detail”. (Dunn 1980: 15) Dunn sees the history of thought not as representations but, “in the most literal sense”, as reconstructions. He often finds it extremely unclear “whether the history of ideas is the history of anything which ever did actually exist in the past.” (Dunn 1980: 16) The emphasis he puts on *activity* is not about ‘realizations’ of an idea; but about reflecting on what has been realized when this idea was thought. Proudhon said something, that’s for sure, but, if we adapt Dunn’s view to the history of anarchist philosophy (and ideas), the question is: “what he was *doing* in saying them?” (Dunn 1980: 22)

Clearly, John Dunn’s critique shows us that “the history of thought as it is characteristically

written" (Dunn 1980: 15) is in line with the history of anarchism as it is characteristically written.

PROLOGUE

In his Prologue, Woodcock provides a profound example of excluding non-Western anarchisms. The Woodcock story of anarchism reserves all the foundational positions for Western agents. There is no single mention of a non-Western anarchist thinker or a non-Western anarchist movement/event in a chapter (Prologue) where we are presented with discussions on what anarchism is. Which means that, to recognize the nature of anarchism, there is no need to study non-Western/Third World anarchisms. You don't have to study Mexican anarchism or Chinese anarchism if you want to study anarchism in general; studying European anarchism will do. If you are studying the history of French anarchism, that means you are studying 'the' history of anarchism. So, there is an apparent (assumed) hierarchy between these traditions.

But even within the Western world, Woodcock believes in cultural hierarchies. This much is evident when he fosters his position as a pacifist and where he condemns anarchists who accept violence as a political means. Spain, Italy and Russia are labelled as countries where "violence had long been endemic in politic life", and in these countries, anarchists, "like other parties, accepted insurrectionalism almost as a routine ..." (Woodcock 1986: 13) The key words in this description are 'endemic' and 'routine'. Both serve wonderfully to undermine the rationale of revolutionary anarchist political action experienced in Spain, Italy and Russia. We are invited to realize that propaganda of the deed, for example, was

not a genuine anarchist idea at all, but a response to change that built on the endemic behaviours seen in peripheral countries, and as the subtext of chosen metaphors dictates, the attempts that anarchists made to instigate revolutionary insurrection in these countries only reveals their cuturally 'violent' routine.

For a broad depiction of anarchism, Woodcock refers to another metaphor supporting the argument related to its incoherence:

> Anarchism, indeed, is both various and mutable, and in the historical perspective it presents the appearance, not of a swelling stream flowing on to its sea of destiny (an image that might well be appropriate to Marxism) but rather water percolating through porous grounds — here forming for a time a strong underground current, there gathering into a swirling pool, trickling through crevices, disappearing from sight, and then re-emerging where the cracks in the social structure may offer it a course to run. As a doctrine it changes constantly; as a movement it grows and disintegrates, in constant fluctuation, but it never vanishes. It has existed continuously in Europe since the 1840s... (Woodcock 1986: 15)

We encounter several constituent postulates of the anarchist canon in this short paragraph: a) anarchism should be understood as the other, the unstable sister of Marxism; b) anarchism (and the anarchist movement) survives, but without any traceable reason; c) the anarchist doctrine is incoherent and changes constantly, in fact, this constant change is its character: d) the history of anarchism can be addressed to a continent: Europe.

THE GALLERY

In his section on anarchist theory, ‘Part One: The Idea’, Woodcock dedicates entire chapters to six thinkers said to represent anarchism and chooses to portray them biographically. Every chapter is based on biographical stories, assorted details picked out to narrate the ventures of a man in radical politics and capture the essence of their thought.

The titles of the chapters do not delineate the theories of writers in question, but they are used to demonstrate the prominent features of these writers as individuals. Accordingly, William Godwin is “The Man of Reason”; Max Stirner is called “The Egoist”; Proudhon is “The Man of Paradox”; Bakunin's ideas are summarized in the title “The Destructive Urge”; Kropotkin is “The Explorer” and Tolstoy’s “The Prophet”.

It is possible to think of many alternative labels. The title of the chapter on Godwin might easily have described his political principles or his relation to romanticism. The title of a chapter on Stirner could have described his anti-humanism, for Proudhon his anti-militarism and anti-nationalism. A discussion of Bakunin could have described the role of anarchism in international struggles of the proletariat and revolutionary international uprisings, the one on Kropotkin could have referred to his highly developed anarchist political philosophy and the one on Tolstoy could have indicated his anti–statism and commitment to civic disobedience. The possibilities are multiple. And Woodcock's selection is telling: if one of the main theoreticians of anarchism is pictured as a man of paradox, then anarchism becomes a doctrine of paradox.

Indeed, rather than selecting ideas to represent thinkers, the Woodcock version instead

chooses personal adventures to represent ideas. The former strategy would make it far less easy to sustain the image of an incoherent, constantly changing doctrine. Thus, Woodcock preferred to keep the section on “The Idea” principally for biographies of mostly extraordinary lives. The main assumption determines the metaphors, narration, titles, and the overall conclusions. Instead of focusing on relations between ideas, the intersection of lives, events and theories, and instead of trying to map and reveal the outlines and interconnections of anarchist history, Woodcock focuses on painting as colourfully as possible the jumbled, chaotic, ’stormy’ flows in the history of politics which are all gathered together under the tag of anarchism. Almost inevitably, his narration tends not to find connections, but on the contrary, to discover more incoherency and non-connectedness.

The chapter on Bakunin, “The Destructive Urge”, offers a spectacular illustration of how un-reasonable anarchism can be, in the iconic figure of Mikhail Bakunin.

At the end of his chapter on Proudhon, “The Man of Paradox”, Woodcock suggests an appealing passage to Bakunin’s fascinating (and yet pathetic) character:

> Proudhon did not create the anarchist movement – though he shares credit with Godwin for creating anarchism - and he might have rejected many of its later manifestations, but without his preparatory work it could hardly have arisen under the captaincy of his most spectacular and most heretical disciple, Michael Bakunin. (Woodcock 1986 : 133)

The first uncomfortable supposition in this excerpt lies in the claim that Proudhon shares credit with Godwin for creating anarchism. As we underlined earlier, this attitude results in a confusion: if we are referring to a historical movement, than Godwin is definitely not one

of its creators, for the anarchist movement did not emerge until years after his time. But if we are referring to anarchism as a doctrine coined by certain individuals in the nineteenth century, who also studied the history of political philosophy to find ancestors, it would be those individuals who created anarchism, not the ancestors they have arguably found.

Woodcock's method, is based on believing and not-questioning some constitutive hypotheses; thus, if we learn that Godwin is taken as the first anarchist thinker by some anarchist writers or historians, decades after his times, we are not expected to question that assignment any more. What is expected from us, as readers, is to be fascinated by the unconnectedness of Godwin and Stirner or Proudhon.

The other haunting supposition in the extract above lies in the introduction of Bakunin. By defining Bakunin with the words 'spectacular', 'heretic' and 'disciple', we are being prepared for a portrayal of Bakunin as a man of urges, belief, unreasonable and spectacular acts.

In fact, the chapter on Bakunin, "The Destructive Urge", begins like a psychological case study, instead of a political portrayal. Bakunin is described as being "monumentally eccentric", "naïve, spontaneous, kind, yet cunning". He is described as behaving with "enthusiasm", with "instinctive defiance", a player of a "great game of prolonged childhood", he is associated with "pure comedy" or the "caricature of an anarchist". (Woodcock 1986: 134-135)

DESCRIPTION FIRST THEN ANALYSIS

Bakunin is defined, in Norbert Elias's sense, as someone who could not go through the

‘civilizing process’. (Elias 1982) Childlike behaviour, violence, bodily functions, forms of speech: Bakunin, in all these senses, was described as un-civilized, an eccentric representing the spirit of medieval Europe. Even physically, according to Woodcock, Bakunin was:

> gigantic, and the massive unkemptness of his appearance would impress an audience even before he began to win its sympathies with his persuasive oratory. All his appetites – with the sole exception of the sexual – were enormous; he talked the nights through, he read omnivorously, he drank brandy like wine, he smoked 1,600 cigars in a single month of imprisonment in Saxony, and he ate so voraciously that a sympathetic Austrian jail commandant felt moved to allot him double rations (Woodcock 1986: 134).

This excerpt is from the introductory pages of the chapter dedicated to Bakunin, in the seminal book on the history of anarchism, written by the late George Woodcock.

Apparently, the sarcastic tone, collection of biographical details, incidents and stories Woodcock uses are mostly taken from the biography of Bakunin, written by E.H. Carr. (Carr 1975) And we know that there has been a tradition of portraying Bakunin in similarly exaggerated terms. Alexander Herzen said Bakunin was “born not under an ordinary star but under a comet.” (Avrich 1988: 6) Paul Avrich himself described Bakunin having “broad magnanimity and childlike enthusiasm” (Avrich 1988: 6). Richard Wagner said that everything about Bakunin was colossal, and he was “full of primitive exuberance and strength.” (Avrich 1988: 5) On the other hand, Avrich takes this quote from Wagner, citing Carr’s same biography. Carr was evidently a significant influence in spreading this un-civilized image of Bakunin.

Nevertheless, I would argue that Woodcock's portrayal of Bakunin as the "destructive urge" is not a side issue. Bakunin, as extraordinary as he might be in Woodcock's eyes, is not placed as an exceptional character in anarchism. The anarchism Woodcock portrays in total, includes the Gargantuan Bakunin as a central character. The anarchist water, in the above mentioned metaphor of Woodcock, flows, as primitive as the Gargantuan Bakunin does. Woodcock describes Bakunin's politics as "pan-destructionism" (Woodcock 1986: 208); the Bakuninist conception of revolution as "revolution as apocalypse" (Woodcock 1986: 173); and Bakunin's thoughts as luridly illuminated by "the destructive vision of blood and fire" (Woodcock 1986: 171).

Bakunin, a radical political figure, who devoted all his life to revolutionary movements worldwide, who spent many years in terrible conditions in prisons, and fostered the struggle in various parts of the world with an enormous dedication, and who not only contributed to revolutionary goals as a 'soldier of the cause' but also had a huge influence on a string of other comrades and key events of the revolutionary era – both by his writings and his organizational efforts – was described in the first page of the section spared for him, as an enormous childlike eccentric who is known for chain smoking 1,600 cigars, for a reason.

Nonetheless, there seems to be a void in Woodcock's narration: if Bakunin was such a caricature, how did he become widely acknowledged as a political figure? Indeed, one of Marx's most significant political challengers? In Paul Avrich's words: "A century ago anarchism was a major force within the European revolutionary movement, and the name of Bakunin, its foremost champion and prophet, was as well known among the workers and radical intellectuals of Europe as that of Karl Marx, with whom he was competing for

leadership of the First International". (Avrich 1988: 5)

Woodcock has two solutions for this 'inconsistency': a) it was inexplicable! Bakunin (like Rasputin) exercised an indefinable power upon people; he had the ability to "inspire other men freely with his ideals and lead them willingly to action on the barricades or in the conference hall." (Woodcock 1986: 135) b) those failures Bakunin had, were themselves a part of what anarchism is.

Although the portraits are all different, the treatment Woodcock gives Bakunin is replicated throughout the book. The format that can be summarized as 'the galleries of anarchists'. Every anarchist celebrity in the list represents a character in the play: a moderate teacher of young ladies in a Berlin academy who praised "crime and exalted murder" (Woodcock 1986: 88), an ascetic and pacifist literary genius, an Eastern Prince exploring anarchism in the midst of Siberia, a modern Gargantua spreading all kinds of unreasonable insurgencies (which are in fact 'routines' in peripherical cultures), an autodidact man of paradox giving the name to a movement of his taste, and a man of reason whose politics was a "little more than Sandemanianism" (Woodcock 1986: 61). No wonder Tony Blair calls contemporary anarchist movement the "anarchist circus"!

THE MOVEMENT

Woodcock's second section, 'Part Two: The Movement', are made up of chapters devoted to anarchist traditions in certain countries. Chapters for French, Italian, Spanish and Russian anarchism compose the main part of this section. The last chapter ('Various Traditions') is on anarchism in Latin America, Northern Europe, Britain and the United States.

The section on the movement, the realization of the anarchist idea, is also a place where we see the pronounced exclusion of Third World anarchisms. While there was anarchist activism, for example in Argentina from the 1860s, (Graham 2008: 319) Woodcock first mentions non-European anarchists when they attend the anarchist congress in Amsterdam in 1907. We read about Japanese delegates representing anarchism in Japan, but we do not find anything about anarchism in Japan, China or Korea. We read that Malatesta "agitated and conspired not only in Italy, but also in France, England, Spain, the Levant, the United States and Argentina" (Woodcock 1986: 248) but we fail to find anything about anarchism in the Levant, or about Eastern traditions like Armenian anarchism. Anarcho-feminist activism is ignored, works of anarchist artists are ignored (cf. Antliff 2007, Leighten 1989), and anarchist involvement in anti-colonial struggles is also ignored. (cf. Anderson 2005)

Woodcock's point of view suggests two main positions: 1) activist anarchism is not a favourable ideology, but it is still a part of the noble anarchist ideal, 2) the anarchist movement is a realization of the activist/Bakuninist anarchist current and it practically died when the Spanish revolution (and Spanish anarchism) failed (lost) in 1939, 3)Tolstoyan (and later Gandhian) pacifism is the best face of this (the anarchist) ideal, but in this world, this dignified version is doomed to death as well. [32] Woodcock is very much convinced that

[32] His pessimism on the issue is best seen in his biography of Gandhi: *Gandhi* (Woodcock 1974) In *Gandhi*, Woodcock salutes Gandhi as "the first of the great activist theoreticians who changed the shape of our world and the form of our thought during the present century" (Woodcock 1974: 7) and stressing the prefigurative concerns of Gandhian politics underlines that "there was no place in Gandhi's idea of revolution for conspirational methods or guerilla activities." (Woodcock 1974: 11). For Woodcock, it was Gandhi who put pacifict anarchism into action, "who put into action what Tolstoy advocated in words." (Woodcock 1974: 24) However, Woodcock was also keen to show that Gandhi's politics didn't really bring change in Indian life:

he is not writing about a living movement, he is writing about a dead one. A movement that has failed.[33] James Joll's *The Anarchists* also understands the anarchist movement in terms of failure. However, for Joll, the decisive failure was not losing the Spanish Revolution (although he agrees in recording this event as a failure of anarchism), but it was "failing to take the lead in a great (Soviet) revolution" in 1917. (Joll 1964: 192)

This way of judging a political movement is not peculiar to the history of anarchism. John Dunn's work again helps to show us the generality of the theme. In his article, "The Success and failure of Modern Revolutions", Dunn questions what it means to be successful for a revolution, a philosophy, an idea, an ideology, or a revolutionary person. Dunn first notes that when the French revolution happened in 1789 it was not anticipated. There were religious prophets, there were agitators but "there were no examples of men who saw their life in strictly secular terms and devoted the whole of it to the project of transforming the political and social order of their country by an attempt to seize power within it." (Dunn 1980: 218) It is vital to reflect on the above definition of a revolutionary and to indicate the specific quality anarchism has (which leaves the anarchist activist/revolutionary out of this description). Naturally an anarchist activist would not exhibit two features of this definition. First of all, the anarchist project of political and social

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"his opinions counted for comparatively little in the final shaping of India's future." (Woodcock 1974: 95) Woodcock had a real interest in India and visited the country several times and wrote six books on the Indian subcontinent: *Faces of India* (1964), *Asia, Gods and Cities* (1966), *The Greeks in India* (1966), *Kerala* (1967), *Into Tibet* (1971) and *Gandhi* (1974). (New 1978: XII) Despite this pessimism, we can argue that the 'new anarchism' that emerged in the '60s, in Woodcock's eyes was not a continuation but still a version of this pacifist and more philosophical current within anarchism.

[33] Douglas Fetherling says, Woodcock wrote *Anarchism* as a "history of a dead movement", but saw it "taken up as the standard work by a new generation of followers" (Fetherling 1980: x)

transformation either operates on a larger scale than a particular country or on a smaller, micro experiments. Secondly, perhaps more importantly, the anarchist project does not proceed by seizing power. That leaves failure rhetoric in a strange situation: anarchism is not an ideology about seizing power, it is about changing the world and power relations without taking power, yet, anarchism is considered a 'failure' because it did not succeed in taking power! Although, for a political movement that does not aim to take power, the political order does not only cover the political sphere as we generally know, but the social and the personal are recognized as part of the political as well.

THE FAILURE OF ANARCHISTS

Defining a core problem that unites all forms of anarchism (the replacement of the authoritarian state), is, in Todd May's word, a strategic political philosophy. May describes strategic political philosophy as a philosophy that involves a unitary analysis that aims toward a single goal. (In Woodcock's anarchism "the replacement of the authoritarian state by some form of non-governmental cooperation between free individuals"). A strategic political philosophy is "engaged in a project that it regards as the center of the political universe". (May 1994: 10)

Todd May associates strategic political philosophy with various Marxisms and tactical political philosophy with anarchism whereas for tactical political philosophy:

> there is no center within which power is to be located. Otherwise put, power, and consequently politics, are irreducible. There are many different sites from which it arises, and there is an interplay among these various sites in the

> creation of the social world. This is not to deny that there are points of concentration of power or, to keep with the spatial image, points where various (and perhaps bolder) lines intersect. Power does not, however, originate at those points; rather, it conglomerates around them. Tactical thought thus performs its analyses within a milieu characterized not only by the tension between what is and what ought to be, but also between irreducible but mutually intersecting practices of power. (May 2004: 7)

It is a very crucial part of anarchism and the anarchist movement to accept that "there is no center within which power is to be located". Thus, anarchism is strongly resistant to varieties of reductionism in politics. However, the historiography of anarchism, the making of the anarchist canon, is highly reductionist and applies a strategic political philosophy covertly. One reason that it has remained unnoticed by anarchists is the fact that whole modern histories of ideas have been characteristically written in this form. But this strategic type of historiography has been strongly critized for some time now (by Dunn and others) and there is now enough literature to build an alternative. And it is imperative to do so, because this approach contradicts leading anarchist political ideas (a point further discussed in Chapter 5).

Nevertheless, if we return to Dunn's critique of the success/failure of modern revolutions, Dunn shows that, "social process … does not succeed or fail. It merely occurs. It is men who succeed or fail." (Dunn 1980: 219) Yet the assumption about the failure of anarchist revolution directly affected the canonization of anarchism – simply because the failure was deemed to be the failure of the realisation of an idea.

CREATING 'OLD' ANARCHISM

Nicolas Walter's review and analyses of various editions of Woodcock's *Anarchism*, published in *The Raven* in 1987 with the title *Woodcock Reconsidered*, is one of the best critiques of Woodcock's account.

For Nicolas Walter, the problem is how well Woodcock's *Anarchism* "really represents anarchism". (Walter 1987: 174) Woodcock is "so strongly biased towards the intellectual and against the militant aspects of anarchism that he gives an increasingly partial view of the movement." (Walter 1987: 174) And Walter finds Woodcock "*foolishly* and sometimes fatuously self-centered" (Walter 1987: 174, emphasis added). Walter criticises the order of priority of his sections 'The Idea' and 'The Movement', and also criticises the book for its "general romantic and intellectual bias, for its excessive concentration on a few individuals, and above all for the obituary tone of the Epilogue." (Walter 1987: 175) Nicolas Walter reminds us how Woodcock creates a new category for the anarchist resurrection of 1960s, (the new anarchism) only to justify his own thesis about the death of anarchism, and he argues that "there was no radical break between the 'old' and the 'new' anarchism but an essential continuity between the two." (Walter 1987: 175) Walter adds that Woodcock was "simultaneously exaggerating the rigidity of 'old' anarchism and the flexibility of 'new' anarchism and the gap between the two ... After exaggerating the decline of the 1950s of course, Woodcock exaggerates the revival of the 1960s." (Walter 1987: 176, 179) Anarchists were "alive and kicking at the time when they were meant to have left the stage, and moreover showing all the qualities which he still supposes to be characteristic of the new anarchists of the revived movement." (Walter 1987: 180) This is an extremely significant detail because this definition of a break and definition of new anarchism has had serious effects on anarchist thought. First of all, we come to think of anarchism in a dichotomous periodization: classical anarchism/old anarchism, new anarchism/'60s

anarchism and also today third wave anarchism/90s-2000s anarchism. More damagingly, this periodization and Woodcock's self-justification continued to affect anarchist debates in the 2000s when emerging anarchist writers relied on Woodcockian notions of old/new anarchism and tended to believe that anarchism works with deaths, breaks and waves of new epochs, where every epoch reflects a different character, a different entity, hugely different from the classical one.

Walter also claims that it is a strange thing "how little the original text [of Woodcock's *Anarchism*] has actually been revised in the light of all the errors which inevitably crept into such an ambitious work of synthesis in the first place or of all the work which has been done on the subject during the subsequent 25 years." (Walter 1987: 181) Walter ends his essay saying that "together the two books [*Anarchism* and *The Anarchist Reader* of Woodcock] remain the best introduction to anarchism we have in the English-speaking world – which possibly says more against us than against George Woodcock." (Walter 1987: 184)

ANARCHISM, AS ONE OF THE 'POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES'

Up to this point we have examined the general structure of the anarchist canon as depicted especially by Eltzbacher and Woodcock, and several problems of the history of anarchism. Before investigating the unreasonable and distorting exclusions from the anarchist canon in detail it is useful to consider how the story has been told within the discipline of political studies and how the construction of the canon has influenced anarchism as 'one of the political ideologies'. For this purpose, I will offer a study of selected chapters on anarchism in basic political philosophy readers: Barbara Goodwin's

Using Political Ideas (Goodwin 2007, 127-153), Andrew Vincent's *Modern Political Ideologies* (Vincent 2001, 114-140) Ian Adams's *Political Ideology Today* (Adams 1993), and Andrew Heywood's *Political Ideologies: an Introduction* (Heywood 1992). These chapters from widely read books have been selected not for their specific value or impact but they are selected to give a general impression of how popular textbooks represent anarchism.

These accounts show us how anarchism is represented in standard textbooks for politics and give us an idea of standard assumptions that have conquered in the academic world.

We will start with one of the two books Dave Morland cites as possible suspects in the spread of the cliché notion about the anarchist concept of human nature: Ian Adams's chapter on Anarchism in his *Political Ideology Today*. (Adams 1993)

Ian Adams's Anarchism in *Political Ideology Today*

Adams's chapter has two parts: in the first he describes anarchism and in the second he details criticisms of anarchism. In the part he describes what anarchism is he reproduces most of the Eltzbacher-Woodcock tradition. The chapter first of all lists the main anarchist thinkers then mentions the anarchist movement. The list of main anarchist thinkers is faithful to Eltzbacher's list: Godwin, Stirner, Tucker, Tolstoy, Kropotkin, Bakunin and Proudhon. The only difference is Tucker: instead of naming only Tucker, Adams has a section titled 'Nineteenth-century American Anarchism' where he represents ninetheenth–century American anarchism as an individualist trend that has three prominent thinkers: Josiah Warren, Henry David Thoreau and Benjamin Tucker. Adams groups Godwin, Stirner, Warren, Thoreau and Tucker under the brand of Individualist anarchism, and he

groups Tolstoy, Kropotkin, Proudhon and Bakunin under the brand of Socialist anarchism.

Adams continues to represent the Anarchist Idea as prior to the Anarchist Movement, and echoes Woodcock when he declares that the anarchist movement is actually a dead movement. He also shares Woodcock's view that the important aspect of anarchism is its thinkers:

> ... there is a long established body of political theory calling itself anarchism that is based upon the idea that the state, or any kind of political rule, is not only unnecessary but a positive evil that must be done away with. Such ideas have only occasionally inspired political movements of any size, and the tradition is mainly one of individual thinkers...” (Adams 1993: 148)

In this description, we also see Adams reduce anarchism to anti-statism. Adams also, like Woodcock, gives Spain and 1939 as the place and time of anarchism's death: “...with Franco's victory the anarchist tradition more or less died out. Since then, it has not been a significant political movement anywhere in the world in terms of mass politics." (Adams 1993: 164) And like Woodcock, he believes that few anarchist writers survived the tradition: “Since the suppression of Spanish anarchism by Franco anarchist ideas and aspirations have been confined to small groups of isolated intellectuals ...” (Adams 1993: 166)

According to Adams's account, anarchism, both as an idea and as a movement, seems to have thrived only in Europe and America (USA). He does not mention any non-European anarchist figures or any anarchist movement or event from the Third World. There is nothing about Japanese anarchism, Chinese anarchism or Mexican anarchism. We can

assume that when he says 'the world' he means Europe and America. There is also no reference to women anarchists. Even Emma Goldman is missing. Adams talks about 'feminist anarchism' as one of the 'anarchist developments' that appeared in the 1970s as a part of the new anarchism! He ignores the role of anarcha-feminism and gender/sexuality issues in the development of anarchism and all anarcha-feministic efforts before the 1970s. And the anarcha-feminism of the 1970s is described as “another outcome of New Left anarchism ...” (Adams 1993: 168) From that we understand that anarcha-feminism is not a main element of anarchism and gender issues do not have a place in the core of anarchism (although, as we will see in Chapter 4, they definitely do). While anarcha-feminism is seen as such a minor factor, queer anarchism is not mentioned at all. Similarly, there is no single reference to anarchism and art, or anarchist artists. Only in a section called 'Personal anarchism' where he describes a type of personal anarchist, we hear about 'artistic freedom'. According to this description, the personal anarchist is a person whose demand has been “for freedom from society's pressure to conform; or, as they would express it, freedom from ignorance, superstition and moral prejudice. The kinds of things they have usually had in mind have been artistic freedom, sexual freedom and from religious intolerance.” (Adams 1993: 154) Of course, there is no mention of anarchist artists demanding not only artistic freedom but political freedom, and not only for themselves. We do not see any of them, or their acts, represented in Adams' chapter.

On the other hand, liberal anarchists and anarcho-capitalists are described in detail and presented as a central tenet of anarchism. He attends geographical identifications to individualist and socialist anarchism as well: socialist anarchism is defined as a European tendency while individualist anarchism is defined as an American tendency. (Or rather, 'native American', because he defines socialist anarchism in America as the “immigrant strand of communist anarchism” in America. (Adams 1993: 154)

After depicting anarchism as 'anti-statism', Adams looks for the history of the idea of anti-statism, and finds anarchism's roots in the history of Christian theology, strangely, in St Augustine of Hippo and more interestingly in American politician James Maddison, the fourth president of the United States of America. Adams frames anarchism as a part of the 'Enlightment tradition' especially when he is discussing Godwin (he categorizes Godwin's anarchism as 'Enlightenment individualism' and Stirner's anarchism as 'Romantic individualism').

Adams thinks anarchism was doomed to die because “organisation based on entirely voluntary co-operation and acceptance of decisions could not be effective. The systematic application of anarchist principles to anarchist organisations appeared to condemn anarchism to impotence, even when events seemed propitious ...” (Adams 1993: 162) Adams argues that if we take anarchism to its logical conclusion it simply would not make sense. Adams tries to prove the impractibility of anarchism with weird examples: for instance, he imagines an 'extreme anarchist', who “refused to follow the rules of sentence construction, and put words in their own peculiar order, then they would not be able to communicate with the rest of us.” (Adams 1993: 173) Adams makes this distinction between the anarchist and 'the rest of us' in various passages. Imagining an 'extreme anarchist,' whose refusing to talk in a Bartleby-style rejection is reinforced with the figuration of an anarchist who refuses to behave and do the required things to be a part of a community. He concludes that certainly “it would not make sense to talk of a community composed of such individuals”. Obviously, these claims are both very naïve and in contradiction with the anarchist tradition where anarchistic rules and limitations based on anarchist ethics require anarchists to be very careful about how they behave. However, Adams believes that anarchism represents the faith in the goodness of human nature and

that that stops anarchism from being effective in the real world. Adams reminds us of Hobbes and the concept of a war of all against all and claims that “taking away of all forms of coercive authority would lead to conflict.” (Adams 1993: 174)

As Dave Morland pointed out, Adams' belief in anarchism’s faith in the goodness of human nature has a critical value in his depicting of anarchism. Adams argues that “anarchists of all kinds agree that human nature is such that it will not flourish in conditions of coercion and domination, especially those represented by state.” (Adams 1993: 172) Adams lists the basic assumptions about human nature, he believes anarchism rests on as follows: a) Society is based on free association between people and is natural. b) The state is based on the domination of some by others, is maintained by coercion, and is not natural. c) Humanity is essentially good, but is corrupted by government. d) Government cannot be reformed, but must be destroyed altogether.” (Adams 1993: 172)

Following Woodcock's categories of old/new anarchism, he sees for example Colin Ward's *Anarchy in Action* as an example of the “socialist anarchists of the old school.”

Overall, Ian Adams offers an example of how anarchism is represented in the discipline of politics. We can trace much of his foundational decisions to the Eltzbacher-Woodcock tradition of anarchist canon.

Andrew Heywood's Anarchism

Andrew Heywood's chapter on anarchism appears in his *Political Ideologies, an Introduction* (1992).

Heywood's account depends less on the seven anarchist thinkers, but other than that follows much of Adams' categories. Anarchism is again reduced to an anti-statism: “The defining feature of anarchism is its opposition to the state and the accompanying institutions of government and law.” (Heywood 1992: 196)

Although he also mainly presents anarchism as a European movement (and its American individual anarchist counterpart) Heywood mentions anarchism in Latin America, anarcho-syndicalist movements in Argentina and Uruguay. He also refers to the Mexican revolution as a movement influenced by syndicalist ideas and as a peasant revolution. Strangely, instead of naming Ricardo Flores Magon and other Mexican anarchists, he names Zapata as a Mexican anarchist. There is no reference to Asian anarchism, except for a reference to Mahatma Gandhi, when he is describing anarchist pacifism and Tolstoy.

Heywood dismisses anarcha-feminism even more strictly (yet he gives one quotation from Emma Goldman). The role of sexual politics in anarchism is not discussed, thus there is no reference to queer anarchism or other anarchist politics on sexuality. Also there is no single reference to anarchist artists and their role in the history of anarchism.

One interesting point is that any anarchist who becomes a part of the movement in 1990s, (when these introductions were first written) knew that anarchist politics were mainly defined with their principles of organisation. How anarchists do organise, on what principles, never gets the place it deserves in these representations. Once again, too much space is spared for anarcho-capitalism, which has no relevance to the movement as a whole today. There is a certain exaggeration of the position of anarcho-capitalism in anarchism in these accounts.

Following Woodcock, Heywood thinks that anarchists “have been more successful in describing their ideal in books and pamphlets than they have been putting them into practice. Quite commonly, anarchists have turned away from active politics, concentrating instead upon writing or on experiments in communal or co-operative living.” (Heywood 1992: 211)

There is some misinformation, too: Heywood refers to something he calls 'anarchist violence' which starts with assassinations in the nineteenth century and then reaches its second peak in the 1970s, through action undertaken by the Baader-Meinhof group in West Germany and Red Brigades in Italy. He cites Narodnaya Volya (People's Will) movement of Russia as well. These choices create an impression that all radical armed urban movements of the left in general can be categorized under anarchism, even if they were openly Marxist-Leninists like the Italian Red Brigades or complex movements, like the populists.

Heywood, following Woodcock's depiction of the goodness of Tolstoy and Kropotkin, presents an anarchism “at the heart of” which lies “an unashamed utopianism, a belief in the natural goodness, or at least potential goodness, of humankind.” (Heywood 1992: 198).

Andrew Vincent's Anarchism

Andrew Vincent's anarchism chapter appears in his *Modern Political Ideologies* (2001)

Andrew Vincent also does not recognize the central importance of the politics of everyday life especially sexual politics in anarchism, thus gives no place to anarcha-feminism or queer anarchism. He ignores the place of anarchist feminism in the whole history of anarchism and instead claims only recently “some recent writings have also spoken of 'feminist anarchism.'” (Vincent 2001: 119)

Another strange inclination of this introductory texts is seen in the exaggerated interest in anarcho-capitalism[34]. These texts tend to place anarcho-capitalism as a key component of anarchism, which has nearly no influence on today's anarchism and has developed as a theory very distant from the anarchist movement; but the same texts commonly tend to ignore feminist anarchism, which is a vital part of today's anarchism and which has been a central part of anarchism historically.

We might argue that it would make much more sense to discuss anarcho-capitalism in chapters on liberalism instead of anarchism, as a strand of liberalism influenced by certain anarchist tenets. Existing chapters, for instance, give a weird impression that Rothbard is an important anarchist thinker.

Vincent also follows the Woodcockian tradition in claiming that “the period of the anarchist movement can be dated from approximately the 1880s until the 1930s.” (Vincent 2001: 117) And he describes the anarchism of the 1960s as a counter-culture movement, reminiscent of anarchism but not a direct part of it. It seems as if Woodcock's efforts to justify his departure from London anarchist circles and his early eulogy for the movement in the first edition of *Anarchism* has been the most successful attempt to theorize the flow

[34] We should also keep in mind that 'capitalist' publishers may have had a role in this extra interest in anarcho-

of anarchism in the twentieth century. His suggestion of treating new anarchism as something totally different from the old school anarchism has been widely accepted by scholars writing these introductory texts on anarchism.

Developing Woodcock's portrait, Vincent claims that Bakunin had a conception of "revolutionary anarchist dictatorship."

However, Vincent offers a better account in respect of Eurocentrism for he at least refers to anarchism outside the usual realm. Anarchism, he says, "appeared in India, South America, Japan and the USA." (Vincent 2001: 118) And he also mentions that anarcho-syndicalism developed in Australia and Latin America, as well as Italy, Spain and Britain. (Vincent 2001: 121) Yet, the problem about the core remains: to discuss anarchism's position on human nature, violence, the state etc. Vincent summarizes and discusses only certain key European thinkers from the familiar list. In fact, no non-European name is mentioned. Taking this aspect together with the exaggeration of anarcho-capitalism, we reach a representation of anarchism where figures like Osugi Sakae, Flores Magon and Schifu are less significant than Murray Rothbard!

Vincent's assumptions about anarchism lead him to present an anarchism which is dead as a movement, and at the end of the day, unrealistic as an idea. These are his final words in his chapter on anarchism:

> When anarchists do speak of their hoped-for communities, unless there is an anachronistic and anthropologically weak-minded appeal to past primitive village communities, the whole position appears as charming, but unrealistic

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capitalism, as these books are meant to 'sell well'.

> and deeply nostalgic. Apart from some of the more rigid and strange absurdities of individualist anarchists, the communist, collectivist and mutualist anarchists express a millennial vision of what we would really like to be in our better moments, but which we know is relatively hopeless. (Vincent 2001: 140)

We also witness a striking dismissal of the role of ethics in anarchist politics, which also leads these writers to dismiss anarchist principles of organisation as a significant feature of the anarchist movement worldwide. However, these articles are read in an era where anarchism is the main oppositional strand to capitalism, even demonstrations and oppositional initiatives which are not self-identified as anarchists are described as being 'anarchistic', and where anarchists are openly addressing their ideology as their organizational principles.

It would be extremely difficult to understand contemporary anarchist developments, the anarchism of anti-globalization movement and all related protests or the rising interest in anarchist theory (the 'anarchist turn') if one tried to use these chapters as a guide.

ANARCHO-CAPITALISM AND TIMOTHY LEARY

Other examples of anarchism's representations in these introductory books keep to more or less the same track. Barbara Goodwin's chapter in her *Using Political Ideas* claims that for anarchists “we all start out as blank sheets, innocent and morally neutral.” (Goodwin 2007: 133) Goodwin thus asserts the notion that anarchist thinkers had a “perception of the individual as naturally 'good'.” (Goodwin 2007: 128) It is interesting to see how these representations ignore contemporary anarchism after Seattle, and in a book published in 2007, still claim that contemporary anarchism has two new currents: one being the

anarcho-capitalism and other being the counter-cultural movement of 1960s, represented by figures such as Timothy Leary. Central assumptions about the anarchist canon are all the same, the names and books that are taken as the anarchist texts are largely stable. The role of anarcha-feminism is so marginalized that it is customary to refer to feminist anarchism as a post-68 current.

We should of course also keep in mind that not all anthologies of political ideologies include a chapter on anarchism.

CONCLUSION

In the canonization of anarchism, two books have been significant: Paul Eltzbacher's *Der Anarchismus* and George Woodcock's *Anarchism*. Eltzbacher's book has a particularly interesting quality though: it has never been widely read. It is an unread classic, a master behind the curtains. Only scholars and researchers visit Eltzbacher's pages. Even the recent edition I have been working on, indicates this fact: the Dover edition, published in 2004, is just a facsimilie of the 1908 edition published by Benjamin Tucker with a translation by Steven T. Byington. After a hundred years, there is no critical edition, just a reproduction, which is difficult for today's readers to follow. The translator's notes, where he discusses Eltzbacher's very ideas while translating, are mixed up with Eltzbacher's own notes. A new editing or translation is definitely required. And a new preface and introduction would be more than normal for a classical book re-published after a hundred years. But anyway, anarchist readers have never shown much interest in this account of anarchism. It is very boring and also irrelevant, from an anarchist's point of view, because

of all these discussions on law, various strange classifications of seven great anarchists and because of the central position given to Tucker, who has been neglected in anarchist circles for a long time, along with his individualist anarchism. On the other hand, Eltzbacher's book has had an enormous influence on other writers of the history of anarchism, no matter how militant they were about it. And when George Woodcock applied his reasoning in *Anarchism*, he created the book that is both widely read and accepted as 'the' book on anarchism, although his narrative approach differed from Eltzbacher's 'scientific' discourse. The attraction of Eltzbacher's canon was that it established a way to create a theoretically credible tradition at the time.

After pointing the general problems of reductionism, I have tried to trace them in detail in Woodcock. He rejected Bakuninist anarchism – as he construed it - and more generally 'The Movement', seeing in it a "romantic darkness of conspiracy" (Woodcock 1986: 171), and he firmly believed that this kind of (anarchist) political movement went where it belonged: "to the dustheap of history". Thus, the whole book is like an obituary. However, Woodcock was a believer in 'noble' anarchist ideas all his life, and being a pacifist as well, he did not regret fostering pacifist policies while dispising "the semi-mystical vision of salvation through destruction" (Woodcock 1986: 173).

So Woodcock's *Anarchism* was not only designed to represent anarchism as a whole and carry it to future generations, it also aimed to win the pacifist argument against the activist position within anarchism. This attitude, combined with a loyalty to the cannonic framework adopted by Eltzbacher and a general loyalty to the mainstream mode of historiography of ideas, resulted in a book that claims to represent anarchism (and is widely accepted to do so) but in fact was itself a 'reconstruction' with many problems. I tried to raise some of these problems by trying to trace the structure, assumptions and language usage.

I also examined standard textbook representations of anarchism as one of the 'political ideologies', to highlight the dominating descriptions of anarchism. These articles, in short, re-present the bias of ideas established in the Woodcock-Eltzbacher tradition (usually adding a bit more liberal tone, an exaggerated and misleading appraisal of anarcho-capitalism) and show the influence and power of their intepretations of these ideas in mainstream biases. The principle claim is that the anarchist canon we have analyzed so far is both an important reference for contemporary anarchist activists and also scholars working on the area, and young students who are learning political ideologies.

One of the main results of Woodcock's method was to create an anarchist canon which excluded many critical elements, from third world anarchisms to feminist and queer anarchisms. What is not there and what should have been there, from Argentina to Japan and from arts to feminism, will be examined in detail in the following chapters, Chapter 3 and Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 3: THERE AIN'T NO BLACK IN THE ANARCHIST FLAG!

RACE, ETHNICITY and ANARCHISM

Histories of anarchism are highly vulnerable when criticized for being 'Eurocentric'. This is mostly because non-Western or Third World anarchisms are almost totally excluded from the anarchist canon, both as theory and as practice, and a Eurocentric scheme of 'progression' has been adopted in discussions of the anarchist movement, or the spread of anarchist ideas. 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. Recent issues arising within anarchist movements provide a new impetus for such an analysis and this chapter builds on a tradition of thinking about racism, ethnicism, internationalism and colonialism to explore these concepts. Drawing on current political debates about Islam and anti-semitism, the chapter also considers anarchist

positions after 9/11 and provides a critical evaluation of anarchist historiography in an effort to explore the limitations of dominant anarchist historiography. This discussion is important in its own terms, but also hightlights the negative impacts of the anarchist canon; the priority given to the ideas of 'a few dead white men' as the starting point for the analysis of anarchism.

EUROCENTRISM IN THE ANARCHIST CANON

In the first two chapters, we saw that anarchist thinkers and anarchist movements in the Third World are excluded from the anarchist canon. Examining Woodcock further showed how absent the non-Western world of anarchism is in the history of anarchism. In this chapter, I will first give a few more examples to show how common it is to exclude Third World anarchisms in histories of anarchism. (It would also be fair to note that this is a thesis based solely on English-language and Turkish sources.) Thereafter I will present an outline of how it could (and in fact should) be written and what could (and in fact should) be included. I also discuss existing critiques of Eurocentrism in relation to the logic of the general structure adopted in anarchist histories.

In the anarchist canon, even when Third World anarchisms are mentioned, they are not mentioned as foundational elements of anarchism, but as mere expressions (of the core European anarchist ideals) in different cultures (where 'different' means other than European). Beyond Europe, anarchism is always seen as an application of something that does not actually belong to these cultures. At worst an ‘imitation’, at best an ‘Europeanization’. Moreover, anarchists in these countries are much more respected when they have lived in Western countries. For example, Russian anarchists who spent all their

time in Russia have much less chance of being considered foundational for anarchism than their comrades exiled or living in the West (Paul Avrich's *The Anarchists in the Russian Revolution* includes many neglected, interesting ideas about the anarchist contribution, but this is the exception that proves the rule). Daniel Guérin perfectly captured and tried to rationalize this attitude when he claimed that "Russia had no libertarian traditions ... it was in foreign lands that Bakunin and Kropotkin became anarchists." (Guérin 1970: 94) I will return to more examples of Eurocentric bias after discussing its roots.

Work on anarchisms in China, Egypt, Japan, Argentina or Mexico is considered to meet a specific interest in different cultures, requiring additional learning about these cultures, their political history, context and problems. And this knowledge is not considered essential to any study but necessary only for the particular (even exotic) area. For example, 'an expert of anarchism' (say someone working on classical anarchism like George Crowder) does not necessarily have to know anything about the Chinese revolution of 1911 but is expected to know about the French revolution of 1789. You have to study something specifically on this region to face any requirement to learn about Chinese political history, yet just to be able to talk about political history (and even politics) you have to know about the French revolution. The same goes for anarchist movements. You need to study Chinese anarchism only if you are working on a case study, like anarchism in China, but you do not need to study Chinese anarchism if you want to study say, the history of anarcha-feminism. You can write a whole tome on 'gender politics in anarchism' without reading a single page on the gender politics of Shifu, Osugi or Kotoku. And you won't face any criticism about this lack in subsequent reviews.

How does this work? How come the history of a genuinely anti-colonialist movement came

to be shaped like this? And why is it that the same perspective continues to dominate still?

To understand why, we first have to dwell on the issue of exclusions from the anarchist canon and see how the priority attached to ideas maps on to accounts of histories of the movement. Supplementing Woodcock's *Anarchism*,

James Joll's history of anarchism, *The Anarchists* (1964), occupies a representative position in this area.

In *The Anarchists*, James Joll notes that "the anarchist movement in the 1880s and '90s was genuinely international". (Joll 1964: 138) 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." (Joll 1964: 139) Having made the point about the international and non-European dimension of anarchism, Joll makes no further reference to non–European anarchism other than in the Americas! (Joll 1964: 139-148) This is quite striking: although he calls the movement international virtually all the countries (and nations) he discusses are West European. The nations that count in 'anarchist internationalism' are Western European nations. Moreover, anarchism in the United States and the Americas is pictured as the anarchism of immigrants. (Joll 1964: 141) When Joll talks about anarchism in Argentina he talks about Malatesta. Summarizing his activist militant life, he tells us that Malatesta "went to South America and spent four years in Argentine, where he spread anarchist ideas among the Italian immigrants and left an anarchist stamp on the organized working-class movement…"[35] (Joll 1964: 175) Indeed Italian immigrants and refugees played an

[35] 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

important role in the flow of anarchist ideas through global linkages to various world regions from France, Switzerland, England, Spain to the United States, Argentina, Brazil, Egypt and Tunisia. (Pernicone 1993: 3) But this one sentence on Malatesta is the most attention that Third World anarchisms get from Joll.

THE FLOW OF THE ANARCHIST IDEA AROUND THE GLOBE

The implication of Malatesta's role in Joll's work is crucial: when an idea flows from Italy to Spain, it is considered as an internal flow of 'the idea', it can even be called the development of the idea within the (European) body. But when the idea flows to Argentina, it is considered as a transfer from one body to another, a migration of the idea. Someone spreads the idea to another environment, to somewhere the idea 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 is in Japan or in Argentina, it is in a foreign environment. Immigrants are its carriers. And even more importantly, when the idea flows from Italy to Spain, when it 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 the Spanish political environment', but instead as the practice of anarchism! It is described as part of the history of anarchism because it is another instance of the idea 'at home'. It becomes a part of the main body because it been

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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, only to assert that Narayan's claims of an Indian non-parliamentary alternative are unlikely. (Joll 1964: 278) And he doesn't describe Gandhi as an anarchist.

transferred to another 'Western' environment. 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, he argues, is not a spatial term, but an ideological structure, just like Asia (Lewis & Wigen 1997, Steadman 1970). The ideological powers instrumentalizing the notion of Europe lie behind the development and abuse (and myth making) of the approach. Unfortunately, anarchist histories are bound to it. One of its decisive notions 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" (Lewis & Wigen 1997: 7)

The idea that anarchism was a European phenomenon and it was diffused to the rest from the West, seems like an example of what J. M. Blaut calls "geographical diffusionism" (where progress is seen as flowing endlessly out of the centre (Europe) toward the otherwise sterile periphery." Blaut calls this "the colonizer's model of the world"[36] (Blaut

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[36] Blaut calls 'Eurocentric diffusionism' the 'colonizer's model of the world' because of the crucial role this model plays in the legitimization of colonialism. The main idea asserts 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." (Blaut 1993: 2) This is crucial because 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." (Blaut 1993: 2) Blaut argues that "not only European colonialism initiated the development of Europe (and the underdevelopment of non-Europe) in 1492, but 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

1993: 2, 10) The canonical history of anarchism, its Eurocentric assumption that anarchism was “fundamentally a result of Europe’s internal qualities” and the idea of anarchist diffusion (that anarchism originated in Europe and then diffused to the rest) reflects commonly-held beliefs buried deep within Western scholarship, and only quite recently recognized and criticized. Replacing a diffusionist model, we can understand anarchism's emergence in the modern age as connections of worldwide discontent with modernism and modern capitalism. Thus we need to be cautious before asserting that anarchism's origin lies in 'Europe' because this approach includes an intellectual investment in the idea of 'Europe', a very ideological term, carrying subtle Eurocentrisms. The idea of determining a certain location as an origin for anarchism instead of certain global relations is itself troubled, but requires further discussion of the core, and the beginning of anarchism. Yet, we can here at least state that, even if we would prefer to look for an origin, there are certain problems in expressing it in terms of continents, as Blaut, Wigen and others remind us that such terms are not purely geographical, or natural but instead they come with ideological baggages. Blaut describes Eurocentric diffusionism

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continued power of Europe’s elite. For this reason, the development of a body of Eurocentric beliefs, justifying and assisting Europe’s colonial activities, has been, and still is, of very great importance.” (Blaut 1993: 10) And this is why Blaut exactly calls it the ‘colonizer’s model of the world’. And anarchism, as an anti-colonialist movement from the very beginning, and as a movement that has a long history fighting against Europe’s elite, seems like the last body of thought that should keep the Eurocentric perspective in its structure. On the other hand, there arises another curious question: could this history of anarchism, this canonization of anarchism, determine ‘what anarchism is’ on the basis of a Eurocentric framework; could this hidden Eurocentrism which in time occupied all main understandings and conceptions of the anarchist history, be responsible for 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. (Olson 2009: 35)

as a theory

> about the way cultural processes tend to move over the surface of the world as a whole. They tend to flow out of the European sector and toward the non-European sector. This is the natural, normal, logical, and ethical flow of culture, of innovation, of human causality. Europe, eternally, is Inside. Non-Europe is Outside. Europe is the source of most diffusions; non-Europe is the recipient.[37] (Blaut 1993: 1)

As "world history thus far has been, basically, the history of Inside," so too, has the history of anarchism thus far also been, the history of Inside. In both cases, the "outside has been, basically, irrelevant." (Blaut 1993: 5) 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 a semi-peripheral status on countries within the European continent (like Czech Republic, Hungary, Balkans, 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 WORLD WIDE PHENOMENON

We need, then, to discuss Third World anarchisms, not as exotic movements in exotic

[37] With Europe, Blaut refers to the continent of Europe and to regions dominated by European culture elsewhere, regions like the United States and Canada. (Blaut 1993: 43) And with terms Third World and non-Western, I simply refer to regions that don't fit Blaut's usage of Europe.

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'. We need a different conceptualization of the globe, one which is, in Lewis and Wigen's words, aware of the "myth of continents,[38] the myth of the nation-state and the myth of East-West" (Lewis & Wigen 1997: xiii)

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 (Lewis & Wigen 1997: 8), it is still irritating that these units are used with the same credit in discussions of anarchist history. Unfortunately, however, the canonical history is based on a totalizing spatial framework.

And where the idea of anarchism as a European movement is not rooted in questionable geographical concepts, it tends to replicate Rousseau's idea that the things in Europe are special because its various nations "constitute a real society." (Lewis & Wigen 1997: 37) Thus, the European continent is assumed as an entity and the West as a cultural entity. Consequently, if an idea emerges in Paris in 1840 and if it is carried to Spain and Argentina by two separate comrades in 1868,[39] one of them is deemed to be helping to

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[38] Lewis and Wigen show the arbitrary nature of the continental geographical imagination in geological, cultural, historical, political, even faunal and floral terms and thus warn about the myth of continents. (Lewis–Wigen 1997)

[39] In fact, as far as we know the first anarchist group appeared in Argentina in 1871. According to Jose

build the main body of anarchism, and the other is helping to build a peripheral anarchism.

If we follow this logic how should we locate the origin of anarchism? Where would the place of birth be? Paris: a city which is most commonly associated with the heart of Europe? Where did Kropotkin become an anarchist? In St. Petersburg? In Geneva? If we say Kropotkinite anarchism was born in Geneva, Switzerland, does this mean that classical–scientific anarchism is a Swiss school of anarchism? What about Kropotkin's travels and explorations in Siberia and his experiences in London? Kropotkinite anarchism becomes a Siberian-Londoner school of anarchism. Is classical–scientific anarchism a nineteenth–century Siberian-Londoner movement? It is common to say that Bakunin became an anarchist after his escape from exile in Siberia, after his incarceration in the Peter-Paul and Schlusselburg fortresses, arriving in Europe via Japan and the USA. Where should we locate insurrectionary Bakuninism? Where did he actually formulate his new political stance? Is Gargantuan Bakuninism a Siberian movement?

These speculations look provocative, if not ridiculous. The question is why they appear so? Why are these speculations ridiculous when Eurocentric speculation, such as saying "anarchism is a nineteenth–century European movement", as, for example George Crowder does in *Classical Anarchism* (Crowder 1991: 2), is accepted as knowledge about anarchism? We can argue that the reason lies in the hidden ideological conceptions that lie behind geographical terms. And against it, we can argue that anarchism is not an idea founded by Proudhon and then carried to other places or a movement found by Bakunin and then carried to other places; rather anarchism is a certain set of ideas and practices

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Ingenieros, in an article published in the *Almanaque Socialista de la Vanguardia* in 1989, this was apparently a French group. (Apter-Joll 1971: 183)

formed with and through a specific network of radical reformists/revolutionaries in different parts of the world. Anarchism is multi-centred and has temporary centres; actually these temporary centres are hubs, extra functioning nodes of the network.

Historians of anarchism were not intentionally Eurocentric, culturally or spatially elitist. This is one of the main difficulties you face when you try to challenge Eurocentrism: it is not a "sort of prejudice, an 'attitude' and therefore something that can be eliminated from modern enlightened thought in the same way we eliminate other relic attitudes such as racism, sexism and religious bigotry." (Blaut 1993: 9) Eurocentrism lies in the very logic of Western scholarship. Historians of anarchism set out to write good, well-crafted accounts of a theory and a movement. And they adopt the most respected historical approaches of their times. Yet these were deeply Eurocentric and they fitted the model of established world histories. Lewis and Wigen note:

> By the early 1800s, most Western historians had convinced themselves that only Europeans could really be said to possess history ... by the mid-nineteenth century, Eurocentrism had so intensified that it was common for world historians simply to brush away the rest of the world in a few opening passages … By the early twentieth century, the equation of world history with European history had become normative in Western scholarship (Lewis & Wigen 1997: 106-108)

In 1971, the same year that David Apter and James Joll's *Anarchism Today* was published, Alfred Knopf published a book titled *A History of the Modern World* which "considers the non-Western portions of the world only to the extent that they were dominated by Europe" (Lewis & Wigen 1997: 108). Unfortunately, historians carried this embedded Eurocentrism into anarchism (and also created a subtle racism and

ethnocentrism without it being noticed, because the readers of these anarchist histories were also so used to accepting Eurocentric beliefs as knowledge).

REPRESENTATIONS OF ANARCHIST CONNECTIONS

The idea that "the emancipating subjects happen to be historically and geographically located in the nineteenth century and in Western Europe", reflects a historiography that has been identified as deeply Hegelian (Larrain 1994: 23) It is a perspective that "constructs Europe as the centre and the non-European 'other' as peripheral and inferior." (Larrain 1994: 142) But the 'classical' anarchist movement[40] was actually a movement of travel, chance encounters and personal friendships, of newspapers, magazines, pamphlets; the emergence of a "transnational public sphere created through the press," (Khuri-Makdisi 2003); of activist methods and ideas which had no single centre of administration or centre of origin. To understand it requires a global, horizontal, network-based conceptualization of history and the rejection of Hegelian assumptions about history as constructed categories of 'peripheral and inferior'. This is one of the main reasons, I argue, that the Anglophone postanarchists (Newman, May, Call and Day) should have deconstructed existing historiography instead of taking it for granted. They relied on an obviously pre-poststructuralist (or non-poststructuralist) construction of history (as will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5). And the other significant point to make is that anarchism itself, as a movement, has been created and organized intentionally by

[40] 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 http://zabnew.files.wordpress.com/2010/11/non_western_anarchisms_rethinking_the_global_context_adams . pdf.)

anarchists in this way: as a fully internationalist, nonlinear, global, horizontal, non-centred, geographically and culturally non-hierarchic movement. The existing historiography is an upside down representation of anarchism (although it managed to become the mainstream representation, thanks to the dominance of Western scholarship). This problematic representation is probably the main reason that some contemporary anarchists refuse strong ties with the anarchist tradition. (Gordon 2008: 6) They confront the anarchist tradition in a non-anarchistic way (the canon).

This is one of the critical points of differentiation between anarchism and Marxism. Whereas anarchism favoured anti-colonialism in all countries and for the sake of the freedom of the colonized, for Marx and Engels, it was the "emancipation of the proletariat of the more developed nation that mattered"[41] (Larrain 1994: 21). Marxism included a "'belief in the world mission of European capitalism", thus "for Engels the conquest of Algeria by the French was 'an important and fortunate fact for the progress of civilization' as it was also fortunate that 'magnificent California was snatched from the lazy Mexicans, who did not know what to do with it." (Larrain 1994: 20-21) Even when they were critical of colonialism, it was because countries were playing different roles

> in relation to the prospects of revolution in the most developed countries. Whereas in the case of Mexico they [Marx and Engels] saw its submission as crucial for the strengthening of North American capitalism and hence for the development of the proletariat in that area, in the case of Ireland they saw its

[41] Of course, several anarchists' criticisms of colonialism had its own limits. Some anarchists were even willing to defend aspects of colonialism and anarchist opposition sometimes took the form of a simple scepticism concerning the effects of colonialism on the metropolitan society: not all expressed a real sense of solidarity with the colonized. Yet, for example in the cases of Cuba and Philippines, as Benedict Anderson shows, when Filipinos and Cubans were struggling against Spanish colonialism, they found "their most reliable allies among French, Spanish, Italian, Belgian and British anarchists." (Anderson 2005: 2) Anderson reminds us that "just as hostile to imperialism" anarchism "had no theoretical prejudices against 'small' and 'ahistorical' nationalisms, including those in the colonial world. Anarchists were also quicker to capitalize the on the vast transoceanic migrations of the era." (Anderson

independence as crucial for the development of the English proletariat. (Larrain 1994: 21)

It was also common for them to use abusive remarks for backward 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 stupidity’ of the Chinese.” (Larrain 1994: 22)

In 1971 David Apter gave a definition of anarchism (that later became quite popular) which claimed that anarchism was a socialist critique of capitalism and a liberal critique of socialism. (Apter & Joll 1971, 2; Goodway 1989: 1) Such a definition means that anarchism’s critique of capitalism was not unique, it was the same as the socialist critique, there was one real critique of capitalism and it was the socialist one, and the difference with the anarchists was that, while they shared the socialists’ criticism of capitalism, they also shared the liberal critique of socialism. These kinds of misconceptions of anarchism are becoming even more evident in discussions of themes like anti-colonialism, as seen above, because the anarchist critique of capitalism is different from the Marxists' critique of capitalism in many ways and the anarchist critique of Marxism has actually nothing to do with liberalism – it is born out of their differentiating critiques of capitalism (and in fact many other things from society to history).[42]

EUROPEAN HISTORY AS WORLD HISTORY

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[42] 2005:2)
On the other hand, David Goodway believes so strongly in this formulation and its unquestionable truth that, any anarchists who reject this association with liberalism, according to Goodway, are “anarchists who react according to their gut feelings rather than their minds”. (Goodway 1989: 17)

The type of Eurocentrism buried in the above mentioned conception is not very different from what appears in general world histories. “By the early 1800s, most Western historians had convinced themselves that only Europeans could really be said to possess history. ... by the mid-nineteenth century, Eurocentrism had so intensified that it was common for world historians simply to brush away the rest of the world in a few opening passages… By the early twentieth century, the equation of world history with European history had become normative in Western scholarship” (Lewis & Wigen 1997: 106-108)

GLOBAL ANARCHIST NETWORK

The twin claims that classical anarchism is located in the nineteenth–century and in Europe are both problematic, not only because of the geography but also because of the time scale. When does classical anarchism start and finish? And did non-European anarchisms appear after classical anarchism was formed (in countries which are all in Europe)? That is clearly not the case considering that the anarchist movement was already in Argentina in 1871. But when does classical anarchism really end? Kropotkin’s entry ‘Anarchism’ in *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1910) is one of the most cited essays for those looking for a definition of anarchism and to represent classical anarchist theory and viewpoints. By 1910, the world anarchist network had cells everywhere. In 1907, Chinese anarchists were publishing two international anarchist journals, one in Paris and one in Tokyo. In 1909, a play to protest against Francisco Ferrer’s execution was staged in Beirut. Ferrer’s execution resulted in big 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 ... Syrian anarchists in Brazil, working with the anarcho-syndicalist movement in Brazil, were translating Tolstoy into Arabic and publishing it in Sao Paolo for the first time, and a letter by August Vaillant had been published in *al Hilal* in Arabic. (Khuri-Makdisi 2003: 89) Argentiniain sections "supporting Bakunin were affiliated to the First International in 1872 and delegates attended the Saint-Imier Conference in 1877." (Marshall 2008: 505) In 1918, "Mexican revolution was supported warmly by the Uruguayan anarchists" (Marshall 2008: 507) and the "founder of the first anarchist working-class organizing group," Plotino Rhodakanaty, was born to a Greek father and an Austrian mother in Athens in 1828. After losing his father during the Greek war of independence against the Turks, he first moved to Vienna, then traveled to Budapest and became a supporter of Hungarian independence in 1848, he made a special trip to Paris in order to meet Proudhon in 1850 and from Paris, invited by a Mexican national, he moved to Mexico because he "decided that he should go to Mexico in order to ensure that the new agricultural communities (in Mexico) would be organized and developed into communes based upon utopian socialist concepts." (Hart 1987: 19) Syrian readers in Brazil, were writing letters to magazines published in Egypt, and asking about the future of anarchism (Khuri-Makdisi 2003: 88), a Lebanese periodical issued in Alexandria, *al Nur*, had subscribers in Haiti. (Khuri-Makdisi 2003: 179) The first anarchist pamphlet to appear in Chinese was entitled *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 a translation of a Japanese survey of anarchism, and that another pamphlet Chang Chi translated in 1907 was Malatesta's *Anarchia*. (Wright 1971: 116n81) 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: well-known Japanese anarchist Osugi Sakae, just before being killed, was invited to attend the International Congress of Anarchists in Berlin. He was arrested[43] during May Day demonstrations in St. Denis France, in 1922. His escape from Japan to France was organized by a secret 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." (Stanley 1982: 143) He was also given a lot of help by some Chinese anarchists in Lyon. (Stanley 1982: 144) 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, was exchanging letters with Edward Carpenter, whose book *Towards Democracy* and other writings played a significant part in his path to anarchism.[44] And after the treason trial, Ishikawa spent eight years in Europe, "mostly with the Reclus family in Brussels." (Apter-Joll 1971: 108) Also, although Woodcock makes a clear distinction between a Kropotkinite 'evolutionary', 'civilized' anarchism and a Bakuninist 'anarchism of a gang of mad men', the famous

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[43] It was not a regular arrest. The demonstration aimed to protest the attempt to obtain death sentences in the United States for Sacco and Vanzetti. And 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 1982: 147)

[44] As seen in his anarchist Utopia, 'Japan 50 years Later', Ishikawa showed his "belief in nudity as the symbol of natural freedom…" (Apter-Joll 1971: 109) and gave an early example of anarchist radicalism to nudity and sexuality.

Japanese anarchist Kotoku Shusui defended revolution by deeds and based his ideas on the teachings of Kropotkin,[45] not Bakunin. Were Kotoku treated as a part of the anarchist tradition (instead of being a specific example of the Japanese political culture) it would be possible to challenge Woodcock's formulations. And this challenge would be for the good, because he introduces a certain reductionism to Kropotkin's ideas simply in order to create an opposition to an exaggerated caricature of Bakuninism.

Anarchists were looking for 'open cities' like London to create hubs for their complex network. Hermia Oliver, in her book *The International Anarchist Movement in Late Victorian London*, depicts this international anarchist traffic in London following the movements of anarchists, anarchist groups, publications and events. (Oliver 1980) San Francisco was another hub, where Alfred Johnson[46] invited Kotoku to meet with their anarchist activism.

THE EUROCENTRISM OF ANARCHIST HISTORIES

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[45] Kotoku says that he went to prison as a Marxian socialist and returned as a radical anarchist. And this transformation was largely based on Kropotkin's *Fields, Factories and Workshops*. (Plotkin 1990: 24) Kotoku believed in revolution encouraged by the efforts of "forty or fifty men who were willing to die and who would be willing to attack wealthy men, raid storehouses and to burn government buildings" (Plotkin 1990: 29) As most of the anarchists managed to create opportunities to study anarchism in prison and even contribute to the movement while they were inmates, countless world prisons became spatial parts of the world anarchist network: Peter-Paul Fortress, French, Italian, Spanish, Japanese prisons, Los Angeles County jail, and many others…

[46] Alfred Johnson might have been one of the donors of Magon's magazine the *Regeneraciones*, named "A. Johnson" from Montana, appeared in the January 24, 1914 (edn. 173) issue.

Why is the movement of anarchism from Italy to Spain not seen as a 'missionary activity' while carrying anarchism to Brazil is seen so? Is there any answer to that other than the belief in an ideologically charged concept of Europe and its Eurocentric role in history?

James Joll stresses that "… Fanelli's bringing of Bakunin's gospel to Spain had such far-reaching results." (Joll 1964: 225). He also talks about Fanelli's "first audiences" and "Fanelli's first converts" (Joll 1964: 226). Giuseppe Fanelli, an Italian anarchist, created links with Spain and carried anarchism to Spain. (Ackelsberg 2005: 67) Anarchism was carried to Italy by Bakunin, after he escaped from a Russian prison, and travelled through Japan and America to arrive in Italy. Between 1864-1867, while he was in Italy, "Bakunin developed the essentials of his anarchist philosophy, attracted a devoted coterie of Italian disciples and laid the foundations for the international anarchist movement." (Pernicone 1993: 4) A Russian refugee running from a Siberian prison carries ideas to Italy, then his converts carry it to other places, and this is not the only anarchist flow that can be traced. There were other flows.[47] All were linked at some point and all had a role in creating the global anarchist movement in all its complexity.

Admittedly, a few years after the publication of Joll's *The Anarchists*, James Joll and David Apter produced an edited volume entitled *Anarchism Today* (as we saw earlier while

[47] 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 1993:11-12) There were many other flows, involving Jewish exiles, anti-colonial solidarity movements, artistic radicalism and queer activism.

discussing its contemporaries in modern history), which includes articles on anarchism in Japan, India, Uruguay and Argentina. One wonders whether these additions might be linked to Apter's presence in the project, because Joll wrote a fresh article for this collection called "Anarchism – a Living Tradition", and there he still insists that anarchism is an "international phenomenon" (Apter-Joll 1971: 212) and also that these (international) nations are the same exclusively European nations referred to *The Anarchists*. There are some non-European references in this article, but none of them are to anarchists: Che Guevera, Castro and Cuba are mentioned in connection with contemporary developments in the revolutionary '60s (the 'New Left'). (Apter-Joll 1971: 217, 220-221) In his highly popular book *Anarchism* (1970) Daniel Guérin felt no greater need to mention non-Western anarchists or movements. Yet he mentions self-management in Tito's Yugoslavia, and how the new Algerian state might adopt these Yugoslavian methods. Not even in a section titled 'Decolonization' does Guérin deal with the ideas of anarchists who fought with colonialism in various parts of the world. He finds it sufficient to cite Proudhon's and Bakunin's ideas on the matter. Although he is an important example of anarchists supporting anti-colonial struggles, especially the one in Algeria, the lack of recognizing Third World anarchists as political agents was still there.

GLOBALIZATION OF EUROPEAN ANARCHISM

There are a few other suggestions about locating the birthplace of anarchism of course. For example Ilham Khuri-Makdisi calls anarchism a "Mediterranean production" (Khuri-Makdisi 2003) instead of a European production. Mediterranean is not an ideological framework like Europe and Khuri-Makdisi is actually trying to challenge the limits of the European model when she suggests the 'Mediterranean model.' For her, "globalisation of European imperialism was an extension of the nation state" (Khuri-Makdisi 2003)

This ‘extension of the nation state’ was not unique to Joll and Woodcock. Another important collection on anarchism in 1960s is Irving L. Horowitz’s *The Anarchists* (Horowitz 1964). Horowitz’s book is like a reader on anarchism. First of all, the structure of the book repeats Woodcock's assumption that the anarchist idea comes before anarchist practice, and practice is just an application of that idea.[48] So Horowitz’s *The Anarchists* is made of two parts: part one has the title “The Theory”, and part two has the title “The Practice”. Part one includes three sections, section one, “Anarchism as a Critique of Society”, has pieces from Dennis Diderot, Errico Malatesta, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, William Godwin, Michael Bakunin, Peter Kropotkin, Benjamin R. Tucker and Rudolf Rocker; section two, “Anarchism as a Style of Life”, has pieces from Joseph Conrad, Fyodor Dostoyevsky, Leo Tolstoy, Albert Camus, Emma Goldman and Sacco and Vanzetti; and section three, “Anarchism as a System of Philosophy”, has pieces from Max Stirner, Henry David Thoreau, Josiah Warren, William Ernest Hocking, Herbert Read and Paul Arthur Schilpp. And the second part, “The Practice”, includes two sections, and section one, “The Historical Dimension”, has pieces on anarchism in Spain, Italy, USA, France, Russia, Kronstadt, Northern Europe and Latin America, and the second section, “the Sociological Dimension”, has pieces from Georges Sorel, Paul Goodman, Robert Presthus, Philip Selznick and Karl Schapiro.

Apart from borrowing Woodcock's structure where theory is prioritised over practice, Horowitz also reproduces the picture of anarchism as a European idea and European

[48] Japanese anarchist Osugi Sagae, also 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.” (Stanley 1982: 71)

movement. In the extensive *Introduction* (Horowitz 1964: 15-64) the only non-Western anarchist mentioned is Gandhi, representing pacifist anarchism together with Tolstoy.[49] There are no non-Western names in his "A Postscript to the Anarchists", at the end of the book. (Horowitz 1964: 581-603) As I said above, the book includes a piece on anarchism in Latin America. But this piece is actually a reprint of a chapter in George Woodcock's *Anarchism*. (Horowitz 1964: 482-495) Woodcock's *Anarchism* includes a chapter titled: "Various Traditions: Anarchism in Latin America, Northern Europe, Britain and the United States". Horowitz included that chapter in his volume by omitting sections on Britain and United States. This chapter includes a very, very short summary of anarchist movements in Latin America. This shows that, anarchism in Latin America was known, but found irrelevant.[50] Perhaps Horowitz and Woodcock knew about anarchist movements in Japan

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[49] The only other non-Western name Horowitz refers to is Francisco Juliao and his Peasant Leagues in Brazil. They are not mentioned as anarchist examples though. Horowitz says Malatesta's famous insurrection in Southern Italy in 1874 was similar to Francisco Juliao's Peasant Leagues in Brazil. (Horowitz 1964: 44)

[50] It should be noted that in the 1950s Woodcock travelled to Mexico and Peru and wrote travel books on these regions. *City of the Dead* (1956) and *Incas and Other Men* (1959). (New 1978: XI) Woodcock begins this chapter 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 1964: 482) For Lewis and Wigen, this would be a clear example of environmental (or geographical) determinism. Environmental determinism in the Anglo-American academy "tended to support the self-serving notion that temperate climates alone produced vigorous minds, hardy bodies, and progressive societies, while tropical heat produced races marked by languor and stupefaction." (Lewis & Wigen 1997: 42) Of course, Woodcock was not sharing the racist claims buried in this perspective, but he was reproducing its determinism and it fit with his other ideas about anarchism as a paradoxical movement (that only grows 'in the lands of sun' under

and China as well, and just found them even more irrelevant. This makes sense from a Eurocentric point of view, because if it was already clear that what happened in these countries would make no difference to our understanding of what anarchism is and what the anarchist movement is, then of course experiments in these countries are only relevant for scholars who work on these cultures, not for those working on anarchism.

The consequences of a Eurocentric anarchist canon are made explicit in David Miller's *Anarchism* (1984). Miller says that his work is not a history of anarchism but a discussion of anarchist philosophy and the anarchist movement as depicted in existing histories, and he names Joll's *The Anarchists* and Woodcock's *Anarchism* as "excellent histories of anarchism that are currently available" (Miller 1984: 2) As a result, in the whole book, the only non-Western reference is to Gandhi. That's all. And while he discusses "anarchism" he is actually only discussing "Western anarchism". Imagine someone only discussing African anarchism, but does not say so, and pretends that she is discussing 'the' anarchism. Another example is seen in George Crowder's *Classical Anarchism* (1991). He refers to Eltzbacher more than Woodcock, in setting the anarchist canon of writers, and he discusses, like Miller, the theories of anarchism and the anarchist movement, again without any reference to a non-Western thinker or movement, because, he is also dwelling on the given history of anarchism without questioning it. And this time, we do not even have a reference to Gandhi. (Crowder 1991)

NON-WESTERN/THIRD WORLD ANARCHISMS

Sharif Gemie tries to locate 'Third World anarchism' in his article *Beyond the Borders, The*

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the 'heat').

Question of Third World Anarchism. Yet he runs up against the problem of imitation. Gemie thinks it seems unlikely that the "classical forms of nineteenth-century anarchism will be imitated by Third World people" (Gemie 2004). But the main trouble may lie somewhere else: when you try to avoid imitation you remain in the realm of the "colonizer's model of world history", the re-presenting the idea of the West and stagnant rest, you reproduce the idea that all civilization (and anarchism as well) was created by the West and can be either 'imitated' or you need to create something else based on your cultural (and folkloric/premodern) features.

While Gemie thinks we need to search for an 'autonomous Third World anarchism, where the "political cultures of these movements developed autonomously from their Euro-American cousins", Peter Gelderloos instead suggests that we look for any libertarian tendency within the actual anti-colonial resistance movements. Gelderloos's article "Seeing an Iraqi Resistance" is a strong example of this alternative. (Gelderloos 2009)

COLONIALISM, ANTI-COLONIALISM AND ANARCHISM

Today, colonialism/anti-colonialism and imperialism/anti-imperialism both hold a secondary place in contemporary anarchist studies. This is pretty weird considering the importance of these issues in the history of world political history. And this neglect provides a useful platform to speculate on how the priorities might change if we did not have Eurocentric anarchist histories dominating the historical canon on anarchism.

If the history of political movements in the Third World played a higher role in the history of anarchism than has been acknowledged, it would be clear that anti-colonialism and anti-

imperialism are central issues that shaped anarchism. Anarchism's place in anti-colonial movements would be depicted much more centrally. And anti-militarism would be understood not only as a subcategory of pacifism but as anti-colonial activism. For example, 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" (Levy 1999: 50) Anarchists took part in anti-Ottoman liberation wars, especially in Crete. Sergei Kravchinski, known as Stepniak in London revolutionary circles, a part of Malatesta's close anarchist band, had also "joined the rising against the Turks in Bosnia" (Joll 1964: 121) As Benedict Anderson shows in detail in his *Under Three Flags* (2005) Spanish anarchists did their best in solidarity with anti-colonial movements against the Spanish rule both in Cuba and Philippines, and played a networking role for all. Anarchist anti-colonialist propaganda by Kees van Dongen, Frantisek Kupka, Pierre Quillard and others in France (while the French colonialist wars were going on in Africa) helped a great deal in the development of anti-colonial policies of anarchist avant-garde writers and artists like Alfred Jarry, Guillaume Apollinaire and Pablo Picasso, which led a to a specific current called *Africanism*, that applied anarchist subversion techniques. (Leighten 1990: 615-620) And although anarchism is openly and fundamentally anti-nationalist, as Roger White notes in his article *Post-Colonial Anarchism*, anti-colonialism was such a priority for anarchists that, "anarchists have generally supported anti-imperialist movements regardless of their nationalist aspirations." (White 2005)

We know that slavery, as a metaphor, was enormously popular in anarchist writings. But the use of the term was not unique to anarchism. As Susan Buck-Morss notes in her groundbreaking article 'Hegel and Haiti', "by the eighteenth century, slavery had become the root metaphor of Western political philosophy, connoting everything that was evil about

power relations." (Buck-Morss 2000: 821) Yet research on actual, real slavery and anarchism is rare. Lewis Perry is one of these rare scholars who worked on the issue. Perry, in his book *Radical Abolitionism*, works on the "anarchists" of the abolitionist movement. Although his focus is on abolitionism, Perry argues that he emphasizes attitudes towards authority rather than race because the "abolition of slavery presupposed a revolution in power relationships in America." (Perry 1973: xii) And "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." (Perry 1973: 32) 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 the Tolstoy-Gandhi branch, and this was discovered by Tolstoy himself. Tolstoy was trying to understand why this current of anarchism ('nonresistant anarchism', named after the abolitionist movement called the New England Non-Resistance Society)[51] disappeared in its own country, in America. He even called on Americans to rediscover Garrison and Adin Ballou together with Henry David Thoreau. (Perry 1973: 4) He understood that "Garrison's followers had been inclined toward anarchism not in addition to hating slavery but because

[51] 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 1973: 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." (Perry 1973: 59) Non-resistance, in a very Gandhian style, required the conversion of slaveholders." (Perry 1973: 231) Another important anarchist current within abolitionism was called "come-outerism". Come-outerism was a social movement with the intention of escaping "from church, state, and every form of social bondage" (Perry 1973: 98) And there were the Garrisonian "non-govermentists" who were against human governing "because they were in favour of the only true government – that of God." (Perry 1973: 170)

they hated slavery" (Perry 1973: 5) Perry argues that "it is difficult to understand antislavery properly without taking account of its anarchistic offshoots".[52] (ibid: 8) Activists all despised slavery but also felt that they needed to oppose all kinds of slavery to get rid of actual slavery, so they reached an "extended definition of slavery". (Perry 1973: 17) Perry not only highlights the anarchism of abolitionists, but also argues that anarchism as formulated in the writings of Proudhon, Bakunin and other classical figures (which Perry calls "European anarchism"), from the beginning explained itself as an "antislavery movement". Slavery was not just a timeless metaphor in these texts. "The literature of European anarchism, in all its various factions and theories, abounds with attacks on 'slavery'".(Perry 1973: 24-26)

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 it eventually caused the abolition of slavery. Buck-Morss shows the

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[52] Perry of course notes that "no abolitionist, and no American for that matter, called himself an anarchist in the 1840s or 1850s" (Perry 1973: 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, Lewis Perry (with Leonard I. Krimerman) also published an anthology of key anarchist texts: *Patterns of Anarchy, A Collection of Writings on The Anarchist Tradition*. 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" from Adin Ballou. (Krimerman-Perry 1966: 140-149) And the only book which has a section on Garrison and Ballou and which discuss their theories in relation to anarchism is Alexandre J. M. E. Christiyoyannopoulos's *Christian Anarchism, A Political Commentary on the Gospel* (Christiyoyannopoulos 2010).

consequences of the Haitian Revolution in the Western imagination in general and on Hegel's master/slave theories in the *Phenomenology of the Mind* and later on Frantz Fanon. (Buck-Morss 2000)

ETHNICITY AFTER 9/11

Anti-globalisation movements and 'new anarchism' gave the 2000s a radical turn. But at the same time, after 9/11 and its aftermath, because of the 'war on terror' and the emergence of a new dominant discourse of anti-Islam and anti-terror; 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 at the same time they had to resist being linked to the enemy, Al-Qaeda terrorism. Yet as Gelderloos successfully notes, they failed to overcome the official US propaganda on the Iraqi resistance. (Gelderloos 2009) The difficulties of creating a dialogue with the resistance were increased by the antipathy towards the details of Arabic culture and its dynamics.

And in this political atmosphere where official calls about Arab terrorists who not only confronted a colonial power but also hated everything about civilization were unrivalled, we witnessed unfortunate attempts to link historical anarchism with today's Al-Qaeda.

One attempt to tie anarchism and Al-Qaeda was made from James L. Gelvin. His article "*Al-Qaeda and Anarchism: A Historian's Reply to Terrorology*" (Gelvin 2008) endeavoured to link anarchism to Al-Qaeda, although very weakly. 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?* (Jensen 2008)

The attempt to link all kinds of guerrilla activities to the anarchist assassinations of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century is a common phenomenon in dominant anarchist histories. Joll for example, calls “terrorism”, “a technique for drawing attention to a cause” (Joll 1964: 147) and ties “bombs planted by the O.A.S. in early 1960s” to *fin de siecle* anarchist assassins. (Joll 1964: 147) This constitutes an earlier example of linking anarchism to far-right extremism. Joll expands his approach in a 1971 article and correlates the “Young Bosnians who assassinated the Archduke Francis Ferdinand in 1914, the suffragettes 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.” [53] (Apter-Joll 1971: 218-219)

Yet, Gelvin’s association of anarchism with Al-Qaeda is not an anarcho-pacifist position based on an attempt to demonize all the history of propaganda by the deed. Rather, it is an ethnicism trying to equate the ‘enemies of our civilization.’ I argue that the Eurocentric conceptualization of anarchism and the history of anarchism results in an historical environment where it is possible to make such irrelevant equations. And as Gelderloos noted, under these conditions, naturally, Western anarchist activists cannot easily find ways to forge relations with the currently colonized communities and worldwide libertarians. They find representations of anarchism increasingly useless because of its limited Western framework and hidden Eurocentric structure, which is not so hidden when you look from a non-Western context.

[53] Ironically, this is a recognition of networking – it's the contagion of the bad idea: this was the language of governement in the nineeteenth century. And it parallels the missionary language of the Eurocentric assumptions.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I mainly dealt with the excluded ethnicity issues within the anarchist canon, and several consequences of this lack. In the next chapter, I will examine other excluded dimensions of anarchism, from gender issues to arts and culture, and try to see their common grounds, and the consequences of these exclusions.

The problem in the anarchist canon is not only that it excludes particular figures or movements. The problem is the historical framework that anarchism is forced to fit. Existing mainstream anarchist historiography not only is blind to non-Western elements of historical anarchism, it also misses the very nature of *fin de siecle* world radicalism in which the anarchism of the period was flourishing: that is globalization (and if you prefer, alter globalization, as an alternative to the central globalization of European imperialism). (See Khuri-Makdisi 2003; Anderson 2005)[54] Instead of being interested in the network of (anarchist) radicalism (worldwide), political historiography tries to build a linear narration which begins from a described geography, a cultural framework, which will be led by father figures, and which will have decisive moments to compartmentalize, (like the 'loss' of Spain) and a traceable life span.

So the real problem is the missing intersections, radical networks of the world cities,

[54] Arif Dirlik also notes that anarchism was the foremost ideology globally and thus became a power in China as anarchism "flourished in China when it was also the foremost ideology of social revolution globally" (Dirlik 1991: 26)

exchanges, overlaps, flows, nodes, linkeages: fluidity and multiplicity. Anarchism was a radical phenomenon flowing within these world networks (and one of the main ingredients in forming these radical networks). When anarchism was being carried from one place to another, it was not an export or a missionary transport of an idea to be experimented with 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, without losing the international, global linkeages that kept them within the range of (anarchist) radicalism: always with "very local claims" (Khuri-Makdisi 2003).

Missing this view of the international networks helps to explain why the role of arts is also missed - because these networks always included writers and art initiatives (like theatre in Alexandria, see Khuri-Makdisi 2003).

This is the essential argument: anarchism was a worldwide radicalism, made up of internationally connected networks of world cities and ideas, movements, periodicals, intellectuals, militants and workers. And this network was not an exclusively European network as suggested by historians like Joll or Woodcock, but a truly international, truly global network. A concept of "Europe as the founder" is applied to a much more horizontal existence.

And when an anarchist or an anarchist periodical or an idea or a form of practice was being moved from one city to another city in another country, there was actually no origin or an idea of origin. All applications were equally local, and locally concerned, thus different in details, and all applications were original and a part of the origin and all were simultaneously founding, as they were the part of the founding international world network

of anarchist politics. An Italian anarchist publishing an anarchist periodical in Cairo was not exporting Italian (European) anarchism to Egypt, but anarchism was being founded and simultaneously experimented worldwide by Italians and natives and immigrants and others in different parts of the world. Anarchism is not the thing that was shipped from a city of origin, but it is all these shipments, connections, relations, exchanges, intersections, it is this global network, which also extends the limits of the sphere of politics.[55] And we shouldn't forget: the importance of international linkages for today's (anarchist) anti-globalization movement operates at the same high level.

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[55] As an extension to the 'defeat of anarchism theory', mentioned before, in Chapter II, Ilham Khuri-Makdisi suggests another defeat: the historiographic 'defeat' of anarchism worldwide by organized and party-centred interpretations of the left, namely socialism and communism." (Khuri-Makdisi 2003: 179) So Khuri-Makdisi here is not talking about the so-called 'defeat' (which she writes in single quote probably for this 'defeat' was not really a defeat) that happened in Russia when anarchism couldn't lead a revolution (as suggested by James Joll) and couldn't stop the communists and silence them for good, or in Spain when Franco won the war (as suggested by Woodcock), but the defeat that happened during a process of historiography. I can say that my thesis here is obviously a part of the attempts that would try to turn 'this defeat' of anarchism back, by focusing on historiography. Khuri-Makdisi detects how the history of the left in the Arab countries traditionally starts with party centred socialist efforts, and thus dismisses earlier anarchist networks and their actions. (Khuri-Makdisi 2003: 179, 179n4). And additionally, she claims this was accompanied with a discrimination of historiography against the role of artisans in the history of the left. (Khuri-Makdisi 2003: 179n4) Next to Khuri-Makdisi, we see Lewis Perry, as the final argument of his book *Radical Abolitionism*, claiming that there was another historiographical defeat of anarchism at the hands of the Marxist left. Perry reminds us of the motivations of Marx to move the International from London to New York (just to snatch the International from Bakuninist anarchists) and in New York, how he eliminated the anarchist abolitionists like Woodhull and West from the movement, leaving them forgotten as a result, as Tolstoy discovered, a dozen years later, when he tried to find traces of abolitionist radicalism. (Perry 1973: 294).

CHAPTER 4: WHAT THE HISTORY MISSED OUT

Chapter 3 examined the Eurocentrism of the anarchist canon and how exclusions and inclusions were influenced by issues of ethnicity. This chapter will look at other areas, disciplines and problems excluded by the anarchist canon, the 'official history of anarchism' we have been examining so far. This chapter aims to unite all these excluded currents, to see their relations, their significant contributions to the history of anarchism,

and highlight what was missed in the conception of anarchism by their neglect. The focus of the chapter is women anarchists and anarcha-feminism, gay anarchists and queer-anarchism, anarchist artists and artistic movements and genres inspired by anarchism. It will be shown that a strong tradition of relations between anarchism and art has been left aside in mainstream anarchist narratives together with a central anarchist focus on sexual freedom. It is the intention of this chapter to point out that these underestimated factors, all together, played a significant role in giving anarchism its unique character and its distinctive 'form' (or rather, understanding of form). The chapter thus aims to show how marginalizing them in the existing canon has led to a serious misrepresentation of anarchist history and anarchism, and left an important constituent of anarchist identity in the shadows. Nevertheless, anarchistic links between known figures like D. H. Lawrence, Picasso or André Breton have not been stressed in this chapter in order to 'claim' these names as anarchists. Rather, these references point out connections and show how anarchism was constructed through such contributions and why it is not fair to imagine the core of anarchism without all those contributions, events, figures and discussions. And they are not mentioned here to propose another canon including such and such names, but to show once again the arbitrary nature of the canon. This is the last chapter dedicated to questioning the structure of the existing anarchist canon and it completes the analysis presented in Chapter 2 on key historical accounts of anarchism and Chapter 3, on Eurocentrism within anarchist historiography. In tracing/highlighting the flaws of traditional narratives we will reach an alternative understanding of the 'form' of/in anarchist movements, something which will be detailed even further in the final chapter (Chapter 6). My approach differs radically from the ‘sporadic tradition’ theory (i.e. that anarchism ended in 1939 and found resurgence in New Left counterculture movements of 1968 as the ‘new anarchism’) because it emphasies the continuity of anarchist principles and anarchist forms (or again, rather, understandings of form).

EXCLUSIONS IN THE CANON

Eltzbacher's canonical tome, *The Great Anarchists*, does not include any reference to culture or arts, which is not surprising since he reduces anarchism to 'anti-statism' and defines this through a legal frame on ‘property’; Emma Goldman was also left out of his study. In Woodcock's seminal work *Anarchism*, and in Joll's *The Anarchists*, we see some references to art and culture; but of course these references are peripheral, they are not treated as main elements of anarchism but merely trivial applications or influences of anarchist political philosophy and its movements - separate trends from anarchist political culture. In short, these texts treat artistic anarchism and anarchist sexual radicalism in the same way as they treat Third World anarchism – as additional (optional?) to the core of anarchism.

Admittedly, compared to Woodcock, Joll devotes more space to artists in his account of the movement, even though Woodcock was actually a practising artist. Nevertheless, for Joll, artists are artists, who employed anarchist ideas for their artistic (and even careerist) purposes. According to Joll, what anarchist artists did or did not do had no bearing on anarchist politics. A certain contempt for their anarchism can be sensed when Joll claims that anarchist artists were not very interested in anarchist politics, and were only attracted to anarchism as a part of their artistic avant-gardism. (Joll 1964: 167) “Most artists and writers were too occupied with their own aesthetic discoveries and experiments to worry about anarchist ideas in any detail.” (Joll 1964: 167) As we will see, this claim is deeply flawed. From Octave Mirbeau to Pissarro, anarchist artists were there for the 'cause,' contributing wholeheartedly to magazines, trials, anarchist campaigns; but more importantly, they were part of a movement which describes the 'cause' more broadly than

Joll allows (we will discuss this at greater length in this chapter in the discussion of the 'form' of the anarchist movement and anarchism's special concern for 'forms'). Joll claims that, “for the artists and writers, anarchism represented a general attitude to life rather than a specific theory about society.” (Joll 1964:169) This is another claim that has no grounds, and besides reduces anarchism to a 'specific theory about society', which is itself flawed. Even if we could reduce it, and believe that it was possible to conceptualize anarchism as a 'specific theory about society', we could still argue that anarchist writers and artists have contributed substantially to the history of that theory. (Weir 1997; Marcus 1990; Leighten 1989; Kissack 2008)

Joll’s reduction of anarchism to an anti-statist ideology (i.e. defining anti-statism as the main tenet of anarchism from which all other anarchist principles are born and thus defining the state as the ‘central problem’ for anarchist politics and defining anarchism as an ideology which has only one central target) reinforces a logic of exclusions. In a similar way, concentrating on an understanding of power where all power originates from one source (the state) leads to a pyramidal understanding of history where everything originates from one creative source pack – which is exemplified in the fantasy of seven key anarchist thinkers, in the case of anarchism.

The logic of exclusion makes the possibility of inclusion seem absurd. For example, in the rare cases where Emma Goldman is mentioned, she tends to be reduced to a figure who did not actually contribute to anarchist political theory and its ethos but who added only a 'feminist' flavour to anarchism. She is marked as the 'mother' of the anarcha-feminist brand, while the fantastic seven anarchists are hailed as the ‘fathers’ of the ‘anarchist nation’ whose roots are in Europe, the ‘motherland.’ (cf. Greenway 1997)

As we saw in the Eurocentrism chapter (Chapter 3), a direct result of these exclusions from the canon can be observed when the anarchist position on human nature, anarchist understandings of Nietzsche, or anarchist positions regarding revolution, Enlightenment or education are discussed: Emma Goldman is missing! Goldman is there, in the history of anarchism, but remembered only in a section on anarcha-feminism. And even here, the categorization contains another secret, second level of reduction, a reduction based on the reading of anarchist feminism with reference to one particular iconic woman and her life. (cf. Weiss-Kensinger 2007) In the anarchist canon, Goldman is easily depicted as a woman whose adventurous love and life story is more important than her ideas. A way to minimize the significance of women anarchists is to deny that they were theoreticians so as to reduce their practices to simple – though in her case apparently 'muddled' – applications of the theories of great men. Emma Goldman in this sense has been largely interpreted as a follower and even 'disciple' of Kropotkin. (McKenzie –Stalbaum 2007)

Although Goldman was "one of the most radical feminists of her era" and "a leading figure in the international anarchist movement between 1889 and 1940" she has been largely ignored as a theoretician, and never seen as an original thinker. (Weiss-Kensinger-Carroll 2007: 5-7) "When we take someone like Goldman seriously, the canon itself shifts a bit." (Weiss-Kensinger-Carroll 2007: 16)

Jim Jose makes a similar observation in his article *'Nowhere at home', not even in theory: Emma Goldman, anarchism and political theory,* when he points out the reluctance in the history of political thought to "accord Emma Goldman the status of a serious political thinker. Even within the anarchist tradition she is rarely acknowledged as a political theorist ..." (Jose 2005: 23) Jose reminds us how she was unfairly excluded from the historiography of anarchism by offering a string of examples:

> ... when Marshall (1994, 396) acknowledged that Goldman 'made a lasting contribution to anarchist theory by giving it a feminist dimension', he still described her as more of an activist than a thinker. In Solomon's view (1987,38), Goldman was not, however, an 'original theorist', but rather more 'an interpreter and propagandist of anarchism'. As if to underline this, one well-reviewed discussion of anarchist theory (Ritter, 1980) does not even consider Goldman's ideas. And a decade later, Crowder's study of the so-called 'founding fathers', Godwin, Proudhon, Bakunin and Kropotkin, barely gave Goldman a mention (Crowder 1991). (Jose 2005: 25)

Jose successfully establishes the contrary: that, as matter of fact "Goldman's contribution to political thought was both original and pivotal." (Jose 2005: 23)

The exclusion of female anarchists is apparent in popular accounts of anarchism, too. Reviewing Clifford Harper's *Anarchy: a Graphic Guide*, Martyn Everett observes that Harper used "the standard historical texts on anarchism, the standard theorists, the known activists and set them within a narrative framework," yet "women anarchists don't feature as much as they should. Louise Michel, Lilian Wolfe and Marie Louise Berneri, Molly Witcop and Maria Silva, are all conspicuous by their inexplicable absence." (Everett 1993: 73) On the other hand, the (visual) "depiction of women in assertive and revolutionary roles is one of the book's innovations and stands in contrast to the weakness of the text." (Everett 1993: 73) This 'textual exclusion' and 'graphical inclusion' of women anarchists is in line with the common acceptance of the unique value of Emma Goldman's life, which is full of adventures and crowned with more than five biographies (Wehling 2007) accompanying the widespread reluctance to recognizing her intellectual and theoretical

achievements.[56]

In sum, the anarchist canon ignores these three currents: women anarchists, queer anarchists, (anarcha-feminism and queer anarchism), anarchist artists and art genres all of which played a significant role in the history of anarchism. This chapter argues that their qualities are an essential part of what anarchism is and what it stands for and that their relation with the form they chose for organising reflects their inner qualities.

WOODCOCK'S ANARCHIST ART

We should keep in mind that although Woodcock did not place arts and culture within the anarchist canon he was well aware of their existence (just like being aware of Third World anarchism but not canonizing them). His knowledge points up the rationale of his approach and the assumptions which inform the canon: the supposition that frames the borders of the 'political' and leaves arts outside, resulting in a picture that concludes: 'arts could only be a side factor'.

In his autobiography, *Letter to the Past*, Woodcock, recalls how the Freedom Press of the '40s was part of a lively cross-fertilization of ideas with the literary and artistic movements of the time. He remembers that new apocalyptic poets and "Belgian and French surrealists in wartime exile were often present at Finchley Road meetings and took part in the passionate discussions that followed the lectures." (Woodcock 1982: 245) Alex Comfort, Herbert Read, E.L.T. Mesens, Vernon Richards, Albert Meltzer and Colin Ward were all present – a mix of artists and activists. (Woodcock 1982: 245)

[56] This points to a broader problem in the history of anarchism where theory is seen as superior to action, and binary conceptualizations like head (of the movement) and heart (of the movement) are still used.

Edouard Léon Théodore Mesens (1903 – 1971) was an anarchist Belgian artist and writer associated with the Belgian surrealist movement. We also learn from Woodcock's autobiography that, while Mesens, "who ran the London Gallery" was getting drawings from André Masson and Picasso for *NOW*, the main protagonist of the surrealist movement, André Breton, **"**from his exile in the United States contributed a fiery surrealist-anarchist manifesto entitled 'The Colours of Liberty' to NOW". (Woodcock 1982: 248).

Modern studies of the origins of surrealism show that "Benjamin Peret, Robert Desnos, and André Breton were all strongly influenced by anarchism as adolescents" and "Louis Aragon identified with individualist anarchism in the early 1920s." (Sonn 2005: 74) André Breton recalled that as a teenager in 1913 he "regularly read André Colomer's journal of aesthetic and individualist anarchism, *L'Action D'Art*. And also *Le Libertaire* and *L'Anarchie* on an occasional basis." And Breton agreed that pre-war anarchism was one of the sources of surrealism. "The demonstrations of 1913 protesting the extension of military service to three years" in France and the "red and black flags waving over the demonstrators" had an impact on him. He never forgot the "simple device he saw printed on a tombstone, the anarchist slogan '*Ni Dieu Ni Maitre*' (*Neither God nor master*)."(Sonn 2005: 75-76) In 1952, Breton would describe surrealism as anarchist and say that "it was in the black mirror of anarchism that surrealism first recognized itself." (Orend 2009: 72) Helena Lewis, in her book *The Politics of Surrealism* (Lewis 1980) states that "surrealism at least in its early period, was clearly in the anarchist tradition." (quoted in Sonn 2005: 223)

Woodcock was not only involved with the British radical art scene but had transatlantic contacts as well: Kenneth Rexroth started a literary anarchist group in San Francisco, and

American anarchists and literary circles created close relations with Woodcock through his magazine *NOW*. Thus, Woodcock was aware of Rexroth and Bay Area radicalism because he was following their magazines. The Bay Area of the United States also became a dynamic hub of queer anarchistic politics together with artistic radicalism. This area "was to become the new Paris, the new centre of Bohemian and Anarchist America. It arguably did become so with the Beat Generation, Grateful Dead and others. They were identified as being obsessed with the work of D. H. Lawrence, Emma Goldman, Madame Blavatsky, Henri Bergson, Kropotkin and Bakunin". (Orend 2009: 67) Kenneth Rexroth, who later influenced the Beat Generation writers, turned out to be a key figure there. A later participant of the 'Bay Area energy', Elsa Gidlow wrote *On a Gray Thread* (1923), which was the first "explicitly lesbian poetry" in North America. "The libertarian values of the worlds of radical art, anarchism, and the sexual culture of the Bay Area were interwoven." (Kissack 2008: 178) We can easily see that, in fact, the worlds of radical art, anarchism, and sexual radicalism were interwoven all the time, all over the world. We cannot be sure how much of this was evident for Woodcock but we know at least, that he was well aware of Rexroth and the dynamism of the Bay Area .

In his memoirs, Woodcock also notes that Henry Miller adored *NOW*, hailed it as "one of the best magazines of its time" and Woodcock as "a Pharos in the English night." (Woodcock 1982: 249) Henry Miller, together with D. H. Lawrence, played an important role in challenging accepted sexual norms through literature: and both were directly influenced by anarchism and anarchists (Lawrence by the Ascona anarchist circles which included Otto Gross and Miller by Emma Goldman in Los Angeles) and their works were banned for decades until the 1960s. Miller's *Tropic of Cancer* was written in 1934 and was banned in the United States and Great Britain for thirty years. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* was 'the' case for British censorship and the ban on it was removed

only in 1960. Karl Orend argues that the “very act of writing *Tropic of Cancer* was based in Miller’s anarchist convictions.” (Orend 2009: 46) In 1912, at the age of 21, already an intellectual who read constantly, when his eyesight began to fail, Henry Miller felt so hopeless about his literary career that he chose to be a cowboy in Chula Vista in southern California. (Orend 2009: 53) During his stay in Chula Vista, one evening, “on his way to a whorehouse with his friend Bill Parr, Henry noticed a lecture advertised by one of the leading speakers, Emma Goldman.” (Orend 2009: 54) He attended the speech, and that event changed the course of his life. “At the end of her speech,” Miller “introduced himself to Goldman and [Ben] Reitman ... Under the influence of Goldman, Miller became an anarchist.” (Orend 2009: 54) That night, he purchased two books from Reitman: Nietzsche’s *The Anti-Christ* and Stirner’s *The Ego and His Own*.” (Orend 2009: 54) Before Goldman, Miller was someone “who felt guilty about sex.” Her essays on sexuality liberated him from his puritan beliefs. Later, as Anais Nin stated, Miller “made a major contribution to releasing women from the prison they had been cast into by puritan tradition, in which they were forced to subvert their sexuality and hide their feelings to remain simply good wives, mothers and virginal objects.” (Orend 2009: 56) Developing the influence of Goldman in literature, Miller “wrote of women who were real, who fucked and cussed and got drunk, had promiscuous sex, decided to have abortions and were capable of any and every vice and virtue.” (Orend 2009: 56) Karl Orend argues that the real reason that “writers like Miller and the similarly anarchist-influenced Lawrence were banned"

> was not their use of sex in their books, but because they were perceived by government and church as anarchist social revolutionaries. Both were working-class men who had got an education and dared to confront the existing world order by the expression of socially revolutionary ideas through their writings, using the everyday language of the working man. (Orend 2009: 75)

Still, given the degree of his contempt for anarchist artists it is not very surprising to find that Woodcock de-canonized these individuals (It could be argued that this contempt originated in his 'failure' as a 'poet': but I would prefer to locate the reason in his limited assumptions about what a political movement is and could be.) He was obviously not impressed by the neo-impressionist or symbolist anarchists or cultural movements in *fin-de-siecle* France. Instead, he thought that in Paris in 1890, identifying oneself with anarchism "became something of a fashion in literary-artistic circles, as it was to become in London, New York and San Francisco in the 1940s." (Woodcock 1986: 252) This exemplifies his contempt for Bay Area radicalism as well as for his own efforts and those of his friends and colleagues in 1940s London, to whom he showed special resentment in his later life. Woodcock argued that "what attracted the writers and painters to anarchism was clearly ... not even principally the idea of anarchy itself, but rather a spirit of daring." (Woodcock 1986: 253) And he directly links anarchist artists to anarchist assassins, condemning "the element of perverted mysticism" which partly "formed both." (Woodcock 1986: 253) Woodcock was so angry with anarchist writers that he said: "as for the writers, many of the characteristic figures of the nineties hovered like splendid and fascinated insects around the dangerous flame of anarchism." (Woodcock 1986: 252)

FASCINATED INSECTS AND ANARCHIST ART

Today, there is a rich literature on the anarchism of neo-impressionists also anarchism and avant-garde modernism.

Robert L. Herbert and Eugenia W. Herbert's work on anarchism and the artistic avant-garde is widely accepted as the ground-breaking work in the area; a work that paved the

way to many works on avant-garde art and anarchism. They published an article entitled 'Artists and Anarchism: Unpublished Letters of Pissarro, Signac, and Others,' in 1960. Two other books followed: Eugenia W. Herbert's *The Artist and Social Reform: France and Belgium, 1885-1898*, published in 1961 and Robert L. Herbert's *Neo-Impressionism*, published in 1968. Donald D. Egbert's *Social Radicalism and the Arts, A Cultural History from the French Revolution to 1968* followed. These contributions started a trend that would effect two historical narrations: first, in the history of art, the acceptace of the role of anarchism in the development of artistic radicalism influenced conceptions of avant-garde modernism; second, in anarchist political thought it opened new insights for understanding histories of anarchism. Annemarie Springer's article 'Terrorism and Anarchy: Late Nineteenth-Century Images of a Political Phenemenon in France' was published in 1979, just after John A. Walker's article 'Art and Anarchism' which was published in 1978. Then, alongside several more articles, important book length contributions followed: Halperin's *Félix Fénéon, Aesthete & Anarchist in Fin-de-Siecle Paris in 1988,* Patricia Leighten's *Re-Ordering the Universe, Picasso and Anarchism* in 1989, Richard D. Sonn's *Anarchism and Cultural Politics in Fin de Siecle France* in 1989, John Hutton's *Neo-Impressionism and the Search for Solid Ground* 1994, Allan Antliff's *Anarchist Modernism* in 2001, Richard Sonn's *Sex, Violence and the Avant-Garde, Anarchism in Interwar France* in 2005, Robyn Roslak's *Neo-Impressionism and Anarchism in Fin-de-Siecle France* 2007 and Allan Antliff's *Anarchy and Art* 2007 opened up a huge area which enables us to trace many intersections between both 'avant-gardes.'

In *Social Radicalism and the Arts* Donald Drew Egbert indicated the role of anarchism as one of the main factors that "influenced the development of the twentieth-century abstract art." (quoted in Long 1987: 38) Egbert also believed that Kropotkin's special "call to artists, poets and intellectuals to create works that deal with the struggle of the masses," and

urging artists to “search for a style that could infuse their work with revolutionary fervor,” had a certain impact on artists. (quoted in Long 1987: 38)

France during the 1880s and 1890s saw the “proliferation of a large number of politico-artistic journals that sought in varying ways and for differing lengths of time to combine the discussion of philosophical and aesthetic issues with anarchist ideals: *La Vogue*, *L’Enclos*, *the Revue indépendante*, *La Société nouvelle*, *L'Humanité nouvelle*, *La Plume*, *L'Art social*, *Entretiens politiques et littéraires*, *Le Plébéian*, the *Revue blanche*.” (Hutton 1994: 51)

Neo-impressionism, the prominent anarchist art movement of the time, was born in May 1886, at the “Eighth (and final) Impressionist Exhibition, in a separate room built around George Seurat's colossal *Sunday Afternoon on the Isle of Grande Jatte*. The four in the subexhibition” were Seurat, Camille Pisarro, his son Lucien and Paul Signac. (Hutton 1994: 1) Soon, neo-impressionists openly showed their fondness for the anarchism of Kropotkin, Grave and Elisée Reclus. They obviously “had an identification with the anarchist movement.” Luce, the Pissarros and Signac had even a “kind of organizational affiliation ... with anarchism.” (Hutton 1994: 1, 22, 43)

Not only were the artists anarchists, but the famous art critic associated with them, Félix Fénéon, was also an anarchist. He coined the term 'neo-impressionist’ (Antliff 2007 38), first using it - at least in print - in an essay in September, 1886. (Hutton 1994: 17) They were all close followers of Jean Grave, Pierre Kropotkin and Elisée Reclus. (Roslak 2007: 1) In an article on neo-impressionist art, Paul Signac stated that as “anti-capitalist and socially activist that he and other ‘true artists’ were ‘on the side of the rebels, they united with them in the same idea of justice.’” (Roslak 2007: 7) The article appeared in Jean

Grave's anarchist journal *La Révolte* in June 1891 and made "public a connection between neo-impressionism and anarchism ..." (Roslak 2007: 7)

Paul Signac, Camille and Lucien Pissarro, Maximilien Luce, and Théophile-Alexandre Steinlen "drew posters, book covers, and illustrations for anarchist publications." (Springer 1979: 261) For those activist neo-impressionist painters, anarchism was the "logical outcome of 19th century opposition to a hateful bourgeois society." (Springer 1979: 262) *Les Temps nouveaux* "was the vehicle of its editor, Jean Grave, an anarchist-communist who in 1885 had taken over his friend Peter Kropotkin's *La Révolte* and subsequently represented Kropotkinian anarchism in France." (Leighten 1995: 21) Maximilen Luce so openly "manifested his sympathy for the anarchist movement and for Jean Grave, whom he befriended in 1887, that he was imprisoned for 42 days after the famous trial of 1894, involving 30 radical intellectuals, among them the art critic Félix Fénéon and Jean Grave himself." (Springer 1979: 162) Anarchist artists frequently manifested their political allegiances by "contributing works of art and art criticism to anti-parliemantary journals like the radical socialist *La Guerre sociale*, the anarcho-syndicalist *La Voix du People*" (Leighten 1995: 21)

All the neo-impressionists were "avowed anarchists whose paintings and graphic contributions to journals such as *Le Père Peinard*, *L'en dehors*, *La Plume*, *L'Assiette Au Beurre*, and *Les Temps Nouveaux* played a *key agitational role* in the movement" (Antliff 2007: 39, emphasis added) Fénéon was so active in the "Paris literary and art worlds of the 1880s and 1890s that every major account of the period names him as a pivotal figure." (Halperin 1988: 5) Fénéon was highly influential in two anarchistic art movements: symbolism (in literature) and neo-impressionism (in arts). There was a "cross-fertilization between symbolism and anarchism in the *fin de siècle*" (Sonn 2005: 74) And from the

beginnings of the symbolist movement, “Fénéon was perceived as its eminence grise or hidden power.” (Halperin 1988: 57) And by the middle of 1886, Fénéon had become “France's leading exponent of neo-impressionism, a guiding light behind several symbolist reviews, and the creator of a new style of criticism.” (Halperin 1988: 153)

He could not know at the time he wrote *Anarchism*, but Woodcock was right in one point: people in art circles had connections with bombings! However, not everyone knew this.

Another anarchist artist, Kees Van Dongen, one of the Fauves, recalls: "I had met a curious gentleman named Félix Fénéon. I had met him because he was an anarchist. We were all anarchists without throwing bombs, we had those kinds of ideas” (Leighten 1995: 31 n41) The ironic fact is, although Van Dongen believed artists like himself and art critics like Fénéon were “anarchists without throwing bombs, anarchists of ideas”, thanks to the later research of Joan Ungersma Halperin, today we know that it was actually Félix Fénéon who bombed the Foyot restaurant in Paris on 4 April 1894! “There were no fatalities.” (Halperin 1988: 3-4, 373) Fénéon was, it seems, both a bomb thrower and a man of ideas.

Apart from the role that anarchist political themes played in the works of artists inspired by anarchist goals, causes or anarchists themselves, it is also interesting to question the role that anarchist artists occupied in the movement and in its history. The strong, political and daily interconnections should be especially noted: “Lautrec, Forain and Steinlen all had strong links to the fin-de-siecle anarchist milieu.” (Antliff 2010: 150)

Not all of them were bomb throwers of course, but many embraced what Woodcock represents as the Bakuninist 'destructive urge'. For many, ‘bomb’ was a metaphor, and

sometimes an anarchist metaphor, so to say. To Picasso's striking *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, "Braque's famous response, summoning up tow and gasoline, likened the work to an anarchist bomb." (Leighten1990: 629-630) Henry Miller similarly spoke of his masterpiece *Tropic of Cancer* as a 'bomb'. (Orend 2009: 45) Perhaps the rich knew better and saw beyond the metaphor. As Sonn argues: the "association between anarchism and the avant-garde was such that by 1893-1894 in France, some wealthy men thought they might protect themselves from terrorist attacks by supporting the writers linked to anarchy." (Sonn 1989: 54)

Besides the influential Félix Fénéon, art critics Maurice Robin and Henri Guilbeaux were also "enthusiastic supporters of the neo-impressionists, in part due to their admiration for the anarcho-communist beliefs of the neo-impressionist chief Paul Signac and his literary ally Jean Grave." (Antliff 2010: 139) Anarchist writer and critic Octave Mirbeau was writing about Pissarro as well. (Antliff 2007: 44)

Paris was the main background: "Anarchist newspapers published from Roubaix to Marseille show that anarchism was active in the provinces as well, yet after Jean Grave moved *Le Révolté* from Geneva to Paris in 1885, the capital was the nerve center of the anarchist movement, the place most in contact with events happening abroad, especially with the anarchists of Brussels and London." (Sonn 1989: 49) Sonn narrows the geographical scene even further to place Montmartre as the heart: "A disproportionate amount of anarchist cultural life revolved around the northern Parisian neighbourhood of Montmartre, which was not only the home of bohemian artists but of many anarchist leaders and much of the anarchist press ..." (Sonn 1989: 8)

In Chapter 1, I mentioned Sharif Gemie's review of George Crowder's book *Classical*

Anarchism, where Gemie criticized Crowder's reductionism of anarchist theory and argued that Crowder's selection of anarchist thinkers was somewhat suspect and asked why Max Stirner was not included, for example, when Godwin was. More remarkably, Gemie also asked why important propagandists such as Jean Grave or even Octave Mirbeau were also not included. (Gemie 1993:90). The shame is that

Gemie's question, if directed to anarchist activists of today, would still seem totally irrelevant. It remains the case that hardly anybody knows about Mirbeau – or even who he was - in anarchist circles.

THE STRUCTURING POINT FOR EXCLUSIONS

We are obviously arguing that the reason can be found in the logic of history and the writing processes of anarchism. Culture as a whole has been systematically excluded from the anarchist canon, and even where anarchist artists are treated less cruelly than Woodcock treated them, they are mentioned as an interesting – and not so political at the end of the day – feature of the art world (a world distinct from the political realm).

The truth is that anarchist artists took anarchist ideas very seriously and contributed accordingly, playing a huge (but unfortunately concealed) role in the history of anarchism.

The story does not begin or end with neo-impressionists but instead goes back to 1840s, to the days of anarchist artist Gustave Courbet, whose painting of Proudhon with his children is well known, though Proudhon's book on Courbet, *Du principe de l'art et de sa destination social* (1865) is not. Painter and revolutionary Gustave Courbet "allied himself with the anarchist philosopher Piere-Joseph Proudhon, constituting what seemed to him

the natural alliance of the the dual avant-gardes of art and politics." (Sonn 1989: 5) Courbet was an organizer too: "The Federation of Artists had been formed on April 13 at Courbet's instigation." (Antliff 2007 33) And its first act was to issue "a manifesto declaring complete freedom of expression, an end to government interference in the arts, and equality amongst the membership". (Antliff 2007: 33)

Later, at the end of the century, Kandinsky used the term 'anarchistic' "to describe the direction of his own work and that of other contemporary artists whom he admired." (Long 1987: 38)

In "On the Question of Form," Kandinsky wrote: "Anarchy consists rather of a certain systematicity and order that are not created by virtue of an external and ultimately unreliable force, but rather one's feeling for what is good." (Lindsay & Vergo 1982: 242) Kandinsky's understanding chimes with what Cindy Milstein would call the 'ethical compass' of anarchism. (Milstein 2010) And it is meaningful that he discussed this anarchist personal ethics while he was writing on the question of 'form'. In a "Letter to Schönberg in August 1912", Kandinsky specifically noted that his notion of anarchy was also "found in his experimental theatre piece *The Yellow Sound*." And he ensured that although this 'anarchy' in *The Yellow Sound* has been taken as 'lawlessness' by some, "in fact it should be understood as an order (in art, construction) which is, however, rooted in another sphere, in *inner* necessity." (Jelavich 1985: 232)

ANARCHISTS DRAWN TO ARTS

The mutual interaction of anarchism and modernist artistic movements between 1880 and 1914 has been well documented, both in France and in the United States. As Sonn notes,

"[d]uring this heyday of the anarchist movement, a significant number of artists and writers were drawn to anarchism" because, anarchism "uniquely offered the promise of a radical change in the social order while valuing the role of the artistic avant-garde in helping determine that change". (Sonn 2005: 73) Jean Grave and his "collaborators were quick to note the increasing social consciousness in the arts in this period. No doubt the reaction was reciprocal; as they found the artistic climate more favourable to social ideas, they devoted more attention to art, which in turn was one of the major factors, one would suspect, inclining artists to recognize anarchism as an ally." (Herbert 1980: 16)

Anarchism was more popular among all political avant-gardes than Marxism. It was the leading radical socialist philosophy in the world "before the success of the Russian Revolution replaced it with Marxism-Leninism." (Stanley 1982: x) Benedict Anderson also notes that anarchism was generally more popular: "Following the collapse of the First International, and Marx's death in 1883, anarchism, in its characteristically variegated forms, was the dominant element in the self-consciously internationalist radical Left." (Anderson 2005: 2) Anderson also points out that anarchism was open to artists and writers in a way that Marxism was not. (Anderson 2005: 2)

Seeking to explain the strong ties between art and anarchism, Patricia Leighten finds that "anarchism as a political philosophy was without question more influential on turn-of-the-century artists than socialism, in part because anarchist theory specifically called for the participation of artists in social transformation …" (Leighten 1995: 18) Although her focus on political agency is valuable, I will try to underline another vital factor: the anarchist emphasis on 'forms.' The prefigurative politics of anarchism makes anarchists embrace the process instead of obsessing about the end. "For the social anarchist, revolution is a process, not an event ... Central to anarchist behavior is the principle of consistency

between means and ends." (Ehrlich, Ehrlich, DeLeon & Morris 1979: 2) This concern was, I would argue, in line with artistic sensibilities that placed – of course – utmost importance on the process and forms they use to reach the ends they imagine artistically and politically. As Richard Sonn reminds us, "anarchists value the experience of revolution perhaps more than the goal of the revolution." (Sonn 1989: 304)

Emma Goldman made the same point when she said that she believed in

> a process rather than a finality. Finalities are for gods and governments, not for the human intellect. Life is something more than formulas. In the battle for freedom, as Ibsen has so well pointed out, it is the struggle for, not so much the attainment of, liberty, that develops all that is strongest, sturdiest and finest in human character. (Ferguson 2007: 100)

Landauer's valorization of the process, 'the ongoing process of individuation' is still a key anarchist principle. (Cohn 2010: 424) It is in 'making social psychology that we make the revolution' says Landauer (Cohn 2010: 425). This is another of Landauer's ideas which explains the anarchist emphasis on the process rather than end. And it indicates the significance anarchists attach to 'building'' and on 'making': on constructing social forms. Commenting on radical queer networks and queer events, Brown also suggests that "queer (temporary) spaces stem from a desire to experiment with new forms of freedom." (Brown 2007: 2697) The important point is that he sees these places as anarchistic 'experiments with form'. For anarchists like Milstein, this interest in form runs counter to the reduction of anarchism to anti-statism which, as we have seen, follows from Eltzbacher's system of classification. Defending process and form, Milstein writes:

> Anarchism's generalized critique of hierarchy and domination, even more than its anticapitalism and antistatism, sets it apart from any other political philosophy. It asserts that every instance of vertical and/or centralized power over others should be reconstituted to enact horizontal and/or decentralized power together.(Milstein 2010: 39-40)

Milstein's assertion reminds us that anti-statism is not the main axis in anarchism and that decentralization and horizontalism are decisive. Anti-hierarchy and anti-domination are the vital principles for anarchists and they open up different, multiple and fluid sites for resistance and engagement. Milstein adds: "the work of anarchism takes place everywhere, every day, from within the body politic to the body itself." (Milstein 2010: 41)

What defines anarchism is not so much a position against the state but a politicized ethics towards life. Thus, anarchist politics is never pragmatic but prefigurative. Anarchism "keeps this vigilant voice constantly at its center, as its core mission" asking "what is right?" "What is the right thing to do?" (Milstein 2010: 47)

On this account anarchism is 'the' political philosophy that defines all these areas excluded from the canon as parts of the political and which distinguishes itself from other political philosophies by insisting on this.

Yet there is another aspect. According to Sonn, artists were attracted to anarchism because their "radical art signified a parallel rebelliousness against tradition and offered a model of free creativity to which all people might aspire." (Sonn 2005: 73) Artists felt the need for artistic autonomy "from didactic or moralistic pronouncements and for constant stylistic renewal", and these were profoundly satisfied by "anarchist recognition of the dual

avant-gardes of art and politics." Bohemian lifestyles also fitted "comfortably into anarchist cultural politics" (Sonn 2005: 73) Thus, anarchist art "stood simultaneously for aesthetic autonomy and political engagement." (Sonn 1989: 6) And ultimately the avant-garde writers and painters of the time "enriched the culture of *fin de siècle* anarchism" (Sonn 1989: 7)

Working on these interrelated, 'cross-pollinated' areas, Richard Sonn comes to a definition of anarchism that sounds so familiar to anarchists today but which contradicts the canonized picture: Anarchism, Sonn says,

> cannot be understood on solely political terms, but must be interpreted as a wide-ranging cultural rebellion ... that attacked bourgeois morality as much as the institutions of power ... Anarchism meant "opposition to the bourgeois institution of marriage as a symptom of paternal authority, to the orthodoxies of art and learning ... to the educational system to formal culture, to formal language, to all hierarchical structures." (Sonn 1989: 3-4)

Anarchism seemed to many artists the "only possible avenue for political engagement and artistic freedom". (Sonn 1989: 141) Literary circles, of course, were also open to anarchism's appeals. The symbolists in particular, "as the avant-garde of French literature, greeted anarchism as the social counterpart of their own revolutionary aesthetic." (Carr 1977: 70) Octave Mirbeau was a significant literary anarchist figure here. In his novels, his plays, his short stories and his newspaper articles on "politics, art and social life in general, Mirbeau expressed a brand of anarchism which was so much in tune with the anarchism of men like Jean Grave and Sebastien Faure." (Carr 1977: xvi) Henri Ner (Han Ryner) was another anarchist thinker and propagandist active in France during the *fin de siècle*.

“Beginning in the 1890s and continuing into the 1930s Han Ryner published dozens of novels and frequently spoke at lectures”. (Sonn 2005: 11) Jean Grave’s *La Révolte* and its literary supplement had the most decisive influence, deepest impression on Mirbeau. (Carr 1977: 41) Carr generally notes that “in this cleverly-produced anarchist propaganda journal” Jean Grave managed to give “evidence of his brilliant gifts as a newspaper editor and publisher. *La Révolte* contained well-written, interesting material ...” (Carr 1977: 41) Not only did Jean Grave “keep up with the latest developments in France, he was also close on the heels of the petites revues in 'discovering' the foreign oracles of the time: Tolstoy, Dostoevski, Turgenev, Hauptmann, Ibsen, Multatuli, Morris, and so forth. He was even able to find an appropriate passage in Nietzsche - a tirade against state socialism - while Wagner's *Art and Revolution* read like a page out of the anarchist catechism.” (Herbert 1980: 20)

In June 1893,

> Jean Grave’s *La Société mourante et l’anarchie* was published, accompanied by Mirbeau’s magnificient preface. On 6 November that same year the Paris premiere of Ibsen’s *Enemy of the People*, attended by Mirbeau and preceded by a lecture from the anarchist-poet *Laurent Tailhade*, was the occasion for a stormy demonstration of anarchist feeling, for the play lent itself to an anarchistic interpretation, and Ibsen was regarded ... as a leading literary exponent of libertarian ideals. (Carr 1977: 63)

Carr claims that Grave, Mirbeau and their works had a direct effect on the movement:

> Mirbeau’s epistolary contact with the leading anarchist propagandist Jean

> Grave during the years 1891 and 1893 must be seen against the background of the anarchist movement as a whole; ... Grave and ... Mirbeau did not operate in isolation from the rest of the movement – they had *practical effects* on the physical deeds of those who read their writings as much as on their intellectual attitudes. (Carr 1977: 56, emphasis added)

Carr states that "anarchists made more use of Mirbeau's writings than any other single literary author." (Carr 1977: 70) A similar development was seen in London, in Dora Marsden's journals. Ezra Pound "wrote seventy-five items in anarchist inclined journals *The New Freewoman* (1913) and its successor *The Egoist* (1914-1919)". (Von Hallberg 1995: 64) *The Egoist* supported birth control, the anarchist doctrine of free love – and literary avant-gardism. Ezra Pound's Imagists movement later had a great influence on anarchist writer Herbert Read. (Gibbard 2005: 99) And the prominent German anarchist Gustav Landauer was himself "heavily involved in avant-garde theatre, writing plays and serving on the literary and artistic committee of the *Neue Freie Volksbühne* (*New Free People's Theatre*), which he co-founded alongside Wilhelm Bölsche and Ernest von Wolzogen in Berlin in 1892, and retained close links with German literary naturalism and writers of the expressionist movement." (Horrox 2010: 198)

EXCHANGES

Another anarchist publication that gathered avant-garde artists together was the Moscow based weekly newspaper *Anarkhiia* (*Anarchy*). *Anarkhiia* was launched on September 1917. Anarkhiia had a "regular back-page section on 'Culture' (*Tvorhestvo*. Literally 'creative work') covering literature, theatre and art. A newspaper with "a print run of twenty thousand", *Anarkhiia* offered pieces from avant-gardist artists including Tatlin, Rodchenko,

Altman, Punin and regularly Malevich, “who was always the most fluent of them in print.” (Cooke 1999: 25-26) Catherine Cooke's research uncovered a direct link between these artists’ expressions and anarchism, and the best example she found was from Malevich, published in *Anarkhiia* on 20 June 1918: “A suprematist painting” Malevich says,

> starts by establishing that single plane ... from which each author can build entirely in his own way which is the basis of 'true abstraction'. This, and the presence in the work of one inviolable axis on which everything is built ... constitute the assertion 'this is how I want it' from which follows the final affirmation 'I am an anarchist in my very essence'.(Cooke 1999: 27)

Cooke then asks if Malevich's seminal art work 'Black Square' of 1915 could be an anarchist flag? (Cooke 1999: 26)

The dada movement that emerged in “neutral Switzerland in 1916 is also frequently linked to anarchism”. (Sonn 2005: 76) The dada artists were after all “furiously anti-bourgeois, anti-war ... some, like Hugo Ball, were fond of quoting Bakunin and Max Stirner.” (Sonn 2005: 87) Among surrealists, Antonin Artaud was considered the ‘darkest’ of all, and he remained, “wedded to a conception of anarchism as revolutionary violence.” (Sonn 2005: 86) James Joyce published Ulysses “after serializing it in the individualist anarchist journal *The Egoist*” (Sonn 2005: 96) In the United States, Alfred Stieglitz, “whose ‘291’ art gallery and Camera Work magazine introduced both art photography and abstract art of the United States, considered himself an anarchist and helped support *Mother Earth*, as did the noted photography critic Sadakichi Hartmann.” (Adrian 2007: 223) Goldman also had relations with Robert Henri and Man Ray and the famous Armory Show.[57] (Adrian 2007:

[57] For the details of this significant exhibition in the United States, its relations with anarchist art circles

223) On the German front, writers such as Erich Mühsam and Ernst Toller were even more "politically active than any comparable French avant-garde writer." (Sonn 2005: 75) As Patricia Leighten reminds us, Pablo Picasso had a "long history of involvement with the anarchist movement, and manipulated the subjects and styles of his art to achieve political effects …" (Leighten 1995: 26)

Frantisek Kupka, too, was "enormously important in the anarchist avant-garde … Kupka's anarchism was of central concern to him and led to a large body of vitriolic cartoons, book illustrations for a major anarchist work of theory …" (Leighten 1995: 31)

Before World War I, "Several of the Italian futurists were also anarchists." (Sonn 1989: 27) Today, we know that literary figures like Stéphane Mallarmé and Leconte de Lisle were also in the subscribers list of *La Revolte* (Sonn 1989: 5)

Mallarmé, working on poetry, recognized the anarchistic implications of "signifying freedom through poetic discourse, and he clearly believed that poetry should not be a didactic political instrument but rather that it should embody anarchist ideals. A poem that shocked bourgeois sensibilities was akin to revolution; one that achieved freedom from prior constraints was a metaphor of utopia. Poems would exemplify, not lead to, social change." (Sonn 1989: 212) Mallarmé's emphasis on 'art work as itself anarchism' is close to Braque's understanding of Picasso's painting the equivalent of an anarchist bomb. More importantly it touches the heart of anarchism-art relations: anarchism as a rebellious form against existing (bourgeois, hegemonic, hierarchical) forms was totally in harmony with

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and generally the role of anarchists in fostering artistic modernism and avant-garde art in the United States see Allan Antliff's *Anarchist Modernism* (2001).

artistic experiment with forms which were ‘exemplifying’ (anarchistic) social change. As a recent contributor, David Graeber reminds us, mass mobilization during the post-Seattle anti-globalization protests were not only “opportunities to expose the illegitimate, undemocratic nature of existing institutions, but ... ways to do so in a *form* that itself demonstrated why such institutions were unnecessary, by providing a living example of genuine, direct democracy.” (Graeber 2007: 378, emphasis added). Mallarmé, in terms that resonate with the metaphor of the anarchist ‘bomb’, additionally said: “I do not think that one can use a more effective weapon than literature.” (Sonn 1989: 255) He suggests that we prefer literature to bombs for one reason: literature is a more effective weapon! Which is again exactly what Braque said: art work is a bomb! And if we replace the metaphor of bomb with ‘the form of anarchy’ we see much more examples of anarchist artists understanding art works as ‘forms of anarchy’.

The post-war avant-garde composer John Cage (1912-1992) also expressed his anarchism in his art works and especially with their form. Cage “favoured a structure that is nonfocused, nonhierarchic and nonlinear.” (Kostelanetz 1993: 47) His radical works were “expressed in decisions not of content but of form.” (Kostelanetz 1993: 47) In his works, there was no need for a conductor for example, he was writing music for an ensemble of equals, and “the principle of equality extended to the materials of his art as well”. (Kostelanetz 1993: 47) Lewis Call observes that Ursula Le Guin's novels, which popularize anarchist ideas are, like John Cage's music also “relentlessly experimental” in their form. For example her 1969 novel *The Left Hand of Darkness* “has no narrative center”. Similarly, Eric Keenaghan observes, in twentieth-century poet Robert Duncan's (1919-1988) anarchistic philosophy, “poetry is not a revolutionary's tool; rather, it is a creative means of striving toward an alternative vision of life, one rivaling the state's idea of what

life ought to be."[58] (Keenaghan 2008: 635)

Commenting on John Henry Mackay's 'novel' *The Anarchists*, Peter Lamborn Wilson (widely known as Hakim Bey) reminds us that Mackay "never intended his anarchist narratives to be read as novels, but rather as 'bastard' or translational hybrid *forms* made of narrative and polemic." (Wilson 1999: xvii; emphasis added.) Kandinsky, like Mallarmé, believed in the effectiveness of art work as a 'weapon': he "found the concept of dissonance in music as liberating as the student disturbances at the university." (Long 1987: 43)

Peter J. Bellis, in his *Writing Revolution*, traces a similar anti-hierarchical form in Walt Whitman's poetry, especially in the first, 1855 edition of Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*. Belis notes that Whitman attacks "the kind of poetic privilege that would distinguish between aesthetic and the factual or historical", he "abandons symbolic or metaphoric representation, in which one thing stands for another, in favour of anti-hierarchical, inclusive catalogues punctuated only by ellipses and commas." (Bellis 2003: 72) For Bellis, the "initial radicalism of *Leaves of Grass* thus goes far beyond the level of literary form; its ultimate goal is the visionary reconstruction of national, gender, and individual identity ..." (Bellis 2003: 73) "In political terms," Bellis equates "the consequence of Whitman's claims" to "direct democracy." (Bellis 2003: 79) Whitman has been an important figure both for anarchists and queer activists. He was a "celebrated figure among many anarchists who saw a lyrical validation of their own beliefs in his work." (Kissack 2008: 69) And as Leonard Abbott suggests, "homosexuals all over the world have looked toward Whitman as toward

[58] Robert Duncan was a key figure in the 'San Francisco Renaissance', formed around the influence of anarchist poet Kenneth Rexroth. Duncan was under the influence of H.D. – H.D. was the literary editor of *The Egoist*, an important part of the Imagist movement and radical avant-gardism.

a leader." (Kissack 2008: 70) Edward Carpenter can be named as one of these homosexuals. And Carpenter had a certain influence on European anarchism and queer activism (and also on John Mackay). Whitman was so influential for Emma Goldman that, in 1905, she decided to name her new anarchist journal *The Open Road*. "The title was inspired by the work of Walt Whitman." (Kissack 2008: 69) Just because the "name *The Open Road* was already taken," Goldman switched to the now famous title *Mother Earth*. (Kissack 2008: 69) "In an early article in Mother Earth titled 'On the Road'[59] Emma Goldman "urged her readers to follow Whitman on the "open road, strong limbed, careless, child-like, full of *joy* of life, carrying the message of liberty, the gladness of human comradeship." (Kissack 2008: 69, emphasis added) In his *Free Comrades, Anarchism and Sexuality In the United States*, Terence Kissack devotes a whole chapter to 'Walt Whitman and anarchism'. (Kissack 2008: 69-95, Chapter 3) Whitman's 'open road' was suggestive of 'sexual freedom' to his anarchist readers. "Anarchist discussions of Whitman and his work in the nineteenth century reflected the prevailing erotic interpretations of Whitman's writing. The discussions and debates that did occur in the movement largely made reference to illicit relations between men and women that figured in the work." (Kissack 2008: 69, 72). Perhaps not surprisingly, Gustav Landauer was one of the early German translators of Whitman's poetry and he admired enormously *Leaves of Grass*. (Maurer 1971: 97-98)

Responding to an 1893, poll of writers and artists in the French journal *L'Ermitage* about their political views, Oscar Wilde said "I consider myself an artist and an anarchist." On

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[59] *On the Road* would later be the title of one of most read Beat Generation novels written by Jack Kerouac. The Beat Generation was inspired both by Whitman and anarchism.

another occasion he affirmed: “I am something of an anarchist.”[60] (Kissack 2008: 48) Anarchist writers in France, Octave Mirbeau, Paul Adam and also painter Toulouse-Lautrec directly showed their solidarity with Wilde during his trial by writing articles and designing posters. “Anarchists were among the few public defenders of Wilde during his trial and its aftermath.” (Kissack 2008: 54) Wilde also drew on anarchist ideas and texts in the construction of his work. (Kissack 2008: 48) Queer activism, bending the borders of the normal in sexual life, experimenting with new and free forms of sexual relations: artistic avant-garde experimenting with new and free forms of art works; and the political radicalism of anarchism, experimenting with new forms of social, economic and political relations have always been linked with each other. All these dynamics were intermingled at the time of Oscar Wilde's trials and they are still so, in today’s movement.

Neal Ritchie, an active participant of queer anarchist circles in Asheville, North Carolina, says “... the conception of queer as a politically subversive project ... to a large extent reflects the growing popularity of anarchist politics ...” (Ritchie 2008: 261) Ritchie also points out the cross-pollutional nature of anarcho-queer relations: “Much of contemporary queer youth's tactics, organizational structures, and overall goals have been heavily influenced by anarchism. Simultaneously, large anticapitalist demonstrations from Berlin to Quebec to Buenos Aires have borrowed from the aesthetics and carnivalesque qualities of many queer youth cultures ...”[61] (Ritchie 2008: 261-262) Indicating the qualities of the

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[60] Woodcock was also aware of this relation, although he didn’t use this awareness in constructing his *Anarchism* or take similar facts seriously. In an introduction to Oscar Wilde’s *The Soul of Man Under Socialism* (London: Porcupine Press, vii-viii), Woodcock argued that the “uncompromising libertarian attitude” of *The Soul of Man Under Socialism* had “much in common with the ideas of Peter Kropotkin.”

[61] Today, radical queer networks are political spaces where people can get radicalized and gay at the same time relatively easily. While the times were harsh for gays, Guérin put a lot of effort into the struggle for

concept of queer, Ritchie says “there is a wonderful flexibility and anarchic character to the word 'queer'.” (Ritchie 2008: 270)

Queer is widely used as an umbrella term “for all those who are ‘othered’ by normative heterosexuality ... Queer celebrates gender and sexual fluidity and consciously blurs binaries. It is more of a relational process than a simple identity category” (Brown 2007: 2685) Terence Kissack argues that “historians of American anarchism have not fully appreciated the importance of the anarchists’ politics of homosexuality.” (Kissack 2008: 7) The London group Queeruption “has no executive or officeholders; decisions are reached by consensus whenever possible ...” (Brown 2007: 2687) And although mostly concentrated in the Western Europe and Northern America, the radical queer network is international, with links to “radical queer groups in Argentina, Israel/Palestine, Serbia and Turkey”. (Brown 2007: 2689) Another example of the ‘cross-pollination’ between anarchism and queer movement:

> ...the activism of the Queeruption network is not limited to sexual and gender politics. It offers an anticapitalist perspective to queer activism and a queer edge to the anticapitalist movement. Activists from the network have participated in many of the larger mobilisations and convergences of the global justice movement and the grassroots anticapitalist networks within it - sometimes working explicitly as a queer bloc, at others in affinity with other groups. (Brown 2007: 2690)

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his own 'queer politics', and he describes his formation in the following terms: “I found myself to be at once a homosexual and a revolutionary …” (Berry 2004: 13).

Eric Keenaghan, while working on the queer anarchism of the poet Robert Duncan, states how Duncan was “one of the innovators of open-form poetics.” (Keenaghan 2008: 634) That ‘open-form poetics’ is reminiscent of Uri Gordon's view I referred to earlier in Chapter 1: Gordon claimed that the ideological core of contemporary anarchism lies in an “open-ended, experimental approach to revolutionary visions and strategies.” (Gordon 2007: 29) Pointing to the same feature of anarchism, Cindy Milstein adds: “From the start, anarchism was an open political philosophy, always transforming itself in theory and practice. This, too, might be seen as a part of its very definition. Anarchism has to remain dynamic if it truly aims to uncover new forms of domination and replace them with new forms of freedom …” (Milstein 2010: 16) Thus she gives us another point which shows the importance of ‘forms’ in anarchist history. So anarchism is not a continuous form, an everlasting form of organization, but a coherent understanding about the form!

Lewis Call praises Le Guin in similar terms for developing “new forms of anarchist thinking.” (Call 2007: 88) Call argues Le Guin creates “new forms of anarchism that are entirely relevant to life in the postmodern condition,” and her fiction has “an ability to call into question the forms of scientific, technical and instrumental reason that have come to dominate the modern West.” (Call 2007: 89)

Anarchist insistence on form is an important part of my argument. The form of the movement is its ideology, and its form is a constant renovation according to an ethical compass and constant experimentation. This is not formlessness (remembering Landauer’s saying, “we need forms, not formlessness”) but a continuous changing of form, within which anarchism manages to retain an allegiance to the ‘anarchist principle’, its ethical compass. Anarchist artists worked on form tirelessly and these experiments in form were directed towards a more libertarian alternative, in a dialogue with anarchist

experiments for more libertarian forms for life. Patricia Leighten, working on the anarchist politics of modernism in art, stated that the most notable fact of

> modernism is its 'revolutionary' style: abrupt transitions, anti-narrative structure, surprising juxtapositions. Such techniques depart from traditional 'naturalistic' modes of discourse and communicate their all-important innovative relation to form. In pre-World War I France, many modernists – including Pablo Picasso, Frantisek Kupka, Maurice Vlaminck, and Kees van Dongen - thought anarchist politics to be inherent in the idea of an artistic avant-garde and created new formal languages expressive of their desire to effect revolutionary changes in art and society. (Leighten 1995: 17)

Thus "a 'revolutionary esthetics' – a politics of form - played a crucial role in the development of modern art in prewar France, but its significance was first suppressed and then forgotten." (Leighten 1995: 17) Anarchism itself was and still is a 'politics of form'. And in a parallel way, the revolutionary aesthetics played a crucial role in the development of modern anarchism. This role is forgotten in the anarchist canon! And the cultural amnesia or political amnesia about the role that the arts, women, queer and culture have played in the history and configuration of anarchism, is rooted in the modern rationale – the perspective that tends to reduce anarchism to 'anti-statism'.

Jean Grave's success in mobilizing artistic creativity in his anarchist magazines was a result of the encouragement he gave to artists to be free, to experiment, rather than requiring them to be tools for the anarchist cause. He wasn't tired of repeating that in the utopian world the "artists would be left in perfect freedom to express their concept of the beautiful." (Herbert 1980: 15) And he obviously left "considerable leeway to the artists in

their choice of subjects." (Herbert 1980: 20)

Of course, anarchist painters depicted social problems. Neo-impressionists had a "damning criticism of industrial capitalist labor and the injustice of working class destitution" (Antliff 2007: 42). Maximilian Luce, one of the main neo-impressionists, was an "uncompromising working-class militant" and he paid special attention to mining towns and factories by travelling and recording them toward the end of 1890s. (Antliff 2007: 42) And the imagery of the Neo-Impressionists "frequently gave visual form to key themes and concerns of the anarchist movement, from satirical looks at bourgeois society, to Utopian imagery (and idealized portrayals of the 'natural' life of the rural peasantry) and more critical examinations of the impact of industrialization and new technologies on French life." (Hutton 1990: 296) Leighten shows how anarchist painters often chose themes like social problems, revolutionary moments, and anti-colonialism. (Leighten 1995: 20)

Camille Pissarro and Paul Signac were both

> anarchists and landscapists, and Maximilien Luce bathed both industrial scenes and landscapes in a natural light, displaying his drawings of workers in *La Révolte* ... Diverging sharply from the nature-oriented Impressionists, Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec and Charles Maurin eschewed natural settings and together with a host of Montmartrois illustrators preferred to record the vulgarity of urban life. While Signac set his anarchistic *Au temps d'harmonie* in an idyllic outdoor setting, Lautrec revealed the corruption and hypocrisy of Parisian nightlife. (Sonn 1989: 298)

Following the prefigurative principle of anarchism they wanted utopia here and now, in art.

Allan Antliff states that the “technique of the neo-impressionists was suffused with anarchist politics. Their application of unique and discrete colors on the canvas – the small dots of paint that give their paintings their soft glow and shimmering radiance – accorded to scientific principles of vision, so as to produce an overall harmonious effect.” (Antliff 2007: 45) And the emphasis on harmony was a reference to the anarchism of Kropotkin and Reclus.[62]

Creating subversion/inversion with art works was as popular as creating an example of the utopia or an experiment of the utopian form. Pronounced anti-colonialism within anarchist discourses affected avant-garde artists so that they responded to the colonial mentality with a sharp Africanism. “The anarchist backgrounds of Picasso, Maurice Vlaminck, Kees van Dongen, Guillaume Apollianaire, Alfred Jarry and many in their larger circle meant that everything to do with Africa, and especially France's colonies in West and Central Africa, became charged with political meaning ...” (Leighten 1990: 610) They used African forms and African motifs “to subvert Western artistic traditions ...” And Picasso purposely challenged and mocked Western artistic traditions with his allusions of Black Africa, with its

[62] Contributing to discussions about the canon, Dana Ward argues that it would be fair “to elevate Reclus to at least equal status with Kropotkin as the founders of the anarcho-communist school of thought.” Ward goes one step further and says that when one considers that “Reclus also was the more forceful advocate of equality between the races and sexes, Reclus stands as an even more inclusive and influential force in the history of anarchism than someone of even Kropotkin's stature.” (Ward 2010: 224) I am not considering claims for assembling anarchist figures like Malatesta or Reclus to the canon in detail as these claims do not suggest a structural change in the anarchist canon, though they are very convincing and enhancing. Equally persuasive is Jesse Cohn's suggestion of including Gustav Landauer alongside Bakunin and Kropotkin. Landauer's involvement would shift the canon more than a bit because of his open-ended formulation of anarchism.

unavoidable associations of white cruelty and exploitation." (Leighten 1990: 610) "It was their anarchism that prepared Picasso and many in his circle to adopt anti-colonial postures." (Leighten 1990: 611) Kees van Dongen and Juan Gris, Picasso's neighbours in the Montmartre neighbourhood of Paris and close friends, and Frantisek Kupka, all openly anarchists, also condemned colonialism "through their attacks on Christinaity and its missionaries." (Leighten 1990: 615) Pierre Quillard, a symbolist poet and a well-known anarchist and close friend of Alfred Jarry's, made passionate speeches against colonialism and French colonial existence. Alfred Jarry wrote wonderful anti-colonialist satires like *Ubu colonial*. And Picasso made his 'bomb': *Les Demoiselles*. As Patricia Leighten argues "...both stylistically and thematically, the 'African' figures in *Les Demoiselles* are not only unsympathetic to the art and life of established European culture, but are its enemy ... His primitivism expresses something like a Nietzschean transvaluation of values encoded in contemporary debate about Africa." (Leighten 1990: 626) Leighten calls this the "strategy of anarchist critique-by-inversion." (Leighten 1990: 629) They criticized Western civilization by "embracing an imagined 'primitiveness' of Africans." (Leighten 1990: 610)

We can trace a related case of anarchist critique-by-inversion strategy in the Liabeuf affair.

> The shoemaker Jean Jacques Liabeuf was sentenced to death by guillotine for murdering a policeman and wounding six others on January 8, 1910. Liabeuf, whose notoriety even drew the attention of the New York Times, had apparently armed himself with a revolver, a cobbler's knife, and wrists encased in leather guards with nails in preparation for his assault on the "flics." The word "Apache," which was applied to Liabeuf by the French and foreign Press, was a derisive term commonly used to describe outlaws from the underclass who

> committed random acts of violence. In the French imagination, these street toughs were as uncontrollable, licentious, and primitive as their mythic namesakes, the Apache Indians indigenous to the American south west. Thus the article documenting Liabeuf's exploits in the New York Times chronicled French concerns over the morally corrupt condition of "Apache" youths who had formed street gangs and developed their own criminal subculture. (Antliff 2010: 140)

The anarchists hit back with a campaign!

La Guerre sociale declared that Liabeuf was the “victim of police repression.” Following his arrest, “*La Guerre sociale* and *Les Hommes du jour* recounted the events leading up to the July 1 State execution in a manner meant to elicit their reader's sympathy for Liabeuf. In a January 10, 1910 *La Guerre sociale* article titled "*L'Exemple de l'Apache*," (Gustave) Hervé described Liabeuf's actions as an act of revenge for an earlier charge. On August 14, 1909 — four months before assaulting the police — Liabeuf had been sentenced to three months on charges of being a pimp. Hervé in turn argued that Liabeuf's only "crime" had been to fall in love with a prostitute, and that it was the police, whom he would later term the "Apaches of morality," who had wrongly labeled the relationship an economic arrangement. According to Hervé, Liabeuf thought the charge had sullied his honor as well as that of his girlfriend: he therefore sought revenge by attacking the policemen who had originally arrested him. Hervé described Liabeuf's actions as possessing "a certain beauty, a certain grandeur"; he also asserted that "Apaches" such as Liabeuf were driven to violence as a result of the social and economic injustice inflicted on them. (Antliff 2010: 140-141)

Thus, anarchists embraced the qualities attributed to Liabeuf by the power structures and mainstream media. Mark Antliff calls this a 'mythic transformation' of Liabeuf by anarchists.

For the bourgeoisie, the government, and the mainstream press, "the Parisian Apache was an immoral criminal who committed random acts of violence. Thus the term Apache signified a kind of primitive barbarism that identified figures like Liabeuf not only as threat to the rule of law, but to civilization itself." In response, anarchists argued that "such acts were not indiscriminate, but instead ethically motivated ..." (Antliff 2010: 161). Anarchists took the Apache stance as a starting point to attack the establishment as an embrace of the savage; they chose the ones who were already signified as the 'others' of the system. This attitude is quite similar with Picasso and Jarry's embracing the African savage as an anti-colonial and anti-establishment gesture both in society and in arts. They put themselves in the shoes of the accused, the other. And they attributed ethical values to those they identified with: Hervé and Meric defended Liabeuf, arguing that he had the real dignity – defending his lover. Becoming-Apache and becoming-African were part of an anarchist responses to the system.

The anarchists' defence of the case included a powerful discussion on sexual freedom (against the exploitation of prostitutes), anti-militarism and anarchist rebellion. Artists got involved as well: "writer André Salmon – a close friend of Picasso - joined the protest along with the art critic Léon Werth, writer Paul Adam, and Salmon's friend *Les Hommes du jour* editor Miguel Almeyda." (Antliff 2010: 142) Mark Antliff reminds us that such a capacity for mobilizing "points to the broader impact of *La Guerre sociale* and *Les Hommes du jour* among the literary and artistic avant-garde." (Antliff 2010: 142)

French artist Henri Gaudier-Brezeska was one of them, and he was one of the leading

anarchist artists who embraced the Apache identity by turning it into a heroic anti-bourgeois, anti-establishment figure. The heroic reading of the case by anarchists and anarchist artists influenced the Vorticists, too. Gaudier-Brezeska adapted the Apache identity as developed by Hervé and Victor Méric. They "assimilated an aestheticized image of the anarchist Apache." (Antliff 2010: 146) Gaudier-Brezeska "explored … highly sexualized imagery as a visual counterpart to his oppositional politics, and self-styled status as a working-class bohemian who mocked the moral codes and values of the bourgeoisie." (Antliff 2010: 135-137) Also in London, "[T.E] Hulme, [Wyndham] Lewis and [Ezra] Pound celebrated an aggressive form of male virility, as an expression of their anti-bourgeois values." (ibid.: 147) For Pound, their new movement Vorticism was "thrusting the new into the vortex, and the great passive vulva of London" although they were creating these movements in the realm of Dora Marsden's anarcho-feminist magazines. (Brooker 2007: 99) Marsden's *The Egoist* served as "a literary vehicle" for both Gaudier-Brezeska and Pound's radicalisms. (Antliff 2010c: 47)

While one current of anti-establishment sensibilities of anarchists were leading them to female emancipation and queer politics another current was leading them to an exaggerated savage-male identity. Although today, as we will see further, queer politics appears to be the main anarchist response to mainstream sexual domination, the attitude of becoming-Apache is not totally dead. It still has some value within anarchist hardcore punk scenes where anarchist punk men are not softies like bourgeois metrosexual men. They are more savage, dirty warrior-types - which in turn becomes evident in various fights both with outsiders (fascists) and other punks (for various reasons).

But, also, of course, there were and there still are remnants of standard anti-feminism, machismo or misogyny within anarchist men, as is the case in all political cultures. But that

is not a feature of anarchism because anarchism represents the struggle with these forces even when they are inside the movement or inside the activists' own cultural formation.[63] As Richard Cleminson reminds us, misogyny and patriarchalism in anarchist men is mainly a result of the "sexual culture of the times". (Cleminson 1998: 136) While patriarchal attitudes are not part of anarchism's political tradition or anarchist sexual politics (in fact not only anarchist sexual politics but anarchist politics in general is based on an anti-patriarchal position), a certain exaggeration of an aggressive male typology to create an anarchist anti-hero is a part of the tradition as it has been done for the supposedly anti-normative values attributed to these identities; and in this sense, the identity of the aggressive male anarchist is chosen with the same incentives seen in the creation of an anarchist queer identity – basically, to be anti-establishment.

BECOMING-TRAMP

The travelling, propagandising and organizing image of the anarchist have been key components in the global anarchist network . As Cindy Milstein argues: "Travelling anarchism" was a phenomenon from the start, and indeed was essential to its diasporic unfolding and openness" (Milstein 2010: 130)

But anarchists didn't stop there, did not only promote their own travelling to create the anarchist network, they also embraced outcasts, wanderers and tramps as anti-establishment figures, as 'others' to the system. They gave them a heroic status, as they did for the Apache. The 'icon of the tramp' was "a figure conceived simultaneously as

[63] For misogyny within anarchism see Gemie 1996; Van Den Berg 1996, Leighten 1995: 31n44; Berry 2004.

nonconformist hero and prototypical social victim.[64] We can trace other aspects of this anarchist traveller in cultural products and anarchist artworks the 'icon of the tramp' "a figure conceived simultaneously as nonconformist hero and prototypical social victim."[65] (Hutton 1990: 296)

Anarchist artists, Camille and Lucien Pissarro, Maximilien Luce, Henri-Edmond Cross, Theo van Rysselberghe all produced tramp pictures.[66] (Hutton 1990: 296; Antliff 2007: 37-48). The *chemineau* (vagand) was seen by anarchists as a

> heroic individualist proof of the ability of a liberated few to live free of the

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[64] We can argue that it is possible to trace this hero-victim polarity in punk and contemporary hardcore identity production schemes. A kind of anarchist self-victimization, preferring to be without home or job, using drugs and self-harming and at the same time filling the role of a vagabond, outcast, Apache-hero of the anarchist counter-cultural imagination is evident. Interestingly, we can re-think the anarcho–punk in that sense. Anarcho punk applies a 'self-victimization' to fit this 'anarchist icon of tramp' to be simultaneously a 'nonconformist hero' and a 'prototypical social victim'.

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[66] One of these several drawings, from Lucien Pissarro, *An Outcast of Society*, was published in the British anarchist journal *The Torch* in 1894. (Hutton 1990: 306) *The Torch* was the magazine published by young anarchist siblings, Helen and Oliver Rosetti, who later published the novel: *A Girl Among Anarchists* (1992) *A Girl Among the Anarchists* is an autobiographical novel originally published in 1903 and it is especially unique in terms of anarchist-feminism for the main protagonist of the novel is a very young girl who becomes politicized in a very early age. And who gives up on anarchism in favour of feminism in the end, because she finds anarchism inhospitable to her dreams of emancipation.

> constraints of bourgeois society; simultaneously, the vagabond was portrayed as the victim of the bourgeoisie's indifference to the poor. Hero/role model or archetypal victim – that polarity runs, unresolved, through anarchist writings and pictures of tramps, sometimes within one and the same work. (Hutton 1990: 297)

The *trimardeur* (vagabond) was "the quasi-mythical anarchist agitator, independent and free spirited." (Hutton 1990: 298) Pissarro, Dollfuss and Richepin shared a "reassuring faith that those without home or job are healthy, content and at peace." (Hutton 1990: 300)

DISCOVERING STIRNER

Embracing outsiders as hero/victims to create anti-establishment politics is also apparent at a philosophical level of anarchist discourse. To understand how, the transformation of forgotten Max Stirner to the status of a 'father' of anarchism and especially the father of individualist, queer and artist 'sons' and 'daughters' deserves closer attention.

Stirner's *The Ego and His Own* was published in 1844 and was neglected for about 40-50 years. Thomas Riley, John Henry Mackay's American biographer, lists all the books that mentioned Stirner in this period (all more or less briefly) in the following order:

> F. A. Lange, *Geschichte des Materialismus*, 1866
>
> E. v. Hartmann, *Philosophie des Unbewussten*, 1868
>
> Wilhelm Bolin, *Ludwig Feuerbach, sein Wirken und seine Zeitgenossen*, 1877.
>
> E. v. Hartmann, *Phanomenologie des sittlichen Bewusstseins*, 1879.
>
> (Second edition of Stirner's *The Ego and His Own*, 1882)

Arnold Ruge's *Briefwechsel und Tagebuchblatter aus den Jahren 1825-1880. Herausgegeben von Paul Nerrlich*, 1886. (Riley 1972: 66)

Anarchist poet and writer John Henry Mackay, “first read a mention of Stirner's *Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum* in the summer of 1887 in the British Museum” in London. (Kennedy 1999: ix) He saw Stirner's name in F. A. Lange's *Geschichte des Materialismus*. And actually read *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum* for the first time in the fall of 1888 or winter of 1888-1889.” (Riley 1972: 67) Reading Stirner's book both changed Mackay's life and the postumous fate of Stirner. From that moment on Mackay became the worldwide propagandist of Stirner. He 'discovered' Stirner as an 'anarchist Stirner', or, as he preferred, an 'individualist anarchist Stirner'. Whether it was Mackay alone who discovered Stirner after half a century or whether there was a slowly re-emerging hidden interest in his work amongst “certain individuals” is a moot point. (Riley 1972: 66; Kennedy 1999: ix) But it is without question that it was Mackay who discovered Stirner as the 'anarchist Stirner'. This discovery was 'approved' when Kropotkin, in his article on *Anarchism* in the Encyclopedia Britannica, stated that it was Mackay who brought Stirner to the table. Mackay did everything he could do to promote Stirner as a 'founding father' of anarchism.[67] He even travelled to the United States, dined with Emma Goldman in 1893 in New York, and talked about Stirner with great enthusiasm. Besides, Mackay became associated with a general wave of interest in Stirner, blossoming because of the “rising philosophy of Nietzsche.” (Riley 1972: 66) Benjamin Tucker gave his support to Mackay's

[67] Mackay was born in 1864 near Glasgow. Mackay's Scottish father died when he was two years old. After his father's death, his mother returned to Germany and married an official in the Prussian government. Mackay grew up in Germany “in this completely German family ... He went to German schools, speaking German as his mother tongue and English only as most educated Germans speak it, with an accent ...” (Riley 1972: 3).

struggle and published Stirner's book in English.

The first English translation of *The Ego and His Own* appeared in London and New York in 1907 with an introduction by the anarchist Benjamin R. Tucker, who was also the American publisher;

> six subsequent editions came out in London (1912, 1913, 1915, 1921) and New York (1913, 1918) during the next fourteen years. (In 1918 Boni and Liveright – Pound's publisher after 1920, and the publisher of T.S. Eliot's *The Waste Land* in 1922 - included Stirner's book in its Modern Library Series) *Der Einzige* was translated into French (1899), Spanish (1901) and Italian (1921); a Hebrew translation appeared in New York in 1916. Stirner's book certainly hit a nerve – and nowhere more than in England. (Von Hallberg 1995: 64)

John Mackay also wrote a biography of Stirner (Mackay 1898). He "interviewed a number of people who had known Stirner" and led a campaign to "collect funds to place a marker on Stirner's grave in Berlin ... and a bronze plaque on the house in Berlin in which Stirner died." (Carlsson 1979: 73) In 1906, Mackay "led another drive to raise funds to place a memorial plaque on the house in Bayreuth in which Stirner was born." (Carlsson 1979: 73) Mackay spent "ten years tracking every iota of information he could on Stirner." (Carlsson 1979: 74) The "[v]igorous anarchist movement of the 1890s" popularized both Stirner and the 'anarchist Stirner'. "Mackay was read by the anarchists in Germany, England, France and America, very small but highly articulate and often highly intellectual circles .... Through ... thousands of German-speaking anarchists, communistic as well as individualistic, the fame of Stirner spread." (Riley 1972: 70) Soon Mackay made Stirner's *The Ego and His Own* 'an anarchist classic' and Stirner a 'classical anarchist writer'.

Stirner helped Mackay to create an anarchist current which enabled him politicize and openly defend his sexuality, his (intergenerational) homosexuality. Peter Lamborn Wilson (Hakim Bey) believes that Mackay's real originality “lies in his impeccable application of anarchist philosophy and psychology to the problem of sexuality.” (Wilson 1999: xv) Instead of taking his sexual state as a taboo subject “Mackay saw this subject as a social question whose solution would come only with the solution of the social question in general, i.e., along the individualist anarchist lines indicated by him.” (Kennedy 1999: xii) Mackay created his own brand of anarchism but there were others who would use Stirner in the following century, especially queer activists like Mackay and many artists and writers. Thus, I argue that, although Stirner’s place seems questionable,[68] this collective desire to create a strand of anarchism that answers queer and artistic concerns definitely deserves a place in the history of anarchism. As Orend says, Stirner was himself probably under the influence of the 'anarchist' de Sade. Had the canon been written differently, for example if Stirner had been replaced by de Sade, queer activists and anarchist artists would not find any difficulty in benefiting from de Sade's (then as he would be 'anarchist de Sade') similar theories; had the canon included Emma Goldman and Osugi Sakae and eventually Nietzsche, then Nietzsche's concepts (likewise, as he would then be 'anarchist Nietzsche') concepts would function in the same way. However, emphasizing the arbitrary nature of Stirner's existence in the canon is not my real intention: I want to point out the 'anarchist will' of all those who used Stirner's theories in *The Ego and Its Own* for their anarchist purposes, from Marcel Duchamp to Henry Miller, from Emma Goldman to (contemporary postanarchist) Saul Newman.[69] This network deserves a place in the

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[68] Of course, I am not defending mere addition to the canon but the recognition of the complexity of anarchism through the deconstruction of the canon – having once revealed it.

[69] Simon Casey devotes nearly a whole chapter to showing overlaps between Stirner's philosophy and Lawrence's views in *Naked Liberty and The World of Desire, Elements of Anarchism in the Work of D. H.*

history of anarchism, and it would be much more revealing to study these relations, desires and needs than to study Stirner's book as an isolated uncontextualized text. Only if we escape the canon we will be able to see that the issue is not 'whose' ideas but how they are taken up.

Many artists and feminists and queers like to quote Stirner and use him as a reference for their anarchist individualism, although the individualist anarchist brand was formed before Stirner's discovery as an anarchist. "Before its publication, the key term of his book, "individualism" had circulated widely among libertarians and anarchists. Benjamin Tucker's journal Liberty had kept the significance of the term in debate during the 1890s." (Von Hallberg 1995: 64)

In this case, we can ask 'why Stirner' or 'what's his function'? His theories are used as a kind of bond between anarchists and libertarians of various disciplines when they want to challenge orthodoxies in daily life, culture, arts, society etc. In short, Stirner is used to expand the scope of the political arena. And this is done mostly by gender activists and radical avant-garde artists and their networks. This is a concrete anarchist element in the history of anarchism. So I would like to offer a place for this will – the will to use Stirner, sometimes Nietzsche (as seen in Goldman) or de Sade and Bergson (as seen in Osugi) to oppose orthodoxies in its various forms, and make politics in anarchism understood as a much more broader term. Stirner has been useful for all those who wanted to focus on the irreducibility of anarchism to anti-statism. Understanding anarchism as a political philosophy and movement in terms of state power is the first and main factor explaining the exclusion of the arts and gender activists from the anarchist canon. The modern conception supporting the historiography of anarchism defines politics as a discipline/area

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Lawrence (2003).

that deals with the political power/centre of state power. Thus, for example in Eltzbacher, anarchism is defined according to its relation to state power (as any other political philosophy). So what he sees is an anti-statism, and in placing anti-statism at the centre of anarchist politics he constructs anarchism through the process of writing history. This reduction to anti-statism rejects the importance that anarchists attach to micro politics, to cultural struggles, struggles in daily life and to artistic heterodoxies, all of which played a vital role in shaping and fostering the movement. Thus, we could argue that, even before the introduction of Stirner to the anarchist milieu, anarchists were already Stirnerites. And while Nietzsche was not approved as a major anarchist source, Stirner was, and that led many activists to develop their position by referring to Stirner (while Nietzsche, Bergson or de Sade could easily have served the same purpose).

Daniel Guérin said ‘Stirner was a precursor of May '68’ (Berry 2004: 23); yet we can argue that Mackay-Carpenter-Goldman-Osugi-Whitman-Rexroth and the network, their work and themselves created was the precursor of Stirner.

ANARCHO-QUEER LINKS

Understanding anarcho-queer links and anarchist sexual politics is vital to feel the collective ‘will’ mentioned above. There are “long standing and significant affinities between anarchists and queers when it comes to sexual politics.” (Heckert 2010: 408) Researching the anarchist journal *Estudios* published in Spain in the 1920s and 1930s, Richard Cleminson notes that “anarchism was sufficiently open to be able to take this subject (homosexuality) on board and debate it in a fairly sensible manner especially as the subject matter was certainly a taboo at the time of writing.” (Cleminson 1995: 8)

There were crucial connections with anti-colonialism too: Daniel Guérin's move "towards the anarchist movement[70] was due partly to the sexual question, but also in large part to the intransigent opposition to the Algerian war that was demonstrated by militants of the Fédération Communiste Libertaire." (Berry 2004: 28) And Guérin was, like Osugi, close to the working class and the sexual revolution at the same time (thus both were blurring artificial borders between them.) Guérin "believed in conscious, activist minorities" but these minorities had to be "in a symbiotic relationship with the working class, and their roots in the workplace." (Berry 2004: 28) Guérin was also one of those responsible for the utopian vision of 'bisexual universality'; he "claimed that bisexuality was the natural human state". (Berry 2004: 27) This idea is alive and inherent in today's anarchist movements, though references to essentialist notions like 'universality' and 'natural' are now absent.

The term queer answers the general anarchist desire of becoming-other: "queer is by definition whatever is at odds with the normal" (Shannon-Wills 2010: 435) Queer is widely used in this sense. "Queer then demarcates not a positivity but a positionality vis-à-vis the normative." (Shannon-Wills 2010: 435) Queer anarchism "critically assesses hegemonic discourses related not only to gender and sexuality, but to any forms of domination that exist within capitalism." (Windpassinger 2010: 499)

CROSS POLLINATIONS

Benjamin Shepard indicates how anarchist and queer activism have been 'cross-pollinating' in the last decade.

[70] For the details of Guerin's move to anarchism: see Berry 2004: 37-38 n.39.

> Much of the struggle for a queer public commons involves tactics and philosophical understandings embraced by anarchists and queers alike. A few of these overlapping positions include: an embrace of the insurrectionary possibilities of pleasure; a rejection of social controls, and formal hierarchies in favor of mutual aid networks and DIY community building; the use of direct action; and a culture of resistance. (Shepard 2010: 511)

It is interesting that he emphasizes the "insurrectionary possibilities of pleasure" – this is an unresolved topic of debate within anarchism: The insurrectionary possibilities of what pleasure? For example, are the pleasures in BDSM included? Shepard says throughout the last decade he has "participated in the cross-pollination between queer/AIDS activism and anarchist-inspired global justice movements in New York. (Shepard 2010: 512) This is how he lists the common elements between anarchism and queer politics:

> Anarchism and queer politics support a critique of the normative assumptions about the world (Goldman, 2001 (1923); Kissack, 2008; Warner, 1993). Both emphasize practices, rather than fixed social or cultural identities (Amster et al., 2009; Hall, 2003; Sedgwick, 1990) Both support free will and choice, favoring the consent of those involved, not the approval of government or religious institutions (Higleyman, 1995 (1988)). This sentiment echoes Emma Goldman's (1969) argument that matrimony was another form of wage slavery and exploitation. Rather than marriage, anarchist queers support alternative social groupings, sexual self-determination and safer promiscuity (Brown, 2007; Higleyman, 1995 (1988); Ritchie, 2008; Mattilda, 2004) Concurrently, anarchism and queer politics share a mutual respect for pleasure (Rithcie 2008) (Shepard

2010: 516)

Thus, Shepard offers anarcho-queer politics as a natural outcome of anarchism. Shepard quotes an article from the anarchist magazine *Fifth Estate* saying that “one facet that has always distinguished anarchists' and anarchy from other flavors of resistance and visions of society is anarchists' insistence of the revolutionary nature of joy”. (Shepard 2010: 518) In this connection, the anarchist ‘sexologist’ Alex Comfort, should also be remembered here for his popular book *The Joy of Sex*. (Comfort 1987)

CONSTRUCTING AN ANARCHIST IDENTITY

Portwood-Stacer shows how the sexual revolution of earlier generations has shaped the anarchist sexual ‘normativity’ in today's anarchist circles. By conducting interviews and drawing on “participant observations in the contemporary North American anarchist movement” Portwood-Stacer depicts what kind of sexuality maps to the idea of, ‘the anarchistic sexual position’ with anarchist activists. The claim is that to construct a radical political identity (the identity of an anarchist today) there is a need to show a certain sexual identity – which is apparently not a monogamous straight one. Portwood-Stacer shows that “queer sexuality is an important component of anarchist identity, particular sexual practices and ways of sexually self-identifying are incorporated into the constitution of the anarchist subject.” (Portwood-Stacer 2010: 480) So anarchist sexual politics and the history of the anarchist sexual politics and its development are vital elements to understand contemporary anarchist identities. One of the anarchists she interviews, Alyssa, “was explicit about the fact that her queerness is a political orientation in addition to being a sexual identification, ‘it is definitely political – not just about desire and who I have sex with but also about an orientation against capitalist heteropatriarchy’” (Portwood-

Stacer 2010: 482) This is so pivotal that even anarchists who are “mostly or exclusively heterosexual in practice show a reluctance to completely identify themselves as heterosexual people.” (Portwood-Stacer 2010: 483) One of the self-identified anarchists she interviewed, Tina, even says: “I don’t like to identify as straight, I find it oppressive.” (Portwood-Stacer 2010: 479) An anarchist relationship is praised for being ‘non-gendered’. (Portwood-Stacer 2010: 483) For this, anarchists see polyamory as a reply to all forms of hierarchy. Another anarchist she interviewed, Grant, says: “I think polyamory for me has to do with anarchism being more than just a non-state solution to state capitalism, but a complete assessment of all forms of hierarchy.” (Portwood-Stacer 2010: 484) Portwood-Stacer shows also how the ‘investment in authenticity brings “the idea that you have to adhere to certain cultural practices in order to be a ‘real anarchist’” (Portwood-Stacer 2010: 489) Another anarchist she interviewed, Joel, “observed that individuals who attempted to practice polyamory were ashamed when they found themselves experiencing feelings of possessiveness or jealousy, as if these emotional reactions jeopardized their identities as ‘good anarchists’” (Portwood-Stacer 2010: 489) Portwood-Stacer says the idea of authentic anarchism is used to “police the content of an authentically anarchist sexuality.” (Portwood-Stacer 2010: 492)

For an example of ‘non-monogamy’ becoming an anarchist norm – or, a fundamental part of constructing an anarchist identity, we can go back to anarcha-feminist science fiction novel of Ursula K. Le Guin, *The Dispossessed*. In the anarchist society of the novel, Anarres, “non-monogamy has become reified as the prevalent and socially sanctioned norm” (Nicholas 2009) Le Guin says: “To me the ‘female principle’ is, or at least historically has been, basically anarchic. It values order without constraint, rule by custom not force.” (Nicholas 2009) Le Guin’s female principle appears to be an integral part of the anarchist principle expressed by Kropotkin. And it also brings to mind the Bolivian anarcha-feminist

notions of anarchism learned from grandmothers …

It is possible to find local roots to anarchist ideals because the ‘anarchist principle’ exists in all cultural environments, but it is also a sign of the feminist element in anarchism. “As Juliet Parades of Mujeres Creando, a Bolivian anarcha-feminist group, once put it, “I’ve said it and I’ll say it again that we are not anarchists by Bakunin or the CNT, but rather by our grandmothers, and that’s a beautiful school of anarchism”” (Paredes 2002)

The rhizomatic form of anarchism includes the image of the travelling anarchist, the anarchist as the linkage: linking nodes in a rhizomatic way (cf. Chapter 3). Artists, as we saw earlier in this Chapter, followed this image by drawing travellers. But they did so also by reproducing the role: travelling, linking, making small contributions to several magazines and causes, meeting in cafes, linking with anarchists, as queer anarchists also wonderfully experienced, connecting, encountering, organising, spreading the idea in a rhizomatic way. No central structural decision, no party politics, no representation; every traveller represents herself only and carries all the rhizome with her. As anarchism is not pyramidal, and thus not universalistic in the essentialist sense, its rhizomatic structure also means that every node has its specific 'local' value. Local traditions, local values become important. Looking for the anarchist principle in every culture also means that anarchism spreads (may spread) from all locations, and then be linked rhizomatically.

FREE LOVE IN ANDALUSIA

Anarchist practices of free love were not only common in big cities, but were the anarchist norm even in rural Andalusia. “The practice of free love was often the most daring personal commitment to the anarchist ideal ... it was a direct affront to state and church

representatives. Free love was the fulfilment of equality between the sexes." (Mintz 2004: 91) In his *The Anarchists of Casas Viejas* Jerome Mintz, shows how anarchists of the region, despite "the notion of male superiority usually attributed to Andalusians", opened the way to free love (and 'free union') by sometimes challenging their own parents directly. (Mintz 2004: 92-99) Children of free unions were announced in the anarchist newspaper *Tierra y Libertad* with phrases like: "A beautiful boy... has been brought to the civil register of … and … the first offspring of their free union", and (when the same couple had their fourth children) "In such a home, formed by the free union of said companeros, one may breathe the air of those freed from all prejudice with their children." (Mintz 2004: 95)

FREE LOVE TO UNSETTLE THE NORMATIVITY

During the turn-of-the-century anarchists "proposed 'free love' as an alternative to the bourgeois organization of gender relations, especially to bourgeois marriage." (Van Den Berg 1996: 3) The literature on anarchism in Imperial Germany, "especially on the German anarchist Erich Mühsam, who held, in many respects, the same views as Goldman, often suggests that anarchist 'free love' should be seen as a radical contribution to the liberalization of rigid nineteenth century bourgeois sexual and marital morals that were particularly oppressive of female sexuality." (Van Den Berg 1996: 4) "The 'free love' envisaged by Bohemian anarchists was conceived as fundamentally polygamous" and it also included homosexuality. (Van Den Berg 1996: 17) These features of the Bohemian anarchists a hundred years ago thrive in today's anarcho-queer sensibilities. German anarchist periodicals in the period 1890-1914, *Neues Leben*, *Der freie Arbeiter*, *Der Sozialist* and *Der Pionier* showed that both proletarian anarchism in Germany and Bohemian anarchists advocated free love in the sense of polyamorous sexuality. (Van Den

Berg 1996: 16) "…in Bohemian anarchism the advocacy of homosexuality as a form of sexuality equal, or even superior to heterosexuality was relatively common." (Van Den Berg 1996: 18) Anarchist psychoanalyst Otto Gross was the source of many anarchist claims against patriarchy.

> In contrast to Freud and Jung, Gross argued that psychic, neurotic problems were not a result of disturbances in individual human sexual development (as Freud insisted) but a product of social constraint in the field of sexuality: constraint in the form of bourgeois puritanical restrictions, of the obligation to heterosexual monogamy imposed by the ruling sexual ethics. (Van Den Berg 1996: 19)

Female psychic distortions, such as morbidity and hysteria were, Gross insisted, "a consequence of the societal pressure on women to repress their sexual desires." (Van Den Berg 1996: 19) Gross therefore "advocated 'free love' as a direct answer to mental problems." For this purpose he didn't hesitate to stage sexual orgies in Ascona. (Van Den Berg 1996: 20) Thus, Gross took "psychoanalysis out of the consultation room into the field of social action." Gross thought of his own considerations as an "important contribution to anarchism, giving it a psychoanalytical dimension." "The 'coming revolution' that Gross spoke of had to be an anarchist revolution, but this revolution would not only change political and economic structures, but also the organization of gender relations and the corresponding morality regulating sexuality". (Van Den Berg 1996: 20) The impact of his ideas on Bohemian anarchists was enormous. (Van Den Berg 1996: 20) "In the writings of Erich Mühsam the influence of Gross thought is apparent." (Van Den Berg 1996: 20)

The critical nature of sexual politics for anarchist identity is even seen in contemporary jokes: a Stalinist, a Trotskyist and an anarchist come home and find their partners in bed with a comrade. What is their reaction? The Stalinist kills both, the Trotskyist writes a 20 page declaration justifying an organizational split, and the anarchist asks them if he can join them!

So, this joke asserts the popular understanding that the 'real' anarchist is different from a Marxist with his/her sexual politics, understanding of non-monogamy and emphasis on joy.

Anarchists "perceived the liberation of sexuality as a revolutionary goal". (Sonn 2005: 99) "The example of Otto Gross in particular demonstrates the close connection among psychology, bohemian behavior, and anarchist politics." Gross also "ultimately influenced the direction of German Dadaists … and he was linked to the anarchist Tat Gruppe, founded in 1909 by the poet Erich Mühsam, and as Gross became increasingly revolutionary, his artistic followers committed themselves to his attacks on monogamous marriage and the authoritarian family." (Sonn 2005: 101)

Sonn also argues that although Charles Fourier is not included in the "pantheon of anarchist saints along with his rough contemporaries William Godwin and Pierre-Joseph Proudhon" he fits the anarchist picture very well. And he does so especially because of his views on free love and sexuality. (Sonn 2005: 105) Fourier intended to "replace married love by communal love." (Sonn 2005: 105)

Viewing love as a powerful force for social solidarity, Fourier "proposed to institutionalize free love and group sex in Harmony." (Sonn 2005: 105) His ideas even presaged today's queer anarchist identity: "He was remarkably tolerant in allowing the maximum of sexual

variety, including homosexual liaisons for both sexes, and thought that even fetishists and flagellants should be able to express their sexual needs." (Sonn 2005: 105)

This is also a curious case: what if it was Fourier in the anarchist canon instead of Godwin? That would all of a sudden bring homosexuality and free love into the official narration of anarchist political theory.

ANARCHIST SEX RADICALS

Anarchist sex radicals, as Terence Kissack calls them, like John William Lloyd, Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, Leonard Abbott, and Benjamin R. Tucker "published books, wrote articles, and delivered lectures in cities across the country (USA) that addressed the subject of same-sex love." (Kissack 2008: 3) They developed and sustained a "far-ranging and complex critique of 'normal' social and sexual values ... and they helped shift the sexual, cultural and political landscape of the United States .... The men and women active in the anarchist movement wished to rebuild all aspects of life according to the principles of liberty and self-rule. They worked to bring about a revolution where all *forms* of human association and desire would be transformed." (Kissack 2008: 4-5, emphasis added) Kissack here touches the most important point that links all sexual freedom campaigns, feminist and queer activism and artistic radicalism and anarchist movement in the definition of an 'anarchist revolution': "a revolution where all forms of human association and desire would be transformed!'. This means taking existing forms and transforming them, turning them into new, anarchistic forms (and that includes, not only 'state forms' or 'political forms' in the traditional way, but 'all' forms of human association and desire). This is obviously why and how anarchism redefines politics and see the political in all forms of human association and desire. As Kissack notes, anarchism

“was the only political movement of the time to treat issues of sexual liberation as fundamental to the project of human emancipation.” (Kissack 2008: 24) According to David Kennedy, anarchists “demanded not only political but also aesthetic and especially psychological revolution. And the cutting psychological theories the anarchists consistently invoked aimed at one central fact of life: sex.” (Kissack 2008: 24-25)

Discussing the post-Seattle anarchist movements, Uri Gordon says “anarchists and their allies are, after all, experimenting with the uncharted territory of non-hierarchical organizing and social relations that challenge domination, going against the grain of our own socialization as children, pupils and workers.” (Gordon 2010: 39)

Kissack argues that “sexuality was a key concern of English-language anarchists in the United States.” And Oscar Wilde’s trial in the United Kingdom played a vital role in the “formation of a politics of homosexuality in the anarchist movement ... Wilde made homosexuality a political issue for the anarchists in a way it had not previously been.” (Kissack 2008: 10) Henry Miller, as an anarchist writer, had defended Oscar Wilde when he was condemned to jail too. (Orend 2009: 56) “Homosexuality was not the only aspect of sexuality that the anarchists debated. In accordance with their ideas about self-rule, for example, they rejected marriage, which they viewed as a coercive institution policed by both church and state.” (Kissack 2008: 17)

LAWRENCE versus TOLSTOY'S 'PERVERSE' HATRED OF 'SPONTANEOUS PASSION'

D.H.Lawrence was influenced by the anarchist sexual politics of Otto Gross and his circle through his relationship with Frieda Richthofen. Lawrence had other anarchistic influences

too: Shelley, Godwin, William Blake, Oscar Wilde, Thoreau and William Morris all had an influence on his work. (Casey 2003: 4-5) Simon Casey describes the “links between Lawrence and philosophical anarchism" as..." deep and substantial.” (Casey 2003: 3) Specifically, he “demonstrates a sympathy with anarchism” through his “concept of natural law, his vision of small, decentralized societies and his rejection of State power” (Casey 2003: 11) Yet, the most constitutive aspect of anarchism for Lawrence's art can be traced to his rejection of Tolstoy's position. Lawrence criticized

> Tolstoy's 'perverse' hatred of 'spontaneous passion.' By portraying 'vulgar social condemnation' as 'divine punishment,' Tolstoy, Lawrence suggests, is more or less overthrowing the organic and sacred laws that govern the self and replacing them with the fixed and comparatively profane 'dictates of the community': he is forsaking the higher order of a libertarian society for its debased, authoritarian form. (Casey 2003: 11)

Clearly, Lawrence was closer to the Otto Gross-style anarchist sexual freedom and opposed to Tolstoyan asceticism, moreover, he dubs Tolstoy's approach 'authoritarian'. And in Tolstoy, he not only detects an enemy of the natural 'naked liberty' but also a 'real enemy of the society'. (Casey 2003: 11) Lawrence was, at the end, known as the “poet of sexual freedom.” (Casey 2003: 29) “Lawrence often appears to privilege the sexual relationship over the broader range of relationships in society as a whole” because “the sexual relationships serve as a kind of template for those further, social relationships.” Therefore “when the sexual relationship functions to prevent reciprocal freedom, it serves as a microcosm for society as it actually is.” (Casey 2003: 56) This implies that (anarchist) revolution shall start in a sexual relationships. Simon Casey details how Lawrence worked on these ideas in many of his popular novels, from *Sons and Lovers*, *The Rainbow*,

Women in Love to *Lady Chatterley's Lover*. Thus, we can argue that the politics of anarchist culture had an indirect influence on culture in general through Lawrence's art. Lawrence, as a poet and novelist, contributed to the 'anarchist cause' by popularizing these themes, just as Ursula Le Guin later worked as a “popularizer of anarchist ideals” in her science fiction and fantasy novels. (Call 2007: 87) Navigating anarchist history we repeatedly see how examples of artistic work combine with anarchist causes and with sexual liberation in particular. To give another example: “Van Dongen’s primary allegiance was to the anarchist movement’s advocacy of sexual liberation. Dedicated male and female anarchists mounted a massive polemics on the subject of free love, entailing attacks on the commercialization of sexuality and support for legalized abortion and the abolition of state-sanctioned marriage…” (Leighten 1995: 23)

Charlotte Wilson, a central figure in the “emergence of English anarchism in the 1880s” wrote about “anarchist revolution as a movement away from the darkness of the past and ‘into the darkness of future... toward the beckoning of a light of hope’" and she "evokes an image of anarchism as exploration, direction and destination: a form of utopian desire.” (Greenway 2009: 154-155) Those anarchists in *fin de sicle* Britain who “spoke out for free love believed that the transformation of intimate relationships was essential to social transformation, neither attainable without the other.” (Greenway 2009: 154) They saw its practice as “a form of demonstrative politics: a rehearsal or experimentation with new ways to live, an assertion that another world was possible.” (Greenway 2009: 154) Anarchist women (in United States) were especially important in the construction of the idea of free love and in the critique of oppressive gender patterns. "The radicalism of anarchist sexual politics – the very thing that made it open to the defence of same-sex love - is grounded in a feminist analysis of sexuality.” (Kissack 2008: 20-21) Greenway argues that “just as the practice of free love can be a form of speech, a text of desire, so, conversely, to speak of

free love can itself be the enactment of performance of utopian desire." (Greenway 2009: 154)

According to Rebecca West, Dora Marsden's *The Freewoman*'s great service was "its unblushingness", the way it "mentioned sex loudly and clearly and repeatedly." (Brooker 2007: 112) And according to Bruce Clark, Marsden's *The New Freewoman* "explicitly connected sexual emancipation, evolutionary progress, and libertarian politics, along lines similar to Emma Goldman's concurrent anarcha-feminist campaign." (Kissack 2008: 160) James Joyce was also published in Marsden's magazines.

> Marsden edited *The Freewoman*, *The New Freewoman*, and *The Egoist*, a series of London-based literary and political journals published during the years surrounding World War I. Marsden played a direct role in bringing to light an impressive selection of modernist texts, but she played a greater, indirect role in publicizing anarchist tenets that determined the shape of literary experiments by writers including Pound, Joyce and Williams. (Kadlec 2000: 12)

Kadlec especially underlines the 'anarchism' in the 'form' of Ulysses. He notes that "Joyce's signal narrative innovations in Ulysses emerged not only as an outgrowth of the individualist anarchistic resistance to the abstract and nominalizing tendencies of language, but also as a set of anarchistic 'deeds,' ones that collapsed the distinction between saying and doing and between being an artist and being an agent of cultural and political regeneration." (Kadlec 2000: 15)

Borrowing Kadlec's terms, one can easily call "Joyce's narrative attempts to construct fluid forms of identity", an attempt to 'construct queer identities' and even 'anarchistic queer

identities'.

FREE LOVE COLONIES

French anarchist E. Armand was a strict defender of free love too: “Armand saw colonies and free love as related in that both were posed as alternatives to the nuclear family - an institution he viewed as the foundation of antisocial egoism in the modern world.” (Sonn 2005: 12)

In Spain, Dr. Felix Marti Ibanez, writing in 1930s, was the main sexologist of the anarchist camp. (Cleminson 1993: 29) “Marti Ibanez took on the role of attacking what he perceived as ‘bourgeois morality’ and his articles on prostitution, free love, revolution and sex are numerous and advanced for his time.” (Cleminson 1993: 30) He also considered creating a ‘sexology school’ “These clinics would be destined to ‘educate and advise young people in a friendly and sincere manner in order to solve the sexual and spiritual problems they encounter’ (Cleminson 1993: 33) “The Spanish anarchist movement was certainly in the vanguard of sexual change in the 1930s.” (Cleminson 1993: 33) More evidence indicating that the idea of sexual revolution issue was alive long before Stirner: “In the early days of anarchism in Spain in the 1860s, both women and sex were dealt with as areas of concern. As Temma Kaplan says: “Anarchists seem to be among the first social theorists whose mass movement grasped the relationship between family psychology, revolutionary personality and political freedom.” (quoted in Cleminson 1993: 33) Wilhelm Reich himself says “ it has always been the anarchists who of all the social groups put most emphasis on the revolutionising of personal life and upon the activation of revolutionary spirit, and who therefore were quick to take up the problem of sexual liberation’. (quoted in Cleminson

1993: 33)

FREE LOVE GETS STABBED!

Osugi Sagae's anarchism "was not concerned exclusively with society and its organizational reform: it focused equally on the perfection of the individual by the individual's own action; by that means society too would be perfected." (Stanley 1982: xi) For Osugi, like Goldman, the personal was political already. His relations with Emma Goldman's politics would probably have been more extensive, had he known her better. The only difference between the two is that while Goldman was practising her theories relatively 'freely', Osugi was stabbed by one of the three women he was supposed to be in a 'free love' relationship with!

THE ANARCHIST STRATEGY OF INVERSION

As Whimster argues, "avant-gardes ... were pitching for their own redefinition of modernity and to this end were creating and deploying innovative artefacts: new forms in art, literature, life-style and *politics*, producing entirely new aesthetic and ethical sensibilities. The political has, as always, to be seen as the struggle for the possible." (Whimster 1999: 5) By avant-gardes, Whimster meant both anarchists and avant-gardes in visual arts and literature. In Klaus Lichtblau's words, modernisms could be "taken as revolutions in the basis of thought and the forms through which the world was recognised." (Whimster 1999: 4) For Otto Gross, "if a desire was sexual then it was perverse to deny it." (Whimster 1999: 16) This is just what Lawrence thought about Tolstoy.

As if to echo anarchist activists who think that a 'non-gendered' relationship would fit anarchist ideals, in Le Guin's *Left Hand of Darkness*, we encounter the inhabitants of Gethen who are “human but they do not have the binary gender system that characterizes most human societies. Gethenians spend most of their lives in an androgynous state, neither male nor female.” (Call 2007: 92) In harmony with queer anarchist politics of today, “On Gethen, gender identity is … provisional, temporary and arbitrary. For Gethenians … gender is no absolute category.” (Call 2007: 92)

Just as Lawrence accused Tolstoy of being 'perverse', “to make her critique of real world gender categories as explicit as possible, Le Guin introduces us to the Gethenian concept of perversion.” (Call 2007: 94) Using what Leighten would call an anarchist strategy of inversion, Le Guin (and actually Lawrence) categorize what we call normal as 'perverse.'

Lewis Call underlines the successful service of anarchist propaganda accomplished by Ursula K. Le Guin's popular science fiction and fantasy novels: “By describing anarchist ideas in a way that is simultaneously faithful to the anarchist tradition and accessible to contemporary audiences, Le Guin performs a very valuable service. … She introduces the anarchist vision to an audience of science fiction readers who might never pick up a volume of Kropotkin.[71] Considering her “frequent critiques of state power, coupled with her rejection of capitalism and her obvious fascination with alternative systems of political economy” Lewis Call thinks it is “sufficient to place her within the anarchist tradition.” (Call 2007: 87) In a number of examples we see how various contexts convincingly suggest the inclusion of cultural figures, writers, women and queer anarchists and artists within the

[71] This is even true for me: I myself was dragged to anarchism through Le Guin and love; when at the age of 16 I fell in love with a girl who became an anarchist after she read a Turkish edition of *The Dispossessed* and who was talking of Anarres all the time!

anarchist tradition. Someone suggests the inclusion of Mirbeau here, the Marquis de Sade there, or Ursula Le Guin somewhere else. Unfortunately, all these convincing arguments (which are also totally in harmony with the anarchist principle) seem 'marginal' under the current regime of the 'anarchist canon'. Only if we start to shift the canon a bit, can we find slots for these figures, can we link them, and picture anarchism in its non-hierarchical, rhizomatic network-like form.

BEHAVING DIFFERENTLY

“The State is a condition, a certain relationship between human beings, a mode of behaviour; we destroy it by contracting other relationships, by behaving differently toward one another... We are the State and we shall continue to be the State until we have created the institutions that form a real community.” (quoted in Horrox 2010: 192) This famous saying of Landauer has been quoted widely by anarchists, because it captures the importance of the prefigurative principle perfectly. The “[c]onstruction of prefigurative social institutions as functioning alternatives to extant systems of domination” (Horrox 2010: 189) means ‘relating differently', as Jamie Heckert would say; it is not formlessness but a search for new forms. In 1891, Landauer became a “distinguished figure within the countercultural milieu of *fin de siècle* Europe. Under Landauer’s editorship *Der Sozialist* came to be widely viewed as one of the best anarchist newspapers on the continent.” (Horrox 2010: 190) For Landauer, anarchism was “a basic mood which may be found in every man who thinks seriously about the world and the spirit ... The impulse in man to be reborn, to be renewed and to refashion his essence, and then to shape his surroundings and the world, to the extent that it can be controlled.” (Horrox 2010: 193)

Accordingly, in anarchism knowledge is shared and distributed in a rhizomatic fashion.

“The shared values … are … established through the circulation of written documents.” (Duncombe, 2008) Anarchist texts are shared in the form of “zines, newsletters, blog posts, links on social networking sites, and a few major websites that serve as electronic hubs for the distribution of anarchist information.” (Portwood-Stacer 2010: 486) There is no ‘party organ’ or a central publication for the militants to follow, but there are numerous endless linkages of small publications without any central role, being linked to each other worldwide. “Anarchist songs, newspapers, poems, posters, speech and celebrations formed a coherent culture of anarchism.” (Sonn 1989: 30)

As another demonstration of the importance of form for anarchists (but not formlessness), anarchist conferences restrict behaviours. For example the policy of Auckland Anarchist Conference was as follows:

> People attending this conference are asked to be aware of their language and behavior, and to think about whether it might be offensive to others. This is no space for violence, for touching people without their consent, for being intolerant of someone’s beliefs or lack thereof, for being creepy, sleazy, racist, ageist, sexist, hetero-sexist, trans-phobic, able-bodiest, classist, sizist or any other behavior or language that may perpetuate oppression. (Nicholas 2009: 11)

NETWORK OF DEFINITIONS

James Horrox quotes Colin Ward's *Anarchy in Action* to say that “anarchism is no longer seen by its proponents as a 'speculative vision of a future society' but a 'description of a mode of human organization ...'”; he then combines this with Landauer's 'decentralized networks of alternatives' and with post-Seattle anti-globalization movements, the 'new

anarchism, or, using Richard Day's terms, 'Newest Social Movements which are “formed from lateral affiliations and complex systems of networks and popular bases, thus 'organized along rhizomatic lines.'” We can argue that even these definitions seem to have a network-like relation to each other, and a 'rhizomatic continuity'. (Horrox 2010: 200-201)

DE SADE: A FOUNDING FATHER OF ANARCHISM

(Robert) “Desnos has written as early as 1923 that ‘all our current aspirations were formulated by de Sade. He was the first to posit the integrity of one’s sexual being as indispensable to the life of the senses and of the intellect.” (Sonn 2005: 115)

One of the best known British anarchist writers, Nicholas Walter, wrote a defence of the Marquis de Sade. And he linked Sade's efforts to an anarchist politics of sexual freedom. First of all, Walter reminded his readers that de Sade was not himsef just a Sadist, but a sado-masochist who enjoyed playing the passive ('bottom') role as well as the active ('top') role. And he praised him for being so aware of “what he desired and enjoyed.” (Walter 2007: 55) “His activities (and fantasies) expressed his deepest feelings, so he had no need to resist, repress, displace, transfer or project them.” (Walter 2007: 55) Walter openly implies that an anarchist sexual position would also be based on NOT resisting, repressing, displacing, transfering or projecting our desires. Walter also places de Sade's views on politics on the libertarian rather than the authoritarian side, considering his opposition to all authoritarian traditions. Walter here also reminds us of the anarchist emphasis on pleasure and joy, of the anarchist politics of affirmation of life. Walter says “pleasure causes less pain than principle,” and adds that “sadists are less dangerous than statists.” (Walter 2007: 55) He additionally recalls that de Sade was “one of the first to

advocate the equality of women". (Walter 2007: 56) De Sade was critical of the class system and the institution of property (in *Juliette* he even defined property as 'theft' before Proudhon). He was critical of "the state as well as the church, of law as well as religion, of the use of violence in both punishment and war, of the power of the family and the danger of overpopulation." (Walter 2007: 57) And he pushed republicanism in a radical and libertarian direction. Indeed, his ideas were completely in line with the anarchist politics of sexual freedom that followed and played a role in shaping the movement and the 'norms' of anarchist identity. Walter tells us that even de Sade's pornographic fantasies contain quasi-libertarian passages justifying a 'defiance of conventional manners and morality.' (Walter 2007: 57) Thus Walter claims that "anarchist ideas are implicit in many of his (Sade's) writings" and that in *Juliette*, he even gives "what may be the first explicit defence in literature of anarchy." (Walter 2007: 58) Seeing de Sade as "a pioneering exponent of philosophical libertarianism", and seeing "*Justine* and *Juliette* as extreme versions of *Caleb Williams*" and de Sade's "political arguments as extreme versions of *Political Justice",* Walter asks if we "should consider the Marquis de Sade as a precursor of anarchism, by the side of and at the same time as William Godwin?" (Walter 2007: 58-59) This is a very important question regarding the anarchist canon. If the anarchist canon would 'shift a bit' by taking Emma Goldman more seriously, we can argue that it would shift much more if we include de Sade in it ("by the side of and at the same time as William Godwin"). Or, we can argue that, if we add Emma Goldman and move the canon a bit, it would not be such a radical suggestion to include the Marquis de Sade! All the aspects of Sade as mentioned by Nicholas Walter are actually essential themes of anarchist politics and considering their crucial role in the formation of an anarchist movement, there is no reason to reject Walter's suggestion. Marie Louise Berneri also refers to the liberating power of de Sade's utopian ideas in her book *Journey Through Utopia*, which was published one year after her death, in 1950 (with a foreword by George Woodcock). And

after pointing out Sade's anti-religious and anti-statist politics, Berneri reminds us that "while most utopians had assumed that the sole task of marriage was that of reproduction, according to the law of nature, Sade sees in the satisfaction of physical love a natural action which must not be bound to marriage ceremonies or prejudices. (Berneri 1982: 178-182)

It is also probable that "de Sade influenced Stirner" (Orend 2009: 61) De Sade was enjoying a "renewed attention at the time Stirner was writing his book". (Orend 2009: 61) As Nicholas Walter noted, there is so so much in de Sade's politics to designate him as an early anarchistic figure. De Sade found, "that men could only be free in a state of anarchy." (Orend 2009: 64) Karl Orend argues that de Sade's politics could only be named as "communist anarchism." (Which is an interesting point about the much written dichotomy of communist versus individualist anarchism). And remembering all the huge effect of Stirner on later artistic and queer anarchist currents, it is important to look for de Sade's influence on Stirner too.

TWO MAIN ANARCHIST VIEWS OF SEXUALITY

"Followers of Eugène and Jeanne Humbert, publishers in the 1930s of the anarchist neo-Malthusian (birth control) journal *La Grande Réforme*, favoured sexual freedom too but crusaded most vigorously for the availability and knowledge of birth control methods, including abortion." (Sonn 2005: 24) There were two main anarchist views of sexuality: proponents of sexual freedom and neo-Malthusian eugenicists. (Sonn 2005: 24) Most discourse was focused on "alternatives to monogamy and marriage." (Sonn 2005: 25) This division in these main issues continues to be a critical issue for anarchism. Some find the

‘anarchistic catharses’ in excessive transgression, while some find it in ascetic behaviour.

THE ASCETIC CAMP

Breanne Fahs notes that “sexual freedom for many women became synonymous with the freedom to have more sexual activity, partners, sexual positions, sexual speech, and physical pleasure. In the shadow of the sexual revolution, women allegedly underwent a transformation from subdued, suburban, sexless housewives to revved-up, urban, highly sexed liberated women” (quoted in Fahs 2010: 446)

To summarize the main rejection of ascetics, “I do not believe we can fuck our way to freedom” says Pat Califia, the lesbian activist writer of pornographical short stories. (Califia 1997: 90) In earlier times Han Ryner, an anarchist art figure, also identified freedom with the renunciation of desires and attachments. And André Lorulot was opposed to tobacco and alcohol for both sexes. (Sonn 2005: 34) “Many (*fin de siècle* French) anarchists became partisans of vegetarianism and of the broader social hygene movement, which attacked alcoholism and tobacco, and also the health of the body through nudism, swimming and sunbathing and gymnastics.” Han Ryner’s ethic of self-control and self-knowledge complemented Armand’s rejection of any moral or legal restrictions on the free disposition of one’s body.” (Sonn 2005: 13)

Fahs also mentions ‘blocking sexual access’ and refusing sex entirely’ (Fahs 2010: 450) She argues that ‘asexuality would fuel women’s empowerment’ (Fahs 2010: 451) Fahs says: “In essence, sex limited women’s liberation potential because it enforced sexual access to men, disallowed women from refusing sex, and constructed ‘liberated sex’ as more sex rather than more personal agency.” (Fahs 2010: 454) Fahs shows a resistance

to become more sexual – and taking liberation of sex as a general liberation. “Another Cell 16 member, Roxanne Dunbar (1969) who later cited anarchism as a key influence on her politics, argued that sexual liberation became equated with the freedom to make it with anyone anytime. (Dunbar 1969: 49) The sexual freedom campaigns of the 1960s and 1970s merely allowed men sexual access to greater numbers of women and therefore worked in direct opposition to women having more control over their personal and sexual freedom.”(Fahs 2010: 449) Judy Greenway also tells a similar story, from a night in 1960s. She remembers being “trapped against a wall by a drunken member of” her local anarchist group. And as she pushed him off, he reacted: “Call yourself an anarchist?” (Greenway 1997: 170-171) Greenway summarizes this as the “attitude that sexual freedom meant women on demand.” (Greenway 1997: 171)

“Some radical feminists argued against vaginal and clitoral orgasm, directing suspicion toward sex as a mechanism for liberation.” (Fahs 2010: 448) Fahs then reminds us of Cell 16. We again see straight edge, Gandhism or SCUM manifesto feminism as possible anarchistic positions against pleasure.

Where one anarchist identity forbids being a ‘straight monogamous heterosexual’ the other forbiids all desire to experiment with excessive alternatives. And actually there is no contradiction in this. They are opposite answers to the same concern: how to live, what kind of body politics, what kind of a sexual politics would be an integral part of anarchist politics in general? And instead of focusing on the various answers, we need to focus on the need and effort to reach an answer to this issue and the highly defined strong position of each and every answer for their ‘owners’ in their anarchist politics.

Straight edge hardcore punk culture (cf. Kuhn 2010) must be noted as an example within

the hardcore punk transgressivism (and as a reaction to it). Straight edge punk became an international anarchistic hardcore punk attitude which includes a no alcohol, no drugs and (sometimes) even no sex (at least no excessive sex) policy.

There is another straight edge-kind asexualism movement which is even active within the anarchist queer movement: *The Frigid Youth Alliance*. This is a group within queer networks which thinks the queer events are 'overly sexualized'. And they praise 'celibacy and asexuality'.[72] (Brown 2007: 2695)

PUNK IN THE ANARCHIST NETWORK

Punk music already created a completely different pattern of art-anarchism relations. Today, punk has an international networking, propagandizing, entertaining, socializing, even recruiting position in global anarchism. This level of punk-anarchism relations have not been documented and studied sufficiently yet. "It's no secret that a great proportion of those currently active in anarchist circles have at some point been part of the punk counterculture; indeed, many were first exposed to anarchist ideas via punk." (CrimethInc. 2009) People are "coming into anarchism via punk" (CrimethInc. 2009) "The first major wave of politicized punk can probably be traced to the British band Crass, which drew on Dadaism and other avant-garde traditions to fashion early punk rock into a form of cultural agit-prop." (CrimethInc. 2009) And the anarchist way of organizing (which was accepted as the anarchism itself for its activists) was completely in line with queer activist ways of organizing and the punk ethos: "Those who have been in or around punk bands already

[72] Also see Shifu's 12 principles for the ascetic camp within anarchism, which included "do not smoke tobacco", and "do not drink liquor". (Krebs 1998: 102)

understand how an affinity group works: operating in decentralized networks and coordinating autonomous actions came naturally." (CrimethInc. 2009) And in 'cross-pollination,' while punk brings a social dynamic to anarchism, anarchist activism brings a new energy to punk music for experimenting with forms. Parallelling the synergies created by the anti-globalization movement "punk music and culture had become more experimental as punks sought to match daring aesthetics to radical rhetoric." (CrimethInc. 2009). There are even anarchist punk festivals like the one in Brighton (Between The Lines). (Nicholas 2009).

In the late twentieth century and early twenty–first century post-punk activism, anarchist individualism and social anarchism are entwined. Punk and especially post-punk, hardcore anarchist vegan scenes worldwide are not primarily important because of the artistic liberation they offer musicians but mostly for the propagandising of certain values and accompanying life styles. This is an important shift in the history of anarchism and art – which has not been reserached systematically. Today punk hardcore anarchist music bands tour the world through squats and, these concerts are used for campaigning and recruiting. They are also gatherings. Music bands and gigs eventually play a significant role in anarchist organizing and this is reflected in the changing nature of demos as well.

Anarchist international network-like organizing principles are totally absorbed by DIY (Do It Yourself) punk movements: "DIY anarcho-punk scene is a flourishing international culture, attested to by the volume of punk 'kids' (scene participants), zines (handmade publications), distros (DIY distributors of music, zines and other cultural creations), bands, festivals, squats, shows (concerts), tours, and various other DIY creations which make up this culture." (Nicholas 2007: 2) The organisational principles, the organisational form of the queer movement is, as we said, identitical: queer activists make a commitment to

nonhierachical and participatory methods of organizing.

GLORIFYING PUKE

In the 1930s Spanish anarchists seriously discussed sexuality and sexual emancipation. “A plethora of contributors to *Estudios* during the 1930s argued for a new sexual ethics, one based on the positive value of sexuality and opposition to the double standard of sexual morality for men and women. These writers ridiculed anarchists who advocated chastity and the repressing of sexual urges.” (Ackelsberg 2005: 48) A Spanish anarchist of the 1930s, Maria Lacerda de Moura even insisted that “[l]ove has always been in open struggle with monogamy.” (Ackelsberg 2005: 51) Numerous articles in *Estudios* advocated free love or ‘plural love’. (Ackelsberg 2005: 51)

Erica Jong’s *Fear of Flying* (1973) has been seen on the other side: an advocacy of salvation through orgasm –“zipless fuck”. (Fahs 2010: 448)

Jeppesen even glorifies vomiting as an anti-establishment anarchist transgression: “scarification, cutting, branding, vomiting and fucking intensified our lives.” (Jeppesen 2010: 468) ”Puking was explicitly anti-capitalist, anti-consumerist and anti-spectacle.” “Vomiting is a sex-like manifestation of the non-normative…”(Jeppesen 2010: 469) Jeppesen calls it a “vomiting direct action”. (Jeppesen 2010: 470)

Yet Jeppesen and her friends, during their ‘vomiting actions’ in subways or in front of expensive restaurants, perform a “simulated vomiting,” (Jeppesen 2010: 472) which is quite interesting. It’s like the simulated sex in some mainstream movies. It is not a rebellion of the body anymore. But a simulation of the rebellion of body! Jeppesen believes “…

vomiting is not a transgression of the law, but rather signifies a transgression against the digestive system … stabilization of bodies into two cis-gendered categories (male, female), whereas queer bodies may be transgender, transsexual, intersex or otherwise challenge this stabilization … Almost every part of the body's surface is potentially sexual in some way." (Jeppesen 2010: 464-465, 473)

IS TRANSGRESSION TRANSGRESSIVE?

Only in Judy Greenway have I found a critique of the transgression of sex which suggests that it is not transgressive at all in today's Western societies. (Greenway 1997: 171) Greenway also offers good critique of 'trangression' against broad social change. (Greenway 1997: 174) Besides, she seems more aware of the 'struggle of discourses' on sexuality, especially when she says: "the question is not whether there is a true inner sexuality to be liberated, but which ways of understanding ourselves make it possible to act with some chance of bringing about positive changes." (Greenway 1997: 180) So, is transgression transgressive enough is a valid question to discuss for anarchist sexual politics today ...

CONCLUSION

If "the canon shifts a bit" when "take someone like Goldman seriously" then when we take all women, Third World anarchists, forms of anarchist art works and anarchist organisations and movements, queer movements and queer anarchists, anarchist body politics and cultural politics seriously the canon would shift more than a bit. It would be like an earthquake and a series of fragmentations and cracks, leading to reorganizations and regroupings. This chapter calls for such a re-shaping of the canon.

Anarchism as a whole has a peculiar emphasis on 'form', on the form of organisations, movements, societies, processes, arts, relationships, and on the much discussed 'anarchistic form', the form that may represent the anarchist principle, the form that is shaped according to the 'ethical compass' of anarchism. And the result is was mainly a network-like, rhizomatic form which is influenced by the very values of anarchism and its principle of prefigurative politics; anarchism has never been in favour of 'formlessness', as Gustav Landauer would remind us. (cf. Cohn 2010).

Forms are important for anarchism because ‘means must be consistent with ends’. Prefigurative politics directly links us to forms. That is why the type of organisation, the form, its organisational principle can be its ideology in anarchism: because the means (forms) must be consistent with ends (utopias). Anarchistic forms are ‘utopic’. And that makes them also experimental – because utopia is a place of experiments according to certain principles. And anarchistic principles are used as the ethical compass in anarchism. Thus, artistic experiments with forms, counter-cultural experiments with forms of organization and life are crucial to understand what anarchism is. And anarchism’s ‘political theory’ thus includes ‘experiments with forms’ – because these experiments are really among the places where anarchists discuss anarchistic principles.

We saw that the extent of the artistic and cultural movements which engaged with anarchism were voluminous; and more importantly, they were highly engaged in daily anarchist politics. The currents in the neglected artistic circles were not different to those in the 'political' movement. Thus, anarchism has been a movement that brings a new definition to what 'political' is, and that contribution has been excluded by existing mainstream histories of anarchism that maintain a separation of the political and artistic

and daily/personal life. The concern with the limits of sexual freedom has been central to the 'politics' of the anarchist movement. The extent to which sexual politics is and always has been integral to anarchist struggles illustrated this character of anarchism thoroughly. And it takes us to a central point about form that ties directly to the canon and its exclusions. We saw that a re-writing of the anarchist past does not need merely require a widening of the canon but needs a challenge to its logics, and its 'form'.

With these three chapters (2, 3 and 4) we have completed studying the mechanisms of the existing anarchist canon. While we deconstructed - 'took apart' - the canon, a new formulation of anarchism also began slowly to emerge. It became much more visible in this chapter. So far, we saw problems in the 'story' as told until today by dominant histories, now we will discuss how constructively to re-tell that story.

CHAPTER 5: HOW DO WE TELL A STORY?

DECONSTRUCTING HISTORIES OF ANARCHISM

In the previous chapters we have argued that there is a need to evaluate existing histories of anarchism, highlighted the exclusions which result from the existing canon and examined the 'telling' logic of the narratives which have helped to construct this canon. Without interrogating both the exclusions and the definitive assumptions the result would be a simple list of additions to the existing anarchist canon. In order to respect the anarchist form we need to re–imagine the anarchist past from a new and informed perspective. This demands finding a new historiographical approach to anarchism. To decide how to accomplish this task, in this chapter, we will work on two main problems: (a) how to reflect and learn from the historical deconstruction, and (b) how to approach the anarchist past with 'anarchistic' assumptions and an 'anarchistic' logic and form, or rather an understanding of form (in order to imagine a story/history of anarchism which is written using all such awareness.)

The argument of this chapter is that we need to adopt a view on history which departs from the empiric model, a perspective that will focus more on the ideologies, languages and assumptions behind any given history so that we can work on the logic that has framed the canon of anarchism (usually referred to as the classical anarchism) .[73] We

[73] It is worth noting that George Woodcock's *Anarchism* is not a standard example of 'empiric model'. Yet the book, dominant anarchist history in general and the traditional consumption of these accounts all reflect a historical consciousness that is based on the empiric model. If compared, Eltzbacher's account

need a way to understand, in a more broad manner, how those excluded have been excluded from the narrations on classical anarchism - and also to develop a perspective that will help us to reflect on our own history writing.

Such a perspective can be found in the contemporary approaches to history which have appeared since the '60s. Within these, the work of Hayden White occupies a special place. Therefore here I will be discussing these relatively new perspectives to history where narration plays a central role. Discussing the work of Hayden White, Alun Munslow, Keith Jenkins, F. R. Ankersmit, R. A. Rosenstone and others, I will indicate how this narration based approach understands the process of history writing and how it can help us to understand histories of anarchism, or the deconstruction of the main narration of classical anarchism.

This ‘postmodern historiography’, as it is sometimes called, will be used for a specific purpose in the thesis. The main task of Chapter 5 is to help to prepare the way for Chapter 6, which will offer an alternative approach to the history of anarchism. For this purpose, Chapter 5 helps answer a central question of the thesis: After deconstructing the anarchist canon (in Chapter 2, 3 and 4), what kind of an alternative could (should) be suggested and how will it work? These concluding chapters (Chapter 5 and 6) together aim to make our approach to rewriting anarchism transparent and keep its 'experimental' aspect in line with the anarchist (and new/post-anarchist) principle which was the very first reason we felt the need for beginning this research on anarchist historiography in Chapter 1.

CANONICAL/ALTERNATIVE NARRATIVES ON ANARCHISM

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would be seen as the work that is more loyal to the classical empiric model.

Up to this point we have been working on the “canonical narratives on anarchism” and we aim to work on possible alternative narratives on anarchism and how they can (should) be constructed.

Munslow argues that history is “the creation and eventual imposition by historians of a particular narrative form on the past” (Munslow 1997: 2). His claim is an apt description of the anarchist canon and we have thus far examined it from various angles. Now we will examine its historiographical situation so that we can offer an anarchist alternative in an anarchistic way (making related methodological choices according to anarchist principles) and leave the unstated assumptions currently swept under the carpet as transparent as possible.

We have been trying to raise a 'deconstructive consciousness of anarchism' in the recent Chapters (2, 3 and 4) as we were attempting to show openly the difference between the anarchist past and the anarchist history. Now the task is to search for alternative ways to ‘represent’ the anarchist past, and evaluate the ways we engage with this past. The aim is to try to imagine how to represent the anarchist past (how to write the history of anarchism) using the anarchist principle not only as an ethical compass for political issues but also as a compass for historical forms, thus experimenting with the form of anarchist history in harmony with anarchist experiments with the form (in the artistic sense as well in social and political relations as we saw in Chapter 4)

The compass provides the basis for the idea of 'transparency' in representation, and the problem with the exclusions is not just that the canon and the past are different but that the

failure to acknowledge the inevitable limits of history writing establish an implicit claim to 'truth' – an identity of past and history – which is both misleading and 'unanarchist'. That's what the transparency avoids.

When the debates surrounding a symbolic clash (mostly imagined as the “new anarchism or post-anarchism *versus* ‘classical’ or ‘historical’ anarchism”), started to play an important role in understanding what anarchism is today (and what anarchism was in the past) a contemporary need to evaluate the history writing processes of anarchism emerged. We needed a framework which would let us work on the assumptions, ideologies and tendencies of the writers of anarchist history. Such a perspective turns attention not only to the anarchists mentioned in anarchist histories or anarchist movements depicted in these accounts, but to the language these historians of anarchism used, the priorities they had in representing anarchism, their cultural boundaries (sometimes unknown as well as unacknowledged), and other subjective elements that shaped what was included and what was excluded from the anarchist canon – what we now refer to as the main narration of anarchism.

MULTI-SCEPTICAL HISTORY

To deepen this inquiry, the theories that deal extensively with the narrative character of history seem promising. This is an approach to history mainly associated with Hayden White and his work, which has sometimes been called postmodern (or ‘multi-skeptical’) history.

The debate on historiography helps us understand how we can interpret our findings about anarchist history and, thus, how to deconstruct and re-write anarchism fundamentally; how

to tear it apart and then create an anarchist-leaning and anarchistic-assumption-loaded environment where ideologies, choices and preferred facts become transparent.

Postmodern historiography can be seen as another development of the '60s which accompanied the rise of poststructuralism, the 'linguistic turn,' and the re-emerging interest in anarchism and ethics in politics and philosophy. There is a happy correspondence, therefore, between this history and the critical politics which informs postanarchism, albeit one that has not been developed.

METAHISTORY

The groundbreaking work in this area is Hayden White's book *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-century Europe*.

Hayden White's work in general, and *Metahistory* (1973) in particular, had a "huge influence in many different fields: in new philosophy of theory, in literary studies, in cultural studies, in the so-called "narrative turn" in social sciences." (Korhonen 2006: 11) Munslow refers to the change it caused as the "Whitean revolution" or "the Whitean metahistorical revolution." (Munslow 2010: 151, 183) *Metahistory* has "put the notion of 'style' on the agenda of intellectual historians. In addition, the book has given a strong impulse to historical theory in America and Western Europe. It has become rather common to date the birth of narrativism in historical theory to 1973." (Paul 2006: 35) It is regarded as a turning point in the history of historical theory. "Historical theory has become a fundamentally different discipline since the publication of White's *magnum opus*." (Ankersmit 2001: 29) F. R. Ankersmit, himself an important theoretician of this new historical theory, concludes that "thanks to White the kind of historical writing that now is

the object of theoretical studies is much different from the kind of history that a previous generation of historical theorists believed to be exemplary of historical writing." (Ankersmit 2001: 29)

White's main thesis is that "our understanding of the past is determined not only by what the past has been like but also by the language used by the historian for speaking about it – or, as he liked to put it himself, that historical knowledge is as much 'made' (by the historian's language) as it is 'found' (in the archives)." (Ankersmit 2001: 30) After underlining once again that White's *Metahistory* "completely changed existing historical theory", Ankersmit adds that "old questions lost much of their previous urgency and new questions now demanded the attention." (Ankermist 2001: 63) An alternative anarchist history would ask these new questions of the history of anarchism.

White's famous definition of history is best understood as "a narrative prose discourse the content of which is as much imagined (the modes of troping, emplotting, arguing) as found (the 'facts', etc.) (Jenkins-Munslow 2004: 5) White basically "attempts to show how the 'formless' past is made into historiography". (Jenkins 1995: 146)

Although White's seminal work has been influential because of its emphasis on the narrative deep structure of historiography, *Metahistory* is largely an analysis of the literary techniques used by historians which are specifically named and limited by White. "White thinks that historians have to use three types of explanation and one type of 'configuring conceptual strategy'. By which he means that all historians working in whatever case must, in order to be able to explain the past in ways which enable them to be understood by others, use three types of explanation, namely, explanation by argument, explanation by emplotment, and explanation by ideology. Within each of these White then identifies what

he refers to as four possible modes of articulation by which the historian can gain an explanatory effect of a specific kind. For explanation by argument these are the modes of formism, organicism, mechanism and contextualism; for explanation by emplotment these are the archetypes of romance, comedy, tragedy and satire, whilst for explanation by ideology, these are the tactics of anarchism, conservatism, radicalism and liberalism." (Jenkins 1995: 148) One of his main sources of inspiration was, nevertheless, "rooted in literary criticism. Using Northrop Frye's vision of the literary universe, White went back to the common roots of literature and historiography: the archetypal forms of epic thinking." (Korhonen 2006: 11) Following Frye, White distinguished his notion of

> four kinds of narrative styles in historiography that, while all striving towards some kind of 'realistic' representation of the past, used different strategies to achieve their 'explanatory effect.' Therefore he was able to describe Michelet's historical narratives by the notion of Romance, Ranke's by that of Comedy, Tocqueville's by that of Tragedy, and Burckhardt's by way of Satire. White then related four different historiographical styles to four principal modes of historical consciousness on the basis of tropological theory that was mainly derived from Giambattista Vico ... From Vico, White inherited the vision of four 'metatropes' that prefigured all human thinking: Metaphor, Metonymy, Synecdoche and Irony. Thus, not only historiographical discourse was predetermined by literary styles, but historical consciousness in general was predetermined by certain linguistic structures. (Korhonen 2006: 11)

White's manner of highlighting the means of narration in historical discourse was widely accepted but his 'tropological grid', as summarized above, has been widely resisted. These suggested categorizations of historical discourse and their 'closed world of fixed

forms' is seen as a contrast to the deconstructive openness of White in *Metahistory*. (Ankersmit 2001:71)

This is White's grid of historical explanations:

TROPE	EMPLOTMENT	ARGUMENT	IDEOLOGICAL IMPLICATION
Metaphor	Romantic	Formist	Anarchism
Metonymy	Tragic	Mechanistic	Radicalism
Synecdoche	Comic	Organicist	Conservatism
Irony	Satiric	Contextualist	Liberalism

It might be possible to use these suggested categories of *Metahistory* to examine anarchist histories and detect their specific places in the grid. But we will not be doing that here. I agree with the critics that this grid offers fixed forms that would not be of any help for a future historian who aims to find new ways of writing history after the "Whiteian revolution".

WHITE BEFORE METAHISTORY

Metahistory and White's later writings have been widely analyzed and discussed but the work he published before *Metahistory* attracts much less attention. Herman Paul, in one such rare attempt, discusses how White's thought was shaped during the '60s, and shows

the importance of the ideological-political questions which shaped White's theory. Paul depicts the importance of freedom in White's theory, and where he describes the ideology White's project requires, he very much sounds as if he is describing anarchism: "a non-dogmatic ideology ... an ideology in which diversity, tolerance and recognition of others are regarded as important values. Such an ideology would avoid claiming that it has a monopoly on truth. ... So, instead of allowing historians to choose whatever moral perspectives they would like ... White wanted them to be converted to an ideology that emphasizes reality's complexity and the importance of a moral commitment."[74] (Paul 2006: 3) Hans Kellner links this to White's reading of Nietzsche. (Jenkins 1995: 191n.4)

White's article, "The Burden of History", published in 1966 in *History and Theory*, has been generally accepted as a precursor to *Metahistory*. There White shows the need to revive history: "History today", he says, (meaning history in '60s),

> has an opportunity to avail itself of the new perspectives on the world which a dynamic science and an equally dynamic art offer. Both science and art have transcended the older, stable conceptions of the world which required that they render a literal copy of a presumably static reality. And both have discovered the essentially *provisional* character of the metaphorical constructions which they use to comprehend a dynamic universe. (White 1990: 50)

[74] This is also where we have to keep in mind the anarchist ethical compass as mentioned in Chapter 4, which goes much beyond Milstein and contemporary anarchists, and embraces the 'anarchist principle' found also in so-called 'classical anarchism' and the understanding of form as seen in the anarchist movement.

The “present generation” of historians, he concludes, need a “willingness to confront heroically the dynamic and disruptive forces in contemporary life. The historian serves no one well by constructing a specious continuity between the present world and that which preceded it. On the contrary, we require a history that will educate us to discontinuity more than ever before; for discontinuity, disruption, and chaos is our lot.” (White 1990: 50) The kind of history described by White in the '60s has become a reality in what is called the 'experimental history' of today. (Munslow-Rosenstone 2004)

The pity is that in *The Burden of History*, White claims that history can serve to humanize experience only “if it remains sensitive to the more general world of thought *and* action from which it proceeds and to which it returns. And as long as it refuses to use the eyes which *both* modern art and modern science can give it, it must remain blind ...” Had Woodcock been more attentive to this, he might have avoided the priority of ideas over movements and the strange continuities, deaths and re–births that were predicated on it.

THE 'WHITEIAN REVOLUTION' AND FORM

It is worth noting that what White calls ‘modern art’ was in a process of dramatic transformation in those years. Harold Szeemann’s groundbreaking exhibition *When Attitudes Become Form*, an exhibition that is widely acknowledged as the beginning of conceptual art, was shown in 1969 at The Institute of Contemporary Arts (ICA), in London. The subtitle of the exhibition was ‘Works – concepts – processes – situations – information.’ In the introductory text of the exhibition’s catalogue, Szeemann, the curator of the exhibition, commented that *When Attitudes become Form* “appears to lack unity, looks strangely complicated, like a compendium of stories told in the first person singular.”

(Szeemann 1969) Works, concepts, processes, situations and information are “the ‘forms’ through which these artistic positions are expressed. They are ‘forms’ derived not from pre-formed pictorial opinions, but from the experience of the artistic process itself.” (Szeemann 1969) Szeemann notes that artists represented in his exhibition are “in no way object-makers. On the contrary they aspire to freedom from the object, and in this way deepen the levels of meaning of the object, reveal the meaning of those levels beyond the object. They want the artistic process itself to remain visible in the end product and in the ‘exhibition’”.[75] (Szeemann 1969)

The re-emergence of anarchism and its experiments with social and political forms, the anarchistic emphasis on process, the rise of conceptual art and its emphasis on dynamism process instead of object, the birth of poststructuralism and its emphasis on discourses rather than the truth and the new historical theory, the ‘Whiteian revolution’ and its emphasis on the narration in history rather than the ‘facts’, were all evident in the '60s. Their inter-relations is a curious subject that deserves further research.[76] Szeemann, in the same text, mentions these inter-relations when he links this new development in art to a ‘Hippy philosophy’ and ‘Rockers’ and when he notes that some of the major exhibitors were from the West Coast of America (and that recalls the special role of anarchism in the

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[75] The anarchist ideas expressed and developed in art were articulated here – but were at the same time lost from the accounts of that past. The exclusion of arts from anarchism had effects on art history too, which deserves further investigation.

[76] White bases his categories for the ‘explanation by ideological implication’ to Karl Mannheim’s *Ideology and Utopia*. Yet, he makes some amendments. While Mannheim’s classification of the “main types of ideologies and philosophies of history” uses five ‘representative ideal types’ White simplifies this list to four. He merges two species of Conservatism in Mannheim’s category (the ‘bureaucratic’ and the ‘historicist’) but more importantly replaces Fascism with Anarchism.

radical artistic circles of the Bay Area, a subject that was brought up in Chapters 2 and 4).

All this interest in process, prefigurativeness, language and form can be found embedded in the anti-representationalism of anarchism.

Hayden White offered a "model of historical narrative in which its form is taken to *prefigure* the historian's understanding of the content of the past." (Munslow 1997: 142: emphasis added) In *Metahistory*, White demonstrated "how a historical narrative endows itself *and* the past with meaning." (Munslow 1997: 142) White's historical method works "from the general assumption that written history is unarguably a literary enterprise and we cannot gain access to what the past was about other than through it." (Munslow 1997: 142) "If White is correct", Alun Munslow argues, "and people in the past do not actually live stories (that is, they do not impose emplotments of a particular kind on their lives and times in order to make sense of them), that the reconstructionist argument that they have discovered the reality of the past in their story is undermined in as much as there is no story in the past to be discovered."[77] (Munslow 1997: 143)

As Munslow notes, White's formal model sticks to the issue of "how and in what ways, historians shape and contour the past through the linguistic, literary and specifically figurative forms available." (Munslow 1997: 145) Thus, White's "formal model does not

[77] On the other hand, as Hallbwachs demonstrates, even before oral history stage, while constructing our own memories, we do it socially and use language and create stories ... this of course does not change the fact that the event itself does not occur in the story/history form, in a narration form, and events are turned into stories by discourse either during memory, the oral story phase or later via written history where literary techniques are deployed. In that White is still right that 'no one lives a story' but people remember what they lived as stories, as social constructions.

stop us from studying the content of the past, what the past was about, but it casts such a study in a radically different light." (Munslow 1997: 145) This designates my aims in offering an alternative approach to the history of anarchism: to study the content of the anarchist past and what the anarchism was about but to do so using all the consiousness provided by deconstructionist ('postmodern' or 'multi-skeptical') history and looking for forms which are called 'experimental history' in today's terminology.

CONVENTIONAL HISTORY

This attitude of seeking new ways of writing anarchist history suggests a withdrawal from conventional history. Conventional history means to indicate the 'conventions' that constitute 'history' for most habitual historians: "for example, the narrative of productive causalities, the prominence in that narrative of 'individual' agents causing 'events,' and the prominence of 'facts' that can be described, collated, and used as 'evidence' in supporting an empiricist pursuit of explanation." (Emarth 2010: 322) Ermarth concludes that such historical narrative is not a kind of explanation limited only to professional historians but "it remains a default mode in educational settings and it has become common sense for most citizens of Western democracies." (Ermarth 2010: 322)

RECONSTRUCTIONISM, CONSTRUCTIONISM AND DECONSTRUCTIONISM

Alun Munslow frames the path from conventional history to experimental history in three categories: reconstructionism, constructionism and deconstructionism. For the "conventional view in history writing in the West" he uses the term reconstructionism. A genre that is characterised "by an undiluted belief in the power of empiricism to access the past (defined according to its individual events) as it actually was". For reconstructionist

historians, “the truth of the past can somehow be found. It can be discovered in the sources and, hence, the true story of the event can be rediscovered and cannot only be, but must be, narrated accurately.” (Jenkins & Munslow 2004: 7) In other words, “the past can be ‘known’ truthfully under the careful and responsible tutelage of the knowledgeable and scrupulous historian who ‘stands outside’ her/his own existence or situation.” (Jenkins & Munslow 2004: 7) Texts in the genre of reconstructionism “reflect the author’s foundational belief in the knowability of the past”, the form and shape we ‘find’ in the past “must be the result of its inner or given meaning.” (Jenkins & Munslow 2004: 19)

Constructionism on the other hand, is

> empiricism married to varying levels of social theory and to more or less complex forms of explanatory conceptualization. Ultimately, what distinguishes “the constructionist from the reconstructionist is the belief that history can be ‘objective’ not simply through source analysis etc., but when the understanding of them is fostered by appropriate theorisation and through the deployment of various helpful concepts. (Jenkins-Munslow 2004: 11)

For constructionists “knowing the truth of the past is still feasible in principle precisely because history is constructed through using the tools of sophisticated conceptualization and social theory; on the other hand, for reconstructionists, empiricism alone is enough.” (Jenkins & Munslow 2004: 11)

And then comes the deconstructionist history; the category Munslow himself developed taking up White's legacy. For deconstructionist historians, “’doing history’ means engaging with the past in ways that are far from traditional because of their anti-epistemological

assumptions. Thus, “deconstructionists might choose, for example, to explore the consequences of reversing the priority of content over form and thus experimenting with representation.” (Jenkins & Munslow 2004: 13) While for reconstructionist and constructionist historians the problem is about “how we can objectively know the past (i.e. make truthful statements about it), for deconstructionists ‘doing history’ is the exercise of a literary activity that doubts that empiricism and language are adequate to the task of representation of ‘reality’ at a fundamentally truthful level when the aim is the recovery of what it *actually* means.” (Jenkins & Munslow 2004: 13) Deconstructionist histories are

> multi-levelled, multi-perspectival and highly reflexive as they draw attention to the way *their* words on *their* page create their invention in the discourses of historicisation. These are histories that are reflexively and thus self-consciously troped, spoken, emplotted, argued for in overtly positioned ways and thus inevitably metaphorical/allegorical; bespoke histories, cut and made to measure to suit. *But they are still histories*. (Jenkins & Munslow 2004: 16)

Deconstructionist history writing “plays with the possibility of creating new ways of representing and figuring ‘the before now’” and is “often experimental and stylistically innovative.” (Jenkins & Munslow 2004: 16)

White argues that historical knowledge always comes to the present “in a processed form, not as raw data or information stored in an archive or data bank. It is only as represented knowledge, as written, filmed, videotaped, photographed, dramatized, and narrativized, that historical knowledge enters into the public domain.” (White 2006: 29)

This is one of the main reasons why an anarchist writer of history or someone writing the

history of anarchism through anarchist lenses, should prefer a more Whiteian historiography, or postmodern historiography, because resisting representation is one of the main tenets of anarchism. Anarchism, as a defining feature, is and has always been against representation. Parliamentary politics are first of all rejected on this basis, no one can fully represent the other is a very well-known and accepted fact among anarchists. And in situations where a certain kind of representation is inevitable, then the anarchist reaction is to represent with utmost transparency: raising maximum awareness of the impossibility of representing during the representation, never allowing representation to become institutionalized, and, never letting representation create a fake reality (never to imply that representation was in fact possible).

REPRESENTING THE ANARCHIST PAST

In historical theory, that principle carries us to postmodern history. The past, and of course the anarchist past, is not here today, it is absent, so there is no way to have it as it was, now. Some kind of a representation is inescapable to be able to engage with the anarchist past. This representation of the anarchist past would be called anarchist history. But following the anti-representational approach, this anarchist history, this narrativization/representation of the anarchist past, should not pose as the anarchist past. Instead, the representation should be made as transparent as possible, as it in anarchist politics. An anarchistic history writing of anarchism, thus, should never claim that its representation of the anarchist past should be taken as anarchist history itself: the gap should always be made explicit.

In this light, canonical anarchist history can not only be seen to suffer a set of modernist exclusions, but also to have absorbed modernist and non-anarchistic biases about the

nature of history writing and the representation of the past.

To a Marxist position, for example, Hayden White poses a threat when he emphasizes the narrative character of history – because certain orthodox positions claim that they can represent "the people" and make the revolution for them, creating problems about represention and problem–solving: the Party can and should represent the masses, a revolutionary organization can represent class conflict and class war, etc. Representation is such a foundational hypothesis for these socialist traditions (and especially for the cadres that are supposed to ‘represent’ others) that a strong anti-representational theory of history is a serious threat. They prefer a notion that history can represent the past "as it is", assuming that the historians work adequately and with the right theoretical tools. And a cathedral of revolutionary history representing the past can thus be built, and socialists today can represent that past through that history, as the bishops of the cathedral. Anarchists, on the other hand, with their well-known 'no god no state' maxim, and their strong anti-representationalism, inhabit a position which is in harmony with Hayden White’s transformative approach. White’s suggestions, and generally ‘postmodern’ history, has been accused so widely for being what it is not – for rejecting all reality or all facts, which was never claimed or defended by White at all. And this directly resembles anti-anarchist accusations – like, for example, the accusation that anarchists are against all kinds of organisation, life, all kinds of education – that is, anything socially structured. When a radical alternative appears, the establishment marks it as the negation of all possibilities, a pure nihilism, to blur its value as a plausible alternative.

Hayden White, for instance, notes that he has “no doubt that discourse and especially historical discourse refers to objects and events in a real world – but would add that since these objects and events are no longer perceivable, they have to be constructed as

possible objects of a possible perception rather than treated as real objects of real perceptions." (White 2006: 30) White also stresses that "one cannot historicize without narrativizing, because it is only by narrativization that a series of events can be transformed into a sequence, divided into periods, and represented as a process in which the substances of things can be said to change while their identities remain the same." (White 2006:30) While this is also very apparent in anarchist histories, it is concealed. George Woodcock presents anarchist events as transferred to a sequence, divided into periods (the famous three waves of anarchism conceptualisation is another example of this) and even defines a moment of death – an end to his story. But he does not acknowledge that this is what he is doing. Sometimes anarchist theoreticians are also presented as if they were writing in sequence in an isolated anarchist space.

While writing a new, alternative history of anarchism "we should all know by now that the best we can do is to alert and keep alerting 'readers' to the position we are interpreting from, rather than imagining that interpretations not only might spring from nowhere, but that some interpretations are not interpretative at all but the 'truth'". (Jenkins 1995: 13)

What we need is not a new history of anarchism – one that only amends Woodcock's faulty effort; we rather need to apply our anti-representational position to our methods in history-writing as well, and 'keep alerting readers' of our stance. An anarchist reader should know that whenever he or she is reading a history of anarchism that it is a political debate of discourses, with various biases and visions and it will always be like that. As Woodcock is full of pacifist anarchist biases, Michael Schmidt and Lucien var der Walt are full of 'Bakuninist' biases. (Schmidtvan der Walt 2009) Yet, they share the position of presenting their narration as *the* history of anarchism.

In fact, everything written in the ‘objective style’ today

> risks being read as a kind of political cover-up; hidden complicity ... Interestingly, the one path that still leads in the direction of scholarly objectivity, detachment, and neutrality is exactly the one originally thought to lead away from these classic virtues: that is, an openly autobiographical style in which the subjective position of the author, especially on political matters, is presented in a clear and straightforward fashion. At least this enables the reader to review his or her own position to make adjustments necessary for dialogue. (MacCannell quoted in Jenkins 1995: 14)

Because today, after the Whiteian revolution, it is pretty difficult to forget that “there is a radical distinction to be drawn between ‘the past’ and ‘history.’” (Jenkins 1995: 15)

PRODUCING A MEANING WITH HISTORY

Munslow says that the central debate in history today is “the extent to which history, as a discipline, can accurately recover and represent the content of the past, through the form of narrative.” And he links the deconstructive view of history directly to the poststructuralist era (‘end-of-century postmodern intellectual context’). Moreover, Munslow points to leading French historian Roger Chartier where he concludes that “all texts (whether literary or historical, evidence or interpretation) are best viewed as the result of a constructed production and reading by the historian. They are *a* representation of the past rather than the objective access to *the* reality of the past.” (Munslow 1997: 25) From there, Munslow reaches the main understanding of ‘deconstructionist history’: “As the historian consumes

the evidence of the past, he/she also produces a meaning. How we organise/emplot the evidence creates the past for us and our readers." (Munslow 1997: 25) Deconstructionist historians are thus "conscious that the written historical narrative is the formal *re-presentation* of historical content." (Munslow 2007: 25) And this consciousness means "further exploring the idea that our opaque language constitutes and represents rather than transparently corresponds to reality, that there is no ultimate knowable historical truth, that our knowledge of the past is social and perspectival, and written history exists within culturally determined power structures." (Munslow 1997: 25)

Following this path, we will be trying to reach an anarchist alternative in an unconventional and experimental way as "unconventional and experimental histories are epistemological acts of disobedience and dissonance undertaken by multi-skeptical history recusants." (Munslow 2010: 1) In our alternative history, we will be de-forming and re-forming anarchist 'events'. Munslow claims that future historians will "produce new multi-forms." (Munslow 2010: 2) He also tends to understand history as an artwork, and argues that "what is truly significant about history is its form" and "what defines history is what it prohibits more than what it permits." (Munslow 2010: 6, 9, 149) Basically "historians construct their narratives through the story (what happened) and discourse (how it is told)." (Munslow 2010: 261n12) Munslow defines history "as a discourse. This is 'what happened' which constitutes the content or the story told, and '*how* it is narrated' which are collectively narrated as the discourse. It is this 'what-how' or 'story-discourse duality' that is central to any understanding of history as a narrative form of knowledge." (Munslow 2010: 150) "There is no granted or privileged 'story of the past' the emplotment of which is to be discovered. As Ankersmit argued, history is a narrative and the past is not." (Munslow 2010: 151)

“Historical writing gives us *representations* of the past” and “The etymology of the word ‘representation’ will give us access to its ontological properties: we may ‘re-present’ something by presenting a substitute of this thing in its absence.” (Ankersmit 2001: 11)

Thus, from this anti-representationalist position, anarchist history is a narrative while anarchist past is not. And there is no privileged story of the anarchist past the emplotment of which we can discover.

A PARTICULAR ANARCHIST ‘TELLING’

Yet we do not aim to offer an alternative anarchist history which will just be imagined as one of a countless possible alternatives: rather, we will be trying to imagine a particular anarchist 'telling' “that the majority of historians might agree on ... and believe it to be an accurate 'reflection' (or more likely an agreed complex interpretation) of 'what happened' and what it means.” (Munslow 2010: 151) This is an important point in meeting possible objections of 'blind relativism' and besides, it is important to show that our alternative approach to anarchist history (in Chapter 6) will demonstrate a possible route for reaching such an agreed interpretation without pretending that it is (or would be) *the* representation of the anarchist past. And of course, even if we reach this goal, such a story of anarchism will still be open to constant re-writing. Completely in line with the idea of the anarchist vision of freedom and revolution which are imagined as processes that will always remain open to infinitive re-writing in the anarchist utopia (of anarchist process).

Munslow also reminds us that the “content of the past has to be emplotted as a story of a particular kind” and “data has to be offered/omitted”, but this would not be a “simple matter of what to put in or leave out” and “it is also not just a matter of why does a particular

author-historian chooses certain events and agents rather than others. But also, what information is filtered through the selection of evidence? ... Specifically how does a historian choose which past agent, class, gender or nation to focalise the content of their history?" (Munslow 2010: 152) So the alternative history of anarchism we will offer will have transparency as its central principle and will aim to make its choices openly and anarchistically. "Narration produces the discourse through which the story is told ... The existents of the past just have to be fitted into a story (which is not found in the events themselves) ...The emplotted (hi)story does not pre-exist in the past, events and existents have to be turned (by telling) into an emplotted (hi)story by the author-historian ... And because this is an authorial act "we have to understand how the past is 'authored'." (Munslow 2010: 153-155) Therefore, the emplotted anarchist history does not pre-exist in the anarchist past, anarchist events and anarchist existence have to be turned (by telling) into an emplotted (hi)story by the (anarchist) author-historian. Munslow calls this process the "creation of the history story space", the story space "constitutes the historian's mental model of 'the-past-*as*-history'." (Munslow 2010: 155) Hence, we have examined the story space of canonical anarchism and its structure, which means, offering an alternative history of anarchism that includes imagining a new 'story space for anarchism', a mental model for past-*as*-history. Munslow argues that "it is only the author-historian's epistemic assumptions and narrative and discourse choices that we get history at all. As we cannot access the past all we have is the author-historian's story space." (Munslow 2010: 156) The story space, then, is

> the authorially constituted world of the past into which the history consumer is solicited to visit. As the guest of the author-historian the visitor is told who did and said what and who acted according to certain mechanisms rather than others. The author-historian also explains why they did what they did.

> Furthermore, the author-historian explains what agencies, structures and events were consequential according to certain theories and arguments rather than others. And some meanings are supplied but not others." (Munslow 2010: 156)

Munslow captures the idea of the new type of historian, who he calls the 'multi-skeptical historian' who will create the story space as a location for "multiple historical experiments and expressions." (Munslow 2010: 156) Both Paul Ricoeur and Frank Ankersmit have noted "how the author-historian cannot avoid intervening because past events cannot possibly narrate themselves, and that the preference of authorial absence is simply a preferred authorial stratagem." (Munslow 2010:159)

Then writing history is itself a political act – and when it becomes anarchist politics and an anarchist political act, as a result of the nature of anarchism as explored in previous chapters, it is also an artistic act: an experimental act based on forms.

EXPERIMENTAL HISTORY

Munslow argues that experimental history began with Robert A. Rosenstone's 1988 study of Japan: *Mirror In the Shrine*, where he "questioned representationalism with his use of different voices, what he called montages, a roving camera and quick take technique, then directly addressed the reader and his characters and his own 'self-reflexive' moments. He recognised and articulated what became the most basic principle in experimental history, which was – and remains – the subjective and authorial encounter between human beings and the residues of the past." (Munslow 2010: 184) Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht's *In 1926: Living at the Edge of Time* is another significant example of experimental history, written in

1997, which “questions the conventional narrative formula of ‘beginning, middle and end’ by stitching together 51 individual descriptions of events and processes that occurred in the year 1926.” (Munslow 2010: 184)

Greg Denning is one such experimental historian described as somone whose writings “mix the past and the present, subject and object, the speaker and the spoken, discourse and poetry, giving a highly reflexive and multi-perspectival impression (performance).” (Jenkins & Munslow 2004: 116)

Differently, Synthia Syndor’s 1998 ‘*A History of Synchronised Swimming*’ “offers a seriously referenced and realist ‘modern text’ but one which is highly self-conscious of how the author uses language and narrative structure/form to create, invent and re-signify the past.” (Munslow 2010: 185) Also Sven Lindqvist’s *A History of Bombing* (2000) “confronts the artificiality of the narrative smoothing process of conventional history. Again much like Gumbrecht, Lindqvist’s experiment is a maze with 22 entrances and no exit where readers plot (emplot?) their own way through the text.” (Munslow 2010: 185)

ANARCHIST ETHICS AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

For Hayden White, “if you are going to go to the past, to help in the present, to get the future you want, (which is indeed why he thinks we go to history) then, as he puts it, you had better ‘have an address [purpose] in mind’, rather than go wandering around the streets of the past like a *flaneur* ... Thus if, he writes, you are indeed ‘going to “go to history”, you had better have a pretty good notion as to whether it is [or can be made to be] hospitable to the values you carry into it.’”(Jenkins 1995: 42 White 1987: 164)

Anti-representationalism does not lead us to an unethical relativism thanks to the role of ethics in history. As Munslow argues “history is an ethical cultural discourse from the ground up: our morality and ethics derive from ourselves and which we inject to our histories. This process may, arguably, be the only useful function of history: as a moral discourse that happens to talk about the now absent past.” (Munslow 2010: 186) The story of the oppressed has to be told, but for the experimental historian this issue is “how their story *could* be told.” (Munslow 2010: 187) For Beverly Southgate “ethics is essential and it starts with the historian”, for Hayden White “ethics emerges within the text as constructed by the historian ...” and “when provided with a choice of alternative visions of the past historians-as-authors and their consumers ‘are driven back to moral and aesthetic reasons for the choice of one vision over another’.” In short, Munslow argues, ethics must be elemental to “our engagement with the past”. (Munslow 2010: 187-188)

Ethics has been and still is central to anarchist politics, in fact it is the defining feature of anarchism, as Jesse Cohn reminds us, the historical anarchist movement “presented a socialist program for political transformation distinguished from reformist and Marxist varieties of socialism by its primary commitment to ethics, expressed as 1.a moral opposition to *all* forms of domination and hierarchy ... and 2.a special concern with the coherence of means and ends.” (Cohn 2006: 14) Considering this role of ethics in anarchism, we can argue that an anarchist history ought to be a cultural discourse that reflects the anarchist ethics and should inject anarchist morality and ethics into the anarchist past. This *injection* does not only mean telling the stories of the oppressed who were suffering various political dominations and hierarchies and those who resisted these oppressions by anarchist means: but rather it means a non-pyramidal, non-reducible, network-like understanding of anarchist politics that links moral opposition to *all* forms of domination and hierarchies. Thus, politics is not defined as struggles for the political power

which is the pyramidal centre of all political acts but instead politics is defined as a much wider concept that understands *all* aspects of daily life, culture, arts, struggles, etc as political, and resists reducing anarchism to anti-statism. The supposed domination of theory over practice is rejected, leaving its place to an understanding of anarchism which is identified by theory and practice at the same time, without the domination of any one of them over the other. A methodical opposition to historiography that rejects the domination of the representation of the past, and replaces it with an anarchist history where experimental forms of 'telling' the past attempt to see ways to make the past speak for itsel. And where that is impossible, we will be able to represent the past in a transparent fashion so that the representation is visible and authoritative claims about the reality-of-the-past are avoided. This representation will inevitably and also willingly assign a moral meaning to history, aiming to reflect the anarchist ethics. As Munslow remind us, the "past does not generate its own moral meaning" (Munslow 2010: 186), and the anarchist past would not generate its own (anarchistic) moral meaning: this has to be constituted by the anarchist author-historian. In fact, it has always been constituted by the author-historian only with a 'reality effect' and by hiding the representational power of history over past. The new alternative history we here claim as a vital need for anarchist studies and anarchist politics should consider all these choices. The "only useful function of" anarchist history might also be noted as being a "moral discourse that happens to talk about the now absent" anarchist past: but 'talking about the now absent anarchist past' itself has a political function which makes this project of re-writing anarchist history extremely important for future anarchist politics. The historical narrative of anarchism has the power to address the question 'what is anarchism' and play a role in imagining future anarchist politics. Thus, remembering Chapter 1 where we discussed new/post-anarchism of the twenty–first century, a new/post-anarchist politics for the future requires a new/post-anarchist history of anarchism that would broaden anarchist ethics to dominations in

language, history and representation of the anarchist past. (In fact, I will argue for removing this 'new' prefix from twenty–first century anarchism on the grounds that it is such an arbitrary enforcement of a conception of 'classical anarchism' to the anarchist past). Of course, there can be no official or authorised history of anarchism or historical thinking on anarchism. And a post-anarchist inspired experimental anarchist history should be the last to fake one. If the "past can only be appropriated through the design and imposition of a narrative structure" (Munslow 2010: 189) the political, ideological and methodological strategies and choices behind the design and imposition of anarchist narrative structures have a critical importance in appropriating the anarchist past and thus reshaping the concept of anarchism and generating fresh answers to the question "what is anarchism" for future political (in the broad anarchist sense) needs.

As a result, the idea that history is "ultimately determined by 'what happened' in the essentialist sense that it possesses its own given meaning, is giving way to a much more sophisticated engagement with the past." (Munslow 2003: 157) Munslow describes the historical enterprise as 'the-past-as-history' and thus

> signifies history's status as a narrative about the past ... History is a written discourse about the past and pre-existing narratives ...Obviously, historians still examine and refer to sources, but that activity takes place within the pre-determined process of narrative-making ...The representation is only a substitute for what it represents but that process of representation carries within it a whole framework of power and meaning creation. (Munslow 2003: 157-158)

Jesse Cohn indicates anarchism's position as the "earliest modern critique of political representation". (Cohn 2006: 13) And stressing the links between anarchism and

poststructuralist thought, Cohn reminds us that for Deleuze, Foucault and Lyotard, the "rejection of representation" also "served as an ethical foundation." (Cohn 2006: 14) Jesse Cohn, in his *Anarchism and the Crisis of Representation: Hermeneutics, Aesthetics, Politics*, has a special chapter on the relation of anti-representational critique and history titled "The Critique of History as Representation" where he addresses "the antirepresentionalist critique of historical metanarratives, outlining an anarchist conception of history that is neither formless nor rigidly teleological." (Cohn 2006: 17)

It is how we choose to write history that allows us to "take up certain political options and uphold preferred moral standards and moral ideas. Moral lessons do not emerge 'from history': they are built into it as we construct it in order to cope with our own present." (Munslow 2006: 95)

An ethical history cannot be empirical -because that would contradict the history of the oppressed: "historians who configure their narratives to conform to an emancipatory mission cannot claim total allegiance to an empirical-analytical epistemology and pretend that their histories arise from an objective mining of ethical data from the past." (Booth 2010: 462) That is because "to represent the singular, unique, face-to-face encounter as an example of a concept or category, runs contrary to the idea of emancipation by virtue of the tendency to silence the voice of the other and to remove its affective power." (Booth 2010: 462) Thus, ethically, an empirical history of anarchism would be problematic anyway because of the problem of representation once again.

A new history of anarchism will be "making choices – from an infinite and always expanding range of options - about the content (i.e. facts, concepts, context) and form (i.e. metaphors, emplotments, focalization) of the narratives." (Booth 2010: 464) And these

choices shall illuminate my anarchist ethics, which I have drawn from the idea of the anarchist compass (constant, though variable) and an analysis of historical exclusions (part informed by empirical accounts) which shows the flaws of the canon and the postanarchist critiques which have accepted them without question.

Anarchist facts in the past are themselves the sources of the variability of these choices. "Rather than cementing truths, as modernist-inspired history implies, facts and concepts afford historians inordinate freedom to choose an interpretation according to their pre-existing values (which also constitutes a context)."[78] (Booth 2010: 464)

POLITICS OF HISTORICAL WRITING

We have been paying special attention to the politics of historical writing, strategies of indicating, 'naming, misnaming or unnaming'. Another gap that anarchists need to fill is the production of anarchist histories of the world; to move away from writing histories of anarchists. This is mainly because anarchism is not teleological at all and the purpose of a world history would not have any function in suggesting a linear route of progress to the golden age of revolution. There is definitely no utopian golden age to reach in anarchism. Anarchism is based on the belief that there will be no one single salvation day, the beginning of a heavenly epoch; but there will be different new ever-changing circumstances, different contexts, where human society will be producing new challenges

[78] This especially makes possible a history like *Black Flame* and Woodcock's *Anarchism*, both using the same 'facts' reaching very different ends denying each other's truths. (Schmidt-van der Walt 2009: Woodcock 1986) Yet *Black Flame* deploys a conscious effort to exclude on the basis of an empirical account – rather than an opaque exclusion based on a set of dubious narrative strategies.

and new forms of resistance and solidarity (including moments of transformation). Thus there is no actual beginning of *the* anarchist story nor a particular end. The anarchist attitude of searching for the anarchist principle in pre-modern times, even back in primitive societies or animal societies, and blurring the beginning of anarchism has been repeatedly ignored by historians who want a date of origin as a starting point on the surface of a smooth infinite time the nineteenth century and a geographical and cultural ‘concept’ of a 'place' as an origin (Europe), a linear development on this time-space, births and deaths, not of times but of movements as in Woodcock’s eulogy suggests in Spain 1939, then resurrections (reincarnations?) in 'new' bodies (60s or anti-globalisation movement) ... Instead of inventing such a life span envisioning of anarchism, we need to rely on anarchist time: i.e. there should be no specific birth place or birth date or a death certificate. Anarchist time(s) will be horizontal and rhizomatic in the ocean of anarchist (horizontal and rhizomatic) events. In fact, we have to talk about birth places of discourses on anarchism.

The anarchist/post-anarchist tension with modernist political movements is reflected in the anarchist/post-anarchist historical choices of historical methodology. Gavin Brown, while explaining the radical political nature of contemporary queer movements, asserts that “the modernist political movements of the twentieth century held the pretension that the future of the world could be carefully and rationally planned.” (Brown 2007b: 203) In contrast, Brown suggests that “the grassroots globalisation movements of the last decade or so are becoming more comfortable with the realisation that, as Thrift (Thrift 2003: 2021) has put it, 'uncertain outcomes built upon partial knowledges are a constant of human life.' As a result, they are engaged in a re-imagining of political practice that is revelatory, rather than programmatic.” (Brown 2007b: 203) Thus, following the same spirit, as seen in anarchist political practice, anarchist historiography shall be revelatory rather than programmatic

while re-imagining the anarchist history. ‘Open-endedness of contemporary anarchist politics’ (Gordon 2007) and ‘uncertain outcomes’ shall be a character of anarchist historiography as well.

It is likely that the main objection to such an approach within anarchist circles will be because of ‘pomophobia’, to use Beverly Southgate's idea, i.e. a fear of anything related to the postmodern. Although anarchist 'pomophobia' is often an expression of hostility to the hyper-theoretical nature of post-modern writing and a resentment of the construction of a po-mo canon we saw before how it created an unhelpful ground for Lewis Call’s attempts to formulate a ‘postmodern anarchism’. Ironically, fears from postmodernism are very similar to the fears of anarchism: mainly, a fear of “cosmic chaos and of disintegrating identities”, a fear of the ‘open-endedness’ that applies not only to people’s working lives but “also to their private selves,” or a fear of a situation where “identity can come to mean ‘refusing to be what others want you to be’” (which can easily be related to queer identity and the fear from queer) (Southgate 2003: 8, 25)

MODERNIST HISTORIOGRAPHY

So, instead of focusing on Woodcock’s flaws (as Nicholas Walter does) as if they were only based on his personal ‘foolishness’ and personal ‘ambitions’ (although some of them probably were) we need to focus on the foundational logic behind Woodcock’s view of political history which is widely shared by many other historians of anarchism and also by readers of these books, apparently for generations judging by its status as the classic introdution to anarchism. We can argue that most of his main flaws were part of a wider modernist historiography, especially the gender–bias and Eurocentrism which we discussed in detail in the previous Chapters 3 and 4. As Beverly Southgate notes, feminist

and post-colonialist writers have recently questioned modernist history's 'previous centres'. (Southgate 2003: 45) And we have already seen that 'decentring alone' may have 'dramatic effects' on the canon. When we questioned the imagined geographical centre of anarchism following many examples of post-colonial critiques and when we 'decentred' anarchist history's previous centres such as gender, political power (state), theory (over practice) we witnessed the dramatic effects on the existing history of anarchism and possibilities of new alternatives. And we took measures to avoid a possible re-centring of anarchist history in another pyramidal structure. Now we are "left with the alternative inevitability of multiple perspectives from an infinity of centres." (Southgate 2003: 45) For example, in the case of feminism "it wasn't just a question of unearthing and utilising a few more texts by women authors, and disinterring further evidence of women's contributions to existing narratives. Feminism rather, came to imply a complete rethinking of the past – of the stories that had supposedly represented that past, and of the structure, form and manner in which those stories were themselves presented." (Southgate 2003: 46) Our aim of utilising feminist critique and anarcho-feminism is obviously a similar case: read feminism as anarcho-feminism and the past as the anarchist past and narratives as anarchist narratives in the above statement on feminism.

"Such fundamental reassessments of previously accepted periodisations and narrative structures went hand in hand with an invitation to reconsider the very language in which histories are written." (Southgate 2003; 46-47) And any decentring that feminism might have provoked "has been supplemented by post-colonial inputs to historiography." (Southgate 2003; 47) Again the movement originated with the recognition "that accepted histories were less than 'full': they were obviously incomplete in the sense that they conveyed a one-sided impression of events that could (at least in theory) be viewed from a number of alternative perspectives." (Southgate 2003; 47) As was the case with feminism,

“history had continued to be written with largely unquestioned assumptions of dominance: just as male historians presupposed patriarchy, so on the larger scale did European, and later more generally Western, historians assume the superiority of their centre.” (Southgate 2003; 46-47) Acknowledging this fact in anarchism is generally a problem because even anarchists who are personally strongly opposed to Eurocentrism or patriarchy may be seen to reproduce Eurocentric or patriarchal assumptions by their accounts just because they consider modernist historiography as *the* only historiography. With the postcolonial critique of modernist histories, again, “a whole set of values and a whole language were put in question – indeed, the whole civilisation that had constituted history’s centre.” (Southgate 2003: 48) So it was not “just a question of politely letting others speak and be heard – of adding voices to an existing monologue - but rather of instituting a complete historical upheaval. It was not just the presence and the contribution of the ‘other’ that required acknowledgement, but also a total reappraisal of the centre itself.” (Southgate 2003: 48) Therefore, a simple recognition of Third World anarchists, their presence and contribution is not the path to follow: but a total reappraisal of the centre itself is needed. This need once again shows us that problems in the anarchist history are deeply rooted in modernist history’s flaws, whatever the personal shortcomings that its principal authors, like George Woodcock also suffered.

CONCLUSION: TOWARDS A NEW ANARCHIST HISTORY

In the introduction of their anthology *A New Philosophy of History*, Hans Kellner and F. Ankersmit describe the shared vision of the contributors to the volume as a belief that “history can be redescribed as a discourse that is fundamentally rhetorical, and that representing the past takes place through the creation of powerful, persuasive images which can best understood as created objects, models, metaphors or proposals about

reality." (Ankersmit-Kellner 1995: 2)

In experimental history we find the "past speaking in new ways" (Rosenstone 2004: 2) Historical experiments "do rethink history." The vertigo of experimentalism lies in its "intention to defamiliarize the reader, to disrupt the routine perception of the past *as* history with only one road and one destination – to travel hopefully rather than to arrive *the* story?" (Munslow 2004: 10-11) And the anarchist wanderer travels hopefully in the anarchist process rather trying to arrive *the* revolution.

"Postmodern history's function becomes to *destabilise* – endlessly to question certainties, reveal alternatives, and provoke reassessments." (Southgate 2003: 58)

Quoting from Johan Huizinga, Ankersmit reminds us of Huizinga's definition of history: "history is the form in which a culture becomes conscious of its past." (Ankersmit 2001: 1) So, the question is: how should anarchist culture become conscious of its past?

Rosenstone, one of the editors of *Experiments in Rethinking History* together with Alun Munslow, calls experimental history 'innovative or poetic history' written by historians "who have taken risks of producing unusual and experimental narratives in recent years". (Rosenstone 2010: 57) Rosenstone, describing the character of the chapters in their volume, *Experiments in Rethinking History,* says:

> Here you will find the past speaking in new ways – in the first person of the historian; in the voice of historical figures; in the language of poetry and fiction, of comic strips and tarot cards; here you will confront a past told in forms such as parody, mystery, pastishe, humor, and the miniature –and all in chapters as

> thoroughly researched and as well documented as any that appear in the pages of the most sober academic journal. Taken together, the works here suggest how history, written anew, can revivify our sense of the past by making the familiar strange, and the strange familiar. (Rosenstone 2004: 2)

Experimental history "thus exists in the fissures between what once was and what it can mean now." (Munslow 2004: 11) Experimental history "self-consciously uses different voices, sometimes multiple. As always the historian has at some point to grapple with the problems of finding/giving a form to explain what went on in the past." (Munslow - Rosenstone 2004: 85)

In the previous chapters (2, 3 and 4), we have seen 'how the story of anarchism should not have been told', and in this chapter, we aimed to work out, 'how the story of anarchism should be told.' That led us to the shores of experimental history. The thesis will end with such an alternative, experimental piece of anarchist history in the final Chapter 6.

CHAPTER 6: FEELING ‘IN ANARCHISM’

A HYPERTEXTUAL APPROACH TO THE HISTORY OF ANARCHISM

A HISTORY OF HYPERTEXT

The term hypertext was coined in 1960s but its origin goes back to 1945, when Vannevar Bush published his article “As We May Think” in *The Atlantic Monthly.* (Bush 1945) Vannevar Bush, was trying to deal with the problem of the ‘information explosion’. To cope with “this plethora of information, Bush designed (conceptually, at least) the ‘memex,’ a device ‘in which an individual stores his books, records, and communications, and which is mechanized so that it may be consulted with exceeding speed and flexibility’.” (McKnight-Dillon-Richardson 1991: 7) Bush took the human mind and how it works by ‘association’ as a model. He noted how the human mind takes one fact or idea in its grasp and then “snaps instantly to the next that is suggested by the association of thoughts, in accordance with some intricate web of trails carried by the cells of brain.” (Landow 1997: 8) In this special device, ‘memex’, it was possible for any item to become linked 'into numerous trails' and thereby 'any block of text, image, or other information' was able to participate in numerous blocks. In his articles ‘As We May Think’ and ‘Memex Revisited’ Bush proposed the “notion

of blocks of text joined by links, and he also introduced the terms links, linkages, trails, and web to describe his new conception of textuality." (Landow 1997: 10) Memex would serve "as an interactive encylopedia or library. The reader of the memex would be able to display two texts on a screen and then create links between passages in the texts. These links would be stored by the memex and would be available for later display and revision; collectively they would define a network of interconnections." (Bolter 1991: 23)

Bush's idea of the memex, "directly influenced Nelson, Douglas Englebart, Andries van Dam, and other pioneers in computer hypertext ... Nelson's Xanadu project "characteristically named after the site of Kubla Khan's pleasure dome in Coleridge's poem, is aimed at the creation of a 'docuverse', a 'structure in which the entire literature of the world is linked, a 'universal instantaneous hypertext publishing network'. (McKnight-Dillon-Richardson 1991: 8) (See ***Hypertext***)

A-LINKS

The global anarchist movement always included numerous encounters, flows of ideas and people. And because there is no one central leadership in anarchism, these connections played an important role for all participant anarchists in shaping their own anarchisms. We can give endless examples of these interconnections. For example Landauer, throughout the 1890s, "made the acquaintance of many Europe's best known anarchists: Kropotkin, Nettlau, Rocker, Malatesta, Louise Michel and Elisee Reclus". (Kuhn 2010: 25) Li SHizeng, founder of the World Society in Paris, converted to anarchism as a consequence of his close relationship with the family of Elisée Reclus, Hua Lin met Kropotkin in London in 1910s. A life–long association between Emma Goldman and Bajin emerged, Chinese anarchists in France had relations with Jean Grave, (Dirlik 1991: 25) In the 1920s, "as

anarchists in Fujian (China) prepared for a rural insurrection, they were joined by anarchists from Japan and Korea who believed that Fujian could serve as the base for an East Asian anarchist insurrection" (Dirlik 1991: 26) In anarchism "ideas travel as inspiration and invitation, rather than command." (Brown 2007b: 204) (See ***World Anarchism***)

ALWAYS

There will be no single beginning, point of origin for anarchism. It was not born from a certain father in a certain motherland at a certain birth date. There is no birth certificate for anarchism. No figuration. Anarchism which has no beginning nor any end. Always in the middle. Always on the network. The network-like, rhizomatic structure of anarchism is our model and inspiration in imagining an alternative history of anarchism. (See ***Hypertext***, Chapter III, ***A-Links, World Anarchism***)

ALTERNATIVE PRACTICES AND DOMINANT PRACTICES

By developing alternative practices "through social forums and other networks and organizations, contemporary anarchists are challenging dominant practices and simultenously escaping oppression." (Morland 2004: 36) Similarly, alternative practices of writing anarchist history challenge dominant practices of history–writing and help us escape Eurocentric, colonial and gendered ways of thinking. For that, as Ward notes, we "'have to build networks instead of pyramids." (Ward 1973: 22) (See ***Network Structure of Hypertexts in Links***) In establishing "sites of resistance, activists, including those allied to the anti-capitalist movement, are simultaneously undermining dominant or major discourses of power." (Morland 2004: 37)

We can also argue that, contemporary anarchism's attitude towards the history of anarchism is totally in line with the deconstructive consciousness towards history. When contemporary anarchists decide to act anarchistically, they do not follow the logic offered in representative books on anarchism: instead they tend to define anarchism (coherently in this regard) as an elusive concept. Anarchism is not defined by anti-globalization movement activists, as a theory of a few Western men to be applied worldwide, not as a theory to be applied in general, but as an attitude, an approach to life and politics, a form of alternative practices, or rather, an understanding of form. Anarchism is characterized by its "opposition to all forms of power, not just political or economic" (Bowen & Purkis 2004: 7) And this results in engaging with alternative practices to create alternative forms in opposition to all forms of power. Anarchism both creates them and also keeps them connected. (See ***New Writing Space, Anarchisms***)

ANARCHISM

Anarchism is "probably best described as a multi-tendency movement of movements ... different tendencies within anarchism co-exist in complex, if sometimes strained, relationships of mutual engagement."(Shantz 2010: 17) Anarchism is about doing "politics differently - it is about working consciously with respect, dignity and purpose with others and without hierarchies or permanent leaders to help our (individual and collective) selves." (Brown 2007b: 199) This can be compared with the 'synthesis' idea expounded by Sébastien Faure as a response to platformism. (See ***The Unspeakable Anarchist Mood***)

ANARCHISM AS AN ALTERNATIVE MODERNISM

Dirlik rightly underlines the Chinese anarchists' relations with modernity, arguing that Chinese anarchism was "bound up from the beginning with an incipient revolutionary discourse that was ultimately the product of China's confrontation with the modern world,

and anarchists were to play some part in the formulation of that discourse." (Dirlik 1991: 3) More importantly, Dirlik pointed out that Marxism shared a modern culture with capitalism which anarchism rejected:

> ... an unwavering commitment to modernism (a unilinear view of history and its material basis in industrial and technological progress), which is characteristic of mainstream Marxism and most certainly of existing socialist states, makes for a blindness to contemporary questions related to ecology, community and alienation, which may no longer be blamed simply on capitalism, but are products of a modern culture of which Marxism partakes. (Dirlik 1991: 9)

The modern culture mainstream Marxism and capitalism share and anarchism opposes is a key aspect of anarchism. Anarchism has links with all kinds of currents opposing dominant modernity, from romanticism to primitivism. Anarchism takes its part within the larger network of alternative modernities. The 'rational' dominant modernity anarchism opposes is best described in Scott's book *Seeing Like A State*. (Scott 1998) (See ***This Chapter***)

ANARCHISMS

Hypertext "does not permit a tyrannical, univocal voice," (Landow 1997: 36) just like anarchism as a movement does not permit a tyrannical univocal voice of the Party, The Leader, The Programme or The Ideology. Rather the "voice is always that distilled from the combined experience of the momentary focus, the lexia one presently reads, and the continually forming narrative of one's reading path." (Landow 1997: 36) This makes some believe that there is no one single anarchism but anarchisms, because every single anarchist forms his/her own anarchist narrative by following his/her own path. In this

sense, people who think anarchism is not coherent or it is difficult to describe anarchism because it has so many different even conflicting currents ignore the 'web', the 'anarchist space', where all individual anarchists and anarchist currents have their own paths and are linked to each other intentionally to create anarchism: a coherent ideology in the sense that it is a coherent understanding of form shared by various linked nodes in a non-hierarchical way according to an ethical compass. (See ***Form***, ***The Unspeakable Anarchist Mood)***

ANARCHISTIC

In Chapter 5, we concluded that the historical method for the history of anarchism should also be chosen according to anarchist principles and based on an anarchistic understanding of form. An anarchist history should be aware of the problem of representation in any given history, and being anti-representationalist, anarchists should know that no history can represent the anarchist past as it is. This led us to a 'multi-skeptical' view of history. In this chapter, we are going a step further, and considering the structure of the 'text' we are producing. What kind of a textual composition should best fit an anarchist history? Is it possible to have the organizing principle of a text anarchistic as well? What might that mean?

I will here propose a 'hypertextual' organizing of texts as a form of text which has an 'anarchistic' structure, and which follows an anarchistic organising principle. Remembering once again Graeber's emphasis on the organizational structure of contemporary anarchist movements, and that their form is their ideology, we may conclude that the form of an anarchist text will also be its ideology. Therefore, I searched for an organising system that shuns hierarchy and domination; a type of text that is against representation and that is

'prefigurative'.

I conclude that the form that an anarchistic history of anarchism should take is a hypertextual form. Where there is no hierarchy between texts, and no forced sequentiality. “Full hypertextuality in a reading environment depends,” Landow argues, “on the multisequentiality ... A fully hypertextual system (or document) therefore employs a particularly important form, one-to-many linking, which permits readers to obtain different information from the same textual site.” (Landow 1997:13) A hypertextual history will have the “potential to prevent, block, and bypass linearity and binarity” and replace them “with multiplicity, true reader activity and activation, and branching through networks.” (Landow 1997: 24) (See ***Hypertext, A History of Hypertext, Links, The Unspeakable Anarchist Mood)***

ART FOSTERING ANARCHY

In fact, after Kropotkin's funeral, the heavy oppression under the Bolshevik regime did not allow any anarchist activity whatsoever; anarchist artists were one of the last groups left continuing anarchist propaganda. By December 1921, “a brave group of Anarcho-Biocosmocists … sought a social revolution in interplanetary space” (Cooke 1999: 31). Biocosmocists “comprised two group of anarchists: the group of poets and the group of artists” and they formed a Club of Creator-Biocosmocists in Moscow on 17 April 1921. (Cooke 1999: 31).

Anarchism seemed “near collapse at the end of the 1930s, yet the seeds for its regeneration in the 1960s and after had already been sown in the social and cultural experiments of the 1920s.” (Sonn 2005: 22) Here Sonn implies a very important dimension of anarchism: that anarchist ideals were carried with arts and culture especially while the

political movement was weak.

Sonn takes his lead from David Weir who, he argues

> advanced the provocative proposition that anarchism did not simply disappear in the interwar era, but instead was transmuted into" the culture of avant-garde art movements. Weir argues in *Anarchy and Culture: The Aesthetic Politics of Modernism* that 'the libertarian lessons of anarchism were taken to heart by artists; they were free from all external authority, including the political avant-garde. For many artists the only way to advance anarchism was through culture, not politics ... (Sonn 2005: 96)

Greil Marcus's *Lipstick Traces* (Marcus 1990) makes a similar claim about the ways in which dadaism, which was shaped under the influence of anarchism, flowed into Situationism, which in turn helped give May 1968 its 'anarchistic' character and consequently affected poststructuralism, 'anarchistically' so that the similarities between poststructuralism and anarchism became openly detectable. (See ***Anarchism as an Alternative Modernism, This Chapter***)

BEGINNING

Where does the anarchist project begins? According to James Bowen the anarchist project begins in the 'constructive effort', when anarchists employ a "change in our relationships with each other, institutions, technology and our environment ... the boring, small-scale, mundane business of making positive, non-alienated relationships with our friends and

neighbours and remaining open to new people and ideas." (Bowen 2004: 119) In the Landauerian fashion, when anarchists reject the dominant ways of relating to each other in a way that creates or re–creates state-forms they go for alternative, experimental forms of relating to each other, our environment, technology, our past and institutions. This makes the constructive aspects of anarchism significant. This is a stand Colin Ward worked hard on in his own studies and also by articles published in *Anarchy* during his editorship. (Shantz 2010: Ward 1973; Ward 1987) (See ***Constructive)***

CÉZANNE

For Herbert Read "... the development of art since Cézanne should interest the completely revolutionary mind as much as the development of socialist theory since Proudhon." And for that reason he intentionally discusses "not only Sorel and Lenin, but also Picasso and Joyce." (Read 1941: 45-46) (See ***Art Fostering Anarchy***)

CONSTRUCTIVE

Constructive anarchy, according to Shantz, consists of "projects that provide examples of politics grounded in everyday resistance, and offers insights into real world attempts to radically transform social relations in the here and now of everyday life." (Shantz 2010: 1)

Shantz warns that "seemingly more mundane forms of anarchist activity and organizing, in particular organizing within workplaces, have gone unnoticed, overlooked or unremarked upon". (Shantz 2010: 1-2) Therefore the basis of constructive anarchism can be located, "in already existing social relationships, even if these relationships are largely dominated and obscured by the explotative society in which they operate." (Shantz 2010: 10; cf. Ward 1973: 11) For Shantz,

> a crucial element in contemporary constructive anarchy is the process of 'social insertion' or the involvement of anarchists in popular social movements and the daily struggles of the oppressed and working-classes. This may include work in neighbourhood committees, landless tenant movements or rank-and-file union organizing. In these activities anarchists do not set themselves up as an activist group or subcultural enclave but contribute to the day-to-day building of popular movements .... the most pressing challenge facing anarchists is how to ensure that principles of anarchist organizing that are already present within movements of the working-classes and the oppressed – direct action, mutual aid, collective decision-making, horizontal networks - are developed and maintained as the predominant practices of the social movements. (Shantz 2010: 11)

(See ***Alternative Practices and Dominant Practices***)

The anarchist future in the present is "based upon ongoing experiments in social arrangements, in attempting to address the usual dilemma of maintaining both individual freedoms and social equality."(Shantz 2010: 12)

Shantz indicates the exclusion of anarchist praxis in the representations of anarchism by observing that: "there is a real absence in the literature of more detailed analyses of the strategies, tactics, projects and perspectives of contemporary anarchist movements 'on the ground'". (Shantz 2010: 16)

The role of c*onstructive anarchy* within anarchism is an important part of the tradition to

reflect on the active history of organising within the movement – similar to Colin Ward's 'classical' attempts to analyse 'anarchy in action'. It is a way to recognize the anarchist urge to *build, to form and to sustain*.

On the other hand, in order to create "it is necessary to destroy; and the agent of destruction in society is the poet" (Read 1941: 15) (See ***Beginning, Art Fostering Anarchy***)

DECENTERABLE & RECENTERABLE

All hypertext systems "permit the individual reader to choose his or her own center of investigation and experience. What this principle means in practice is that the reader is not locked into any kind of particular organization or hierarchy" (Landow 1997: 38)

"As readers move through a web or network of texts, they continually shift the center... Hypertext, ... provides an infinitely recenterable system whose provisional point of focus depends upon the reader, who becomes a truly active reader in yet another sense. One of the fundamental characteristics of hypertext is that it is composed of bodies of linked texts that have no primary axis of organization." (Landow 1997: 36) Anarchism, also has no primary axis of organization or center. Hypertext thus seems like the anarchistic text in its organization principles as it is "an infinetely decenterable and recenterable text" (Landow 1997: 37). (See ***Anarchism, Links***)

ESPERANTO

Esperanto was embraced by many world anarchists as the language to be used in the global network of anarchism. It was a choice against the hierarchy of languages.

Shifu for example saw the “Esperanto movement as an essential part of the worldwide people's revolution he sought to advance.” (Krebs 1998:111) Tolstoy was also an Esperantist. There was a “high degree of overlap between anarchism and the Esperanto movement in Europe ...” (Krebs 1998: 111) Shifu's “devotion to the Esperanto movement reflected his vision of a supranationalist anarchist society in the future.” (Krebs 1998: 114) Osugi was an Esperantist as well (Krebs 1998; p.242n4). (See ***World Anarchism, Osugi***)

EUROCENTRISM IN ANARCHIST HISTORIES

To understand and then to dismantle Eurocentrism in anarchist histories, Dipesh Chakrabarty's description of Eurocentrism generally in history may be helpful. Chakrabarty states that “Insofar as the academic discourse of history - that is, 'history' as a discourse produced at the institutional site of the university - is concerned, 'Europe' remains the sovereign, theoretical subject of all histories, including the ones we call 'Indian', 'Chinese', 'Kenyan', and so on. There is a peculiar way in which all these other histories tend to become variations on a master narrative that could be called 'the history' of Europe.” (Chakrabarty 1994: 342) “Only 'Europe', the argument would appear to be, is *theoretically* (ie., at the level of the fundamental categories that shape historical thinking) knowable; all other histories are matters of empirical research that fleshes out a theoretical skeleton which is substantially 'Europe'.” (Chakrabarty 1994: 344) This is perfectly observable in the conceptualization of anarchist history where historians see European anarchism as the only anarchism that is theoretically knowable! We need an anarchist history that gets rid of such one central theoretical skeleton. (See ***Europe, World Anarchism***)

EUROPE

The difficulty of making up a convenient barrier between Europe and Asia was first solved by imagining a division that stretches from the Don, Volga, Kama and Ob rivers. But in the

eighteenth-century, a Swedish military officer, Philipp-Johann von Strahlenberg argued that the Ural Mountains should form the barrier between Europe and Asia.

> Von Strahlenberg's proposal was enthusiastically seconded by Russian intellectuals associated with Peter the Great's Westernization program, particularly Vasilii Nikitich Tatishchev, in large part because of its ideological convenience. In highlighting the Ural divide, Russian Westernizers could at once emphasize the European nature of the historical Russian core while consigning Siberia to the position of an alien Asian realm suitable for colonial rule and exploitation. (Lewis-Wigen 1997: 27)

So categorizing Russian anarchists as a part of European anarchism had its roots in Peter the Great, and a 'otherization' of Siberia, a place which could have played an inspiring role in the anarchisms of both Bakunin and Kropotkin. Of course, rather than speculating on the Siberian roots of anarchism, my real intention is to show the contingencies, and historical ideological struggles behind geographical terms that have been taken-for-granted and used to locate a core for anarchism. Even dividing Europe and Asia along a North-South rather than an East-West axis is convention. In fact, by scientific criteria … in physical terms, Siberia has much more in common with the far north of Europe than with Oman or Cambodia" (Lewis & Wigen 1997: 31) Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid* also explicitly includes his observations as a geographer in Siberia. (See ***Eurocentrism in Anarchist History***)

FEMINISM AS AN ANARCHISTIC MOVEMENT

Many feminist movements, even when they were not calling themselves anarchist, have been anarchistic in form just like contemporary queer movements:

> ... in many unconnected areas of US, consciousness-raising groups developed as a spontaneous, direct (re)action to patriarchal *forms*. The emphasis on the small group as a basic organizational unit, on the personal and political, on anti-authoritarianism, and on spontaneous direct action was essentially anarchistic. The structure of women's groups bore a striking resemblance to that of anarchist affinity groups within anarcho-syndicalist unions in Spain, France, and many other countries. (Kornegger 1979: 241-242, emphasis added)

Kornegger also claims that: “Feminism is the connection that links anarchism to the future.” (Kornegger 1979: 248) (See ***Anarchistic, Queering Anarchism***)

FLEXIBLE

Bush’s memex demands “a radical reconfiguration of the practice of reading and writing, in which both activities draw closer together ...” (Landow 1997: 10) The type of text memex aims for is a “flexible, customizable text, one that is open” and it is very much like the type of organization anarchism demands today in the newest social movements especially: a ‘flexible, customizable organization, one that is open’. George Landow himself used the word anarchic to describe hypertext when he says that Bush’s poetic machines are machines that “capture and create the *anarchic* brilliance of human imagination.” (Landow 1997: 10, emphasis added) (See ***Anarchistic***)

FORM

Richard Day's emphasis on the 'newest social movements' focuses on “those struggles that seek change to the root, that want to address not just the content of current modes of domination and exploitation, but also the forms that gave rise to them. Thus, for example,

rather than seeking pay equity for men and women, a radical feminism works for the elimination of patriarchy in all of its forms ...” (Day 2005:4) Even anti-statism is an emphasis on form: instead of claiming that the content of political power (who runs it) would solve our problems of freedom and equality, anarchists argue that the form of the political power (state) will continue to be the problem even if the content changes. So anarchists aim to change the form of political power both practically and culturally. Besides, reducing anarchism to anti-statism has been the source of many exclusions because the state is understood in a narrow way in these conceptions. If state is understood in the way Gustav Landauer famously put it, as “a social relationship; a certain way of people relating to one another”, then anti-statism would cover all forms of domination and hierarchy, and all fields of life. (See ***A-Links, Hypertext***, ***The Unspeakable Anarchist Mood)***

FUTURE DOMINATIONS

Anarchism needs to be open-ended in order to meet the challenges presented by future dominations – thus consider keeping an eye open to technological domination. Creating future-presents, i.e. practising the anarchist ideals in daily life today also means that anarchists do not believe in solving the problems of the future by making a revolution today. (See ***Revolution as Process***)

GLOBAL ANARCHISM

As we earlier saw, global anarchism with “all of its cross-cultural and cross-continental networks” (Bowen-Purkis 2004: 213) is not really depicted in existing histories. This is true not only of the past, but also in discussions of today’s anarchism. The rise of the anti-globalization movement for example, attracted a worldwide network of movements and activists. Many people date the “inception of the anti-globalization movement to the

uprising of the Zapatistas in 1994 ... Direct action in the global North has drawn on techniques of resistance and nonviolent civil disobedience invented in the global South from tree-hugging to Gandhian-style direct action against corporations." (Goaman 2004: 173; See also Katsiaficas 2004) (See ***A-Links, World Anarchism***)

HIERARCHY

To indicate that there is no hierarchy between lexias we have in this chapter, they are placed alphabetically. There is no compulsory entrance. It is possible to enter this chapter from any lexia. But there are hubs, huge lexias which link to many others and smaller lexias which play a smaller role in the network.

Lexias are the units in a hypertext. They are 'discrete units' (paragraphs or sections) "that stand in multiple relation to one another." And the network created by hypertext "should be available for reading in a variety of orders." (Bolter 1991: ix) All the individual paragraphs "may be of equal importance in the whole text, which then becomes a network of interconnected writings. The network is designed by the author to be explored by the reader in precisely this peripatetic fashion." (Bolter 1991: 15) (See ***A History of Hypertext, Anarchisms, Hypertext, Node***)

HYPERMEDIA OR HYPERTEXT

George Landow does not distinguish between hypertext and hypermedia because "hypertext, which links one passage of verbal discourse to images, maps, diagrams, and sound as easily as to another verbal passage, expands the notion of text beyond the solely verbal ... The concept of hypermedia simply extends the notion of the text in hypertext by including visual information, sound, animation, and other forms of data." (Landow 1997: 3) "A node of information can be a fragment of music, a piece of text, a map, a complete film

– anything which the author thinks can sensibly be presented as a unit." (McKnight-Dillon-Richardson 1991: 3) A hypertextual history of anarchism shall include at least other material that can be presented on paper as nodes. Drawings, maps, paintings in that sense will be understood as nodes of information. (See ***Form***)

HYPERTEXT

Hypertext, is the type of text used in Internet. So a history written in a hypertextual form is both radically different from what we are accustomed to and at the same time it is a type of text which is so customary for us in today's world. Some of us even spend more time reading hypertextuallly organized texts than texts in classical book-form.

Hypertext, a term coined by Theodor Nelson in 1965, means, in Nelson's own words in his *Literary Machines*: "non-sequential writing – text that branches and allows choices to the reader, best read at an interactive screen. As popularly conceived, this is a series of text chunks connected by links which offer the reader different pathways." (Nelson 1987: 0/2) Hypertext is a "multi-dimensional text" which borrowed its prefix from the term 'hyperspace' that was used by the nineteenth–century mathematician F. Klein "to describe a geometry with many dimensions". (Rada 1991:1)

I argue that hypertext reflects a form of textual structure which is in line with anarchistic organizing principles. The inner organization principles of hypertext parallel the organising principles of an anarchist group or movement and the world wide anarchist web of social movements in general. Anarchism offers activists different pathways, initiatives, protests, collectives, social gatherings, etc which are like 'text chunks' in a hypertext linked to each other, enabling the individual anarchist to create new paths, a path of his/her own in this network of anarchistic movements. There is no party membership card in anarchism.

Basically hypertext is against hierarchy: no text chunk is superior to others, there are no footnotes as the secondary elements of a text and there is no 'main' text. There is no head and heart dichotomy. It is not linear. It is organised in a network-like form. Footnotes, in a hypertext, do not “reside in some sequentially numbered list at the rear of the main text.” The footnote appears “as an independent, if connected, document in its own right and not as some sort of subsidiary, supporting, possibly parasitic text.” (Landow 1997: 6) Landow sees this as a 'democratization' and notes that “this kind of democratization not only reduces the hierarchical separation between the so-called main text and the annotation, which now exist as independent texts, reading units or lexias, but it also blurs the boundaries of individual texts.” (Landow 1997: 25)

'Text chunks' in the political life (i.e. individual protests or movements) form clusters and networks in a nonlinear way, or in a ‘multilinear and multisequential’ way. Hypertext blurs the boundaries between reader and writer (like anarchism blurs the boundaries between the revolutionary and the masses. Keep in mind how being an activist, as a political category in anarchism, is so easily accessible for anyone).

In hypertext, “readers can browse through linked, cross-referenced, annotated texts in an orderly but nonsequential manner.” (Landow 1997: 5) Hypertext “calls for an active reader” (Landow 1997: 6) as anarchism never seeks passive masses who will follow the revolutionaries and do what is told by the leaders but do seek active participants: activists ... Hypertext ‘has no canonical order’ it is a text which “as a network has no univocal sense; it is a multiplicity without the imposition of a principle of domination.” (Bolter 1991: 25)

Hypertext “offers radically new ways of structuring information .. .it is simply the ‘non-

linearity' of the node and link structures of hypertexts." (McKnight-Dillon-Richardson 1991: 15) As McKnight-Dillon-Richardson remind us, "modes of representation ... can change not only what is said but can also shape the mental processes which generate the thoughts themselves." (McKnight-Dillon-Richardson 1991:38) This means that the hypertextual representation of anarchism will be more likely to generate nonlinear pluralistic non-hierarchical thoughts about anarchist history. (See ***This Chapter, Form, A History of Hypertext, Anarchism***)

INFRASTRUCTURES OF RESISTANCE

Infrastructures of resistance might include "community centers, housing and shelter, food shares, transportation, community media, free schools, bookstores, cafes, taverns and clubs". (Shantz 2010: 4) Infrastructures of resistance, "operating in the shadows of the dominant institutions, provide frameworks for the radical re-organization of social relations in a miniature, pre-insurrectionary form. They are the rudimentary infrastructures of alternative ways of being, of alternative futures in the present. Building these infrastructures is decidedly not a millenarian project in which hopes for liberation or freedom are deferred or projected into some imagined future." (Shantz 2010: 4) "In order to bring their ideas to life anarchists develop working examples of future worlds or '*futures in the present'*." (Shantz 2010: 9, emphasis added)

"Anarchists of various outlooks and perspectives can be, and are, constructive anarchists. Rather constructive anarchy might be best described as an orientation to the world and to acting in the world." (Shantz 2010: 10) (See ***Constructive***)

LEAVING THE STATE

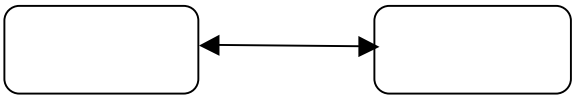
Landauer's anarchism “revolves more around 'leaving the state' than crushing it'.” (Kuhn 2010: 25) In Erich Mühsam's words “Landauer never saw anarchism as a politically or organizationally limited doctrine, but as an expression of ordered freedom in thought and action ... His revolutionary activity was never limited to the fight against state laws and social systems. It concerned all dimensions of life.” (Kuhn 2010: 25) 'Ordered freedom' is an important element of this formulation, because anarchism shapes freedom, favours a certain freedom, which is ordered, according to the anarchist ethical compass, and daily anarchism is 'an expression' of it. Or rather, a form of expression, or an expression of a form. Landauer, also like Osugi and Goldman, “seemed ever more convinced that social change remained unattainable without the 'inner' change of the individual ... 'revolution' as a permanent historical struggle for socialism, tied into the renewal of spirit, individuality, and community. ” (Kuhn 2010: 26) (See ***The Unspeakable Anarchist Mood)***

LINKS

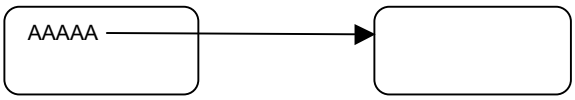
Links are essential for any hypertextual structure. There are of course, various ‘forms of linking. Lexias (nodes) are linked to each other, in several ways. George Landow offers (Landow 1997: 11-14) some categories for these varieties.

Lexia to Lexia Unidirectional

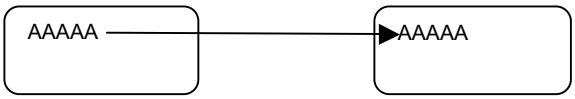
Lexia to Lexia Bidirectional



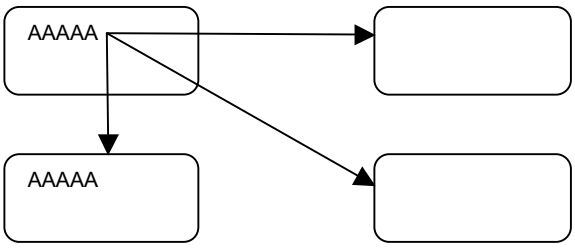
String (word or phrase) to Lexia



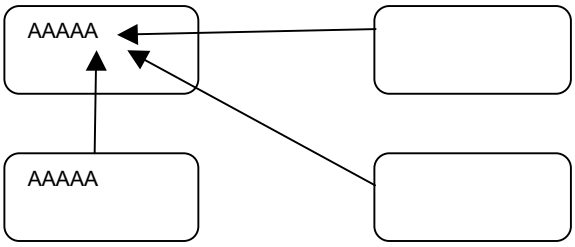
String to String



One-to-Many



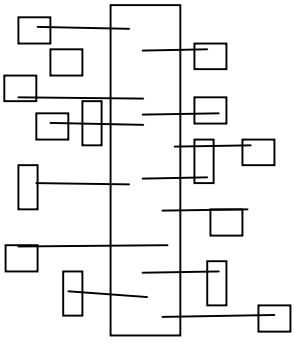
Many-to-One Linking



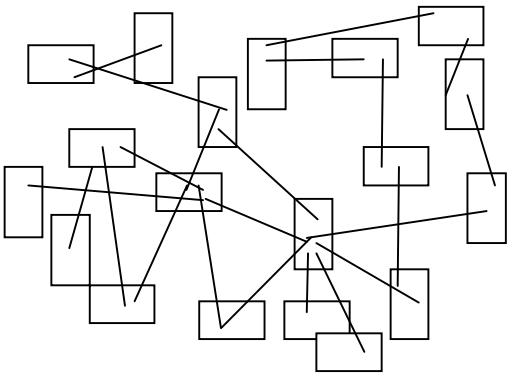
In this chapter we are using all these forms of linking. Lexias (nodes, or text chunks) are placed alphabetically to avoid hierarchy between them and they all have titles used for referencing. We even have links to outside of this chapter. (See ***Hypertext***) Although we are suggesting several links these suggestions are only there to form examples. Readers are free to create their own paths, their own beginning, links and end. It is not necessary to read all lexias. It is up to the reader to decide that.

Landow (Landow 1997: 50) shows that thanks to these forms of linking, instead of having a traditional ‘axial structure’ hypertext produces a ‘network structure'.

Axial structure of electronic books and scholarly books with foot- or endnotes



Network structure of hypertext



MAY 68

Arif Dirlik sees parallels between the post-cultural revolution interest in anarchism in China and a post-may '68 interest to anarchism in Europe. (Dirlik 1991: 7; see also Welsh 1981) Ursula K. Le Guin wrote her three 'postmodern anarchist novels' between 1969 and 1974, during a “vitally important historical moment in the anarchist tradition”. (Call 2007:88)

In a radio programme broadcast months before May '68, on January 10th and 30th 1968,

Colin Ward says “there is a certain anarchy in the air today.” (Ward 1987: 22) In a history of anarchism, in representations of anarchism, we need to see this ‘anarchy in the air’ ...(See ***The Unspeakable Anarchist Mood)***

MODES OF ANARCHIST PRACTICE

Dave Morland suggests that “when situated alongside the practices of new social movements associated with the recent anticapitalist protests, the poststructuralist perspective affords insight into how new modes of anarchist practice are emerging.” (Morland 2004: 24) We should see the continuity between these new modes of anarchist practice and old modes of anarchist practice in an account on anarchism. (See ***Alternative Practices and Dominant Practices***)

NEW WRITING SPACE

Hypertext is “a form of textuality composed of blocks and links that permits multilinear reading paths ... electronic word processing inevitably produces linkages, and these linkages move text, readers, and writers into a *new writing space*.” (Landow 1997: 24, emphasis added) This new writing space is in line with the new historical 'story space' of the multi-skeptical historian. As 'story space' was the mental model of the-past-as-history, the new writing space will serve as the mental model of the history-as-text for us. (See ***Hypertext, Form***)

NIETZSCHE

Richard Day notes that we can think of Gustav Landauer as “one of the first post-anarchists, inasmuch as he read Nietzsche anarchistically.” (Day 2010: 8) Gabriel Kuhn and Siegbert Wolf, in their *Introduction* to Gustav Landauer's collection of political writings,

also emphasize Landauer's early novel *Der Todesprediger* (Preacher of Death, 1893) and how it is “notable for an early libertarian adaptation of Friedrich Nietzsche's philosophy, so characteristic of 1960s and 70s French poststructuralism and of contemporary 'postanarchist' theory.” (Kuhn 2010: 21) In that sense we can think of Emma Goldman and Osugi Sakae as early postanarchists too, which means, if we rewrite anarchist history and place Goldman, Landauer and Osugi in the canon, classical anarchists would be the first postanarchists! Reminding us, once again, of the possible important consequences of the making of the canon, and how we should be aware of the previous makings of the canon. How will we shift canon when we add De Sade, Goldman, Fourier, Landauer, Osugi to the core? (See ***Osugi***)

NO SINGLE ENEMY

As Richard Day notes in his *Gramsci is Dead*, “there is no single enemy against which the newest social movements are fighting. Rather, there is a disparate set of struggles each of which needs to be addressed in particularity.” (Day 2005: 5-6). (See ***Form***)

NODE

A node is a self-contained unit of meaning within a hypertextual network. They are also called 'text chunks' or lexias. We suggest a history of anarchism which is made of nodes (lexias) linked to each other to create the anarchistic network, to give that feeling of 'anarchy'. Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht's experimental history book, *In 1926*, is organized in a similar fashion. Gumbrecht, in the 'User's Manual' section of his historical account, advises readers to “start with any of the fifty-one entries” and to “simply start with an entry that particularly interests you. From each entry a web of cross-references will take you to other, related entries.” (Gumbrecht 1997: ix) Gumbrecht encourages the reader to establish their

own 'individual reading path'. Gumbrecht also notes that his book suggests “the existence of a 'web' or 'field' of (not only discursive) realities that strongly shaped the behavior and interactions of 1926.” (Gumbrecht 1997: xii)

Referring to his book's title, *In 1926*, Gumbrecht stress that just as there is “no obligatory beginning, there is also no obligatory or definitve end to the reading process. Regardless of where you enter or exit, any reading sequence of some length should produce the effect to which the book's title alludes: you should feel 'in 1926'” (Gumbrecht 1997: ix) This is exactly what a hypertextual history of anarchism aims: to make the reader feel ***'in anarchism'***! (See ***Links***)

OSUGI

Kropotkin, Sorel, Bergson (through Sorel probably), Stirner and Nietzsche were among the influences on Osugi. (Stanley 1982: 61-62) “He did “accept the ‘superman’ who transcended his limitations through his own will power.” (Stanley 1982: 62) His individualism was very different than the Tucker-style ‘classical individualism’, Osugi described a psychological individualism and a social individualism, and a third form of individualism which will be “if viewed on a plane, a fusion of psychological individualism and social individualism” (Stanley 1982: 63) In his theory of individualism, the individual “was linked to society through syndicalism.” (Stanley 1982:64) Also, “Osugi remained skeptical of the final goal of the social revolution and refused to state explicitly what the final goal was; instead, he implied that a parallel existed between a movement and its goals, energy and action, thought and act” (Stanley 1982: 70) Adding Osugi to the core of anarchism would definitely change the meaning of anarchist individualism.

Osugi Sakae, sees 'anarchist defeat' from a different perspective as well. Osugi defines

what anarchists gain from a ‘defeat’ in a strike using terms of pleasure:

> We are often defeated in a strike. However, no matter how often beaten, we cannot forget the joy we felt during the dispute. The pleasure of stretching our will power. The pleasure of trying out our own strength. The pleasure of seeing a manifestation of real comradely emotions among comrades. The pleasure of seeing the world clearly split into camps of foes and friends. … The pleasure of seeing an improvement in our own personalities. (Stanley 1982: 118).

Osugi’s Kropotkinian–Sorelean–Sorelean/Bergsonian–Stirnerite–Nietzschean anarchism definitely did not share the defeat/success dilemma of later anarchist historians. For Daniel Guérin for example, the defeat “of the Spanish Revolution deprived anarchism of its only foothold in the world” (Guerin 1970: 144) On the contrary, Osugi could argue that the Spanish Revolution "still gives us the pleasure of stretching our will power". (See ***World Anarchism***)

PATTERN

“Whereas analogue recording of sound and visual information requires serial, linear processing, digital technology removes the need for sequence, by permitting one to go directly to a particular bit of information.” (Landow 1997: 23) Similarly, in this Chapter, in each lexia we are able to directly refer to any ‘particular bit of information’. This structure, if expanded, could offer a network-like layout of information for the history of anarchism where we can link particular bits of information with other particular bits of information without any hierarchy or imposed sequence and reflect the world wide anarchistic networks and anarchists’ way of organizing. Anarchist organisations are not organised as ‘main texts’ and its secondary ‘footnotes’ but as infinitive ‘footnotes to footnotes’ which in

total create a ‘main textual pattern’. (See ***Hypermedia or Hypertext***)

PERSONAL AND POLITICAL

“Anarchism has always stressed, more than has any other part of the socialist movement, the importance of the coincidence of the 'personal' and the 'political.'” (Leighton 1979: 255) (See ***Feminism as an Anarchistic Movement, Leaving the State***)

POSTANARCHISM

The hypertextual approach brings us to a shore where all the postanarchist debates so far have to be reevaluated and a new discussion of anarchism appears. Now the binarism between classical anarchism and new/post anarchism is not a reliable platform anymore, after we see how it was constructed in a highly arbitrary fashion. We see that anarchism could be understood very differently and this brings contemporary anarchist theory, either you call it new anarchism or postanarchism, to a new opening. A new conceptualization of 'what anarchism is' will require a new conceptualization of 'what postanarchism is' as well.

POSTSTRUCTURALISM AND HYPERTEXT

From a poststructuralist anarchist perspective there is even more reason to consider hypertext. George P. Landow shows similarities between computer software theoreticians who created hypertext and its theories and poststructuralist theoreticians like Derrida. (Landow 1997) He shows parallels between the writings of Jacques Derrida, Theodor Nelson, Roland Barthes and Andries van Dam. Landow knows that for those working in computing Nelson and van Dam are familiar names, and for those working in literary and cultural theory Derrida and Barthes are so. But what unites them is that they all “argue that we must abandon conceptual systems founded upon ideas of center, margin, hierarchy, and linearity and replace them with ones of multi-linearity, nodes, links, and networks.”

(Landow 1997: 2) (See ***Nietzsche***)

QUEERING ANARCHISM

Queering anarchism is a term for linking all resistances to ‘regimes of the normal’ in a relational, anarchistic way. The first wave of queer politics in the early 1990s “offered the promise of a move beyond politics of representation for minority sexual groups towards a more thorough resistance to 'regimes of the normal'” (Brown 2007b: 196) Queer within these networks “functions more as a relational process, rather than a simple identity category. A queer personality, in this context, is produced through the very process of working collectively to create a less alienated and more empowered space in which to explore a multiplicity of sexual and gendered potentialities.” (Brown 2007b: 197) (See ***Feminism as an Anarchistic Movement, Leaving the State***)

REVOLUTION AS PROCESS

Not ‘revolution versus process’ but ‘revolution as process’! Thus, revolution is not seen as one vital event but as a network of linked crucial events. These events constitute the nodes in the network of world anarchism and world anarchist history.

Colin Ward gives an example of how 'revolution as process' works:

> ... shortly after the war, Alex Comfort gave a series of lectures to the London Anarchist Group and they were published by Freedom Press under the title *Barbarism and Sexual Freedom*. Comfort's ideas on sex have reached the stage of course of being published many years later as a Penguin book, and what appeared revolutionary to people or somehow *outré* in one way or another in 1948, is almost *passé* by 1966. The revolution in sexual attitudes has

happened. (Ward 1987: 20)

Dirlik notes how the anarchists changed and formed the revolutionary culture in China politically and socially: “Anarchists were in the vanguard of the calls for a universal education, for the transformation of the family and the culture that sustained the old family, and for the emancipation of women and the liberation of the individual” (Dirlik 1991: 27)

The anarchist contribution was basically a different conceptualization of revolution itself “insistence on the inseparability of the social and the cultural was the distinguishing feature of the anarchist idea of social revolution ... the relationship anarchists established between the social and the cultural presupposed a perception of the problem of revolution as a discursive problem: meaningful revolution implied the transformation of the social discourses”. (Dirlik 1991: 28-29)

David Graeber, in his article *Shock of Victory*, claims that the globalisation movement nearly won every goal they had. (Graeber 2007b) But among the goals achieved, one of them represents the battle on what anarchism is. Graeber sees the victory of the movement as overcoming the pyramidal model of top–down hierarchic organisation associated with orthodox Marxism, for an anarchist horizontal model.

Anarchism is not for 'revolution as an event' (one decisive moment after which heaven on earth begins) but for 'revolution as a process' (which includes several key moments and their connections). As a result, anarchism is seen as the struggle of the network model against the pyramidal model in various fields and dimensions of life. (See ***Personal and Political***)

SEXOLOGY

Anarchist sixty–eighters were very much involved with the sexology of the times (Kinsey especially. There was “an anarchist love affair with the radical psychoanalysis and sexual politics of Wilhelm Reich.” (Cohn 2010: 413) (See ***Revolution as Process***)

SINGING

Richard Sonn notes that music and singing, “the preeminent artistic expressions of Parisian popular culture, also formed an integral part of the anarchist own gatherings. The act of collective singing blurred distinction between meetings and social gatherings.” (Sonn 1989: 122) (See ***Form, Personal and Political, Queering Anarchism***)

THE UNSPEAKABLE ANARCHIST MOOD

As Gabriel Kuhn notes, “Landauer sees Paul Eltzbacher's scientific classifications [in his *Anarchism. A History of Ideas of its Classical Currents*] as directly opposed to anarchy's inherent diversity, fluctuation, and openness.” (Kuhn 2010: 302) In a letter to Paul Eltzbacher, dated 2 April 1900, Landauer wrote: “Some of your definitions I consider too strict in fact, particularly in the last part of your book. See more commonality among the different schools of anarchism. You, like all men of science, overestimate the word and fail to see what is essential, namely the unspeakable, the mood, that which is not easily measured.” (Kuhn 2010: 302-303)

A history of anarchism needs to work on this mood of anarchism, this ‘unspeakable’. We are trying to make the ‘unspeakable’ anarchist past speak for itself, and when this is impossible or when we cannot manage to accomplish this task, we aim to keep the process transparent. Thus, we need to be subjective to reach an objective story, in an

indirect way. (See Chapter 5) The ‘imaginal force and visions’ of anarchism that characterize the movement requires such a vigour. (Shantz 2010: 20) The unspeakable corresponds with what I have called the anarchist ethical compass and which here Landauer finds across anarchist schools. Something which I also want to do and that is what hypertext facilitates because it gets away from representational accounts and captures the complexity, openness and plurality because it is actively creative.

Ermarth shows the importance of the introduction of perspective in the development of modern empirical science and in the growth of representational politics and historical explanation. (Ermarth 2010: 324)

Conventional historical narrative provides a perspective system in order to mediate all contradiction (Ermarth 2010: 336) The perspective system is similar to a pyramidal system, and the mediation of anarchist contradictions has been achieved by explaining anarchism as a collection of contradictions. Anarchism, historians of anarchism widely argue, is so deeply contradictory in all its aspects and so deeply incoherent that, we can call its nature ‘contradictory’: thus they are mediating anarchism in an anarchonormativity of history. Instead I would like to suggest that any historian of anarchism has to capture the coherence in the ‘unspeakable’, and in the ‘anarchist mood’. This requires an intuition but a shared one.

The only way to define what the anarchist mood or the anarchist ethical compass is, is to embrace anarchism as a way of thinking and that this way of thinking is expressed in forms of action or organisation and this constitutes the anarchist ideology - in all its multiplicity. Thus, a hypertextual representation of anarchism becomes a method to approach anarchism anarchistically. (See ***Anarchism***)

THIS CHAPTER

Chapter 6 is the chapter where I offer a model for telling the story of anarchism according to the findings in the thesis. In this chapter, I both discuss how the story should be told, and I also tell a story. It is a combination of theory on how to tell and a practice of telling. I stress the need for including all excluded but existed, also change the linear narration form into a non-linear, multi-disciplined history of anarchism. It is in a sense a new story we will end up with, because the story has not been told this way in the dominant discourse. On the other hand there is nothing new in it: it is just a continuation, a multi-skeptical multi-linking, an embracing of the anarchist tradition. This 'new' story is based on three chapters (Chapter 2, 3 and 4) which questioned "the tenets of the discipline's theoretical canon" and showed that a "new mode of reception is necessary" (McKenzie & Stalbaum 2007: 198)

This final Chapter, as I said, both includes a discussion and a sample. It is not my intention to write a history of anarchism here. But I aim to show a sample: to show what a hypertextual history of anarchism could look like. Within this model, I am also discussing my view of anarchism openly. For me, anarchism is the political face of a huge network of movements working on alternatives to dominant modernity in the modern era. Thus, I see links from romanticism to anarchism, from alternative modernisms to the avant-garde. Yet, it is not among the tasks of this chapter or this thesis for that matter, to detail this view of anarchism, or offer a complete historical framing of anarchism through these lenses. I am just making it explicit in this chapter to give an example of how the historian shall make his/her own position visible. Cancelling the hierarchy of theory over practice, working on the network of world anarchism, placing sexual politics in the core, understanding politics as a wider concept, re-imagining the role of arts and artists are all among my apparent tendencies. All this effort is to highlight the 'hidden' obvious: when I offer a history of

anarchism I will be writing *my* history of anarchism as any history of anarchism would be that writer's history of anarchism, yet I aim to create a model that would be (or could be) accepted, shared. So it is not designed to be my personal fantasy of anarchism – I *believe* in what I offer! This 'unspeakable' relation between the writer and his/her story is not necessary for writing history or even experimental history, but it is necessary, from my point of view, for writing a history of anarchism, an ideology which is based on such a 'mood.' (See ***The Unspeakable Anarchist Mood)***

TRAVELLING ANARCHIST

Writers as well as artists also played a role in the creation of this travelling anarchist figure: John Henry Mackay in his *The Anarchists* and Octave Mirbeau in his *Les Mauvais Bergers* … (Hutton 1990: 299)

Mackay should have occupied more space in the history of anarchism than Stirner. In this sense, Anarchist history, instead of detailing what 'union of egoists' means according to Stirner, should have dwelled more on people like Carpenter, Mackay, Armand and Whitman. How did they use thinkers like Stirner to develop an anarchistic resistance in daily life? (See ***Beginning***)

So instead of putting Nietzsche or Stirner in the anarchist canon, someone could suggest putting Carpenter-Mackay-Goldman in the canon, and *their* Nietzsche and Stirner, which very well links to poststructuralism today and its reading of Nietzche. (See ***Poststructuralism and Hypertext***)

ULTIMATE DECENTRALIZATION

Colin Ward reminds us that "anarchism is the ultimate decentralization" (Ward 1987: 12)

and if we want to decenter the history of anarchism as well, this cannot be done only by adding new names to the canon – it can be fulfilled by changing the form of the canon and representation in general, changing its pyramidal form and axial structure into a horizontal, network-like, rhizomatic narrative. (See ***Decenterable and Recenterable***)

WORLD ANARCHISM

Anarchists have always created solidarity with anti-colonial, global resistance movements and various forms of Third World insurrections without asking if they call themselves anarchist or not. Thus, as seen in Anderson, Spanish anarchists supported movements in the Philippines and Cuba. (Anderson 2005) Italian anarchists created a free school in Alexandria. (Khuri-Makdisi 2003) Contemporary anarchism of the anti-globalisation era also embraced world resistance movements against the global capitalist system. Thus the anti-globalization movement included "indigenous peoples' organisations", anarchist activists joined Zapatistas internationally or they supported movements in India and elsewhere (Bowen-Purkis 2004: 2)

Global anarchist encounters shaped this dimension. Kotoku's interest in anarchism started thorough his correspondence with a Californian anarchist, Albert Johnson. (Kotoku was exchanging letters with Kropotkin too.) Johnson sent many anarchist books and pictures to Kotoku. Their relationships are nice examples of travelling anarchists and of the flow of documents and ideas. After his release from prison in 1905, Kotoku set off for San Francisco, stayed there for seven months, saw Johnson, studied the radical ideas of the Bay Area, and added the concept of 'direct action' to his anarchism (which came from the Industrial Workers of the World). (Wright 1971: 126) This is actually how classical anarchism was formed. Not as something coming from an origin and being imitated or

applied everywhere else. But as something that emerges with and through a network of peoples, ideas, movements (deeds, direct actions) and publications. A letter comes from San Francisco to Tokyo, a Japanese radical goes to jail, then he is released and travels to San Francisco himself. Italian anarchists in Alexandria are engaged in an anarchistic free school project or propagandising to Italian workers there. A Japanese anarchist (Osugi) in St. Denis is addressing demonstrators and trying to convince them to make demonstrations in the central region of Paris. Exiles everywhere; Russians, French, Italians ... Ideas challenged with local problems, always local concerns, there is no one big theory that everyone tries to apply in their own region, but a floating plate of theories and practices all re–evaluating new conditions in new places with new traditions sharing the anarchist enthusiasm. That was the global circuit of anarchism. And it requires a different conceptualization to understand this complex organizational network that cuts across borders. In the global network of classical anarchism, Tokyo, Paris, Buenos Aires, Alexandria, Geneva, San Francisco were all interrelated nodes. Emma Goldman meeting Flores Magon, John Kenneth Turner from California, meeting and corresponding with Kropotkin, and countless such anarchist connections, encounters … Reading the existing anarchist canon, one gets the impression that some writers exchanged ideas about deep human problems, formulated a new ideology named anarchism, and then the activists applied these theories in the rest of the world. While in fact, the theory and practice was being shaped together, and through face to face relations, real travelling, and the movement of published material, and also letters, formed the basis for the emergence of such a movement. ‘Groups, theories, practices, and tactics’ compose ‘the global anarchist movement’. (Shantz 2010: ix)

Bowen and Purkis say that for them it is “self-evident that anarchist activities are constantly occurring throughout the world and do so without any knowledge of 'official'

anarchist history.” (Bowen-Purkis 2004: 6)

This is an interesting comment about the gap we have between the 'anarchism of the official anarchist history' and 'anarchism that keeps anarchism alive throughout the world'. This gap causes several problems. First of all, contemporary anarchists usually fail to see the ‘mediators’ (history tellers), and instead of rejecting certain historical approaches and certain historians of anarchism, they take these as given (i.e. without reflection they, take these representations of the past as the past itself) and reject the 'classical anarchism' that this official historiography presents. We may argue that Woodcock created more harm than good when he created the category of 'new anarchism' as a totally new and different type of anarchism from the 'classical anarchism' of the earlier generation, especially when he coupled this with a false history which declared the death of anarchism and the defeat of his fellow anarchists in London. Instead of facing the possibility of his false periodization, he worked on this concept of new anarchism. We are still suffering from it. This problem reaches its epitome in chapters on anarchism in textbooks on political ideology, where for example writers claim that anarcha-feminism is a current in anarchism that appeared during the 1970s as a part of the 'new anarchism' or the 'New Left' ignoring all the central role of anarcha-feminism in the so-called classical period and history of anarchism. Anarchism has always incorporated sexuality effectively. (See ***Chapter IV, A-Links***)

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