Anarchy 101

edited by Dot Matrix with help from participants at anarchy101.org

edited by Dot Matrix matchylol for participants at anarchylol.org

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Ardent Press Berkeley, CA ardentpress.org pobox 3920 Berkeley, CA 94703

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Thanks to anok, autumn leaf cascade, enkidu, ingrate, rice boy, and taigarun, all long-term and thoughtful contributors to anarchy101.org. Thanks also to the others on that site (including many anonymous questionners). I truly appreciate getting to have provocative conversations about things I care about with people I don't

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Anarchy is many things to different people: a vision, a plan, a conversation, a process. It is my view (consistent with a whole raft of contemporary anarchists, from Alfredo M. Bonanno to Voltairine de Cleyre* and beyond) that anarchy is best understood, and is most helpful, as a tension, a question, a rejection. This text operates from that premise.

This book is composed of questions, answers, and comments (sometimes lightly edited) taken from a website called anarchy101.org, in which various anarchists answer questions posed by themselves and others. This variety of voices (the answers and comments disagree with each other as often as agree) is integral to any anarchist project that I want to be a part of. There are many more questions there than could reasonably fit into a book, so go, read, ask, and argue.

We welcome your engagement with these ideas, and look forward to hearing your voice in the future.

for notes on most people mentioned in the text, see page 152

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One of the particular strengths of using this sort of site as a jumping off place is that many different perspectives might be represented. Though this leads me to wonder who determines which answers are deemed suitable for print, and what the process or criteria for that would be.

I think that much of what has been explored on this website would be a welcome counterperspective to the similar publication of the *Anarchist FAQ*, which has never addressed perspectives beyond those of the author(s) in a really honest and balanced way. There have been some very thoughtful things posted here, and it would be cool to see them put into some sort of printed collection, which, in my opinion, is easier to digest for beginners, as it is presented in a more linear fashion.

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answers on this site.

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Most of my posts are meant as starting places for a larger collection of more completed writings but feel free to use whatever you want.

I think a book of info from here using the ß <u>ה</u> format of Anarchy Works (based on q&a under section headers such as "decisions" or "economy") could do well with a good editor who attempted to include diverse perspectives, but it would make a really unorthodox and perhaps incoherent book. It would have an advantage in diversity and a disadvantage in the consistency. I'm fine with that though.

I've written here in a book because I don't feel the prose is very good. One way around this might be to steal ideas but not use anyone's exact phrasings?

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how much money they had). The difference people would be taken care of regardless of tion, when there would be no bosses, when have power and determine their own producwould be a utopic time when workers would (communism was the goal of revolution, and They also tended to be pro-communism against domination by the christian church). to be pro-science (since they were rebelling Berkman, Voltairine de Cleyre, etc-tended Pyotr Kropotkin, Emma Goldman, Alexander Classical anarchists-Mikael Bakunin,

Extremely Brief History (including some names that you can research if so inclined)

Classical anarchists-Mikael Bakunin, Pyotr Kropotkin, Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, Voltairine de Cleyre, etc-tended to be pro-science (since they were rebelling against domination by the christian church). They also tended to be pro-communism (communism was the goal of revolution, and would be a utopic time when workers would have power and determine their own production, when there would be no bosses, when people would be taken care of regardless of

how much money they had). The difference

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Anarchism was initially coined as a term by Proudhon. It became more defined and serious after Bakunin left the First International Working Men's Association because of disagreements on (among other things) whether the dictatorship of the proletariat (a workercontrolled state) would wither away (Marx's claim), or be just another tactic for people to maintain a hierarchy.

between anarchists and communists of this era was primarily that a) anarchists did not believe that economics was the only way that people were influenced (anarchists have almost always looked at psychology, culture, education, etc, as ways that we are socialized and coerced not just work), b) that anarchists did not believe in creating a state to get rid of states. (The anarchist perspective on states-in-formation has been validated by the history of communists killing former anarchist allies, including in Kronstadt and in the Spanish Civil War.)

Contemporary with Marx and Bakunin there was also Max Stirner, who never called himself an anarchist but who has been claimed by an anarchist tendency because his polemic (badly translated into English as *The Ego and Its Own*) rejects the idea that any of us should sacrifice ourselves to anything. He held that causes (like Liberty, Freedom, even Anarchy) are "spooks" (ie abstractions that only serve to alienate us from our own lives and selves). Some of the most inspirational anarchists were heavily influenced by egoism, including Renzo Contemporary with Marx and Bakunin there was also Max Stirner, who never called himself an anarchist but who has been claimed by an anarchist tendency because his polemic (badly translated into English as The Ego and *Its Own*) rejects the idea that any of us should sacrifice ourselves to anything. He held that causes (like Liberty, Freedom, even Anarchy) are "spooks" (ie abstractions that only serve to alienate us from our own lives and selves). Some of the most inspirational anarchists were heavily influenced by egoism, including Renzo

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Novatore and Alfredo Bonanno. Anarchists influenced by Nietzsche and/or Stimer (egoists, post-left anarchists, and post-anarchists are the three main tendencies so influenced) that will create a revolution, that work (as it get paid for, but with no immediate benefit for your life or your friends' lives) would even continue to exist in the world we want, or that revolution as a discrete event is something that we can, or want to, aim for.

More recently, the Situationists, a radical group based in the art scene in the 60s, particularly in Paris, created a new wave of more critical, contemporary anarchist thinking; a wave that is continued today in groups like Tiqqun in France and by unnamed window-smashers and newspapernamed window-smashers and newspaperNovatore and Alfredo Bonanno. Anarchists influenced by Nietzsche and/or Stirner (egoists, post-left anarchists, and post-anarchists are the three main tendencies so influenced) reject the idea that workers are the group that will create a revolution, that work (as it is currently understood, ie as tasks that you get paid for, but with no immediate benefit for your life or your friends' lives) would even continue to exist in the world we want, or that revolution as a discrete event is something that we can, or want to, aim for.

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Questions

Why are there so many different definitions of anarchy?

There is no single foundational voice for anarchist thought (and some of the most influential thinkers said some apparently conflicting things, like Bakunin), so there is a lot of flexibility left for people to find and focus on the person, or the ideas, that most appeal to them. This is aided by the ethic that anarchists promote people finding their own answers, so that decentralization and a million different trajectories are both desirable and inevitable.

This leads to people calling themselves anarchists who disagree intensely (and sometimes widely) with each other, and to an inherent weakness of the label "anarchist" (since calling one's self that doesn't mean that anyone can make assumptions about what one thinks); this makes the label not as pernicious as other labels (which in general act to hide differences as much or more than to reveal similarities).

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Anarchist Communism main trends in an Intro to Anarchism talk I do. a23 Here's how I break down what I consider the

to operate on a gift economy. of the commune. Anarchist communism is thus said would have tree access to the resources and surplus communism there would be no money but everyone to other communes through tederation. In anarchist and using consenus decision-making, and related the means of production, organised democratically of self-managing communes with collective use of of social organisation would be a society composed Anarchist communism proposes that the treest torm

need" as in anarcho-communism. Some collectivist rather than goods being distributed "according to of the amount of time they contributed to production, would be compensated for their work on the basis nism, except for the fact that in collectivism workers Collectivist anarchism is similar to anarchist commu-Collectivism

Collectivist anarchism is similar to anarchist communism, except for the fact that in collectivism workers would be compensated for their work on the basis of the amount of time they contributed to production, rather than goods being distributed "according to need" as in anarcho-communism. Some collectivist

Collectivism

Anarchist communism proposes that the freest form of social organisation would be a society composed of self-managing communes with collective use of the means of production, organised democratically and using consenus decision-making, and related to other communes through federation. In anarchist communism there would be no money but everyone would have free access to the resources and surplus of the commune. Anarchist communism is thus said to operate on a gift economy.

Anarchist Communism

What do they agree on? Here's how I break down what I consider the

main trends in an Intro to Anarchism talk I do.

a23

What are the main threads of anarchist thinking? What do they disagree with each other about?

3

Insurrectionary Anarchism On the other hand, Insurrectionary Anarchism opposes formal organizations such as labor unions and federations that are based on a political programme and periodic congresses. Instead, insurrectionary anarchists support informal organization and small affinity group-based organization. Insurrectionary anarchists put value in attack, permanent class conflict, and a refusal to negotiate or compromise with class enemies.

perations) and workers' self-management. Syndicalism is sometimes seen as simply a specific strategic focus within communist or collectivist anarchism as opposed to a distinct type of anarchism in itself. Insurrectionary Anarchism On the other hand, Insurrectionary Anarchism oppasses formal organizations such as labor unions and

types

anarchists do not oppose the use of currency. Some support workers being paid based on the amount of time they contributed to production. These salaries would be used to purchase commodities in a communal market. Anarcho-syndicalism

Syndicalism focuses on radical trade unions as a po-

tential force for revolutionary social change, seeking

to replace capitalism and the state with a new society

that is democratically self-managed by the workers.

Important principles include workers' solidarity, direct

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Anarcho-syndicalism Syndicalism focuses on radical trade unions as a potential force for revolutionary social change, seeking to replace capitalism and the state with a new society that is democratically self-managed by the workers. Important principles include workers' solidarity, direct action (such as general strikes and workplace recuperations) and workers' self-management. Syndicalism is sometimes seen as simply a specific strategic focus within communist or collectivist anarchism as focus within communist or collectivist anarchism as

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Anarcha-teminism

inherently teminist". losophy that opposes all relationships of power, it is Susan Brown put it: "as anarchism is a political phiis an essential component of the anarchist struggle. the terminist struggle against sexism and patriarchy tamily, education and gender roles and believe that advocate the abolition of traditional conceptions of teminists, like other radical teminists, criticize and Emma Goldman and Voltairine de Cleyre. Anarchaot early teminist anarchists such as Lucy Parsons, was inspired in the late 19th century by the writings the (or the) primary dominations. Anarcha-teminism patriarchy (male domination over women) as one of thesizes radical teminism and anarchism and views Anarcha-teminism is a torm of anarchism that syn-

Green Anarchism

a focus on ecosystems. and debates about politics and economics instead of cize the main currents of anarchism for their focus environmental issues. Green anarchists often critithought within anarchism that puts an emphasis on Green anarchism (or eco-anarchism) is a school of

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Green Anarchism Green anarchism (or eco-anarchism) is a school of thought within anarchism that puts an emphasis on environmental issues. Green anarchists often criticize the main currents of anarchism for their focus and debates about politics and economics instead of a focus on ecosystems.

inherently feminist".

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Anarcha-feminism

Anarcha-feminism is a form of anarchism that synthesizes radical feminism and anarchism and views patriarchy (male domination over women) as one of the (or the) primary dominations. Anarcha-feminism was inspired in the late 19th century by the writings of early feminist anarchists such as Lucy Parsons, Emma Goldman and Voltairine de Cleyre. Anarchafeminists, like other radical feminists, criticize and advocate the abolition of traditional conceptions of family, education and gender roles and believe that the feminist struggle against sexism and patriarchy is an essential component of the anarchist struggle. Susan Brown put it: "as anarchism is a political philosophy that opposes all relationships of power, it is

Contemporary insurrectionary anarchism most often inherits the views and tactics of anti-organizationalist anarcho-communism.

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to the same phenomenon as the source of modern, chist torms of primitivism, and not all primitivists point organization technologies. There are other non-anaror specialization, and abandonment of large-scale deindustrialisation, abolition of the division of labour advocate a return to non-civilized ways of life through cation, coercion, and alienation. Anarcho-primitivists to agricultural subsistence gave rise to social stratitianarcho-primitivism, the shift from hunter-gatherer origins and progress of civilization. According to Anarcho-primitivism is an anarchist critique of the

like Peter Kropotkin that technology and technologiby the late 19th and early 20th Century anarchists the cheertul Industrial Revolution optimism expressed chists, but it does provide a useful counterbalance to Primitivism is seem as extreme by some anarcivilized problems.

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pursued by anarchists in a post-revolutionary society.

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types

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Anarcho-primitivism is an anarchist critique of the origins and progress of civilization. According to anarcho-primitivism, the shift from hunter-gatherer to agricultural subsistence gave rise to social stratification, coercion, and alienation. Anarcho-primitivists advocate a return to non-civilized ways of life through deindustrialisation, abolition of the division of labour or specialization, and abandonment of large-scale organization technologies. There are other non-anarchist forms of primitivism, and not all primitivists point to the same phenomenon as the source of modern, civilized problems. Primitivism is seem as extreme by some anar-

chists, but it does provide a useful counterbalance to

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Anarcho-primitivism

types

Anarcho-primitivism

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Iype 3 Anarchism Synthesism/Anarchism without Adjectives/

which economics basis this is to be accomplished." personal and social treedom of men no matter upon be tested, and that the first objective is to secure the omy, the practical possibilities of which have yet to archism presented "only different methods of econliets. Rudolt Rocker said that the different types of anunite them around their shared anti-authoritarian bebetween various anarchist tactions and attempts to different anarchist schools. It emphasizes harmony This is an attitude that tolerates the coexistence of

Offen, members of these latter groups express conscale attinity groups that come and go as needed. tactical principles; others preter more flexible, smallwhere members commit to certain ideological and some anarchists preter durable, structured groups kinds of group structures they find themselves in: selves depending on what they were doing or what use more than one of these labels to describe them-A large number of self-defined anarchists might

that capitalism and the state are not the only sources of domination in our time, and that new approaches need to be developed to combat the network-type structures of domination that characterize late modernity.

Synthesism/Anarchism without Adjectives/ Type 3 Anarchism

This is an attitude that tolerates the coexistence of different anarchist schools. It emphasizes harmony between various anarchist factions and attempts to unite them around their shared anti-authoritarian beliefs. Rudolf Rocker said that the different types of anarchism presented "only different methods of economy, the practical possibilities of which have yet to be tested, and that the first objective is to secure the personal and social freedom of men no matter upon which economics basis this is to be accomplished."

A large number of self-defined anarchists might use more than one of these labels to describe themselves depending on what they were doing or what kinds of group structures they find themselves in: some anarchists prefer durable, structured groups where members commit to certain ideological and tactical principles; others prefer more flexible, smallscale affinity groups that come and go as needed. Often, members of these latter groups express con-

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types

Also, post-left anarchy and post-anarchy have real similarities, since both are updating

the individual is the real base for all decisions (although society tries to hide that fact), and that society (as understood through law, education, morality, religion, ideology, etc) has either little use or no use (except as a hindrance to the desires of individuals). Individualists de-emphasize the importance of revolution (as a single event that radically changes everything for the better), since revolutions tend to just install new leaders, and recommend slow, experientially based change instead. This covers wide territory, and many individualists disagree with each other.

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Is there an anarchist definition of class?

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Is there an anarchist definition of class?

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interpretations of class (the developers of these being mostly more Marxist than anarchist): * Jacques Camatte, coming from a Marxist background, argues that the class distinction is diffused in late capitalism through the total domestication of humans and the establishment of a capitalist human community. This does not mean there are not classes, but their conflict is pacified and their relations are shifted. The relevant conflict (if any) comes to be between humans and capital or individuals and their own domestication, rather than between proletariat and bourgeoisie.

class

tion on the basis of relative income, completely ignoring the relations to means of production (which according to Marxists are the basis for the common class interests of people who earn vastly different incomes, and antagonisms between individuals who earn relatively similar incomes). This idea of class is problematic to most Marxists and many anarchists because it turns the proletariat against itself and produces a false understanding of the way capitalism functions. But for better or worse many anarchists are very influenced by this definition of class. 3. There are some new and interesting definitions or

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* The proletariat defined as the dispossessed. This is the original definition of the term and it is there in Marx but there's a shift in significance from the industrial proletariat (which in Marx's context was the position most former peasants dispossessed of their land found themselves in) to more accurately reflect the context in "postindustrial" societies where surplus populations have become much larger since technological progress gradually displaces the need for human labor.

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Violence is a pretty loaded word. The violence of me punching you in the nose is different from the violence of dropping a bomb on a village or starving an entire category of humans. One of those violences is not antithetical to anarchy. The other

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Generally things aren't equal but if they were... Doesn't violence by one person against an equal imply powerviolence

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chist definition of class be developed that escapes entirely from Marxism (especially as this, whatever faults it may have, is based on real situations that persist today even if in different forms)? I doubt it—except, of course, in the very course of the abolition of the class society that Marx set himself to describing. To actually realize this abolition in practice so that new relations can flourish is, of course, a worthwhile task which generations of anarchists have striven for—much more so, I would argue, than Marxists as a whole.

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clearly is. The family of ideas and activities implied by the term "violence" makes it unusable during most conversations that anarchists would want to have about a better world, or about anarchist ideas.

Regarding the violence of punching each other in the nose, the instinct to do so is a pretty strong one. Perhaps even a fundamental one. If (or since) that is the case then violence is part of being a person. The desire for violence, the belief that "something" is solved with interpersonal violence, is probably part of the human project. If violence is human AND the desire to live without coercion and "power over" is human then the only thing that is antithetical to humans is humans. Which is probably a fair assessment of our current condition.

One last note. *bolo'bolo* has a nice section about conflict in a different world that may be worth quoting:

yaka: Every ibu (individual) can challenge any other ibu or a larger community to a duel, according to those rules.

It may be possible to agree to terms by which conflict is human scale and, perhaps, includes consensual violence. Scale is a huge factor in these questions.

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How do anarchists define violence?

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Where do anarchists place scientists in society?

It occurred to me that scientists don't fit well into the proletarian or bourgeoisie classes—because they don't own the means of production. Furthermore scientists don't really produce anything except information, so are they part of the service sector? I suppose what I am asking is: since scientists take highly technical equipment and turn it into data and theories, how do you envision scientists and scientific communities working in an anarchist society.

If I understand the main thrust of your question, you want to know how anarchist class analysis categorizes scientists. There isn't a single answer. Many anarchists would probably be conanalysis, in which scientists would probably be conencered petit-bourgeois. However, anarchists are ofing its class analysis. Your example of scientists is one example that in many cases there are economic classes that exist today that do not easily fit into the bourgeois-proletariat model.

Instead of relying on an understanding of class that is a century and a half-old, many anarchists analyze different economic classes in terms of how they help to reproduce the state *and* capital. Scientific

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Where do anarchists place scientists in society?

rectly intervene against scientific activity. I will concede that it is possible that activities we call science could exist in hypothetical anarchist societies. Some anarchists have conjectured what science might be like in an anarchist society. One conception is that scientists would cease to exist as a distinct class as scientific knowledge and equipment become the domain of all people. Kropotkin was a biologist, and a lot of contemporary anarchist ideas about science originate with him. However, contemporary anarchists are often far more critical of science than our 19th century forbears. I fall into this camp. I hope that contemporary anarchists who are "pro-science" at least take these critical perspectives into account.

pursuits are usually funded by the institutions we hate such as militaries or pharmaceutical companies, and as such serve the interests of state and capital. Some anarchists, especially animal liberationists, directly intervene against scientific activity.

What about technology?

Some of the answers to the question on scientists are also appropriate here.

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Some anarchists believe that technology is theoretically neutral, and that appropriate societies will develop appropriate technology. this definition of technology is basically no different from that for tools (i.e. tech and tools are things that people use to solve problems).

Other people, including many green anarchists (and all primitivists) see technology as one of the ways of formulating the problems that technology is then supposed to solve... ie there is a deeper philosophical challenge to the culture, a reciprocity between things and processes and people...

(That said, i am obviously biased towards the latter position. so perhaps someone who is not will also have a go at answering this.)

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Rights always come from the state. The idea that rights should be written into law was developed when people were so pissed about getting stepped on and ruled over by sovereign powers that the governments had to do something. So they made a tremendous shift into a system of politics

Can the concept of desire replace the concept of rights? What are the implications of this? If it doesn't replace this concept what are some of the consequences of eliminating a discourse of rights? How does one talk about the importance of people's access to basic resources or the importance of eliminating torture (for example) outside of this discourse.

Do rights always and everywhere flow from the state? Don't some rights (ideally) protect one from the state? Human rights as opposed to legal rights say? Isn't it OK to have some basic standards for our treatment of one another and can't that be totally independent of the concept of the state? And, finally, can't new rights take political/ social space away from the state and capital? For example wouldn't the concept of housing as a basic human right take some space away from the idea that property rights should be primary and form the foundation of the social order?

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called liberalism (not the same as liberalism as in liberal vs. conservative or liberal vs. maoist) in which the law recognizes the rights of citizens. These laws serve to not only convince citizens that they aren't going to be stepped on as hard but also to ensure that people will appeal for recognition of their rights to the state or for a change in the rights written in

revolt now tends to happen only when the system is clearly fucking people over and clearly not going to change itself. Even then, revolt can be settled by implementing some larger systematic change or having a revolutionary government take over.

Anarchists do not want protection from the state. Or, to put it another way, a truly anarchist life guarantees that one will not be promised protection by the state, and instead punished by it. The state offers protection to (certain normal, decent, lawabiding, good, productive, etc) citizens in exchange for their preservation, reproduction, and reformation of the status quo.

An alternative understanding would be that rights are first and foremost inherent to our being human, and only secondly is this 'real' human essence recognized by the state. I would reject this because 18

law, rather than revolt when they have grievances. It is a remarkably successful system, in which

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To appeal (to the state) for the establishment of greater rights does not "take away space" from the state. It would seem that only revolt can actually wrench spaces from state control, but even then, state-forms manage to creep in through the back door (the implementation of self-management among the insurgents).

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Anarchy vs. Anarchism?

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Anarchy vs. Anarchism?

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Anarchism is also a constraint. For many, if not most, anarchists there is a central concept that the ends do -not- justify the means, or put more gently, that an anarchist practice must embed the values and ideas of a future anarchist society. This means that anarchists are often broken into parts. One part acts against the constraints of this world. The other part constrains themselves by an ethical ruler the calibration of which is in a foreign unit."

Anarchism is also a variable. It means many different things to different people. This open nature serves as a counter-point to ideas that are connected to specific thinkers or traditions in that, while there is a tradition, and there are important thinkers, there is also a lot of room for *you* to write your own page to the story. To apply the variable to your own life.

"Anarchism is a political philosophy that aspires to a world without the State and without exchange relations [relations dominated by the market and economic value]. It is both the negative idea that there is a laundry list of ideas, practices, and values in our current society to be against and the positive idea that what is most "us" about us (as living creatures) should be free to pursue its own ends without coercion or constraint.

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think that Somalian society is "anarchy"? How do you respond to people who

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How do you respond to people who think that Somalian society is "anarchy"?

The problem is that technically they are correct; Ī Somalia has been without a functioning government and state for over a decade.

One response to that observation is that there are no anarchists in Somalia (at least none that we've heard about), and that the state there was deliberately destroyed not by anarchists, but by the US military, and the US military is neither a humanitarian nor a progressive outfit.

Anarchists and other anti-state radicals would have destroyed the Somali state in order to liberate the Somalis from government, all the while encouraging Somalis to remember how to go about organizing themselves to fulfill their own needs outside the realm of capitalism and statecraft.

The destruction of government in a situation where class domination still exists means the nakedly oppressive rule of the most powerful class without any pretense to legitimate authority (like parliamentary democracy or something similarly goofy): in other words "warlords" and "pirates." The destruction of governments and states needs to include the destruction of all institutionalized hierarchies (class-based, genderbased, ethnicity-based, etc)-otherwise all you get is

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the brutal chaos seen in Somalia, parts of Haiti, parts of Afghanistan...

What are the advantages of anarchy for a society over any form of government?

Governments are all about representation — **Q** they claim to work in the name of, and to the benefit of, the people they govern. Aside from the majority of the time when that is a lie (ie when the government is motivated by corruption, incompetence, conflicting agendas, etc), even in the best case scenarios, what representation does is to deny and prohibit people's agency, our willingness and capacity to act for ourselves, based on our own and capacity to act for ourselves, based on our own

The situation in Louisiana with Hurricane Katrina is a classic case in point. Police and military did not act in the interest of the hurricane survivors, and tried to stop people from helping each other.

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Why does capitalism rely on the State?

Because, being based on an accumulation of **D**. capital (ie wealth) into the hands of a few people at the expense of the reat, it requires the accumulation of power into the hands of a few people operating through a system of institutions of domination in order to protect the accumulation of wealth. This system of institutions of domination is what constitutes the state, and without it, the accumulation of capital necessary to capitalism would be implausible, if not impossible, simply because people wouldn't be likely to put up with it.

to put up with it.

How can private property be abolished without any authority to abolish it with?

One simple answer: private property cannot be maintained without authority to maintain it, because people would immediately appropriate what they need, and the force of law, police, etc would not be there to stop them. It is through these forms of state power that owners are currently able to

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combat activities such as theft, squatting/trespassing, etc, thereby keeping these activities relatively in check, ie maintaining their property.

Of course there are privately-owned security forces, police, armies, prisons, etc. "Anarcho"-capitalists feel entitled to call themselves such because they don't consider these to be forms of government. (They also have a funny definition of capitalism.) To my mind these examples just demonstrate a different form of governmental power in which it is more transparent that the rich have hired mercenaries (a condition somewhat obscured by the liberal form of government). Private property itself functions as a form of authority in that there is an authority held over individuals by the sanctity of property. In this approach, one might view the forms taken by society to enforce property as a social/material actuation of this ideological system. This helps explain the existence of

Private property itself functions as a form of authority in that there is an authority held over individuals by the sanctity of property. In this approach, one might view the forms taken by society to enforce property as a social/material actuation of this ideological system. This helps explain the existence of the moral systems in which people believe it is wrong to infringe on property rights and so on—what we experience is not simply a world full of private property that we cannot access because it is protected by armed guards (as some anarchists portray it). This is true, but it is also a world in which most people truly believe in the existing system and in a whole lot of

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As for how private property can be abolished: The 1st paragraph might make it seem as if the abolition of the state would necessarily lead to the abolition of private property through appropriation. However, just as anarchists reject the idea of using authoritarian measures to abolish private property, we also reject the idea that we want *simply* the abolition of the government, that "everything else" will follow from there. Anarchists are, after all, opposed to all forms of authority, and generally don't believe in confronting them separately from one another. Most anarchists probably agree that private property can be abolished through the insurrection of self-actualized individuals and collectivities that organize without authority between each other nor between themselves and any higher powers (state, god, etc) to free their lives from systems that dominate them. This effort of making our lives our own (of appropriating them) is from a certain viewpoint the abolition of private property, although it may be much more as well. It may involve a lot of willpower, but by no means requires authority-in fact, authority as I define it can only be a fetter to this effort.

What does Nietzsche have to

I have seen anarchists talk about Nietzsche, and there

seems to be a new fad of anarcho-nihlism. Yet Nietzsche

himself spoke quite negatively about anarchists, and many

of his ideas seem quite counter to anarchism (as practiced

in the US). So what does Nietzsche's nihilism have in common with anarchism, and what does he have to offer

First: Nietzsche and nihilism... Nietzsche's posi-

tions on nihilism were complex, and it could be

argued that he was a nihilist, or at least aimed

Nietzsche saw nihilism as the most extreme form

of pessimism, something that comes from weariness

and an alienation from values. When one can recog-

nize the existing value systems as meaningless and empty, and not replace it with anything, they become

nihilistic. He saw nihilism as both positive and nega-

tive, as "...one of the greatest crises, a moment of

the deepest self-reflection of humanity. Whether man

recovers from it, whether he becomes master of this

different types of nihilism you find in his works, pas-

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crisis, is a question of his strength!"

do with anarchism?

anarchist practice?

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¿อวเววขมd วุรเญวมขนข refto of supplies to the second to the second of the rest of the r In such merilian societies IVI soop that of $(S \cup S \cap S)$ pasiton (as the counter to anarchick as the more substance of the particular to an and the particular to the particular Kupu pup 'sisigsupup inogp Klovitug of an area flowing seems to be a new fad of anarcho-niblism. Yet Mietzsche I have seen anarchists talk about Nietzsche, and there

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sive nihilism and active nihilism. The passive nihilist is the one who could not recover from this crisis. It is a state in which a person, having recognized that all external values are empty, with no true authority, begins to find their own internal values meaningless, giving up their own authority. With all sense of authority gone one gives in to the spirit of hopelessness and fatalism, ridding themselves of all responsibility. They withdraw from the world, give up.

But it is possible (Nietzsche argues that it is entirely desirable) that this recognition of external value systems as meaningless can give way to a sense of rebelliousness and strength. This active nihilist seeks to destroy any and all remaining traces of an empty value system. The strength of one's will is tested by whether or not it can recognize all value systems as empty and meaningless, yet admit that these lies arise out of the ego and serve a purpose; whether one can recognize that value is necessary for life while denying the existence of any universal truth.

Nietzsche saw this nihilism as a means to achieving an end, not an end in and of itself. It is simply one step in the revaluation of values. Nihilism is necessary to destroy what exists now in order to create a place in which the ego/the will can truly take power and assert itself fully. sive nihilism and active nihilism. The passive nihilist is the one who could not recover from this crisis. It is a state in which a person, having recognized that all external values are empty, with no true authority, begins to find their own internal values meaningless, giving up their own authority. With all sense of authority gone one gives in to the spirit of hopelessness and fatalism, ridding themselves of all responsibility. They withdraw from the world, give up.

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tred of everything that stands up, and is great, and has durability, and promises life a future." However, I don't think that this is permanent. Second: What anarchists can learn from Nietzsche's rejection of slave morality.

Anarchists are some of the strongest adherents to the slave morality; Nietzsche even said so outright. Our whole outlook on life, the way in which we function within this world is based upon reaction, resentment. We view people/events/etc through the eye

Nietzsche

Nietzsche

As anarchists we are fighting to rid ourselves of the existing value systems (the capitalist values of "money above all", the Christian values of "selfsacrifice, and god above all", etc), and many of us already feel that alienation from these values. What we can take from his active nihilism is the deconstructive nature that gives way to construction, a destruction that strengthens and empowers. The realization that we need not only destroy what exists, but transcend it. Nietzsche calls anarchists (and Christians) out on their apparent inability to do this: "There is a perfect likeness between Christian and anarchist: their object, their instinct, points only toward destruction.... both are decadents; both are incapable of any act that is not disintegrating, poisonous, degenerating, blood sucking; both have an instinct of mortal hatred of everything that stands up, and is great, and has durability, and promises life a future." However,

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of "good vs evil". We look for that which is "evil" (capitalism, police, etc) and define anything that isn't that as "good". We do not spend much time focusing on that which is "good", but are obsessed with the "evil", we revolve our ideals/projects/lives around it. How is the US anarchist idea of "evil" much different than Christian sin or devil; how different is the anarchists' end of capitalism from the Christian apocalypse, anarchist ideals from heaven? We have become the perfect (pitiful) disciples of our own slave morality.

And while Nietzsche argues that all morality is something to be destroyed, if anarchists are going to have a morality we would have something to learn from the master morality. Maybe we would get somewhere constructive with our ideas if we began focusing on what was "good" for us, what bettered us, our projects, our aims is certainly more productive that focusing on what is not our enemies, labeling all that is opposed to our enemies as "good", spending our time dissecting "evil", learning about "evil" in order to learn what is not evil, to better understand how we can be not "evil". But we could strive to go beyond morality entirely...

I think that Nietzsche's critiques of anarchism can be taken as constructive criticism, and can be learned from. I do not know much about anarcho-

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I know that many individual anarchists actively do, or aim to, see the world through a lens free of such morality. I find this to be totally desirable and

You're right, I make some sweeping generalizations in that answer. I did lump all anarchists into that category.

Maybe I misunderstood something.

state that (all) anarchists see things through a moralistic lens of good vs evil. And I thought morals were a concept placed above oneself, which one must (or at least should) defer to. The very antithesis of what anarchy means to me.

resentment. We view people/events/etc through the eye of "good vs evil". Wow. first of all, you sound like you are speaking for (all) anarchists. Then, as part of that, you

I appreciate most of this response, KD, but this here got my goat: Anarchists are some of the strongest

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I appreciate that you are among those. However, 'anarchism' as both an 'ism' and a culture does have a strong morality.

Are there any critiques of capital that emphasize the individual?

It would be nice to have more familiarity with such critiques to be able to easily dispense with anti-capitalism = collectivism arguments.

European individualist anarchism tends to be **Q**. highly influenced by semi-aristocratic libertarian Stirner. One of the most important causes that those thinkers are for is individual authenticity and sincerity. So this is why for example Nietzsche has been influential in something like the marxist Frankfurt School. The Frankfurt School might base some of its economics in marxism (mainly the critique of the comnodity form) but it is not hard to find in it highly individualistic citations relevant to our consumer society vidualistic citations relevant to our consumer society

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My thought is that as commercialism advances, the mediocrity and the homogenizing grows. Even in small non-capitalist markets such as artisan markets one has the constraint on personality and real emotions that entails having to sell in order to make enough for survival. The famous phrase "the cus-

And another: In the culture industry the individual is an illusion not merely because of the standarization of the means of production. He is tolerated only so long as his complete identification with the generality is unquestioned. [ibid]

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The man with leisure has to accept what the culture manufacturers offer him. Kant's formalism still expected a contribution from the individual, who was thought to relate the varied experiences of the senses to fundamental concepts; but industry robs the individual of his function. Its prime service to the customer is to do his shcematizing for him...There is nothing left for the

tomer is allways right" shows this. Now as we enter the capitalist market space the prospective employee has to sell herself/himself, dress a certain way in order to sell an image. At the top of all this we have the marketing technologues who have to learn some form of psychology in order to learn the art of selling things no matter if they like something or agree with something as long as the pay is good.

As far as anarchism specifically a good essay on these themes is "The Soul of Man in Socialism" by Oscar Wilde. In it he puts forward this kind of view:

> With the abolition of private property, then, we shall have true, beautiful, healthy Individualism. Nobody will waste his life in accumulating things, and the symbols for things. One will live. To live is the rarest thing in the world. Most people exist, that is all.

Italian Individualist insurrectionist Renzo Novatore admired Wilde highly and so went as far as to put him in his personal list of great individuals:

> Individualism is its own end. Minds atrophied by (Herbert) Spencer's positivism still go on believing that they are individualists without noticing that their venerated teacher is the ultimate anti-individualist, since

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And from this point of view, I don't know why that flabby charlatan, that failed anthropologist, bloated more and more with the sociology of Darwin, Comte, Spencer and Marx, who has spread filth over the giants of Art and Thought like Nietzsche, Stirner, Ibsen, Wilde, Zola, Huysman, Verlaine, Mallarmé, etc., that charlatan called Max Nordau; I repeat, I cannot explain to myself why he hasn't also been called an Individualist... since, like Spencer, Nordau also fights the state.

he is nothing more than a radical monist,

and, as such, the passionate lover of unity

and the sworn enemy of particularity...But

not because he has understood the anti-

collectivist, anti-social singularities capable

of higher activities of the spirit, of emotion

and of heroic and uninhibited strength. He

hates the state, but does not penetrate or

understand the mysterious, aristocratic,

vagabond, rebel individual!

So it is clear there are strong reasons why individualists have been againts markets and of course their more totalitarian form, capitalism. I think also the Situationist International delved in an important way in all capital & the individual

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of this. In a book of Michel Ontray called "La sculpture de soi: la morale esthétique" (the sculpture of oneself) briefly in some part he finds a relationship with what the important aspects of Stirner philosophy with what the Situationist International spoke about.

When (if ever) is coercion an appropriate choice for an anarchist?

In an ideal world, persuasion and discussion would settle all things, but my ideal world has no room for ten hour consensus meeting more than maybe once per lifetime. Lump that with the fact that my ideal world is one of many, and they don't all fit together like a nice figsaw puzzle of anarchyland.

1 we are are assuming that the dirty grit of the real world in the here and now will be present in whatever other realities we create (meaning that they are non-utopic), where does coercion come in to play? At what point does it cross the line in to domination?

I'm not sure that I wouldn't put discussion outside of the category of coercion. Depends on the situation.

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same kind of people (whatever "kind" might mean in a given situation). Edit: to be clearer—I think 10 hour meetings are absolutely coercive. You have to continue talking to people in a specific format (meeting procedures) in order to make decisions that impact your life? Or risk having things come up that effect you without having any input? No.

To me, as a working premise, domination is a question of scale and reification. If one person always argues circles around me without taking my concerns into account and I don't want to or can't beat them up, then I will just try to avoid them, or have someone else deal with them. If I cannot do that because there is a whole apparatus in place (like the police, to be simplistic), then I think that can be called domination, especially if the apparatus is always composed of the same people, or the same kind of people (whatever "kind" might mean in a given situation).

The line between persuasion and coercion is a lot murkier than it seems to be, once one starts questioning things like why some people's skill sets are more highly valued than others (talking over fist-fighting, for example). I have seen plenty of verbal arguments finished where one person was just more stubborn than the other, not that either had been convinced (or convincing)...

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the throat and then go on their way. insistent in your attempts to coerce, to punch you in away without paying you any mind, or, should you be also means those people are welcome to walk erce people, it that is what you choose to do. It Anarchy means you are welcome to try to co-

things like mild needling and teasing, sarcasm, etc. countered with shaming about such behavior through it we believe the anthropologists, coercion would be there will be some law prohibiting coercion. Rather, that people will suddenly all stop doing so, or that ers into acting against their will, but that doesn't mean It might be unpopular to try to openly coerce oth-

that is talking about ideals, which hold very little when settled by persuasion as opposed to coercion, but needs and societal wants. Ideally things would be cietal needs and individual wants, and of individual one of power. Anarchy is a delicate balance of socoercion. Problem? No, not necessarily. The issue is Io whit, coercion would likely be countered with

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Does anarchy mean that I can't try to coerce people or only that they're free to walk away if I do?

Anarchy means you are welcome to try to coing erce people, if that is what you choose to do. It also means those people are welcome to walk away without paying you any mind, or, should you be insistent in your attempts to coerce, to punch you in the throat and then go on their way.

It might be unpopular to try to openly coerce others into acting against their will, but that doesn't mean that people will suddenly all stop doing so, or that there will be some law prohibiting coercion. Rather, if we believe the anthropologists, coercion would be countered with shaming about such behavior through things like mild needling and teasing, sarcasm, etc.

To whit, coercion would likely be countered with coercion. Problem? No, not necessarily. The issue is one of power. Anarchy is a delicate balance of societal needs and individual wants, and of individual needs and societal wants. Ideally things would be settled by persuasion as opposed to coercion, but that is talking about ideals, which hold very little when dealing in real lives and desires.

Perhaps as a counter argument, I would ask, why attempt to coerce as opposed to persuade? There are times where both are appropriate, in my mind, but I would much rather create a new guestion than authoritatively circumscribe that exploration.

Why are anarchists against hierarchy?

Why exactly is hierarchy bad?

To the extent that hierarchy is bad (there is a question of semantics here-see below), it's because it encourages (or forces) people into situations where they feel (or are) not responsible for their own lives and actions. The military is full of extreme examples of people doing things that ruin the rest of their lives because they were ordered to (not just by their commanding officer, but by an entire social system that a) tells them they should be ordered, and b) forces them into situations like the military to be able to survive).

Some people don't put the issue in hierarchy, but in domination, and argue that some amount of hierarchy is not a problem, as long as it's not institutionalized... Like, it's ok if people pay more attention to you when regarding something that you're known to be coercion

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coercion

good at. The problem, for example, comes when you get to start making people do things.

I think the valid critique that people bring to this question is that of relationship, and the idea that we are all in some kind of hierarchical relationship all the time (a la Foucault), that power flows between people all the time, and that to resist hierarchy is to resist relationships... So the issue becomes one of context and degree, rather than simply a binary one.

If I may, I would after your question to read: Why is hierarchy considered to be detrimental to the positive principles of anarchism like mutual aid, direct action, and voluntary cooperation? With a simple understanding of what those principles are and what they look like, the question almost ansere and what they look like, the question almost answers itself.

I would wholeheartedly agree with dot that it's a question of the institutionalization of hierarchy rather than hierarchy itself that is the problem, so a better way of discussing this issue is to call the problem "domination" — or if you're feeling philosophical, call it "domination" — or if you're feeling philosophical, call it shift sounds especially heavy in German.

l imagine a "hierarchy" in a simplified sense as a pyramid where each individual exists as a block

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I would wholeheartedly agree with dot that it's a question of the institutionalization of hierarchy rather than hierarchy itself that is the problem, so a better way of discussing this issue is to call the problem "domination"—or if you're feeling philosophical, call it *Herrschaft*, because all the really heavy philosophical shit sounds especially heavy in German.

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addiction, etc, but those complicate the metaphor). At the same time, the pyramidal structure contains everyone in it, top to bottom, and this containment exerts pressure as well on everyone. Now, beyond just intentions, and the way that power corrupts, we can emphasize the consequences of structures of hierarchical control, how they create incentives toward exploitation and obstacles toward accountability, and how such systems by definition entail finite positions of superior privilege and inferior classes held in subordination. Power hierarchies mean that those most allowed to change the status quo have the most investment in preserving it-their power, prestige, profit, etc. rely upon the disempowered not taking back their usurped initiative. Oftentimes even the mildest managerialism snowballs away from accountability and toward authoritarianism through

more pressure you put on others. The pressure symbolizes authority. So this highly unequal distribution of force predictably breeds institutionalized privilege, envy, and competition for dominance, at bare minimum because of a want to escape the pressure. It seems like privilege and envy, pain and fear, keep hierarchical institutions reproducing (as well as of course indoctrination, propaganda, denial, eradication of alternatives, addiction, etc, but those complicate the metaphor). At the same time, the pyramidal structure contains everyone in it, top to bottom, and this containment exerts pressure as well on everyone.

in the structure: the closer your block's position to the

top, the less pressure you feel upon yourself and the

hierarchy

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"emergency" justitications that never roll back. Systems that allow for and emphasize the role of hierarchical power have totalitarian tendencies. They have pyramidal structures, stacked ranks, centralized power, vertical organization. Their officials give commands supported by threats. This creates a delicate stability through a shared fear of repression. In this spirit, their decision-making tends to utilize massive impersonal bureaucracy, standardization, and conformity. But other and contrary types of relations and orpetween peers, the kind that anarchists propose. Power hierarchies undermine communication.

Power merarches undermine communication. Hagbard's Law shows that in a truly pyramidal structure, where authority figures create order through merely what the superiors want to hear. This filtering multiplies to the degree of verticality, by each level of mediation in that structure. Those at the top therefore lose connection from the reality below them. The (mis)information the authorities receive appeals to their confirmation bias (the things they want to thear), resulting in misguided intentions cloaked in truth, shielded by mistaken confidence, and armed with monopoly, allowing for no opposition. And so,

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because of the one-way decision-making and the filtered awareness, if those at the top of the pyramid actually made a deliberate attempt to represent the subordinates, they would tend toward a misrepresentation made invisible to themselves.

If people possess the critical thinking and character assessment skills to recognize in an authority the ways to lead competent, benevolent lives, why must we delegate this capacity outside of ourselves? Why do we need them to run our lives if we can tell how our lives should be run? And however will the disempowered find freedom, if in each instance where authoritarians act on behalf of the disempowered, to shape or shield or crush them, the will of the disempowered continually atrophies from lack of exercise? How else will the disempowered find freedom, if not in seizing the direction of their own lives, the very act that the authoritarians deny them? Stratification of power only exacerbates the predicament. We alone experience the peculiar circumstances of our situation. We alone bear the history of our aspirations and sorrows, our passions and eccentricities, our capacities and limitations. Our lived experience grants us more qualification at determining our path than any speculating manager could ever dream of. Further empowered by collaboration with one's peers, people can experience authentic freedom, and not the sad farce of begging those in

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What makes someone an anarchist?

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As long as there's agreement on those two against political and economic hierarchies). other things - but the core points are being ą Kejection of capitalism and the state (among

Rejection of capitalism and the state (among rby other things - but the core points are being against political and economic hierarchies). As long as there's agreement on those two 44

What makes someone an anarchist? If anarchists disagree with each other so much, how do you tell who is one, and who isn't?

People may voluntarily seek for themselves a leader to guide them, but when they deny others the ability to live autonomously, it results in nothing but tyranny, no matter how many smily faces the tyranny hides behind. Those of us who by conscience refuse systems of hierarchical power will not voluntarily choose to opt-in and cannot opt-out without severe punishment. Those in power promise us the world but by design they must keep our lives out of our own hands, and regardless of whether or not they make decisions I would endorse-which they don't-I find the method irreconcilable with my conscience and my aspirations. And that is the inequality and the abusiveness of the "power" I refer to, that is the mechanics intrinsic to hierarchal order.

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criteria

ank or herself to be an anarchist? 2. If the person in question encounters another randomly-selected anarchist, is the latter likely to want

The following test is remarkably accurate: 1. Does the person in guestion consider him

But I think these things come as very slightly secondary to capitalism and the state. If an anarchist happens to be kind of a sexist douche, they wouldn't necessarily be called "not an anarchist" but maybe "not an anarchist I would like to be around". On the other hand, if someone were to defend the necessity or desirability of some level of capitalism or statehood, then people would probably be pretty quick to say that that person is not an anarchist at all.

Yep! And opposition to forms of, ah, a "social domination" I guess you could say-institutional and individual racism, sexism, heterosexism, et cetera...

Some of those other things to consider are work and civilization.

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In my experience, neighborhood watch programs are really nothing more than narcs, off-duty police, superiority-complex-ridden people that try to be police, and then the occasional person who just wants to make sure no one is being harmed. It's this last group of people that give me hope for watches, and I think community watches can fit nicely with anarchism; it's volunteer, there are different watchers every night (or week or whatever), and no one has authority over others. The Highway Helpers in Iowa and other states are slightly reminiscent of this organization (volunteers drive around the highways in trucks with car-repair equipment and help anyone in need, free of charge). I can easily see some anarchist societies having such organizations (people patrolling to make sure no one

What's the general attitude anarchists have of neighborhood/community watch organizations?

You're only a real anarchist if the answer to both of these is yes.

sive knowledge of their ideas and actions? If the answers are "yes" to 1 and "no" to 2, the person in question is an anarchist. Otherwise, they are not.

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have of neighborhood/community

What's the general attitude anarchists

watch organizations?

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to attack the former if they have a fairly comprehen-

I mean, as of right now, the term "neighborhood watch" carries a lot of baggage—usually that of property owners, middle-class professionals, and small entrepreneurs banding together to keep certain elements out of their neighborhood. This usually translates to harassing poor people, young people, and people of color (and especially

Don't forget—a neighborhood might need a fire watch, a medical watch, a kiddy watch... a garden watch in freezing weather if folks are away... there are a lot of negative connotations because of the way it gets used. That doesn't keep us from using it for constructive purposes... Old folk hasn't been seen in a few days? Did s/he fall down and get hurt?

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Asker's comment-CopWatch, community detense wildly different things, such as the ones illustrated in that you could use a similar organizational structure for structure is plenty anarchistic", I mean it in the sense Io clarity, when I say that "the organizational

obvious since they're basically amateur cops. chist society or organizing, but that much should be obviously totally incompatible with any kind of anar-The Neighborhood Watch, as it exists today, is committees, emergency response networks, etc.

never think to link those organizations to the anarchist ics anonymous, even some workplaces) but I would ganizations that work like that, (rotary clubs, alcoholwhatever, that wouldn't matter. I here are plenty of orwatch took were totally inclusive, participatory, and It seems to me that even it the torm a neighborhood us, much less a helptul aspect of an anarchist society. watch could ever be anything but a threat to I can't really imagine how a neighborhood asr Io offer an alternative answer:

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But the organizational structure is plenty anarchistic in theory, sure. It's non-hierarchical and based on mutual aid. The problem is the context in which it occurs.

To clarify, when I say that "the organizational structure is plenty anarchistic", I mean it in the sense that you could use a similar organizational structure for wildly different things, such as the ones illustrated in Asker's comment-CopWatch, community defense committees, emergency response networks, etc.

The Neighborhood Watch, as it exists today, is obviously totally incompatible with any kind of anarchist society or organizing, but that much should be

obvious since they're basically amateur cops.

To offer an alternative answer: asr I can't really imagine how a neighborhood watch could ever be anything but a threat to us, much less a helpful aspect of an anarchist society. It seems to me that even if the form a neighborhood watch took were totally inclusive, participatory, and whatever, that wouldn't matter. There are plenty of organizations that work like that, (rotary clubs, alcoholics anonymous, even some workplaces) but I would never think to link those organizations to the anarchist

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project. In each case their purpose is opposed to mine or at least unrelated.

As far as I can tell, the purpose of a neighborhood watch is surveillance: they try to make sure that any crime that occurs in a certain area is observed, so that it will be easier for the police to deal with it. The assumption is that the neighborhood watch somehow has the ability to determine what behaviors are appropriate within a certain area (a side note: what the fuck is a neighborhood?).

In a situation where there are police available, people who do this are straight up snitches. In a situation without police, I guess they would simply be nosy assholes. I certainly can't think of any stateless group I have read about where people thought that one of their biggest problems is that people are committing crimes without being observed.

To complicate this, I can think of some situations where we might want to organize in a *somewhat* analogous way, given the reality that right now we live in a world with lots of enemies. For instance, copwatch, neighborhood defense committees, barricades – things that might help us keep police out of places...

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neighborhood watch/vigilantes

Are anarchists egalitarians?

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we should all have exactly the same social standing, The critique of equality also extends to ideas that

Are anarchists egalitarians?

I read in an anarchist 101 type pamphlet that anarchists are egalitarians who seek the creation (in a long term and immediate sense) of egalitarian social relationships and equality between people. And yet in other places, I have read critiques of "equality" as an abstracting, limiting, and quantifying view of humanity tied to liberalism and capitalism. I understand anarchism to be a critique of capitalism and liberalism.

we should all have exactly the same social standing,

of equality, they are referring to legal definitions of equality-affirmative action programs, state controlled redistribution of the wealth, and so forth. Often times equality as used in contemporary north american politics is either a code word for further state control or else is so detached of any real meaning (pay attention, if you can stomach it, to how campaigning politicians discuss equality for examples).

the same things in the way your are bringing them up. Egalitarianism as anarchists use it normally refers to social relations lacking coercive or rigidly hierarchical structures. Often times when anarchists critique concepts

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treedom, democracy, etc. people think of positively, like equality, love, take tor granted, "especially" things that deep questioning of the things that people thing that anarchists do is to encourage a I think that perhaps the most important

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I would just like to add that while we dot could operate on the understanding that the anarchists who promote "egalitarian relationships" and "equality" are just using the words in a good way (usually the rationale is that they want to speak to people who don't think about the nuances that ingrate explains), it is also reasonable to be suspicious of people who ignore the problems of words and concepts that are appealing in a repressive society, and to consider those people demagogues.

I think that perhaps the most important

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I understand egalitarianism as either (a) no one has a privilege that everyone else doesn't also have,

(b) everyone has direct access to what they need, (c) everyone has direct input in decisions that affect

them, (d) diversity exists without power hierarchies and ex-

ploitation of labor.

Anthropologists distinguish between egalitarian societies, ranked societies, and class-based societies, and I find these distinctions useful. I don't like the term "equality" because to me it can too easily become a vehicle for authoritarian conformity.

Two texts I find useful here are "Egalitarian Societies" by James Woodburn, and "How Hunter-gatherers Maintained Their Egalitarian Ways" by Peter

Gray, both available online. The wikipedia entry for "egalitarianism" mentions one definition as "a social philosophy advocating the removal of economic inequalities among people or the decentralization of power", so we can see obviequality

For other anarchists the insistence on equality is a deplorable belief in the weakness of humans, the drive to level everything and everyone to protect us from ourselves and the world, to hedge against risk. It is an abstraction that will occupy the vacant seat of the state, ensuring freedom from harms. It is an abandonment and a betrayal of our greatest abilities and dreams. It is settling for safety and repetition

There are two broadly divergent tendencies in anarchist understandings of equality. In the first perspective associated with class struggle anarchism, equality is the utopian fantasy endstate that results from the glorious revolution. Without equality, revolution has no utopian dream to pursue, no raison d'etre. When the state and capital are banished to history all people will magically be equal in the absence of political and economic hierarchies and oppressions. We will thrive on the fantastic bounty that utopian dreams bestow upon us.

What do anarchists mean by "equality"? Usually when I hear people utter this term or see it on banners I understand it to mean equality of legal rights. This struggle is reformist by anarchist standards, as we oppose the state's laws, equal or not. Also, is this what the Circle E symbol is supposed to mean?

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equality

in the place of our passions, our greatness, our indomitable spirits, and a real and dangerous world. Equality is the exaltation of the herd where everyone stands on the same ground and where no one strays far from a dull and unexceptional pack.

What's the deal with feminism and anarchy?

What's the correlation between the two? I've heard some a-feminists say all anarchists are (or should be) feminists. Is patriarchy really that prevalent or that big of a problem? Feminism just seems like a whiny way of saying women need to be treated equally, yet differently and even better than men.

First—this question seems to be trolling, both in its language and in its content. But since this topic hasn't been fleshed out here much, I will continue on the premise of good faith. This answer is not going to be a tome, so it doesn't go into sufficient detail about the complexities around gender vs sex, etc...

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of inherited and recreated hierarchies that don't allow people our full expression, then yes, feminism and anarchy can be seen as intimately related. On the other hand, some feminists just want more women in government, so those feminists have nothing in common with anarchists. d. Calling feminists whiny makes me want to hit you

b. There are at least as many kinds of feminists as there are of anarchists (probably more).

c. Since on one level feminists are saying that the

standard way of doing things is a problem because

That is just on the bare surface level. If you consider patriarchy to be the thing that keeps us locked in a gender binary, which many feminists (and anarchists) do, then the fact that most of us don't get to have the kinds of relationships that we want, or be the people we want to be, regardless of our gender/ sex, is based on patriarchy.

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of physical violence. socialized with diametrically opposed understandings niticantly different, since women and men are mostly tor women vs what it looks like tor men can be sigand men. For example, what selt detense looks like taking into account the different contexts of women appears to be a contradiction is actually someone same and treat me differently). But sometimes what tradictions in what they are asking for (treat me the society. Those people are particularly prone to conror (as in reverse-image) the dynamics in the larger make a home there, replicating power trips that mirsystem we live in. Many people get to that stage and ways to (start to) look at many of the inequities of the of problems and weaknesses, it is one of the easiest ing around-and can be organized around) has a lot identity is a tundamental issue that is worth organiz-

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identity is a fundamental issue that is worth organizing around-and can be organized around) has a lot of problems and weaknesses, it is one of the easiest ways to (start to) look at many of the inequities of the system we live in. Many people get to that stage and make a home there, replicating power trips that mirror (as in reverse-image) the dynamics in the larger society. Those people are particularly prone to contradictions in what they are asking for (treat me the same and treat me differently). But sometimes what appears to be a contradiction is actually someone taking into account the different contexts of women and men. For example, what self defense looks like for women vs what it looks like for men can be significantly different, since women and men are mostly socialized with diametrically opposed understandings of physical violence.

"if you consider patriarchy to be the thing fnk that keeps us locked in gender binary ... " I see most feminist responses to patriarchy as absolutely perpetuating the "gender"

binary, just as patriarchy does. Some might see that as inherently wrapped up in the bogeyman of patriarchy, where everything that "results" from patriarchy is somehow explainable (or even

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Are patriarchy and teminism, by definition,

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cept/ideology? One final thought on the original question. Patriarchy is, at some level, an institution (at least it is seen that way by many). Any anarchist I care to hang with is against all institutions (which are inherently controlling and homogenizing). A feminist who is against patriarchy but not against other institutions (work/capitalism, government; these seem to be the contexts within which patriarchal behavior is measured, at least on the broad scale), is really no different from the communist who is against one institution (capitalism) but not the rest (including, but not limited to, the state, industrialism, etc). Just my 2c.

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"I see most teminist responses to patriarchy as absolutely perpetuating the "gender" binary" Sure. and most anarchists maintain fucked

Sure, and most anarchists maintain fucked by patterns of behavior that contradict what anarchy is too. Not trying to make an exact correlation or anything, and I hang with anarchists not feminists for exactly the reasons that you mention, but it is true that very few people push the things that they believe in, in the directions that seem appropriate (and/or obvious) to me. Sure. and most anarchists maintain fucked up patterns of behavior that contradict what anarchy is too. Not trying to make an exact correlation or anything, and I hang with anarchists not feminists for exactly the reasons that you mention, but it is true that very few people push the things that they believe in, in the directions that seem appropriate (and/or obvious) to me.

"I see most feminist responses to patriarchy as absolutely perpetuating the "gender" binary"

What are some anarchist critiques of humanism?

1. Humanism facilitates ecological collapse. alc Belief in the right of human supremacy over all other species (whether explicitly for domination or under the guise of stewardship) has brought us to the brink of an ecological collapse that will lead to a world of polluted wastelands and destroy most species on Earth, including the human species. Divorcing ourselves from values of aliveness, wildness, and regeneration has achieved disastrous consequences for the majority of the human species as well as all other species on Earth and all known habitats. 2. Humanism furthers alienation.

humanism

Belief in human separation from "nature" has forced us into a roles that foster neuroses and madness; an alienated existence inflicts increasing psychological and spiritual harm to we who live and more and more in a sterile, deadened, mechanical, symbolic world of control.

The social construct of property arises from a humanist perspective that treats other species and landbases only as utilitarian to certain humans rather than possessing even the most rudimentary levels

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of intrinsic worth (spirituality), self-ownership (philosophy), consideration for ecological contribution (functionalism), or belief that they have no superior or subordinate value (nihilism/egoism).

4. Humanism rationalizes abuse.

To do this humanists arbitrarily elevate some measure (eq intellect, rationality, tool use) or content (eq soul, nervous system) to justify authoritarian behavior toward anyone classified as external. Such criteria change to rationalize the desire for authoritarian behavior as desired. Humanism makes excuses and rationalizations for human behaviors toward other species (slavery, extermination) that humanists would never concede to other entities (e.g. aliens or machines) with greater of even the agreed-upon measures or contents. It's an identity defense system, not a moral truth.

5. Humanism speaks the Myth of Progress.

Humanists almost always believe in the Myth of Progress, the belief that the state of humanity is always positively improving socially or technologically in a straight, forward, unidirectional line toward utopia, or at least claim this pattern has occured so far with the development of the Neolithic Revolution. Humanists believe that no other species does this, that humans are the subject and consciousness of

Humanists usually love the features of urban society that biotically cleanse landscapes to replace them

Humanism therefore has easily accommodated racism, as it is anti-nature and therefore to some anti-any-ethnicity-that-resembles-nature, extent such as savages, witches, barbarians, cavemen, Indians, Negroes, and supported those who embody a struggle against nature, such as pilgrims, pioneers, mountain men, Victorian-era masculine hetero males, Western scientists, who just happened to also be the colonizers.

perceives as hostile to human aims.

8. Humanism hates wildness.

numanism Humanism has constructed myths of an external environment and demonizes a concept of nature that it

bureaucrats, and others that mediate and divvy out Progress. 7. Humanism has racist, colonialist mythology and history.

6. Humanism acts as the modern religious authority. Humanism replaces God at the throne of authority with a particular and unquestioned image of the human species (the rational, productive man), and creates a new clerical class of scientists, technicians,

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Humanists usually posses an intense attachment to mass society and technophilia and drawdown of non-renewables, and false notions that "Everything is natural" or "That which is natural is subordinate". and "Technology is neutral". On a spectrum of (a) all lifeforms and landbases have value, to (b) only humans and their settlements and artifacts and symbols have value, to (c) only industrial technology has value, humanists are a lot closer to (c) than they'd like to admit, and have justified or rationalized the eradication or subjugation of "backward" peoples and entire species or habitats for increasing technical complexity (see: Marxists, transhumanists). For the most part, humanists today can more easily come to terms with having no more traditional indigenous people on Earth, no more migratory songbirds on Earth, no more old growth forests on Earth, than having no more computers on Earth.

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with monuments to the greatness of Man and and testaments to the glory of Industry, artifacts of repression.

bression.

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humanism

12. Humanism has a cold heart. Some anarchists have trouble confining our opposition to slavery and extermination to just 1 in 8,700,000 species, during a mass extinction no less.

Stirner: How is it with mankind, whose cause we are to make our own? Is its cause that of another, and does mankind serve a higher cause? No, mankind looks only at itself, mankind will promote the interests of mankind only, mankind is its own cause. That it may develop, it causes nations and individuals to wear themselves out in its service, and, when they have accomplished what mankind needs, it throws them on the dung-heap of history in gratitude.

in fact suppressing dissidents historically. 11. Humanism acts as another concept of sacrifice for control.

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·əpniitziß ui (liotsin to dean-bund what mankind needs, it throws them on the ρουτικό, από, ωλου τλογ λανό ακτοπρίισμο sti ni tuo seviesment themselves out in its I hat it may develop, it causes nations and .esues nwo sti si bniknem ,yino bniknem selt, mankind will promote the interests of higher cause? No, mankind looks only at itthat of another, and does mankind serve a cause we are to make our own? Is its cause Stirner: How is it with mankind, whose

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Stance on egoism (rational/ethical) vs. altruism?

Do you think altruism is possible? If it's not, and everything everybody does revolves around self-interest (i.e. what they will get out of it), then why not choose Ayn Rand's Objectivism (I fucking hate it and her with a burning passion) and laissez-faire capitalism (equally hated)? As according to egoist thought, it's unethical/immoral to put others before the self. The way it is argued seems to make it impossible to disprove or even deny. Thoughts on this? sible to disprove or even deny. Thoughts on this?

Your question isn't taking into an account **B** et's egoism, which is quite different that Rand's. You are right to say that Rand's stance was that it is unethical/immoral to be altruistic or do anything altruistic, but take. So Stimer's stance would be of no concern to, or they could do something non-altruistic to, or they could do something non-altruistic instead, it all comes down to what that individual decides to do and this decision is side with no consideration of what is conade with no consideration of what is considered "good" or "bad", "Moral"or "immor-

Your question isn't taking into an account other egoisms that exist, especially Stimer's egoism, which is quite different that Rand's. You are right to say that Rand's stance was that it is unethical/immoral to be altruistic or do anything altruistic, but ethics and morality would be of no concern to Stirner in deciding what sort of action to take. So Stirner's stance would be that one could do something altruistic if they wanted to, or they could do something non-altruistic instead, it all comes down to what that individual decides to do and this decision is made with no consideration of what is considered "good" or "bad", "Moral"or "immor-

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Stance on egoism (rational/ethical) vs. altruism?

And are these self-sacrificing people perchance 65

guistic opposite of altruism yet like every binary operation it is not that simple. Max Stirner himself said: "Who, then, is "self-sacrificing?"[Literally, "sacrificing"; the German word has not the prefix "self."] In the full sense, surely, he who ventures everything else for one thing, one object, one will, one passion. Is not the lover self-sacrificing who forsakes father and mother, endures all dangers and privations, to reach his goal? Or the ambitious man, who offers up all his desires, wishes, and satisfactions to the single passion, or the avaricious man who denies himself everything to gather treasures, or the pleasure-seeker, etc.? He is ruled by a passion to which he brings the rest as sacrifices.

egoism/altruism

al", "ethical" or "unethical", etc.

Let's leave aside philosophy for a moment and ਨੁ go to the behaviour of animals and humans. Science have shown that animals and humans both engage in war and collaborate. Peter Kropotkin in his book "Mutual Aid: A factor of Evolution" showed that the not so visible side of success in species survival is collaboration inside the species against others or in mere self-survival. Egoism can be said to be the direct logical lin-

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against others or in mere self-survival. species survival is collaboration inside the species showed that the not so visible side of success in kin in his book "Mutual Aid: A factor of Evolution" both engage in war and collaborate. Peter Kropot-Science have shown that animals and humans go to the behaviour of animals and humans. <u>ರ</u> Let's leave aside philosophy for a moment and

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egoism/altruism

not selfish, not egoist? As they have only one ruling passion, so they provide for only one satisfaction, but for this the more strenuously, they are wholly absorbed in it. Their entire activity is egoistic, but it is a one-sided, unopened, narrow egoism; it is possessedness."

So one can be egoistic and also be altruistic at the same time if this things outside me is of my love or desire. It is clear "egoism" and "self interest" is involved here but of course it is also altruistic. And so for example gift economies (http://en.wikipedia. org/wiki/Gift_economy) could be superficially identified and mostly altruistic relationships but this is not exactly the case. Anarchist antropologist David Graeber when speaking about french antropologist Marcel Mauss says:

Instead, what anthropologists were discovering were societies where economic life was based on utterly different principles, and most objects moved back and forth as gifts and almost everything we would call 'economic' behavior was based on a pretense of pure generosity and a refusal to calculate exactly who had given what to whom. Such 'gift economies' could on occasion become highly competitive, but when they did it was in exactly the opposite way from our own:

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not selfish, not egoist? As they have only one ruling passion, so they provide for only one satisfaction, but for this the more strenuously, they are wholly absorbed in it. Their entire activity is egoistic, but it is a one-sided, unopened, narrow egoism; it is possessedness." Instead of vying to see who could accumulate the most, the winners were the ones who managed to give the most away. In some notorious cases, such as the Kwakiutl of British Columbia, this could lead to dramatic contests of liberality. where ambitious chiefs would try to outdo one another by distributing thousands of silver bracelets, Hudson Bay blankets or Singer sewing machines, and even by destroying wealth sinking famous heirlooms in the ocean, or setting huge piles of wealth on fire and daring their rivals to do the same...In gift economies, Mauss argued, exchanges do not have the impersonal qualities of the capitalist marketplace: In fact, even when objects of great value change hands, what really matters is the relations between the people; exchange is about creating friendships, or working out rivalries, or obligations, and only incidentally about moving around valuable goods. As a result everything becomes personally charged, even property: In gift economies, the most famous objects of wealth heirloom necklaces, weapons, feather cloaks always seem to develop personalities of their own.

David Graeber. "Give It Away"

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egoism/altruism

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"David Graeber. "Give It Away"

So gift economies include motivations that don't appear out of something similar to "christian love" but of other "egoistic" tendencies such as the desire of prestige and recognition as well as keeping good relations with those who can help me in the future. The essence of the party: face-to-face, a group of humans synergize their efforts to realize muof humans synergize their efforts to realize mu-

The essence of the party: face-to-face, a group of humans synergize their efforts to realize mutual desires, whether for good food and cheer, dance, conversation, the arts of life; perhaps even for erotic pleasure, or to create a communal artwork, or to attain the very transport of blissin short, a 'union of egoists' (as Stimer put it) in its simplest form—or else, in Kropotkin's terms, a basic biological drive to 'mutual aid.' (Here we should also mention Bataille's 'economy of ex-

cess' and his theory of potlatch culture.) So a union of egoists is a form of mutual aid. Mutual Aid is not the same as "christian love". Mutual aid is something done in the self-interest of both sides.

I am not satistied with the paradoxical assumptions of subjectivity that support the concept of altruism. But, I am also not satisfied with a constrained concept of subjectivity/self/ego/"I"

I am not satisfied with the paradoxical assumptions of subjectivity that support the concept of altruism. But, I am also not satisfied with a constrained concept of subjectivity/self/ego/"I" 68

So a union of egoists is a form of mutual aid. Mutual Aid is not the same as "christian love". Mutual aid is something done in the self-interest of both sides.

of humans synergize their efforts to realize mutual desires, whether for good food and cheer, dance, conversation, the arts of life; perhaps even for erotic pleasure, or to create a communal artwork, or to attain the very transport of bliss in short, a 'union of egoists' (as Stirner put it) in its simplest form—or else, in Kropotkin's terms, a basic biological drive to 'mutual aid.' (Here we should also mention Bataille's 'economy of excess' and his theory of potlatch culture.)

So gift economies include motivations that don't appear out of something similar to "christian love" but of other "egoistic" tendencies such as the desire of prestige and recognition as well as keeping good relations with those who can help me in the future. Hakim Bey thus establishes this bridge in this way:

The essence of the party: face-to-face, a group

various extents: whether as a transcendental experience, a psychotic break, consummate love (sometimes), empathy, and/or less powerful experiences of identification with others. So, if the ego is more of this sort of concept, then egoism is also less bound. If my sense of self can expand to include you (or at the very least, my self-image and the image of you are intricately bound up with each other), then my behavior is no longer towards you... but towards myself. At the same time, if my sense of self doesn't expand to include you and I regard you as an other, I would enter into a egoism/altruism

(from now on just "ego"). This is all tied up in the way that I understand subjectivity to begin with. That what we recognize as the ego is an expression of complicated cognitive processes which make it possible for the boundaries of ego to fluctuate: that the ego is capable of identifying with, appropriating, connecting, or otherwise expanding to include other minds, bodies, objects, and images. From the studies in developmental psychology that I've read, it appears that the ego shrinks through development as theory of mind develops, as a sense of self recedes from an undifferentiated identification with all that is perceived. And from other studies of subjectivity the ego appears capable of redefining its boundaries to various extents: whether as a transcendental experience, a psychotic break, consummate love (sometimes), empathy, and/or less powerful experiences of identification with others.

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Why put others before the self? Interdependence... my existence depends upon some others to such an extent that there is no clean cut in our reciprocal relations.

Is altruism possible? Only to the extent that it includes the ego, even if that inclusion is through some sort of identification.

On the other hand Murray Bookchin wrote a book called *Social Anarchism and Lifestyle Anarchism: An Unbridgeable Chasm,* which accused ev-

A false dichotomy in a sense. Even egoist anarchists address society and other people so it is not a "Robinson Crusoe" dream and there have been many individualists who have participated in anarchist trade unions and large Anarchist Federations such as francophone Federation Anarchiste and spanish and italian FAIs.

I think social anarchism has to be seen as a position putting forward a social organization alternative to the current societal forms. And so it gives a collective answer and it is associated with anarcho-syndicalism, bakuninist collectivism and anarcho-communism. As far as "anti-social" anarchism, that has not been an important term within anarchist discourse although I have read it in insurrectionist and individualist texts but it wasn't a central term where I read it.

What are the main ideas, texts, groups that embody these anarchism(s)? Is there a middle ground between the two?

Is there a "social" and "anti-social" anarchism? What are the distinctions?

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I think philosophically the best middle ground other hand cuasi-marxist platformist organizations. alist insurrectionalists and individualists and on the in mediterranean countries but also anti-organizationlarge pluralistic synthesis tederations exist until today ot the dichotomy "social" and "individualist" and so sis anarchism in a way to go beyond the bad effects could collaborate and fit in. It seems to me syntheanarcho-syndicalists, and individualist anarchists nizational alternative in which anarcho-communists, without adjectives "synthesis anarchism" as an orga-Faure and Voline proposed pluralistic and anarchism the deed insurrectionists. Because of this Sebastien trame of mind of the illegalists and propaganda by "violent" will be the outlaw "violent" and/or humanistic approach of individualist anarand economicistic approach and the more "litestyle" difference between their "class struggle", platformist like anarchists who wanted to establish an important "social anarchism" was proposed by the more marxist of "social anarchism" as being "bourgeois". The word erything that didn't go along with his particular view

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erything that didn't go along with his particular view of "social anarchism" as being "bourgeois". The word "social anarchism" was proposed by the more marxist like anarchists who wanted to establish an important difference between their "class struggle", platformist and economicistic approach and the more "lifestyle" and/or humanistic approach of individualist anarchists such as Emile Armand or the outlaw "violent" frame of mind of the illegalists and propaganda by the deed insurrectionists. Because of this Sebastien Faure and Voline proposed pluralistic and anarchism without adjectives "synthesis anarchism" as an organizational alternative in which anarcho-communists, anarcho-syndicalists, and individualist anarchists could collaborate and fit in. It seems to me synthesis anarchism in a way to go beyond the bad effects of the dichotomy "social" and "individualist" and so large pluralistic synthesis federations exist until today in mediterranean countries but also anti-organizationalist insurrectionalists and individualists and on the other hand cuasi-marxist platformist organizations.

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Francisco wrote a whole lengthy book: *The Right To Be Greedy: Theses on The Practical Necessity of Demanding Everything* by For Ourselves.

Bontemps was a French individualist anarchist who wrote on a concept central to him, "social individualism", but I don't think anything by him has yet been translated. He was a humanistic individualist and so social individualism most likely has to do with the individualist side of humanism but also with the "altruistic" side of humanism which advocates friendship and empathy towards others while retaining individual autonomy and freedom of association with those more like oneself.

In the end the problem here is the vagueness of the words "social" and "anti-social". "Anti-social" sounds interesting in a romantic or poetic sense but for conceptual clarity it is too unclear. The word "social" can make one think both of "society" and of "socializing". "Society" can be a local society, a society of a country or state. Globalization propagandists even talk of "global society". On the other hand "socializing" can mean talking with just one person and so misanthropics or egoists by just talking with another similar type of person are already socializing.

social/antisocial

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ank Joseph Dejacque, one of the first individuals to create in theory and in practice the split that would form between the anarchists and the state socialists/communists, wrote "Let's make war on society" in the early 1800s. While he attacked statists and even the anarchist Proudhon on the basis of questions of personal liberty, he saw the ideal environment for individual freedom being a communist society.

Max Stirner, who decried the (humanist) communist cause because it puts the greater good of society in the place of God's cause as the dominant ideology, an ideology opposed to individual freedom and insurrection, was involved in forming a milk cooperative. Interestingly enough, this was the only project he is known for aside from his writing.

Renzo Novatore, possibly the most extremely anti-social anarchist I can think of who wrote much, at one point declared to his anarcho-communist comrades that he would fight alongside them in the destruction of the existing society, and that when they established their new communist society he would fight to destroy that one as well.

The current social vs. anti-social debate in anarchism is in many ways reminiscent of and refers to this history, while at the same time it is unique. 74

The consciously anti-social tendency is probably strongest among insurgents in Chile, where one can see that phrase as well as related terms openly embraced in text after text. Or one could point to various individuals influenced by Ted Kaczynski's theory and practice, which is highly anti-social and is centrally about a critique of modern society and particularly leftism (and is significantly different from individualist anarchism, operating on a different plane). But perhaps the most intense episode in this debate happened recently in the wake of the Marfin Bank firebombing in Athens, Greece on May 5, 2010 (in which three workers died from a fire started by anarchists during massive demonstrations). While I'm not familiar with all of the debate since it occurred in Greek and little has been translated to English, it seems that many anarchists blamed the deaths on what they described as anti-social elements in the milieu. These elements were defined in terms that will probably sound familiar to many of us: abandoning much of the anarchist tradition, they rejected the idea of the revolutionary potential of the masses and rather than placing sole blame upon the bourgeois class, chose instead to direct their critique at the leaders as well as the masses whose submission gives the leaders their power. They also rejected

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or whether some chose to embrace the term that the explain their differences with the social revolutionaries the way, whether the anti-socials chose this term to "anti-social tendency" in Greece (it's unclear to me, by part, it doesn't seem that any of the anarchists in the tain buildings such as local businesses.) For the most the younger, more wild insurgents to not burn cerhad set plenty a tire in their day were trying to direct 2008 insurrection, insurrectionary anarchists who ing out or at least controlling. (During the December were by all accounts already very interested in stomption in hopes of doing away with a plague that they while promoting their own ideology of social revolutrom the arsonists to clear their own teelings of guilt clearly have a double agenda: to distance themselves pecially when the anarchists making this argument anti-social ideas and the actions of the arsonists, esthis attempt to establish a time connection between I will go out on a limb and say that I don't buy

the ideology of the oppressed's liberation from their oppression through their position as the oppressed and its social movements (reminiscent here of Nietzsche among others). This contempt for the workers, some argued, led a few anarchists to not be concerned about whether their actions would cause the death of bank workers.

I will go out on a limb and say that I don't buy this attempt to establish a firm connection between anti-social ideas and the actions of the arsonists, especially when the anarchists making this argument clearly have a double agenda: to distance themselves from the arsonists to clear their own feelings of guilt while promoting their own ideology of social revolution in hopes of doing away with a plague that they were by all accounts already very interested in stomping out or at least controlling. (During the December 2008 insurrection, insurrectionary anarchists who had set plenty a fire in their day were trying to direct the younger, more wild insurgents to not burn certain buildings such as local businesses.) For the most part, it doesn't seem that any of the anarchists in the "anti-social tendency" in Greece (it's unclear to me, by the way, whether the anti-socials chose this term to explain their differences with the social revolutionaries or whether some chose to embrace the term that the

ferently in practice from insurrectionary anarchists, at least not to the point of attacking anyone who is not a cop, politician, boss, etc. But I've heard it claimed that a couple of actions distinguish themselves, so I will examine them. The first was an action by a littleknown group who hijacked a commuter train, forced everyone off it, and set it on fire. Their communique pointed out that the workers' daily activity is what reproduces the system they are against, and that this action was to deny the workers their daily commute. No one was hurt, and it seems by all accounts an exemplary action, with even the social anarchists only objecting to their rhetoric and not to the action itself. The other was an action of the Conspiracy of Cells of Fire, who placed a bomb in an area where the ruling party leader was giving a speech during the campaign season. The communique declares that their hatred and contempt was not only for the politician but also for the masses who went to hear him speak. However, their intention was not to hurt anyone, and they called in a bomb threat to force the evacuation of the area and prevent the speech from taking place. The area was evacuated and no one was hurt. Compare these with Mario Buda's bombing of Wall Street...

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egoist, iconoclastic insurrection. than embarking on the more dangerous path of an a higher cause and their need to act as a mass rather end of May 1968 was the insurgents' adherence to the reason why the workers went back to work at the nist dictatorships in Russia and China and elsewhere; rangements to be tormed, which led to the commuheart of the social revolution, which caused new arthe conclusion that the seed always planted in the Drawing on Stirner or Novatore here we might reach we should reject in tavor of anti-social insurrection. and that the very torm of social revolution is a form democratic regimes and other torms of recuperation; showing itself to accomplish not anarchy but only new should have no taith in this wave, which is steadily ist society in which we find ourselves today; that we going back to work for the continuation of the capitalsocial revolutions of the past have ended in everyone sibility. But a different way of looking at it is that all the peace), since social revolution seems like a real posthe Arab Spring, in a time of unprecedented social the debate to rest again (it reached its peak before that the recent wave of social movements should put was another glimpse of possibility. One might argue 8081 .noizesting their oppression. 1968 bessendo and to stneme non and in this factor of the oppressed 1900s to have faith in the movements of the oppressed to liberate themselves from their oppression. 1968 was another glimpse of possibility. One might argue that the recent wave of social movements should put the debate to rest again (it reached its peak before the Arab Spring, in a time of unprecedented social peace), since social revolution seems like a real possibility. But a different way of looking at it is that all the social revolutions of the past have ended in everyone going back to work for the continuation of the capitalist society in which we find ourselves today; that we should have no faith in this wave, which is steadily showing itself to accomplish not anarchy but only new democratic regimes and other forms of recuperation; and that the very form of social revolution is a form we should reject in favor of anti-social insurrection. Drawing on Stirner or Novatore here we might reach the conclusion that the seed always planted in the heart of the social revolution, which caused new arrangements to be formed, which led to the communist dictatorships in Russia and China and elsewhere; the reason why the workers went back to work at the end of May 1968 was the insurgents' adherence to a higher cause and their need to act as a mass rather than embarking on the more dangerous path of an egoist, iconoclastic insurrection.

For the most part, anarchism has taken a middle ground on one interpretation of this guestion. That is: anarchists are of course against the existing society, so we are anti-social, but most anarchists believe in creating a new anarchist society, so they are also social. This is the 1st layer of the middle ground, and it doesn't interest me. The 2nd layer arises from the debate between the individualist anarchists (especially as inspired by Stirner) who are not interested in a new society, and the anarcho-communists, who are. In this, there is another middle ground which includes the Galleanists, the whole insurrectionary anarchist approach, and some outliers such as Voltarine de Cleyre. I've discussed this in the past. This middle ground is interesting to me. But I think the way in which it understands itself as a middle ground is a problem. Why? Because although it is illuminated by the understanding of the intimate link between individual freedom and social liberation, and this link cannot be understood as mutual, nevertheless it has always been the case historically and presently that the cause of social liberation has been wielded as a tool to push the individual back into line, on a daily level and during insurrection. It is for this reason that I will say that I am on the side of the anti-social when I see these come into conflict. Because individual in-

social/antisocial

I will say that I am on the side of the anti-social when level and during insurrection. It is for this reason that tool to push the individual back into line, on a daily the cause of social liberation has been wielded as a always been the case historically and presently that cannot be understood as mutual, nevertheless it has individual treedom and social liberation, and this link ed by the understanding of the intimate link between is a problem. Why? Because although it is illuminatway in which it understands itselt as a middle ground middle ground is interesting to me. But I think the rine de Cleyre. l've discussed this in the past. I his anarchist approach, and some outliers such as Voltaincludes the Galleanists, the whole insurrectionary are. In this, there is another middle ground which in a new society, and the anarcho-communists, who cially as inspired by Stirner) who are not interested debate between the individualist anarchists (espeit doesn't interest me. The 2nd layer arises from the social. This is the Tat layer of the middle ground, and creating a new anarchist society, so they are also so we are anti-social, but most anarchists believe in anarchists are of course against the existing society, ground on one interpretation of this question. That is: For the most part, anarchism has taken a middle

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surrection and social insurrection can mutually feed each other, but without individual insurrection, social insurrection could not be, since it is the insurrection of many individuals together, not as a mass, but as individuals on a common trajectory. And when the "common cause" of these individuals rears its headthe liberation of the people, of the masses, of the proletarist, of the class, of the mation, etc-it does so to squash insurrection and turn it into the new (or old) social order.

our fighting of our oppression together!" you must be oppressed with us! You must be part of am oppressed and so many others are oppressed, so tuel to one's own, the social anarchist protests, "But I position. Rather than seeing another's rebellion as a own insecurities about being wedded to one's social guilt! It is a pathetic way to try to smooth out one's on a process of liberation, as it what we need is more needed the approval of the masses in order to embark you try to be tree while another is in chains?!" As it one chains" to turn around and say to the rebels "how dare the argument "one cannot be tree while another is in rather because social anarchism is a torce that uses dom is most possible in a world where all are tree, but not agree with the premise that the individual's tree-I am against social anarchism, not because I do

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I am against social anarchism, not because I do not agree with the premise that the individual's freedom is most possible in a world where all are free, but rather because social anarchism is a force that uses the argument "one cannot be free while another is in chains" to turn around and say to the rebels "how dare you try to be free while another is in chains?!" As if one needed the approval of the masses in order to embark on a process of liberation, as if what we need is more guilt! It is a pathetic way to try to smooth out one's own insecurities about being wedded to one's social position. Rather than seeing another's rebellion as a fuel to one's own, the social anarchist protests, "But I am oppressed and so many others are oppressed, so you must be oppressed with us! You must be part of our fighting of our oppression together!"

surrection and social insurrection can mutually feed each other, but without individual insurrection, social insurrection could not be, since it is the insurrection of many individuals together, not as a mass, but as individuals on a common trajectory. And when the "common cause" of these individuals rears its head the liberation of the people, of the masses, of the proletariat, of the class, of the nation, etc—it does so to squash insurrection and turn it into the new (or old) social order.

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keeping it functioning in a way very similar to how it is functioning now. Pro-social tendencies exist in other political movements in more paradoxical ways, but most posi-anarchists just have bad ideas about how revolution happens and often criticize or shit talk riots, revolts, and rebellions for not having an explicit pro-

tgn make-friends-with-your-neighbors tendencies. These tendencies often see the role

social/antisocial

There is not enough insurrection in the world. Each encounter I have with an insurgent blows some air into my own fire. Platitudes and pandering, attempts to help me, the insistence that only by serving others can I make the world a better place: these are some of the wet blankets tossed on top of the heaving mass that this world throws on my flame. Focus on insurrection. This does not mean swimming along with the masses. But it does not mean you will be alone.

Yes, there is pro-social and anti-social

anarchism. You can see the pro-social

in the whiny liberal-anarchist "build a

movement," support 'the community,'

of anarchism as supporting The Social and

you will be alone. ming along with the masses. But it does not mean Focus on insurrection. This does not mean swimheaving mass that this world throws on my flame. are some of the wet blankets tossed on top of the ing others can I make the world a better place: these tempts to help me, the insistence that only by servair into my own tire. Platitudes and pandering, at-Each encounter I have with an insurgent blows some There is not enough insurrection in the world.

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to how it is functioning now.

social/antisocial

social characteristic or articulation. They also downplay or distance themselves from forms of revolutionary violence such as kidnapping bosses or murdering racist union bosses and coworkers.

Most posi-anarchists are not explicit about whether their position is chosen strategically for the rev., morally, or in an effort to protect their own comfort.

the world after to be completely unrecognizciety as such to be destroyed and we want order and tunction impossible. We want socrashing down on the center to make its ubyery, and we want the periphery to come inside and an outside, a center and a peagement. We see society as a thing with an members of society, and that is no discourwill be teared and hated by all reasonable sion to the social order. Revolutionary acts moral order that permeates and gives cohenot concerned with preserving the reigning tions of capitalism. Anti-social anarchists are ciety as immediately connected to interrupot the social. We see all interruptions of sothemselves with the continued tunctioning Anti-social anarchists do not concern

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protect their own comfort. Anti-social anarchists do not concern themselves with the continued functioning of the social. We see all interruptions of society as immediately connected to interruptions of capitalism. Anti-social anarchists are not concerned with preserving the reigning moral order that permeates and gives cohesion to the social order. Revolutionary acts will be feared and hated by all reasonable members of society, and that is no discouragement. We see society as a thing with an inside and an outside, a center and a periphery, and we want the periphery to come crashing down on the center to make its order and function impossible. We want society as such to be destroyed and we want the world after to be completely unrecogniz-

bosses and coworkers. Most posi-anarchists are not explicit about whether their position is chosen strategically for the rev., morally, or in an effort to protect their own comfort

social characteristic or articulation. They also downplay or distance themselves from forms of revolutionary violence such as kidnapping bosses or murdering racist union bosses and coworkers. able from this one.

Fire to the Prisons and *Vengeance* are both anti-social texts, *Vengeance* is anarchist, and *FttP* is pro-anarchist. Everything Bash Back! ever wrote was anti-social as are most insurrectionary texts, including the contemporary insurrectionary trans feminism current that is basically the only inspiring contemporary anarchist writing.

I'll let the pro-social people define themselves somewhere away from my petty, bitter, shit talking.

I think labeling FttP, BB!, and Vengeance as anti-social horribly confuses things. BB! and FttP have had quite a few people with different ideas write under their umbrellas. Vengeance's conception of anarchism is 110% classbased, and is ENTIRELY about "build a movement, support the community, make friends with your neighbors"; it is one of the most social anarchist publications I've ever encountered.

The only way in which these could all be called anti-social is that they're op-

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83

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separation by time ("taking turns") exbress disagreement or dissent by: alc Depending on the circumstances, anarchists

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84

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completely useless as a distinction. This is why the social vs. anti-social debate has to be about what one thinks of society not only as it exists but as it might ideally exist (communist/anarchist society), and whether one's (revolutionary) means and ends are social in nature. Also the recent insurrectionary trans-

posed to the existing class society, but

this is true of all anarchists, making it

85

- separation by space ("voting with the teet")
- decision by game of luck
- withdrawing participation
- poddns buipjoyujim
- ad hoc discussion •
- formal debate •
- arbitration by mutually agreed upon 3rd parties
- arbitration by community assembly
- subitistion by ad hoc peer council
- immediate recall of delegated roles or tasks
- disruption/heckling
- ridicule/mockery •
- attacking reputation .
- disruption/obstruction
- couzeusnal duels
- teuding & pranks
- panishment
- property destruction
- combat

mort thad guitteg ere I and I and that besiten even I Journalists in the eyes of anarchists? What is wrong with independent

58

What is wrong with independent journalists in the eyes of anarchists?

I have noticed that both T and S are getting heat from

property destruction combat .

arbitration by ad hoc peer council • immediate recall of delegated roles or tasks .

disruption/heckling

attacking reputation

disruption/obstruction

ridicule/mockery

consensual duels

feuding & pranks

banishment

shunning

- arbitration by community assembly •
- arbitration by mutually agreed upon 3rd parties
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- ad hoc discussion .
- withholding support •
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- separation by space ("voting with the feet") •

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sponsible for their actions. -21 29 that at protests. They keep the power that be resnound the solution of the solution of the second s By the way, I created this logo and I think it aptily

(how does one tell an "independent journalist" from a charges, making it more contusing who is doing what er tor the purposes of surveillance, criminal be useful to our enemies than it is to us, whetha. Recording people's actions is more likely to dot I he logo almost answers the question.

c. The idea that these recordings are helpful in some stract and separate from people's lives). tions spectacular (reitying them, making them abb. Recording people's actions is part of making ac-

while it is true that having an Iraqi-war vet-who was it is recorded doing heinous things. As an example, tree or active, or that the State cares very much when more intormation is what is required to make people bers" way relies on the extremely limited notion that kind of "protecting ourselves" or "growing our num-

corporate one??), etc.

anarchists lately about live streaming protests. They are freely and openly documenting the events that are happening, and I see this as a good thing when compared to the main stream media. Can you educate me on the issues that anarchists have with live streamers such as T and S?

By the way, I created this logo and I think it aptly have to play at protests. They keep the powers that be re-

portrays one of the most helpful roles that live streamers sponsible for their actions.

The logo almost answers the question. dot

a. Recording people's actions is more likely to

be useful to our enemies than it is to us, whether for the purposes of surveillance, criminal charges, making it more confusing who is doing what (how does one tell an "independent journalist" from a corporate one?), etc.

b. Recording people's actions is part of making actions spectacular (reifying them, making them ab-

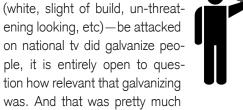
c. The idea that these recordings are helpful in some kind of "protecting ourselves" or "growing our numbers" way relies on the extremely limited notion that more information is what is required to make people free or active, or that the State cares very much when it is recorded doing heinous things. As an example, while it is true that having an Iragi-war vet-who was 86

stract and separate from people's lives).

This is as true of journalists as anyone else. Often with indy journalists these perspectives fall in line with some massified political consciousness. There are quite a few liberal-cum-socialist, grassroots-y journalists for whom the legitimacy of the state never comes into question. Their coverage of events can easily collapse some vast and unbounded events and movements into digestible, non-threating activism. For a really great example compare the diversity of views of Egyptians and Tunisians from a year ago to the reformist framing used by "alternative" media. According to Democracy Now! as much as Fox News, the movement was pro-democracy rather than the more obvious conclusion that it was

enk Every individual has their own unique biases. journalists

the best possible scenario for public response... This c. response basically loops back to a. (insufficient good for the bad involved).



tailor-made to be a posterboy



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tion how relevant that galvanizing

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on national tv did galvanize peo-

ening looking, etc)-be attacked

(white, slight of build, un-threattailor-made to be a posterboy

journalist

at base anti-Mubarak/Ben Ali. Surely the movement bureaucrats and democracy activists were there in the first days, but they were not necessarily representative of the movement as a whole. We must remain aware that indy journalists *may* be doing the state's work; recuperating radical actions by imposing narratives in which such events are channeled into benign reformism.

I think it is helpful to distinguish the amateur, "citizen" (ew) journalists from professional, "independent" journalists. "Citizen" journalists can be quite a bit wider in their perspectives than those for whom it is a job. Their biases might also be a lot more obvious. Maybe there's still some indy journalists out there perpetuating the charade of objectivity. This should an unforgivable sin of journalism by now. The ones most insistent about objectivity are usually the ones with the biggest ax to grind.

This is a better way to talk about what I douched on with "how can you tell who is independent", but to be clear, I'm not any more interested in non-professional journalists than in paid ones. Mostly, intentions are irrelevant to the harm caused.

88

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suti-authoritarian sense)? (in a non-hierarchical, How can I be an effective leader

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How can I be an effective leader (in a non-hierarchical, anti-authoritarian sense)?

As an additional question, does anybody know whether there's been any writing done on the subject? If so, links?

themselves anarchists (after being exposed to it, through hanging around me), but don't have the knowledge/experience/initiative to be confident in working on projects. I really want to share what I've got, but honestly I don't have a lot of experience with "leadership" and instilling confidence and inspiring action. Maybe this is something totally out of my hands and it's just a matter of waiting for them to find their own initiative and desire to act, but

I've also seen proposed something akin to "if you must take the role of a leader, do so only for as long as it takes to share your knowledge and experience with those around you". A leader who encourages others to knock her off her pedestal, so to speak.

Basically, what I've run into is that a large por-

tion of my friends are either into anarchism or consider

I really feel like what I've done thus far is equivalent to

saying, "Here's what anarchism is—if you agree with it,

Obviously, we as anarchists oppose leadership in the form of authority and hierarchies. However, I've read some things remarking on the organic emergence of "leaders" in anarchist groups, in the form of people who are the most experienced, the most confident, and/or the most capable of taking action.

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Concepts: me an incentive to write it out. alc lime tor an epic response; thanks tor giving

lationships. Legitimate. ulation (expressed as such). Practices voluntary resuggestion, based on experience or intormed spec-A. Guide: a leader who persuades by example and

ships. Illegitimate. lation (often concealed). Practices coercive relationor deceit, based on experience or misinformed specu-B. Master: a leader who manipulates through duress

* * *

least 13 conditions: In my opinion, legitimate leadership requires at

constantly re-evaluate tarily decide their roles with intormed consent, 1. Active Choice: tollowers actively and volun-

cation rests on guides rather than tollowers 2. Anarchistic Skepticism: the burden of Justiti-

citic context 3. Contextual Merit: guides proticient in a spe-

traud in interactions 4. Egalitarian Integrity: absence of force and

D. Egalitarian Purpose: no compensation re-

cool. We should do something about it." And that doesn't seem like enough.

Time for an epic response; thanks for giving alc me an incentive to write it out. Concepts:

A. Guide: a leader who persuades by example and

suggestion, based on experience or informed spec-

ulation (expressed as such). Practices voluntary re-

B. Master: a leader who manipulates through duress

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ships. Illegitimate.

least 13 conditions:

cific context

fraud in interactions

constantly re-evaluate

Gently, she grasps her tender lover's unpracticed cheek. They brush faces, touch lips. She guides with her affection, encouraging learning in the most compassionate of ways. As their intimacy grows, they reach a balance together, her inexperienced partner becomes

sibility to followers rather than power over them 12. Social Leveling: the followers thwart guides' senses of entitlement, arrogance, & contempt 13. Stakeholder Accessibility: the inclusion of all parties deserving agency, based on expressed or implied need

+ + +

leadership 11. Responsible Teaching: guides want respon-

mediately revoke status of guide(s) 9. Radical Accountability: guides redress force, fraud, failure 10. Radical Transparency: honest and empow-

ering explanations of guides' logic and aims

linked to mutually-agreed upon goal(s) 8. Immediate Recall: the followers' ability to im-

for empowering followers, sharing information or materials, rotating roles, decentralizing agency, and rendering further guidance unnecessary 7. Finite Duration: guidance duration directly

quested beyond effort expended or direct need; guides and followers live in the same material conditions

6. Empowering Trajectory: concrete processes

conditions guides and tollowers live in the same material dreated beyond effort expended or direct need;

V. Finite Duration: guidance duration directly cy, and rendering further guidance unnecessary or materials, rotating roles, decentralizing agentor empowering tollowers, sharing intormation D. Empowering Irajectory: concrete processes

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leadership

guides, neither tollows. lated. Now they walk their path hand-in-hand; neither she could not help but have her own learning stimua competent lover. And even with all of her practice,

to become sons of the oaks, the cycle starting atresh. keeping him company. Soon he will teach his little ones the moon, tetching the acorns, with only his memories them. But now he often walks under the pale light of sion, as he first stepped into the bush, nervous, with ment. He remembers their contidence, his apprehentaught him to walk in the torest and gather his nourish-He remembers his early youth, when his elders

and it is possible for any individual to decide not to the Yequana, the tunctioning of leaders is minimal convenience. In a continuum culture like that of and should be free to change leaders as suits their wollot line year to decide whom they will below when individual ones are impractical. The tollowers children, and contine itself to taking initiatives only ωεωρείς οτ α society, νειγ πυιςή ας τό αναση συμέρα κουία έμετατα ματικαίτα ματικαίτα ματικαίτα ματικαί τη ματικαί ματικα ματικαί ματικα ματικαί ματικα ματικαί ματικα ματικαι ματικα ματικ

-Jean Liedloff, The Continuum Concept act on the leader's decision if he preters...

Immunization to Authoritarianism

ment to immunize us from the threat of authoritarian It we want to live without rulers, we need empowera competent lover. And even with all of her practice, she could not help but have her own learning stimulated. Now they walk their path hand-in-hand; neither guides, neither follows.

If we want to live without rulers, we need empower-

ment to immunize us from the threat of authoritarian

Immunization to Authoritarianism

members of a society, very much as it does among children, and confine itself to taking initiatives only when individual ones are impractical. The followers should be the ones to decide whom they will follow and should be free to change leaders as suits their convenience. In a continuum culture like that of the Yequana, the functioning of leaders is minimal and it is possible for any individual to decide not to act on the leader's decision if he prefers... -Jean Liedloff, The Continuum Concept

He remembers his early youth, when his elders taught him to walk in the forest and gather his nourishment. He remembers their confidence, his apprehension, as he first stepped into the bush, nervous, with them. But now he often walks under the pale light of the moon, fetching the acorns, with only his memories keeping him company. Soon he will teach his little ones

to become sons of the oaks, the cycle starting afresh.

Leadership would emerge naturally among the

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("seek novelty; challenge yourselt; think creativeleadership (selt-actualization processes; cognitive biases; bsλcyology our knowledge. So here goes: as myself) would do well to act as guides and share agement. Those of us who know these things (such solving, planning, systems analysis, and risk manintuition, critical thinking, argumentation, problemcreativity, intelligence, learning, logic and tallacies, derstand the psychology of perception and prejudice, ership.. In order for that to happen, we need to un-

(formal vs informal; inductive vs deductive) (codultive, attective, and behavioral prejudices) psychological heuristics)

relationships and deteat the potential pittalls of lead-

(search: "Critical I hinking as an Anarchist Weap-

(logic) vs intuition (instincts, associations) reason logic (working memory; attention) เทตรายุ ได้สะกากดู IV; do things the hard way; network") increasing intelligence (imagination; inspiration; intuition) Creativity brejudice

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relationships and defeat the potential pitfalls of leadership.. In order for that to happen, we need to understand the psychology of perception and prejudice, creativity, intelligence, learning, logic and fallacies, intuition, critical thinking, argumentation, problemsolving, planning, systems analysis, and risk management. Those of us who know these things (such as myself) would do well to act as guides and share our knowledge. So here goes: psychology

(self-actualization processes; cognitive biases;

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leadership

(cognitive, affective, and behavioral prejudices)

creativity (imagination; inspiration; intuition)

increasing intelligence

psychological heuristics)

prejudice

("seek novelty; challenge yourself; think creatively; do things the hard way; network")

increasing learning

(working memory; attention)

logic

(formal vs informal; inductive vs deductive)

reason

(logic) vs intuition (instincts, associations)

logical fallacies

(search: "Critical Thinking as an Anarchist Weapon")

awareness of disinformation techniques

critical thinking

and criteria." evidence, context, conceptualizations, methods, ludgment, which uses reasoned consideration to as "the process of purposetul, self-regulatory

cance; tairness) precision; relevance; depth; breadth; signiti-(skepticism; logic; clarity; credibility; accuracy; critical thinking components

critical thinking requirements

replicability, sufficiency" "falsifiability, logic, comprehensiveness, honesty,

attention, inquisitiveness, thoroughness, tair-"tollow through, open-mindedness, toresight, "humility, integrity, courage, autonomy"

"ssənbəbnim

accomplishes actions, and assesses conclusions." tions, discerns hidden values, evaluates evidence, "Critical thinking clarities goals, examines assumpwillingness to criticize oneselt

argument mapping

rebuttals, lemmas) (contentions, premises, co-premises, objections,

tocus; selection; application) lateral thinking (idea-generating tools; altering brainstorming; collaboration; networking) broblem-solving (techniques & methodologies;

awareness of disinformation techniques critical thinking

as "the process of purposeful, self-regulatory judgment, which uses reasoned consideration to evidence, context, conceptualizations, methods, and criteria."

critical thinking components

(skepticism; logic; clarity; credibility; accuracy; precision; relevance; depth; breadth; significance: fairness)

critical thinking requirements

"falsifiability, logic, comprehensiveness, honesty, replicability, sufficiency"

"humility, integrity, courage, autonomy"

"follow through, open-mindedness, foresight, attention, inquisitiveness, thoroughness, fairmindedness"

willingness to criticize oneself

"Critical thinking clarifies goals, examines assumptions, discerns hidden values, evaluates evidence,

accomplishes actions, and assesses conclusions."

argument mapping

(contentions, premises, co-premises, objections,

rebuttals, lemmas)

problem-solving (techniques & methodologies;

brainstorming; collaboration; networking)

lateral thinking (idea-generating tools; altering

focus; selection; application)

Two more things... dot One text that was interesting to me (despite her reputation) was Starhawk's book on group dynamics and structure (Truth or Dare). It encouraged me to think about the different roles that people play, how

TL;DR-Skeptical of Guides, Hostile to Masters, Deliberate as Fuck, Destroy Power Through Collective Self-Empowerment, Tell Everyone.

working backwards (goal; strategy; tactics; timeframes; deadlines; review) systems analysis (complexity; emergence; fragility/resilience; systempunkts; schwerpunkts) **risk management** (risks; threats; vulnerability; mitigation)

SWOT analysis; PDCA cycles; flow charts)

planning principles (PsyBlog goal hacks: stop fantasizing; start committing; start starting; visualize process not outcome; avoid the what-thehell-effect; sidestep procrastination; shifting taskor-goal focus; reject robotic behavior; focus on the aim not the goal; know when to stop; if-then plans; verbalization & visualization of processes; contrast positive fantasy/indulging with negative reality/dwelling) planning methodologies (STOP, OODA loops;

> reality/dwelling) contrast positive tantasy/indulging with negative plans; verbalization & visualization of processes; the aim not the goal; know when to stop; it-then or-goal tocus; reject robotic behavior; tocus on hell-effect; sidestep procrastination; shifting taskalize process not outcome; avoid the what-the--usiv ; start committing; start starting; visuplanning principles (Psyblog goal hacks: stop

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(uone6nim risk management (risks; threats; vulnerability; dility/resilience; systempunkts; schwerpunkts) systems analysis (complexity; emergence; tra-

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leadership

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tor what happens. individual operates within is not given enough credit When the topic of leaders arises, the context that the etc without even noticing what was happening. Joke (or retused a Joke and made it into a comment), that detused a power play, made a comment into a things on their own"). I have been in many a group leaders is the idea that "a good leader can overcome and context (ie part of the problem with how we view To some extent we all are at the mercy of our triends (dood or bad) requires participation from the group. Which leads to the point that being a leader

even it it means they might be wrong (or be seen as merely the people who are willing to do something ent reasons), and I think that sometimes leaders are willing to act (which can be tor a number of differone of commitment, that people are atraid or un-I he example given by the question seems to be

wrong).

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they can be played well, and how many (all?) of them have a place in a happy group.

Which leads to the point that being a leader (good or bad) requires participation from the group. To some extent we all are at the mercy of our friends and context (ie part of the problem with how we view leaders is the idea that "a good leader can overcome things on their own"). I have been in many a group that defused a power play, made a comment into a joke (or refused a joke and made it into a comment), etc without even noticing what was happening. When the topic of leaders arises, the context that the individual operates within is not given enough credit for what happens.

The example given by the question seems to be

one of commitment, that people are afraid or un-

willing to act (which can be for a number of differ-

ent reasons), and I think that sometimes leaders are

merely the people who are willing to do something

even if it means they might be wrong (or be seen as

96

wrong).

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Back to hardass: or it might not.

or capitalism... only with reform. Not so hardass answer: being able to live our lives more the way we want to (time off to fuck shit up, connecting with people who become good parts of our lives, enough money to work short hours, etc) is a good thing, and may help make changing the world more do-able.

more fun to work in. There are some businesses that teach skills that are more useful in the rest of my life. There are some businesses (or jobs) that introduce me to people whom I am more likely to enjoy. But none of that has anything to do with anarchy

Hardass answer: this anarchist feels no way at all about worker-owned businesses.

There are some businesses and fields that are

When I say "worker-owned businesses", I'm talking along the lines of workers democratically and collectively owning, making decisions for, and obviously working the business in a non-hierarchical manner. I've seen a lot of anarchist-friendly printing shops and book stores run this way, along with bakeries, bicycle shops, and even some small restaurants.

How do anarchists feel about worker-owned businesses?

How do anarchists feel about worker-owned businesses?

When I say "worker-owned businesses", I'm talking along the lines of workers democratically and collectively owning, making decisions for, and obviously working the business in a non-bierarchical manner. I've seen a lot of anarchist-friendly printing shops and book stores run this way, along with bakeries, bicycle shops, and even some small restaurants.

Hardass answer: this anarchist teels no way at all about worker-owned businesses.

I here are some businesses and tields that are more fun to work in. There are some businesses that teach skills that are more useful in the rest of my life. There are some businesses (or jobs) that introduce me to people whom I am more likely to enjoy.

But none of that has anything to do with anarchy or capitalism... only with reform.

Not so hardass answer: being able to live our lives more the way we want to (time off to fuck shit up, connecting with people who become good parts of our lives, enough money to work short hours, etc) is a good thing, and may help make changing the world more do-able.

Back to hardass: or it might not.

And the reality of these kinds of more-pleasurable jobs tends to be that they pay less money and require more time, more commitment, and more energy... vs working a job that one doesn't care about and can hence exploit fully.

Are anarchists by definition anti-authoritarian?

If there is a broad anti-authoritarian political tendency are anarchists, by definition, a part of it?

Conceptually, if we start from the notion that authoritarians value authority, order, and/or rule over freedom, that authoritarians value obedience over autonomy, then anarchists are anti-authoritarian by definition, no matter if the authoritarian manifested is a person, policy, or practice.

It is easy to point to something that tramples the wills of people and oppose it. But opposing the bad guy, the boss, the dictator is easy and not very deep. If this is the extent of the analysis of authoritarianism, that it picks off particular people or programs, but leaves intact the structures that they plug into then this easy type of anti-authoritarian stance is below the anarchist bar.

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What is the difference between "revolution" and "insurrection"?

Stirner wrote:

ank Revolution and insurrection must not be looked upon as synonymous. The former consists in an overturning of conditions, of the established condition or status, the State or society, and is accordingly a political or social act: the latter has indeed for its unavoidable consequence a transformation of circumstances, yet does not start from it but from men's discontent with themselves. is not an armed rising, but a rising of individuals, a getting up, without regard to the arrangements that spring from it. The Revolution aimed at new arrangements; insurrection leads us no longer to let ourselves be arranged, but to arrange ourselves, and sets no alittering hopes on "institutions." It is not a fight against the established, since, if it prospers, the established collapses of itself; it is only a working forth of me out of the established. If I leave the established, it is dead and passes into decay. Now, as my object is not the overthrow of an established order but my elevation above it, my purpose and deed are not a political or social but (as directed

revolution vs insurrection

fuoitostruction" and "insurrection"? What is the difference between

not the overthrow of an established order but and passes into decay. Now, as my object is tablished. If I leave the established, it is dead it is only a working torth of me out of the esprospers, the established collapses of itself; a tight against the established, since, it it no glittering hopes on "institutions." It is not arranged, but to arrange ourselves, and sets tion leads us no longer to let ourselves be lution aimed at new arrangements; insurrecarrangements that spring trom it. The Revoviduals, a getting up, without regard to the is not an armed rising, but a rising of indibut from men's discontent with themselves, circumstances, yet does not start from it avoidable consequence a transformation of social act; the latter has indeed for its unor society, and is accordingly a political or the established condition or status, the State consists in an overturning of conditions, of looked upon as synonymous. The tormer ank Revolution and insurrection must not be Stirner wrote:

revolution vs insurrection

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egoistic purpose and deed. I write: Insurrection does not have to mean the uprising of a single ego, it can be the simultaneous uprising of many individuals together. It differs from revolution, however, in that it is simply uprising. Revolution may "follow" an insurrection in reestablishing a new order. Most revolutionaries would say that an insurrection is necessary to the process, but is not all of the process. In the Marxist sense, revolution is the total overthrow of an economic-political system and its replacement with another one-the most accessible example being the bourgeois revolution which overthrew feudalism and produced capitalism. So from a Marxist perspective we have no examples of a full proletarian revolution (yet), only various proletarian insurrections (the Paris Commune, etc), which have been put down, or coopted for example by the Bolsheviks.

toward myself and my ownness alone) an

Others would say that the problem isn't that "we haven't gone far enough" to full revolution through insurrection, but that we are on the side of insurrection itself because that is where anarchy or communism "live," while revolution is itself a cooptation of insurrection (see Stirner).

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(So, this draws a distinction between insurrectionary tactics, which are old, and "insurrectionary anarchist"

IA mostly responds to the context of an organized left in power and armed struggle in Italy in the late 70s and 80s. As it is a theoretical and strategic response to this context, the FAI or other tendencies and anarchists before this could not be considered "insurrectionary anarchist.

There is a pretty good thread about this quesdot tion, from 1/2011 on anarchistnews.org. It starts out with a long statement about what insurrectionary anarchy is against (capitalism, government, cultural standards like the nuclear family, <and all their representations> which is where the interpretation comes in, of course), and how the poster(s) cannot say what they are for unless you are working with them (this seems fairly representative, the point being that what one is for cannot be spoken of without being co-opted/misunderstood)... Here is a good bit:

These days every time I encounter "insurrectionary anarchism" it just seems like plain anarchism to me. Nothing sticks out about it that would make this taxonomy appropriate. Maybe its effects have really become that ubiquitous?

What is insurrectionary anarchism?

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which starts at a specific time & place). This thread also makes clear that i@ has more in common with illegalism than with other kinds of anarchist thought, and that there is a conflict between it and anarcho-syndicalism. To me this is where current thetoric muddles the waters, since groups like modesto anarcho claim both labels.

Insurrectionary anarchism is distinguished from "plain anarchism" on questions of approach more so than on what one is for and against.

IA is thus associated with the critique of tormal organization, practices of informal organization, attack, permanent conflict, illegalism, and other matters that are primarily practical rather than ideological. But beneath this thrust are two clear ideas—one dealing with time and another with relationships—

dealing with time and another with relationships – that are both refusals of mediation. Firstly, IA is characterized by the rejection of a future revolution (waiting for it or making progress toward it); instead, insurrection is seen as something to be immediately practiced. Secondly, IA rejects the bodies that mediate the spaces between individuals and organizes them in mass revolutionary activity.

The distinction was first expressed by Stimer, whose ideas have been enormously influential to all of the well-known insurrectionary anarchists:

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insurrectionary anarchism

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them in tavor of networks and intormal ones.

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Is class struggle anarchy different from insurrectionary anarchy?

How? If they're not different, then why are they called different things?

Different analysis, different tactics, different law approaches. But the problem is that those who rail against "insurrectionary" anarchists almost always use a strawman argument. The insurrectionary anarchists I know do not ignore, dismiss, or otherwise disregard a class analysis of capitalism and the state. Those who refer to themselves as "class struggle" anarchists are almost always using that terminology as a short-cut way of describing their strategies and tactics. More specifically it appears that they do not reject labor unions as locations for revolutionary intervention, whereas most other anarchists (and not just the crazed insurrectionaries) do. Perhaps the main distinction is manifest around the organizational question; class struggle anarchists tend to favor formal membership-based cadre organizations, while insurrectionary anarchists reject

them in favor of networks and informal ones.

What is social war?

I see social war as a reaction to the tocus on class war by certain significant portions of political people. Class war tends to emphasize rigid distinctions between classes that don't make sense anymore (if they ever did), and a marxist/ economic analysis that doesn't address many other causes and effects of hierarchy. So social war emphasizes both that we are all participants in this war (instead of just the working class-as-revolutionaryagent), and that we are at war with society, and that agent), and that we are at war with society, and that

society is at war with itselt. That definitely leads to an amorphousness that communists especially (it seems) don't like to deal with, but to me seems appropriate to the blurry lines

and shifting ground that we deal with all the time. Rejecting the logic of social peace, we instead assert a different rationale: social war. Social war is but beyond the limitations of class. Rather than a working class seeking to affirm ourselves in our endless conflict with capital, we desire instead to abolish the class relation and all other relations that reproduce this social order. Social war is the discrete and ongoing struggle that runs through

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a comrade here in Oakland: rather the social peace and its negation. Io quote Vhat's at issue in these torays against capital is it overt. The issue is not violence or non-violence. chaos, we seek to expose this struggle, to make and negotiates our lived experience. As agents of

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.snoit Social war is conflict within all hierarchical social relaplexities and multiplicities of all social relations. developed beyond class to include the comsocial war: The narrative of "class struggle"

"war on society" bit is totally strange to me. More like lot more on target than what dot eludes to. I he whole The above is from a few sources, and I think is a Social war means society against the state.

Social war is this process of doing something. It is our concerted effort to rupture the ever-present deadliness of the social peace.

Windows are shattered when we do nothing, so of course windows will be shattered when we do something; blood is shed when we do nothing, so of course blood will be shed when we do something.

and negotiates our lived experience. As agents of chaos, we seek to expose this struggle, to make it overt. The issue is not violence or non-violence. What's at issue in these forays against capital is rather the social peace and its negation. To quote a comrade here in Oakland:

Occupy Everything

social war: The narrative of "class struggle" sab developed beyond class to include the complexities and multiplicities of all social relations. Social war is conflict within all hierarchical social relations.

Social war means society against the state.

The above is from a few sources, and I think is a lot more on target than what dot eludes to. The whole "war on society" bit is totally strange to me. More like

Just to clarify-while there is a piece of dot the "most of society against a tiny elite" that makes sense (having a defined enemy is one important perspective), ONLY paying attention to that ignores that we are all part of the society that we are fighting. Power/hierarchy/authoritarianism doesn't just exist in some external form, in some easily identified other (the tiny elite); it is in all of us. it is We[™] (also known as The Masses) who continue to accept the fucked up situation we are in, We who have not risen up and cast off the chains. The only way to make sense of that passivity (as far as I can tell) is to understand that we are all implicated, even the people who seem to have the most to gain from a revolution. Society, for lack of a better word.

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Liberal or Conservative?

Also, it seems that Liberals promote more government and ouitours is gnim tagin slide loradil some is gnim the ibbs units politics. Anarchism is left but from what I read, so ffal naawaa sannaaffip adt bnaterabnu of guiget ma I

is marked more "Liberal". Any help would be average your, that showed slipt merchand, the left, which Survey alow mit tud , (there is a survey of the group begands Suittag dasa that every our true are just about the generation and the set of folitics in general and would love any answers. To me, of where liberal or conservative by nature? I'm new to 'omit aft to pup that beneficial considered to the constant

'suop looked upon them the same as I do neowing for this very reason, and therefore 200 I used to believe anarchists were right-

ibertarianism/anarchism. Obviously it's not is authoritarianism/tascism and the bottom is ertarianism on the right. On the Y-axis, the top on the left and neo-liberalism/tree-market libnomic' spectrum, with collectivism/communism two-axis kind of chart. The X-axis is the 'eco-"Left-to-Right" political spectrum in favor of a This pretty nitty site rejects the one-axis http://www.politicalcompass.org/index

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Liberal or Conservative?

I am trying to understand the differences between left vs right wing politics. Anarchism is left but from what I read, left wing is more liberal while right wing is conservative.

So, why is Anarchism considered left and of the two, is it more liberal or conservative by nature? I'm new to politics in general and would love any answers. To me, liberal and conservative are just words that keep getting changed along with America's society, but I'm wondering

Also, it seems that Liberals promote more government and also advocate discrimination.

This pretty nifty site rejects the one-axis "Left-to-Right" political spectrum in favor of a two-axis kind of chart. The X-axis is the 'economic' spectrum, with collectivism/communism on the left and neo-liberalism/free-market libertarianism on the right. On the Y-axis, the top is authoritarianism/fascism and the bottom is libertarianism/anarchism. Obviously it's not

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how, specifically, Anarchism falls towards the left, which

is marked more "Liberal". Any help would be awesome!

ast promotes Socialism but Conservative in its anti-state tendencies? Just seems to be so many contradictions with this. Also, being that Conservatives are for more individuality, would Anarcho-individualism be considered right wing? From what I read, both

responsibility (which, in a society that is set up to be unequal, absolves institutions of responsibility...). But there is definitely a significant segment of anarchists who call themselves neither right nor left.

Okay, but Anarchism is liberal in that it

right vs left

Some people (probably most people) consider dot anarchists to be part of the left because anarchists have frequently (especially historically) called themselves "anarcho-communists" (referring to the desire for communism - a state-free society, without the interim stages usually insisted on by people who call themselves just "communists"). Communists and anarchists are both considered to be part of the left because of a focus on how the state and context influences individuals. Ironically, conservatives usually focus more on individual will power and

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right

Social and Individual Anarchism are opposed to capitalism, making it more left wing?

Anarchists are not promoting socialism as socialism is currently understood. That is, socialism is now associated (like communism) with the states that have called themselves socialist and communist, and anarchists don't promote states or transitions that go through states.

It's clearer to say that anarchism is neither liberal nor conservative, since both liberalism and conservatism are labels for groups of people (as well as labels for collections of ideas), with which anarchists usually have little in common. All anarchists are against capitalism, it is one of the fundamentals of anarcho-capitalists are basically playing word games.) And yes, anarchoindividualism has been attacked by leftists as being right-wing in its effects if not in individualism has been attacked by leftists individualism has been attacked by leftists individualism has been attacked by leftists individualism has been attacked by leftists

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Social and Individual Anarchism are opposed to capitalism, making it more left wing?

capitalism at all, just that they want a kinder, gentler capitalism.

The word "liberal" is related to the word "liberty" and was originally used to mean generous or unrestrained. In modern political parlance, it has come to mean many things, but it usually implies progressivism; the promotion of change. The word "conservative" comes from the word "conserve" and suggests maintenance and preservation. This word too has been bastardized, bent for propagandistic purposes, but it still implies reverence for the old ways. Thus, liberal politicians advocate reform and development while conservative ones call for a return to traditional values.

In the sense that anarchists reject so-called traditional values, and in the sense that they agitate for a *new* society that is radically different from the norm, they are leftists. Further, many people today consider marxist movements to be a product of the left and capitalist protractors a part of the right. So, since many anarchists are socialists, communists, etc; anarchy—especially European anarchy—is often placed within the leftist milieu.

right vs left

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right vs left

What is post-left anarchism?

main areas: alc You the tanarchy has developed thought in six

11- The Left

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celebrity culture, selt-righteousness, privileged vancritiquing Lettist activists for political careerism, tive force historically ("the left-wing of capital")

attempting to opportunistically manage struggles selves in academia, scenes, and cliques while also critiquing the tendency of Lettists to insulate themguardism, and martyrdom

2. Ideology

self-theory" at individual and communal levels thinking as a distinct phenomenon in tavor of "critical a Stimer-esque critique of dogma and ideological

3. Morality

moralism a moral nihilist critique of morality/reified values/

4. Organizationalism

to relation ot temporary, intormal, direct, spontaneous, intimate rigid, growth-tocused modes of organization in tavor critiquing permanent, tormal, mass, mediated,

cies toward managerialism, reductionism, protessioncritiquing Lettist organizational patterns' tenden-

What is post-left anarchism?

Post-left anarchy has developed thought in six alc main areas:

1. The Left

critiquing the Left as nebulous, anachronistic, distracting, a failure, and at key points a counterproductive force historically ("the left-wing of capital")

critiquing Leftist activists for political careerism, celebrity culture, self-righteousness, privileged vanguardism, and martyrdom

critiquing the tendency of Leftists to insulate themselves in academia, scenes, and cliques while also

attempting to opportunistically manage struggles

2. Ideology

a Stirner-esque critique of dogma and ideological

thinking as a distinct phenomenon in favor of "critical

self-theory" at individual and communal levels

3. Morality

a moral nihilist critique of morality/reified values/ moralism

4. Organizationalism

critiquing permanent, formal, mass, mediated, rigid, growth-focused modes of organization in favor of temporary, informal, direct, spontaneous, intimate forms of relation

critiquing Leftist organizational patterns' tendencies toward managerialism, reductionism, profession-112

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post-left

ing-voting-recruiting-marching pattern ing toward institutionalization, and ritualizing a meettheoretician & militant or intellectual & grunt, detailteteers/mediators, with cadre-based hierarchies of ganizations to mimic political parties, acting as rackcritiquing the tendencies of unions and Lettist oralism, substitutionism, and ideology

5. Identity Politics

inflicts guilt-induced paralysis, amongst others tirming rather than negating gender, class, etc.) and timization-enabled identifies and social roles (i.e. atcritiquing identity politics insotar as it preserves vic-

saulsv. d critiquing single-issue campaigns or orientations

praxis into anarchy as a living praxis moving beyond anarchISM as a static historical

ot rather than dialectics / totalizing narratives (except tocussing on daily life and the intersectionality there-

centricity) work (as forced labor, alienated labor, workplaceemphasizing personal autonomy and a rejection of anarcho-primitivists tend toward epistemology)

philia, civilization (esp. in anti-civilization tendencies) duction, productivity, etticiency, "Progress", technocritiquing industrial notions of mass society, proties, rationalism, humanism, democracy, utopia, etc. critiquing Enlightenment notions of Cartesian duali-

alism, substitutionism, and ideology

ing-voting-recruiting-marching pattern

5. Identity Politics

post-left

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inflicts guilt-induced paralysis, amongst others critiquing single-issue campaigns or orientations 6. Values

critiquing the tendencies of unions and Leftist or-

ganizations to mimic political parties, acting as racketeers/mediators, with cadre-based hierarchies of

theoretician & militant or intellectual & grunt, defailt-

ing toward institutionalization, and ritualizing a meet-

critiquing identity politics insofar as it preserves vic-

timization-enabled identities and social roles (i.e. af-

firming rather than negating gender, class, etc.) and

moving beyond anarchISM as a static historical praxis into anarchY as a living praxis

focussing on daily life and the intersectionality thereof rather than dialectics / totalizing narratives (except anarcho-primitivists tend toward epistemology)

emphasizing personal autonomy and a rejection of work (as forced labor, alienated labor, workplacecentricity)

critiguing Enlightenment notions of Cartesian dualities, rationalism, humanism, democracy, utopia, etc.

critiquing industrial notions of mass society, production, productivity, efficiency, "Progress", technophilia, civilization (esp. in anti-civilization tendencies)

schon with? Who do post-Lettists organize or take

(222 (Socialists, Community) etc). to kising the solution of the D emocrats, or are some variety of be objer the substance of Republicans or Libertarians are either isom ind invision of the out of the question. But most I know that post-Leftists are not anarcho-capitalists, so

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particular goals. with those they have attinity with in order to achieve post-left anarchists organize on a temporary basis ot it that will conflict with me, but my take is that others will have much to say about this, much It would depend on the situation. I am sure

with people who identity with the left, but of always when they don't). It isn't a matter of never working attinities that work for a period, and letting those go revolution"), and that of the pl@ perspective (finding and intrastructure with the goal of furthering "the ist model of organizing (building institutions, fronts, but rather to distinguish between the traditional left-I don't mean such a broad answer as a cop-out,

Who do post-Leftists organize or take action with?

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I don't mean such a broad answer as a cop-out, but rather to distinguish between the traditional leftist model of organizing (building institutions, fronts, and infrastructure with the goal of furthering "the revolution"), and that of the pl@ perspective (finding affinities that work for a period, and letting those go when they don't). It isn't a matter of never working with people who identify with the left, but of always

It would depend on the situation. I am sure g others will have much to say about this, much of it that will conflict with me, but my take is that post-left anarchists organize on a temporary basis with those they have affinity with in order to achieve particular goals.

Seems there is a very limited pool of people post-Leftists can work with if they refuse to work with Leftists. Surely they don't organize with apathetic or apolitical people only?

I know that post-Leftists are not anarcho-capitalists, so obviously right wingers are out of the question. But most people who are not Republicans or Libertarians are either liberals who vote for the Democrats, or are some variety of Leftists (Socialists, Communists, etc).

Which tends to piss off letties. similated in to a mass for the good of the movement. remaining apart from the left, of retusing to be as-

common pattern. identifies as Left or Right, but I doubt that exists as a Maybe some of us disassociate with everyone who not operate in the modes we associate with the Lett. tuses to work with Lettists, we just prefer to No post-lett anarchist I know categorically re-

trom the Lett, but people who identity with the Lett As a pl@ I differ in theory, orientation, & strategy introductory discussion about different perspectives. and that gives me an opportunity to engage in an to tind resonance with them. I volunteer with youth ple who do not call themselves anarchists, enough anarchists and point out my own overlaps with peoleast some common ground for interaction with most strangers, travelers, youth, onlookers...l can tind at migrant laborers, testival goers, event attendees, ists, unemployed people, students, domestic and people who engage in direct action, solidarity unioncates & productive play promoters, tamily, triends, with green anarchists, luddites, & zero-work advothe ideologies of close-minded people. I associate I talk with open-minded people, and deconstruct

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post-left

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SIL

post-left

culminating in some sort of proposition for action tolretining a mutual critique to our situation, and finally common values (eg selt-determination, partnership), (eg disliking having a boss, teeling powerless), and tus quo, leading to a search for shared experiences ated by me interjecting something critical of the stato the extent that we share an attinity, mostly initiing outside of those. I typically "organize" with people parties that usually doesn't prevent them from relatsomeone endorses bureaucratic unions or political embody the celebrity managerialism I loathe. Even it taneous, intimate, mostly but not always intormal) nor methods of association (impermanent, direct, spondo not necessarily automatically retuse my preterred

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TL;DR: Post-left anarchists I know tend to orga-

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association.

what defines the lett? According to post-lettists,

c. representation tions and between radicals and the masses b. specialization of roles, both within organizadq a. old and rigid torms of organization

t. valorization of work skin color, religion, etc) ot) people into state-sponsored identities (gender, e. categorization of (or perpetuating the categorization d. ideological thinking

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the Democratic Party (Kucinich), and some types revolutionary (or retormist) Marxism, the left wing of (anti-Marxist, anti-revolutionary) Social Democracy, modate such diverse ideas as Maoism, right-wing is internally incoherent enough to be able to accom-Socialism. We have to acknowledge that Socialism The Lett is often therefore equated with a generic urally depending on how we understand capitalism. criticism of (the worst excesses of) capitalism-natthetic) commentators to have something to do with a The Left is usually considered by most (sympa-

LII

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According to post-leftists, what defines the left?

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law

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of labor (point b). representative body (point c) that requires a division process, but because it is organized as a supposedly niar program or plattorm or internal decision-making party (point a) is a problem not because of its particthem. So a rigid organizational form like a political because of the inherent philosophical problems with not just because stupid people were doing them, but gies to be historical tailures; we judge them tailures ers for the moment) find those categories and strateries and strategies is that we (it I may speak tor oth-The reason post-left @s dislike Leftist catego-

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of anarchism (NEFAC, syndicalists, pro-democracy folks like Milstein). What they all share is a desire to use and/or take over most of the functions of the state in ways that ameliorate those aforementioned excesses. In this way they remain within the authoritarian system common to all other forms of tinkering with institutions of hierarchy and domination.

The reason post-left @s dislike Leftist categories and strategies is that we (if I may speak for others for the moment) find those categories and strategies to be historical failures; we judge them failures not just because stupid people were doing them, but because of the inherent philosophical problems with them. So a rigid organizational form like a political party (point a) is a problem not because of its particular program or platform or internal decision-making process, but because it is organized as a supposedly representative body (point c) that requires a division of labor (point b).

Ideological thinking (point d) uses backwards logic. Ideologists begin from solutions or answers and only later formulate guestions-that just by coincidence happen to point precisely to those solutions or answers. The questions are only questions in a technical sense because they being with Why

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post-left

All leftist strategies are predicated on a redistribution of wealth, which means that they all wish to maintain methods of calibrating value in labor, in commodities, and in exchange. This is economy, and along with retooled mechanisms of statecraft (whether enshrined as government or the voluntarism so beloved of NGOs), certainly is a decent way of understanding of NGOs), certainly is a decent way of understanding

lect (or agent) of salvation.

ish the ideology of victimization (point e). been historically oppressed, post-left @s wish to abolor compensations for categories of people who have where Lettists want to develop or extend protections stroying the ones that most tolks don't want or need; discussion of which technologies to maintain while deeconomy, and at the very least facilitate a large-scale as generators of profit, post-left @s wish to abolish of production to turn them to social use rather than deavor); where Lettists wish to expropriate the means work (as a coercive and separate sphere of useful enprove the lives of workers, post-left @s wish to abolish Where Lettists (and many lett anarchists) want to imcritics of "talse opposition" to capitalism and the state. of the neglected points of post-left @ is that we are ses as particularly new or ground-breaking. But one enough; not many post-left @s trumpet their analyism, the state, and authoritarianism in general. Fair out that these are basic anarchist criticisms of capital-Lett-anarchist critics of post-lett @ have pointed the primary problems associated with Lettism.

There a ton of questions that arise from this brief overview, that's as it should be. The most interesting aspect of post-left @ is that we actually yearn for more questions than answers; with any luck, that's also a way of steering clear of ideology. the primary problems associated with Leftism.

Left-anarchist critics of post-left @ have pointed out that these are basic anarchist criticisms of capitalism, the state, and authoritarianism in general. Fair enough; not many post-left @s trumpet their analyses as particularly new or ground-breaking. But one of the neglected points of post-left @ is that we are critics of *false opposition* to capitalism and the state. Where Leftists (and many left anarchists) want to improve the lives of workers, post-left @s wish to abolish work (as a coercive and separate sphere of useful endeavor); where Leftists wish to expropriate the means of production to turn them to social use rather than as generators of profit, post-left @s wish to abolish economy, and at the very least facilitate a large-scale discussion of which technologies to maintain while destroying the ones that most folks don't want or need; where Leftists want to develop or extend protections or compensations for categories of people who have been historically oppressed, post-left @s wish to abolish the ideology of victimization (point e).

There a ton of questions that arise from this brief overview, that's as it should be. The most interesting aspect of post-left @ is that we actually yearn for more questions than answers; with any luck, that's also a way of steering clear of ideology.

and brightest, then no, anarchists are not socialists.

To get to the heart of your question: depends law how you define/understand "socialism" (and "anarchism" for that matter). If socialism is characterized by a generic opposition to capitalism, then sure, socialism means that people who have no direct acwill get to have that access and control, then sure, anarchists are socialists. If socialism means that hierarchical institutions that foster a division of labor will continue under the control and direction of the best

As is the case with many of the questions being posed, there are at least two or three more questions that need to be asked before a proper answer is attempted, let alone agreed upon.

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Are actual anarchists socialists?

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define "identity politics"? How do anarchists

that we care about the following things in the correct people who use these words and by doing so indicate other as belonging to a particular group (we are the language) as a way to identify themselves and each think people talk about identity (or use identity-coded I get very wary when people talk about identity. Also I class, sexual preterence, physical ability, etc). So people's) lite (whatever "it" might be-usually race, generalize what it means in a person's (and/or a something, tend to drastically simplify and overthink that most people who use identity to mean l define identity politics mostly negatively—ie, l think that most people who use identity to mean

(...)ennem

much less to talk about what it means. tigured out a good way to think about what it means, don't think that people know what it means, or have brown-haired, balding (etc) means "some" thing. I just being poor, rich, paraplegic, queer, able-bodied, stood markers do mean something. I do think that I hat said, I do think that socially created/under-

weighty question unto itselt. Some answers to what anarchists mean by "politics" which is a weighty question unto itealt come Answers to this question will be determined by

How do anarchists define "identity politics"?

language) as a way to identify themselves and each other as belonging to a particular group (we are the people who use these words and by doing so indicate that we care about the following things in the correct manner...) That said, I do think that socially created/understood markers do mean something. I do think that being poor, rich, paraplegic, queer, able-bodied, brown-haired, balding (etc) means *some*thing. I just don't think that people know what it means, or have figured out a good way to think about what it means,

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Answers to this question will be determined by what anarchists mean by "politics" which is a weighty question unto itself. Some answers to

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that have been attempted on this site. To focus on the identity portion of the term:

Like dot, I tend to use the phrase as shorthand for certain unfavorable approaches. These approaches tend to focus on a particular identity group to the (near) exclusion of other subjects for analysis, theory, and practice. The epitome of identity political analysis views a specific form of oppression as the main oppression from which all others stem. It then becomes hard to arrive at coherent analysis of other forms of oppression. Even much of economic analysis can turn into identity politics in the form of fetishization of workers.

Of course, identity is important. First of all because it is socially enforced. Second because it is often internalized. For the foreseeable future people will continue to distinguish themselves based on all sorts of identity components, and our social experience will thus be informed by vast categories of wildly diverse individuals. There is useful information to be gleaned from the theorization about different identity groups to which people assign themselves or are assigned by others. There are tens of thousands of years of history based on identity concepts like Woman or Slave or Deviant. Even if it is desirable to move away from using such stock categories for the individuals that compose society, these concepts

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are highly embedded in the culture and are therefore important touchstones in any good analysis.

When we submit to essentialist thinking about these groups, we limit the potential for our own identity-creation. My whole life I have taken it for granted that because I have certain sex characteristics, I am a man. Everyone I have ever encountered has treated me like a man (or boy), and yet there has always been some nagging doubt. It is only recently that I am able to express that, though I am easily categorizable biologically, I have no affinity to any gender identity. Though I now understand this, I am still stuck in a society that wants to pigeon-hole me in the male gender. This is just as disconcerting coming from leftist feminists as from aggressive men.

So as an alternative to the extremes of identity politics and attempted identity-blindness I try to understand peoples' self-identity constructions.

To clarify a bit, I find that identity discourse is often interesting and worthwhile. As an example; I know a twin who has developed their own unique discourse about the prejudices and stereotypes of "singlets" toward "multiples". They have actually been asked such things as "How do you know which one you are?"! It's the subsumation of all other discourses about oppressive behavior to one particular identity discourse that I would disdainfully call "identity politics".

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WOL 124

What is consensus and how

Consensus means full agreement reached between all persons within a group or set. The term is used by anarchists as well as many others to refer to internal decision-making processes in which full agreement is required in decisions that (significantly) affect others in the group or are made in the name of the whole group.

Generally it is understood that individuals and atfinities always have the power to act autonomously, and that consensus is needed only to claim the approval of a larger body or make decisions that affect others in the body. Unfortunately, however, consening subservient to the larger group and unnecessarily requesting approval for insignificant decisions or for decisions that would better be done autonomously. (A group cannot do anything unless individuals also often they want something to happen they may have to do it themselves.

it take initiative). A common argument for why using consensus process opposes hierarchy is something resembling: "It allows us to make decisions in the process of fighting against systems of hierarchy while also not making those decisions hierarchically."

What is consensus and how is its use opposed to hierarchy?

Consensus means full agreement reached between all persons within a group or set. The term is used by anarchists as well as many others to refer to internal decision-making processes in which full agreement is required in decisions that (significantly) affect others in the group or are made in the name of the whole group.

Generally it is understood that individuals and affinities always have the power to act autonomously, and that consensus is needed only to claim the approval of a larger body or make decisions that affect others in the body. Unfortunately, however, consensus practice often finds individuals and affinities acting subservient to the larger group and unnecessarily requesting approval for insignificant decisions or for decisions that would better be done autonomously. Individuals also often forget that if they want something to happen they may have to do it themselves. (A group cannot do anything unless individuals within it take initiative).

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consensus

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autonomously from the consensus-making group, are related to a kind of hierarchy in which the sacredness of consensus can have a power over the will of each individual who's part of the whole. Others will point to issues of social status, identity politics, etc as "the hidden hierarchies within consensus." These claims may be true but often the approach seeks to reduce everyone to a lowest common denominator, equality, in which everyone is inoffensive, and walking on the eggshells of their so-called privileges, which certainly is no way to live freely much less constitute a force to destroy the immense institutional structures of hierarchy that are this society.

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But the word "hierarchy" originally refers not to authorities having power of decision-making, but rather to spiritual beings holding a sacred power (of closeness to God). This meaning was transposed to the Catholic hierarchy (made up of persons supposedly having sacred power), and this transposition gave hierarchy an embodied and systematic force. Following this, it could be argued that hierarchy originates in the power that ideas have when held above us as sacred, and that this power can take on a social and material form. (This would be too long of a divergence to go into depth on here, but you could refer to Max Stirner for more on the topic.) Perhaps, then, the issues I described above concerning consensus, such as the inability of the individual or affinity to feel able to act autonomously from the consensus-making group, are related to a kind of hierarchy in which the sacredness of consensus can have a power over the will of each individual who's part of the whole.

Why don't anarchists vote?

 Instead of on finding the best option.
 The act of voting in the current system does nothing but validate false choices and confirm our own powerlessness over a system that is corrupt at its core.

1. We don't believe in representation. Even direct democracy is only one possibility (and an overlyvalorized one) among many ways to resolve conflict or make decisions in a group, and is based on competition instead of on finding the best option.

There have been many arguments made against voting that deserve to be listed: here are three...

An anarchist has a larger view of the world than its political systems and politicians allow for. We must keep ahold of that perspective and it is not a simple task; we are constantly bombarded with the simplistic messages and world views conveyed by commercialism and politics. To effectively vote, one must engage with the dynamics and arguments that are being voted upon and this will necessarily narrow one's perspective. It is not that the act of voting in a vacuum is bad or destructive, in fact it just doesn't matter. But engaging in the liberal/conservative banter renders one relatively thoughtless.

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tion instead of on finding the best option. 2. The act of voting in the current system does nothing but validate false choices and confirm our own powerlessness over a system that is corrupt at its core.

3. Since the system itself is the problem, even in the case of the pure soul who might somehow find them-selves in a position of power (as if the process of power-brokering), this person will be forced to work the system or never get anything done.

Inevitably, campaign promises that sound lovely will either not happen, or will happen in ways that lead to worse results.

The word "voting", since it includes both elec- a toral politics and signifying one's preference for a certain resolution, seems rather vague. Etymologically it comes from "a vow to do something", even more vague.

Reasons I wouldn't vote (mostly in elections): **Futility.** Trying to elect a ruler in any system competent enough to gain a monopoly probably would not fundamentally challenge that system.

Distraction. I would not desire to empower an elite at the expense of everyday people. Empowering one sector of a population at the expense of everyone else would only at best distract me from actualising anarchic relationships or demolishing hierarchical ones. Example: guerilla gardening, Food Mot Bombs, and Black Panther food distribution of3. Since the system itself is the problem, even in the case of the pure soul who might somehow find themselves in a position of power (as if the process of getting into office itself is not one of compromise and power-brokering), this person will be forced to work the system or never get anything done.

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voting

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671 when politics removes representatives from the tilters out aspects and experiences, especially represented. By necessity political representation tion and substitution, and always diminishes the incompatibility. Representation relies on reduc-

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community/context they *supposedly* represent. **Inconsistency.** I would not willingly compromise certain convictions, namely, anti-authoritarianism. So when would I vote? If it seemed effective, empowering, sufficient, non-oppressive, non-exploitative, direct, compatible, and consistent with my principles, I would. I would vote to abolish a law if noticiples, I would. I would vote to abolish a law if outcome. I would probably also vote under duress. And I vote in consensus decisions, formally and informally. guite often.

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Is the academy a good place for anarchists?

I was just listening to a philosophy professor talk about fear (mostly in the context of fear as a tool of politicians) and he mentioned that while one would think that universities are a place where fear is less of an issue, professors (he included himself) were some of the most timid people he's ever spent time with. (He went on to say that the academy is a place where people are always watching, always

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voting

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academia

I have no problem with people who view school as a job. I know one professor with politics I trust (who just got laid off, btw), who views it as exactly that.

Universities operate as a) screens to winnow out uncontrollables, b) training camps for acceptable thinking, c) think tanks for corporations and statists (think about the vast amount of information that exists in all those theses and projects and who actually uses that information).

But the academy is a deeply hierarchical and authoritarian system, one that is designed to co-opt new ideas and integrate them into first the academy and then the larger society (capitalism runs on edgy new things to sell to people who are dissatisfied, and sustains itself partly by integrating new behaviors and ideas instead of resisting them).

taken away-or not given in the first place.) Professors are people who have shown that they are willing to abide by the rules set up to contain and restrict creativity (to color inside the lines). The academy is like politics in the sense that people who are anarchists or anarchist-friendly are

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with getting a job, or working within the system.

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How have the Situationists influenced contemporary anarchism?

The Situationist International, especially thesis <u>a</u> 91-94 of Debord's Society of the Spectacle, formulated the clearest anarchist critique of anarchism in the 1960s. This critique represents for many anarchists (specifically anarchists who have since declared anarchism to be distinct from the leftSituationists

tice be indistinguishable from anarchist goals. 2) The ideology of pure freedom (Debord's term for anarchist political philosophy), flattens the difficulties of political struggles *in reality* while demanding the all-encompassing goal of the total negation of the current order. Both mystical and doctrinaire, anarchists have remained emblematic of the soul of

First International. This is addressed in modern anarchist practice by a demand for transparency in all aspects of organizational issues and an attempt to have anarchist practice be indistinguishable from anarchist goals.

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The inspiration for this thinking can be seen in the critique of work & the left (Bob Black & *Anarchy: a Journal of Desire Armed*), an ongoing dialogue with anarchists and so-called post-situationists since the 1970s, and the cultural influence that the SI had vis-a-vis punk rock and bohemian counter-culture ever since. Here is a summary of the critique of anarchists in Debord's SoS.

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Another argument is that it's not awesome now, so changes are unlikely to make things worse, even if they don't make them tons better.

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I'm concerned about how we'll help those of us who need long term care, like disabled people or the mentally ill

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robbed at gunpoint? the cops it the bookstore was being Would an anarchist bookstore clerk call

. Known sann bab yann sdi sakat nam add nok stad nam solt stads of nov nov and beckets. The man bear you Sun. The man asks for the money in the till, and all the -pupy signation into sup and slind pup in sylper year its p ui upu Sunok 17 . pjoigs fo 2005 ou os si kSojoopi inok 2001 are seated at the till. You are old and weak, and believe Imagine you are working at an anarchist bookstore. You

วุ่นอารุชธิารรองนา โภวุดุดง วุตุรุ นา อรุชสาวารุภษส ทดโ Mould you call the police to report the vobbery? Would

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Would an anarchist bookstore clerk call the cops if the bookstore was being robbed at gunpoint?

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If a suspect was captured and the prosecutor filed a complaint against the suspect would you attend the preliminary examination to testify? Would you testify at the trial? Would you subject yourself to the court-power of the subpoena?

senseless. The man takes the money and runs away. Would you call the police to report the robbery? Would you participate in the robbery investigation?

Imagine you are working at an anarchist bookstore. You are seated at the till. You are old and weak, and believe that your ideology is some sort of shield. A young man in a ski mask walks in and pulls out an semi automatic handgun. The man asks for the money in the till, and all the money that you have in your pockets. The man beats you

crime

Clearly the police and other government agencies perform functions that are directly linked to the maintenance of the political status quo. On this basis, they must be challenged. However, the majority of us would feel compelled to call

How could people in an anarchist society be protected from violence, aggression, and abuse?

are ones that anarchists want to do something about, not just the part about what happens when someone hurts someone else.

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ality of life today, but deserve also to be called into

question, since all of those pieces of the question

outweigh the anarchist part, at least in that moment, or for this situation. The question assumes not only that the clerk is frail (hence presumably unable to fight back—although there is nothing to keep such a person from having weapons of her own), and that the clerk does not know the robber, and that the clerk is alone

So the clerk part could potentially outweigh the anarchist part, or the scared person part could potentially outweigh the anarchist part, at least in that moment,

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crime

the police should we be under attack. How may an anarchist society reconcile this need for protection, with the need for liberty and freedom from authority?

Calling the police does not not always bring **tr** about "protection". Protection vs liberty and freedom from authority, may be more closely linked then we are otherwise lead to believe. It could be that perhaps these "need" no reconciliation whatsoever.

Many people—not just anarchists—do not call the police when they are threatened. The protection the police (claim to) offer is pretty specific and extremely limited.

I he tact that some people still don't think they have any other recourse has as much to do with the fact that police are seen to be the only legitimate users-of-force in this society, as it does with actually protecting ourselves. Police, for a variety of reasons (not all of them even in their control), also tend to escalate conflicts rather than actually resolve anything. One of the basics of anarchist thought is direct action, which means that we handle things ourselves.

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I expect there would be a lot of different ways to or get ostracized by some tolks and not by others... beoble wonld just move away, like they do now, and Or maybe, no one would decide anything. Maybe

What would we do about violent I know we can help teach the next generation and all that

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prison

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Or maybe, no one would decide anything. Maybe people would just move away, like they do now, and/ or get ostracized by some folks and not by others...

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One of the many frustrating aspects of the judicial system, for me, is the acceptance of the 140

When you get into more serious matters, like

perfect example). If someone breaks into my home, I don't desire to call a stranger (the police) to make them whisk the person off, so that another stranger (the judge/jury) can decided whether or not they were really in my home and whether or not that was okay. I should be able to confront them at that moment, in that place. In the time it would take to call the police, one could instead call friends and neighbors if they felt they needed someone else involved.

Example (not the best, but there really never is a

idea that we can't decide what is right or wrong for ourselves; that someone we have no connection to, who knows nothing of us or our situation, is allowed to decide whether or not we have been wronged by another and then make a decision about the fate of that person. Is it so crazy to think that we could empower ourselves to take back that authority in our own lives and communities?

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When you get into more serious matters, like instances of sexual assault or murder, things will always be tricky. But the current "justice" system has proven that it is ineffective at both identifying the corthing again (except in cases of lifelong imprisonment/ death). Whose to say that the people directly involved couldn't do a better job or finding out who did it and finding a correct solution. And, while I do recognize the problematic aspects of "vigilante justice", I per-

telt they needed someone else involved.

own lives and communities?

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prison

prison

sonally find no fault in physically confronting someone who has harmed you or telling them that they must leave town. But there is also room for talking through things, understanding a situation, learning from our mistakes, and moving on in ways deemed appropriate by those directly involved.

And we must recognize the cause of most crime. Personally, I don't beleive that people are born murderers or rapists. Society, the conditions of their lives (especially as children), and a variety of other factors affect what decisions people make. So, we must take a look at the causes of violence in the first place. The disempowerment that comes from economic, racial, to lash out and seek power over another. The obsesto lash out and seek power over another. The obsesany cost. The message that empowerment or power over are both power – and therefore interchangeable, over are both power – and therefore interchangeable, equal, and necessary to our well-being.

I apologize if this sounds vague or intangible, but the abolition of prisons is far more complicated than the simple destruction of a few walls. We could rid ourselves of prisons tomorrow, but we would find for police; we could kill all cops, but new cops, even if under a different name, would pop up everywhere shore as there is a need for such institutions, they

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relations, etc. We must rid ourselves of a need for we view ourselves, each other, our communities, our will continue to exist. We need to change the way

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kinda puts the cart before the horse. are "criminals" there will be jails, so that question overnight. As long as we have system where there system isn't something that can be done away with The question itself is mildly absurd. The prison

would be a small minority of cases. by those it relates to, but I would speculate that this I hose who continue to cause harm will be dealt with Jail Just want to get out and get on with their lives. argue that we simply let them be. Most people in them trom communities they aren't a part of. I would put them through "accountability processes" or exile lous to re-incarcerate them in an "anarchist prison", them. What options do we have? It would be ridicu-Secondly, we shouldn't do anything to/with

will continue to exist. We need to change the way we view ourselves, each other, our communities, our relations, etc. We must rid ourselves of a need for prisons.

selves, our friends, our communities, to take back

that control, to recognize that we don't need the me-

diation of strangers to decide what is good or bad,

right or wrong for us.

Finally:

First and foremost we need to empower our-

The question itself is mildly absurd. The prison system isn't something that can be done away with overnight. As long as we have system where there are "criminals" there will be jails, so that question kinda puts the cart before the horse.

Secondly, we shouldn't do anything to/with

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prison

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prison

How would an anarchist society deal with crimes like rape or serial murder? I'm personally an anarcho-syndicalist; but I'm personally an anarcho-syndicalist; but

I'm personally an anarcho-syndicalist; but, this is something that perplexes me often. I don't see how a mutualistic society could intern people, without state hacking. And you hardly want private police, like the "cough"

I here are so many claritying questions/objec-

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side the parameters decided by those who run the carceration. In short, punishment for behaving out-This usually takes the form of arrest, trial, and inbilitation should be, by now, completely discredited). ation, retribution, vengeance (the pretense to rehaot what the statists see as their purview alone: retaliallegedly neutral conflict resolution to take the place legal category, requiring an institutionalized system of I hat's commonly called Direct Action. "Crime" is a other meaningtul level of social organization you like). a community/commune/attinity group (or whatever is dealt with by the attected individuals making up in a context where deviant (non-normative) behavior matically a problem; such a concept is meaningless an anarchist to use a term like "crime" is autotions required by your casual statement... For

There are so many clarifying questions/objeclaw tions required by your casual statement... For an anarchist to use a term like "crime" is automatically a problem; such a concept is meaningless in a context where deviant (non-normative) behavior is dealt with by the affected individuals making up a community/commune/affinity group (or whatever other meaningful level of social organization you like). That's commonly called Direct Action. "Crime" is a legal category, requiring an institutionalized system of allegedly neutral conflict resolution to take the place of what the statists see as their purview alone: retaliation, retribution, vengeance (the pretense to rehabilitation should be, by now, completely discredited). This usually takes the form of arrest, trial, and incarceration. In short, punishment for behaving outside the parameters decided by those who run the

society could intern people, without state backing. And you hardly want private police, like the *cough* anarcho-capitalists.

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How would an anarchist society deal with crimes like rape or serial murder?

Social organization. What would happen in an anarchist society to deal with rape and murder would probably look a lot like what happens in other non-statist cultures when someone does something particularly nasty: the survivor, the family and friends decide how to proceed, whether it's one or more of the following. Public shaming or beating; concern coupled with compassion and care; expulsion; execution—and a million other possibilities in between. All options are on the table, unlike what happens in statist cultures, where the authorities decide the punishment in a sham neutrality for the good of "the people."

State. By taking the response to deviance out of the hands of those directly affected, the legal authorities are merely delegitimizing (and making it a crime!) the autonomy and cohesion of any meaningful level of social organization.

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possible reading list (in no order)

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possible reading list (in no order)

Anarchy Alive! – Uri Gordon

An examination of contested issues between and among anarchists. The questions of Violence, Power, Technology, and Nationalism are each given their own chapters.

Anarchy Works – Peter Gelderloos

A cross-cultural examination of how anarchist principles have worked, whether the practitioners called

themselves anarchists or not.

Big and small, legal and il-, 62 recipes that run the gamut from dumspter-diving to banner drops, open relationships to locking down streets, monkeywrenching to coalition building.

Recipes for Disaster – CrimethInc.

Anarchism or Lifestyle Anarchism. Black accuses Bookchin of being a closeted authoritarian, city-statist and Marxist with a penchant for high tech and the Athenian polis. Black defends what he calls heterodox or post-leftist anarchism, a kind of anti-work, individualist,

Anarchy after Leftism – Bob Black Black's response to Murray Bookchin's Social

and moderately primitivist form of anarchism.

some readings

Society of the Spectacle – Guy Debord One of the main texts of the Situationists, explaining (in aphorisms) the concept of the Spectacle as the defining impetus of western culture, one that is, through consumption, continually searching for meaning.

the only utopia with enough diversity to deserve the name *anarchist*.

A sketch of how a future anarchist society could work,

bolo'bolo – p.m.

start) To be healthy and sane we need to be grounded in a more direct relationship with nature and with other people in comprehensible, face-to-face communities. Leviathanic civilization destroys these basic relationships -- hence the pathology of the modern era. This book covers all this. It's deep, it's allegorical, it's like nothing you've ever read before.

The Anarchist Tension – Alfredo M. Bonanno One of the most influential (along with *Armed Joy* and *At Daggers Drawn*) of the insurrectionary writings. Challenges anarchists to resist dogma and easy answers.

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Bakunin, Mikhail

of Europe. He was involved in the insurrection in Lyon, gained great influence with the youth in Russia and all general. Despite (or because of) criminal status, Bakunin also often been called the father of anarchist theory in philosopher, theorist of collectivist anarchism. He has and Russian revolutionary and

insisted the congress was rigged, and so held their own organisation within the international. The anarchists he was eventually expelled for maintaining a secret who opposed it. Bakunin's faction lost the vote, and electoral participation and a faction around Bakunin Marx and his tollowers who argued tor parliamentary Hague Congress was dominated by a struggle between with sections in most European countries. The 1872 Association, a federation of trade union organizations In 1868, Bakunin Joined the International Working Men's which toreshadowed the Paris Commune.

some people/groups mentioned

Bonanno, Alfredo M.

Bakunin. Mikhail

(1937-) A main theorist of contemporary insurrectionary anarchism who wrote essays such as Armed Joy (for which he was imprisoned for 18 months by the Italian government), The Anarchist Tension and others; an editor of Anarchismo Editions and many other publications, only some of which have been translated into English. He has been involved in the anarchist movement for over thirty years.

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In 1868, Bakunin joined the International Working Men's Association, a federation of trade union organizations with sections in most European countries. The 1872 Hague Congress was dominated by a struggle between Marx and his followers who argued for parliamentary electoral participation and a faction around Bakunin who opposed it. Bakunin's faction lost the vote, and he was eventually expelled for maintaining a secret organisation within the international. The anarchists insisted the congress was rigged, and so held their own

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S

ome

significant people/groups

Dupont, Monsieur & Frère Monsieur Dupont is a duo of ex-activist communists in the UK, who wrote *Nihilist Communism*, in which they posit the irrelevance of most of the agitational activities

Camatte, Jacques A French writer, once a Marxist theoretician and member of the International Communist Party. After collecting and publishing a great amount of historical documents from left communist currents, and analysing the most recently discovered writings of Marx, in the early 70s Camatte abandoned the Marxist perspective. He decided instead that capitalism had succeeded in shaping humanity to its profit, and that every kind of "revolution" was thus impossible; that the working class was nothing more than an aspect of capital, unable to supersede its situation; that any future revolutionary movement would basically consist of a struggle between humanity and capital itself, rather than between classes; and that capital has become totalitarian in structure, leaving nowhere and noone outside its domesticating influence. This pessimism about revolutionary perspective is accompanied by the idea that we can "leave the world" and live closer to nature, and stop harming children and distorting their naturally sane spirit.

conference of the International in Switzerland. From 1870 to 1876, he wrote much of his seminal work such as *Statism and Anarchy* and *God and the State*.

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significant people/groups

some

of people who want foundational political and social change, partly because these "pro-revolutionaries" are inculcated by the same society that they are challenging, and partly because dramatic social change, if it comes at all (which it is likely not to), will only come from "the essential proletariat", which are the workers who control things that the system absolutely relies on (power, transportation, etc).

Frère Dupont, author of *species being*, is one of the two.

Berkman, Alexander

(1870–1936) an anarchist known for his political activism and writing, a leading member of the anarchist movement in the early 20th century.

Soon after his arrival in New York City, Berkman became an anarchist through his involvement with groups that had formed to campaign to free the men convicted of the 1886 Haymarket bombing. He came under the influence of Johann Most, the best-known anarchist in the United States, and an advocate of propaganda of the deed—*attentat*, or violence carried out to encourage the masses to revolt.

He attempted to assassinate businessman Henry Clay Frick as an act of propaganda of the deed. Frick survived the attempt on his life, and Berkman served 14 years in prison. His experience in prison was the basis for his first book, *Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist*. Berkman voiced his opposition to the Soviet use of violence and the repression of independent voices in his

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1925 book, The Bolshevik Myth. While living in France, Berkman continued his work in support of the anarchist movement, producing the classic exposition of anarchist Anarchism. Suffering from ill The ABC of Communist Anarchism. 1936.

de Cleyre,Voltairine

(1866–1912) A prolific American anarchist writer and speaker, she opposed the state, marriage, and the domination of religion in sexuality and women's lives. She began her activist career in the freethought movement.

Her political perspective shifted throughout her life, eventually leading her to become an outspoken proponent of "anarchism without adjectives."

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ever, she rejected individualism. "Socialism and Communism both demand a degree of joint effort and administration which would beget more regulation than is wholly consistent with ideal Anarchism; Individualism and Mutualism, resting upon property, involve a development of the private policeman not at all compatible with my notion of freedom."Instead, she became one of the most prominent advocates of anarchism without adjectives. In The Making of an Anarchist, she wrote, "I no longer label myself otherwise than as 'Anarchist' simply".

some significant people/groups

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Debord, Guy

Debord, out, or the Letterist International, founder (1931–1994) A French Marxist theorist, writer, filmmaker, member of the Letterist International, founder of a Letterist faction, and founding member of the Situstionist International (SI). He was also briefly a member of Socialisme ou Barbarie (a French-based radical libdenta joined the Letterist International when he was 19. A schism birthed several factions of Letterists, one of which was decidedly led by Debord. In the 1960s, 19. A schism birthed several factions of Letterists, one influenced the Situationist International group, which influenced the Situationist International group, which for the uprising of 1968. Some consider his book The Society of the Spectacle to be a catalyst for the uprising.

FAI The Federación Anarquista Ibérica (FAI, Iberian Anarchist Federación Anarquista Ibérica (FAI, Iberian Anarchist (anarcho-syndicalist and anarchist-communist) militants inside the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT) anarcho-syndicalist union. It is often abbreviated as CNTarcho-syndicalist union. It is often abbreviated as CNTarcho-syndicalist union. It is often abbreviated as CNTarcho-syndicalist union. It is often abbreviated as V organizations. The FAI publishes the periodical Tierra y beitertad.

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FAI

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Kropotkin, Pyotr (1842–1921) A Russian prince, zoologist, evolutionary

The Invisible Committee

along the lines of the Situationists.

incorporating gender politics into anarchism. After the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, she traveled to Spain to support the anarchist revolution there. She died in Toronto on May 14, 1940, aged 70.

An anonymous group of French intellectuals named as

the authors of The Coming Insurrection, a call to arms

became a writer and a renowned lecturer on anarchist philosophy, women's rights, and social issues, attracting crowds of thousands. In 1906, Goldman founded the anarchist journal Mother Earth. Her writing and lectures spanned a wide variety of issues, including prisons, atheism, freedom of speech, militarism, capitalism, marriage, free love, homosexual-

ity, and appreciation of Nietzsche. Although she dis-

tanced herself from first-wave feminism and its efforts

toward women's suffrage, she developed new ways of

Goldman, Emma (1869 -1940) An anarchist known for her political activism, writing, and speeches, she played a pivotal role in the development of anarchist political philosophy in North America and Europe in the first half of the 20th century.

Attracted to anarchism after the Haymarket affair, she

some significant people/groups

some significant people/groups

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theorist, philosopher, scientist, pacifist, revolutionary, economist, activist, geographer, writer, and one of the world's foremost anarcho-communists.

World's foremost anarcho-communists. Wropotkin advocated a communist society free from central government and based on voluntary associations between workers. He wrote many books, pamphlets and articles, the most prominent being The Conduest of Bread and Fields, Factories and Workshops, and his principal scientific offering, Mutual Ald: A Factor of Evolution. He also contributed the article on anarvival to the Encyclopædia Britannica Eleventh Edition. Mutual Aid provided an alternative view on human survival to the claims of interpersonal competition and natural hierarchy proffered at the time by some "social Darwinists". He argued "that it was an evolutionary emphasis on cooperation instead of competition in the Barwinian sense that made for the success of species,

"including the human."

Nietzsche, Freidrich (1844–1900) was a German philosopher, poet, cultural critic and classical philologist. He wrote critical texts on religion, morality, contemporary culture, philosophy and science, displaying a fondness for metaphor, irony and aphorism.

Nietzsche's influence remains substantial within and beyond philosophy, notably in existentialism, nihilism, and postmodernism. His style and radical questioning of the value and objectivity of truth have resulted

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some significant people/groups

in much commentary and interpretation, mostly in the continental tradition. His key ideas include the death of God, the Übermensch, the eternal recurrence, the and the will to power. Central to his philosophy is the idea of "life-affirmation", which involves an honest questioning of all doctrines that drain life's expansive energies, however socially prevalent and radical those views might be.

Novatore, Renzo

The pen name of Abele Rizieri Ferrari (1890–1922), Italian individualist anarchist, illegalist, and anti-fascist poet, philosopher, and militant, now mostly known for his book (posthumously published), Toward the Creative Nothing (Verso il nulla creatore).

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Perlman, Fredy

(1934–1985) was an author, publisher and activist. His most popular work, the book Against His-Story, Against Leviathan!, details the rise of state domination with a retelling of history through the Hobbesian metaphor of the Leviathan. The book remains a major source of inspiration for anti-civilisation perspectives in contemporary anarchism. His work both as an author and publisher has been very influential on modern anarchist thought.

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Proudhon, Pierre-Joseph

(1809–865) was a French politician, mutualist philosopher, economist, and socialist. He was a member of the French Parliament, and he was the first person to call himself an "anarchist". He is considered among the most influential theorists and organisers of anarchism. After the events of 1848 he began to call himself a federalist.

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Perlman, Fredy (1934–1985) was an author, publisher and activist. 2001. Tiqqun is also, more generally, the name of the philosophical concept which stems from these texts, and is often used in a broad sense to name the many publications containing the journal's texts, in order to desig-

nate "a point of spirit from which these writings come."

Situationists

The Situationist International (SI) was an internationalist group of revolutionaries based mainly in Europe. It was founded in 1957 and reached its peak of influence in the general strike of May 1968 in France.

With ideas rooted in Marxism and the 20th century European artistic avant-gardes, they advocated experiences of life alternative to those allowed by advanced capitalism, for the fulfillment of human desires. They suggested and experimented with the construction of "situations," which were environments favorable for the fulfillment of such desires. Their theoretical work peaked with the highly influential book *Society of the Spectacle*. The SI was dissolved in 1972.

the Frankfurt School

A school of neo-Marxist interdisciplinary social theory, initially consisting of dissident Marxists who believed that some of Marx's followers parroted a narrow selection of Marx's ideas, usually in defense of orthosome significant people/groups

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otten used in a broad sense to name the many publications containing the journal's texts, in order to designate "a point of spirit from which these writings come."

sophical concept which stems from these texts, and is

Indun is also, more generally, the name of the philo-

community." It was created by various writers and dissolved in 2001 following the attacks of September 11,

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